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EDITURA MUZEULUI NAȚIONAL BRUKENTHAL
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Professor Mihaela Grancea was born on February 9, 1959, in Cincu, Braşov. Her early inclination for the study of history found the perfect context to develop in 1978, when she began studying at the Faculty of History – Philosophy of the University of Bucharest. She graduated in 1982 and during the following eight years she taught History and Philosophy at pre-university education level in Slatina, at the same time training students in Olt county for History high school competitions and national scientific seminars. Between 1990 and 1996 she worked as a curator, specialised in the history of old foreign books (from the 17th and 18th centuries), at the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu.

Professor Grancea's academic career started in 1992, when she began teaching for the "Lucian Blaga" University in Sibiu (to this day her main academic affiliation) as Associate Lecturer in Modern Universal History, Romanian Historiography, History of Collective Mentalities, and History of Civilization. In 1994 she initiated her PhD training at the faculty of History-Philosophy of the "Babeş-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca. In 1996 she was appointed Lecturer in the History of Historiography and the History of Books at the "Lucian Blaga" University. In 1997 she founded and started coordinating the "Scientific Seminar of the History of Collective Mentalities and Imagology". She publicly defended her doctoral thesis, entitled *The Romanian Space from the Foreign Travellers' Perspective (1683-1789). Identity and Alterity*, at the "Babeş-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca in November 2000. In March 2001 her PhD in History was awarded the "magna cum laude" distinction. Between 2003 and 2009 she held the position of Associate PhD Professor at the "Lucian Blaga" University, delivering courses such as History of Historiography, History of Collective Mentalities, and Methodology of Scientific Research. In 2005-2006 she was Visiting PhD Professor, teaching Historical Anthropology within the Anthropology MA programme, at the Faculty of European Studies of the "Babeş-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca. Since 2008 she has been Professor of the "Lucian Blaga" University, initially at the Faculty of History and Heritage (Department of Modern and Contemporary History, which she headed between 2008 and 2011), then, since 2012, at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities (the History, Heritage and Protestant Theology Department). Her specializations and study programmes include History of Collective Mentalities, Historiography, Trends in Contemporary Historiography, Cultural History, Recent History, and Oral History.

Since 2010, Professor Grancea has been Senior Editor (Deputy Editor-in-Chief) of the cultural history journal "Brukenthalia", a supplement of "Brukenthal. Acta Musei", published by the Brukenthal National Museum. Between 2008 and 2012 she was an Editor of the "Studia Historia Cibiensis" journal of the Faculty of History and Heritage within the "Lucian Blaga" University. She is a member of the Consulting Board of "Memorial 89", the newsletter of the Revolution Museum in Timişoara. In 1999 she became Editor-in-Chief of "Transilvanica", the journal published by the Association of Young Historians from Transylvania and Banat (the Sibiu branch). Other noteworthy collaborations with history and cultural publications include "Cultura" weekly (Contributing Editor since 2005-2011), "Historia" monthly (since 2015) and "Dacia literară" (since 2015).

Since 1990, Professor Grancea has participated in over 300 national and international conferences, seminars, and symposiums. Between 1994 and 1998 she presented four essays inspired by her doctoral research on the most important cultural radio station in Romania. In 1992 she was one of the founding members of the Society for Transylvanian Studies, the Romanian branch of "Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde". In 1996 she became a member and a scientific secretary of the Sibiu branch of the Association of Young Historians from Transylvania and Banat; she acted as President of the Association's Sibiu branch between 1997 and 2002. In 1998 she also became a member of the Institute for Central-European Studies by the "Babeş-Bolyai" University. Since 2010 Professor Grancea has been a member of the International Society for Cultural History. Between 2010 and 2014 she served as an expert for the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ARACIS). Since 2014 she has been the President of Sibiu branch of the Romanian Society for Historical Sciences; in the following year, she also became a member of the Society's national Executive Committee.

Having a passion for poetry and literature in general, Professor Grancea was a member of the "Vladimir Munteanu" literary circle of the Romanian Writers' Union, sponsored by "Euphorion" cultural magazine, between 1992 and 1997. Some of her poems were published in cultural and literary journals such as "Luceafărul" and "România literară". Between 1990 and 1994, while working as a curator for the Brukenthal National Museum, she organized, coordinated the published catalogue and contributed to six major temporary exhibitions of the museum. Two of these exhibitions were documented in a popular science show on national television, for which Professor Grancea served as consultant.

Professor Grancea has published three remarkable individual volumes, results of extensive in-depth research, at reputed academic publishing houses in Cluj-Napoca and Sibiu: *Foreign Travellers through the Danubian Principalities, Transylvania and Banat. Identity and Alterity* (2002), *Death*

Representations during Communist Romania. *Three Studies of Funeral Anthropology* (2007) and *Today's Past. Tradition and Innovation in Romanian Culture* (2009). She also edited and co-edited textbooks and anthologies of essential texts for her students. Professor Grancea was the sole editor or one of the scientific editors of numerous noteworthy collective volumes, such as *Death Representations in Transylvania between the 15th-20th Centuries* (2005), *Discourses about Death in Transylvania between the 16th-20th Centuries* (2006), *Death and Society. Transdisciplinary Studies* (2008), *Cultural Interferences in Sibiu in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (2014), and *Daily Life in Sibiu in the 19th and 20th Century* (2015). Since 1991, Professor Grancea has published over 100 articles, essays, and studies in academic collective volumes and peer-reviewed journals, as well as cultural magazine. During her academic career, she has received several internal and external grants for national and international research projects, for which she occasionally acted as grant manager, including *Majority and Minority Groups in Central and Eastern Europe* (2002), *The Religious Feeling and Attitudes towards Death from the Pre-Modern Period until the 20th Century* (2005), *Cuius Regio. An Analysis of the Cohesive and Disruptive Forces Destining the Attachment of Groups of Persons to and the Cohesion within Regions as a Historical Phenomenon* (since 2011), *Honoring Civil Courage* (2013-2014), *The Evolution of Romanian Fiction Film in the Communist Period, from Ideological Conformism to Resistance through Culture* (2015-2016), and *Romanian Funeral Heritage* (in development).

Professor Grancea's impressive body of interdisciplinary work covers a wide range of thoroughly researched relevant topics and themes. However, the fields of study that make Professor Grancea stand out as a highly respected expert among historians at the local, national, and international levels are geographical imagology (particularly the testimonies of foreign travellers in Romanian territories), social and cultural thanatology (death representations, discourses about death, and attitudes towards death in Transylvania), the cultural monograph of Sibiu in the last three centuries, as well as analyses of cinematographic texts (mostly Romanian films, but representing also other Central and Eastern European national cinemas) from the perspective of a cultural historian. Acknowledging Professor Grancea's profound commitment to extensive research in cultural history and the excellence of her overall academic activity, the scientific community of Romanian and European historians eagerly awaits new innovative contributions from the Sibiu scholar to the prestige and popularity of the field. This issue of "Brukenthalia" journal is dedicated to Professor Grancea's 60th birthday.

Editorial Board

Editorial Policies and Instructions for Contributors

The Brukenthalia Journal proposes a subject for its new issue – **The Wars after the Great War in Memoirs, Literature and Arts (Part II, 1923-1928)**

For some historians, especially those contemporary with the event, the Armistice (11/11/ 1918, the 11th hour) meant the end of the Great War and the carnage. However, between 1918-1920, in Europe, even after the collapse of the empires, there were still bilateral military conflicts, international litigations, great social upheavals, civil wars. A new geopolitical configuration emerged as a result of the dissolution of empires, while Bolshevism grew as a totalitatian socio-political system. The installation of the Armistice, the negotiations and peace treaties concluded (see the case of the Paris Peace Conference, 1919-1920) are not always synonymous with the restoration of peace and the return to „normalcy". The repercussions on the lives of civilians and demobbed soldiers rejoining civilian life were difficult and rather unpredictable. The collective trauma took a long time to recede, the society's reconstruction was slow and the economic revival was fragile. Frustration and skepticism became generalized attitudes, especially among the working class and the intellectuals. The political landscape was determined by fluctuations, institutional reconfigurations, the writing and rewriting of constitutions and the reconsideration, from a modern perspective, of citizenship.

Social polarization and the deployment of class hatred, anti-Semitism, ethno-cultural variations and geopolitical changes, the accelerated liberation of women, all led to a diminished tolerance of women, ethno-cultural minorities and foreigners.

The war itself and the diseases which, after the war, decimated the civilian population, famine and the difficult reconstruction reinstated another imagery of Death. It emerged, in the representations of this age, with the full power of medieval symbolism. Conversely, the conservative social norm was eluded by reinventing music, literature and art, the culture of the body.

Memoirs, literature and visual arts reacted against the new challenges, expressing the traumas of the age and evoking pacifism, as well as the disbelief in the moral progress. In the countries where the national dream came true or which pushed the cause of autonomy further (see Ireland), another phenomenon occured, the construction of a mythical aura around the emblematic figures of the war, the birth of a cultural pantheon. Both the official and the popular discourse framed the mythology of victory, the new axiological pantheon. But there is also a mythology of defeat, an exacerbation of the Golden Ages, stimulating the desire for payback and recovery.

Specifically, visual arts, literature and film best reflect, in our view, these mutations. That is why we welcome the papers which will choose to focus on the investigation of this area.

Please send your contributions to: mihaela_grancea2004@yahoo.com, dana.percec@e-uvt.ro, olgagradinaru@gmail.com

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GUIDE FOR AUTHORS

General Instructions

1. The Brukenthalia. Review of Cultural History scientific journal receives contributions under the form of unpublished research papers, review papers written in English. The field of interest is Cultural History. The accuracy of translation is the author's responsibility.
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.
3. The manuscript should be submitted as a single file in *.doc (Microsoft Word) format (or edited in Open Office) and shall contain: (1) to whom it may concern document, (2) manuscript, (3) list of illustrations and (4) tables (if required). Together with document the authors should attach *.jpeg or *.tiff format illustrations (legend marked inside text).
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).

Text arranging

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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b) Books as follows:

Burke 2008 Burke, Peter, What is cultural history? Cambridge, Polity Press (2008).

c) Chapters in books:

Stanzel 1999 Stanzel Frank K., "Zur literarische Imagologie. Eine Einführung". In Ingomar Weiler, Waldermar Zacharasiewicz (eds.) Europäischer Völkerspiegel. Imagologisch-ethographische Studien zu den Völkertafeln des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts, Universitätverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg (1999), p. 9-39.

d) Proceedings from symposiums and conferences:

Karamberopoulos, Oeconomopolulos 2004 Karamberopoulos, D., Oeconomopolulos Alexandra, Greek medical manuscripts of the period of the 16th middle 19th century. Proceedings of the 39th Congress on the History of Medicine held at Bari (2004).

e) Unpublished thesis or reports:

Roman 1958 Roman Petre, Grupa înmormântărilor cu ocru pe teritoriul RPR, Bucureşti (1958). Thesis (manuscript).

Diaconescu et al. 2011 Diaconescu Dragoş, Dumitrescu-Chioar Florian, Natea Gheorghe, Şura Mică, com. Şura Mică, jud. Sibiu. In CCA 2011 (campania 2010) (in press).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. STUDIES

B. MISCELLANEA

C. REVIEWS

A. STUDIES

VERSIFIED LETTERS DURING WORLD WAR I. IDENTITY AFFILIATIONS AND COPING MECHANISMS IN THE FORMER MILITARY BORDER DISTRICT OF NĂSĂUD

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Abstract: *Considering World War I as a milestone in the way people perceived diverse practices in their lives, our research is an exploratory study on perceptions. It is also a subjective exercise of analysing and interpreting people's written "discourses", while facing the crisis generated by World War I. Our study is focused on the communities of the former Military Border District of Năsăud and the challenge was to identify – in versified letters – what kind of feelings these communities developed, experienced and displayed, through individuals and families, during the war, taking into account the fact that they had been part of a militarised area. Using the discourse analysis method, the aim of our research was to identify characteristic mental structures revealed during the four years conflict. Results showed a complex process of identity building and the coping mechanisms that the soldiers of Năsăud area developed during World War I.*

Keywords: *Transylvania, identity building, discourse analysis, mental structures, rural*

Introduction

World War I inflicted devastating consequences on Transylvanian rural communities, both financially and especially from a humane perspective. The "great battle" had changed not only the geographical configuration of the borders to the territories that the Romanians inhabited, but also the population's mindset, because, at the end of the conflict, "people were no longer the same like the ones in 1914" (Maior, 2016, 19).

When the Great War burst out, Transylvania was one of the peripheral provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, inhabited by an ethnic and confessional mixed population. The Transylvanian society was mainly rural and had a value system based on family and community solidarity, on reciprocal help, work and faith in God in order to cope with the hardships of daily living.

The death of Archduke Franz Ferdinand had a strong echo within the Romanian population because of the many hopes these people attached to his power to better their statute in the Monarchy. The priest Pamfiliu Grapini from Șanț village wrote the following: *We, the Romanians, lose a great protector who, if he made it to the Crown and the Throne, would have done more justice to the oppressed* (Munteanu, 2018, 42).

The tragic death of the heir to the throne, in Sarajevo, on the 28th of June 1914, was the cause of enacting recruitment and preparing troops for war. From Transylvania, the large majority of those called up were peasants, "torn up" merciless from their living environment: On August the 1st, they decreed general recruitment for all soldiers under 42 years old – the same priest wrote –, on August the 30th, men left and were accompanied to the train. Woeful houses, 8 to 10 children left without food providers, land left without further tilling, no food and money. To cry for help only from our dear God" (Munteanu, 2018, 43).

Despite the laconism imposed by war censorship (Marinescu, 2004, 243-248), as well as by the "clumsiness of a signally oral culture" (Bârlea, 2004, 7), the analysis of war letters and postcards, especially of the ones belonging to

common people, reveals another face of the war. This is where soldiers are no longer only numbers on paper, but historical characters, each of them a hero in his own way. They built "emotional pillars" deeply imbedded into their past before the war (their family, household, tools, land and village), to help them overcome the hardships of battlefield.

Moreover, the topic of soldiers' experience has already been discussed in relation to individual and collective identity construction, the role of memory being underlined: "The first is that experience, refracted through memory, helps constitute identities. The second is that experience changes as subject positions shift over time. Given these two assumptions, then no one soldiers' tale, no one meta-narrative of war experience can be said to encompass them all" (Winter, 2006, 117).

In addition, the volatile character of the individual's experience is similar to the flexibility or fluidity of identity and of the identity construction process:

> *Experience is therefore not "the authoritative (because seen or felt) evidence that grounds what is known," but rather the social construction of knowledge by people who define themselves in terms of what they know. Experience from this point of view is constituted by subjects, and thus highly volatile; it changes when identities change, and has no inert, external, objective existence outside of the people who contemplate it […]. But over time, their war experience became the constitutive material out of which new political and social identities emerged. The "experience" did not change; just its location. Subjects do not reach out to grasp experience in the external world; they construct experience internally, as part of their sense of who they are* (Winter, 2006, 115).

Taking into account the aforementioned ideas, the aim of our research was to identify mental structures revealed during the four years conflict, structures that were characteristic and well defined to the people in the area of the Military Border District of Năsăud. The main topics around which the narration is weaved through versified letters illustrate the soldiers' complex process of identity building and of their coping mechanisms during the war.

To enable us reach this research aim, our paper was structured as follows*: Introduction; On war letters and versified war letters during World War I*, which partially sums up the theoretical background and previous relevant research on the topic. The third part is Methodology; then, the results and discussion part of our paper includes two other sections and *Conclusions*.

On war letters and versified war letters during World War I

Letters and postcards are considered "an essential but relatively unexplored part of the cultural legacy of the Great War" (Winter, 2006, 103), an archive of "cultural memory" (Winter, 2006, 104). At the international level, research on war letters related to the Great War includes few studies: on wartime letters from France (Trevisan, 2003), on practices of maintaining soldiers' mental health and the development of leadership in the war camp (Fletcher, 2004), as well as on the experience of a horrific war, in letters from the front (Christ, 2018; Robertson, 2017; Zayarnyuk, 2010). There are also studies on the topic of censorship in all its dimensions within a discourse of propaganda and war mobilization, presented in relation to the elements that construct soldiers' identity (Vicari, 2012). Moreover, the value of the emotional dialogue in letters sent from the front in the construction of a shared intimate space has been also highlighted (Acton, 2016), along with the ritualization of the epistolary genre of less experienced writers from France and the experience of the transition from the ritual discourse to the individual one (Grosse et al., 2016). The themes of patriotism, nationalism and cultural-racial constructs have been analysed in the case of German prisoners of war in Japan (Barkhof, 2017). Besides, letters from the front sent by German-speaking Jews were analysed with a focus on Jewishness and Germanness (Tayim, 2018).

In addition, Winter (2006) discusses the political and ideological implications of the letters of fallen German soldiers. In doing this, he identifies a series of representations those letters circulated, such as the pacifist soldier, the soldier as a saviour of his family (through his sacrifice of fighting during the war), the Christian soldier, and the industrialised warfare of extreme violence (war as a "school of disenchantment") (Winter 2006). Such representations are to be found in war letters from other regions and countries. However, Winter pointed out that those letters, including "codes of emotional expression" (Winter, 2006, 117), were fragments of the soldiers' war experience which is very much place and time specific. Therefore, all these studies show a very narrow geographical context for the analysed war letters, mostly at the regional level (Keene, 2003) and at the local one (Zayarnyuk, 2010), while the timeframe of World War I is itself clear:

> *The stories soldiers relate tell us something of what they have been through; but the act of narration tells us who they are at the time of the telling. Later on, the experience changes as the narrator's life changes. Since identities are not fixed, neither is "experience." It is the subject's "history," expressed at a particular moment in the language of the subject. That language is not universal; it is particular, localized, and mostly regional or national in form. The "soldiers' tale" is the framework within which knowledge about war is constructed by men whose identities were defined for them by what they had seen* (Winter, 2006, 116).

A selective Romanian historiography on the researched topic offers varied information about the Romanian Transylvanian soldiers' involvement in warfare, using especially documents published by civilian, military and clerical authorities. In recent years, Romanian historians have also taken into account epistolary documents to offer an image as complete as possible of the experiences and implications caused by the ongoing conflict (Sima, 2017, 2018; Kisanovici, 2015; Bârlea, 2004). They also have attempted to decode, from the perspective of historical demography, the complexity of family relations (Bolovan, 2015) or to provide the interested parties with letters and postcards published from the archives (Onofreiu, Vlașin, 2017). Moreover, in Romania, marriage, morality and divorce are debated in the context of the Transylvanian family starting from letters sent from and to the front during World War I (Bolovan, 2010).

However, the items of correspondence of the Transylvanian peasants that fought in the Austro-Hungarian army include, besides the classical letters and postcards, the so-called category of "versified letters", which historians have not approached too much so far. One of the reasons may be that they belong to military folk lyrics or to the so called "folklore of the military camp" (Dobre, 1994, 136), a field which specialists in ethnography and folklore focused on. According to the researcher Liviu Păiuș, on war folklore, one can realise a series of differentiations – depending on the content of the folkloric pieces, on the presented life facts and on their length – within the following categories: versified letters, short lyrics and prisoners' of war journals (Păiuș, 2009, 203). This epistolary genre developed and had its climax during the two World Wars and belonged, in the Romanian context, to soldiers from Transylvania and Bukovina (Bârlea, 1983, 226).

These versified letters are part of the "war literature", soldiers writing their "truth" about World War I and also including rich evidence about it (Winter, 2006, 103; Damian, 2005; Pincas, 2002). For Transylvania, the representations they circulated were powerful and they were constructing the cultural memory of the region. Many were sent to families and, in general, to a population soon to be in mourning. These written sources included snapshots of the soldiers' experiences and minds, in which representations of the war and of the soldiers themselves were constructed.

Transylvanian peasants, similarly to the ones in the entire Romanian territory, lacked the practice of writing down their thoughts, feelings and attitudes towards life and death in long and coherent phrases. After August 1914, the reality of war, a totally new and very cruel one, forced peasants to write about their experience, considering also the versified form.

Besides the official history of World War I and the intellectuals' memoir writings, these sources, despite a certain subjectivity level, provide us with rich information from three perspectives. The first one is the perspective of an event history (for instance, routes of the military campaigns), the second is of the non-event history (the life course within war camps and at home, during the wartime), while the third is of the social history. Through direct access to the participants at those events, these letters represent highly precious information sources for historians interested in retracing the elements of daily life. And this is especially valuable, given the "personal perspective" upon the unfolding of events, filtered through the eyes of each soldier-author. These should not be understood in the strict sense of the word as a means of transmitting and asking for information. As a species belonging to war folklore, the versified letter is a particular category of popular lyrics. Not being accompanied by a melody, the versified letter is understood as lyrical poetry that is written and read, but which observes the laws of folklore.

The pursuit of promoting and publishing the folk poems and folk versified correspondence from the period of World War I dates back to the war period itself (Hangea, Ilieșiu, 1916; Esca, Șchiopul, 1916?) and continued during the following decades (Precup, 1920). In the Romanian ethnological literature, the first research about the written creations of peasants who took part in the war was elaborated by

ethnomusicologist Constantin Brăiloiu (Brăiloiu, 1944).

Later on, in the second half of the 20th century, a large number of texts on the topic of military issues and war were published in the collections of Romanian folklore (Bârlea, 1983), but also in well documented studies in Journal of Ethnography and Folklore. In the region of Năsăud, Liviu Păiuș had an intense activity of retrieval and publishing folk writing of soldiers from the villages of Someșul Mare Valley, who fought during World War I and II, including versified correspondence (Păiuș, 2003, 2009).

Methodology

Starting from the above general considerations, our research focuses on versified letters belonging to soldiers from the former military border communities of Năsăud region. They fought in Galicia, Serbia, Montenegro and Italy and their letters were published in folklore books on World War I (Păiuș, 2003, 2009; Precup, 1920). We used the discourse analysis method on this research material.

The territory of the former Second Military Border Regiment from Năsăud – short history

The historical evolution of the Land of Năsăud is a special one and it is strongly connected to the functioning in the respective geographical area of the Second Romanian Military Border Regiment (1762-1851) (Ilovan 2009). Made of 44 communes, most of them on the nowadays territory of Bistrița-Năsăud County, it was set up by Empress Maria Theresa, as part of the Austrian border system made up of 17 such regiments spread in the entire empire.

The military border guards of Năsăud area represented a certain social category with a characteristic mindset of Transylvania during that period, still dominated by three privileged nations: Hungarians, Saxons, and Szeklers. The statute of the military border guards marked both at the internal level (daily life conditioned by belonging to the military statute) and at the external one (the military campaigns deployed on European war camps) led to the appearance of the so-called military "border pride" (*fală*) or "border mindset" (*mentalitate grănicerească*). It was a population with the social statute of free men, with a better material situation in comparison with other inhabitants of the province, with a higher cultural level and a special administrative organisation. Considering that all these were due to the Emperor of Vienna, the inhabitants manifested strong loyalty to this authority and they demonstrated it during the military campaigns of the House of Austria while maintaining it even after the dissolution of the regiment in 1851. After this year, new realities replaced the ones stated by the Military Border Regiment. A world collapsed and, besides the rigour and rigidity characteristic to the military regime, this provided people with a sense of security and the feeling of specificity on a Transylvanian background dominated by these three privileged nations.

Entering under the civilian authority foreshadowed another world, where rules were no longer imposed by above, from Vienna, but at the level of Transylvania. As a result, the fight for preserving the military border identity became the basic feature in the decades to come. The military border property (sesia in Romania) dismantled, the place of the military authorities was taken by the civilian ones, the military institution was replaced by the political and administrative ones, and the battlefield of Europe was replaced by pieces of village land. Their lifestyle changed radically. Having no steady income, from realising their duties within the military service, the only sources for earning their living were tilling the land and breeding animals. Thus, generations after generations alternated, which, on one hand, tried to preserve the predecessors' heritage, and, on the other, to adapt to the Transylvanian realities of the respective period (Sabău, 2015, 15-16).

After 1851 and the entering under the civilian authorities, all the efforts of the local intellectuals, both at the local level, as well as in Vienna, Buda and Pesta (Budapesta since 1873), focused on finding appropriate organisation formulae, which could unite again the 44 communes and protect their accumulated funds and possessions. Only after setting up the liberal regime in the Habsburg Monarchy, the former military border communities of Năsăud area reunited in the framework of the District of Năsăud, which was a political-administrative entity with institutions in all the main fields and which functioned between 1861 and 1876. After this year and until 1918, the 44 communes were included in Bistrița-Năsăud Shire, being still mostly agricultural communities. The inhabitants' daily life unfolded according to the active Hungarian laws and with the administrative and public documents elaborated at the shire level.

Identity affiliations and coping mechanisms during World War I as reflected in the main themes of the versified letters in the former military border communities of Năsăud region

The versified letters sent from the war camp by the soldiers of Năsăud region are a window opened to their experiences and feelings, to the way they lived and experienced war. In many cases, the soldier named his letter "book" and not "letter*": Go book, like the wind;/ Go book, fly above [Du-te carte, ca ș-un vânt; Du-te carte, zboară-n sus], etc.* (Păiuș, 2003, 36).

Out of the versified letters published by researcher Liviu Păiuș, a part was written in the blocks that soldiers brought home when they returned from the war, while others were sent home from the front, accompanying their letters in prose (Păiuș, 2008, 201).

For instance, on the 12th of April 1916, soldier Gherasim Cotu, at that time stationed in Italy, sent a letter in prose to his parents, in Rodna, and he added a versified variant at its end. The content analysis of these two letters reveals major differences. In the classical letter, the author included pieces of information about his health, expressed his discontent and concern about not having received any "book from home". He also asked about who else from the village was called up to the army, offering information about the weather, sending greetings to relatives and neighbours. In the end, he mentioned that *I would write more, but this is not allowed [Multe aș scrie, dar nu-i slobod]*. In the other variant, using the freeing power of verses, Gherasim Cotu expressed more profound feelings. This time his letter is addressed only to his mother, summoning the motif of "being called up to the army" and the "mother's curse". Because of this curse, after reaching adulthood, the "German" sent him to fight with the Serb: *Always through gore,/ On water and land [Tot prin sânge-închegat,/ Pe apă și pe uscat]*. *His verses express sadness (And I am about to cry/ Because I cannot move past the blood [Și mie îmi vine-a plânge/ Căci nu pot trece de sânge]), revolt (I don't know when you will be pleased/ And when all this is over [Nu știu când ti-i sătura/ Și asta când s-a găta]), lack of hope (Because there are many lads/ That die at night [Că feciorii-s mulți de tot/ Și pică noaptea polog]), and, in the end, the author's anger is channelled against Italy, which he lays under bitter curses (Italy, you bitter country./ Fire burn you down [Italie, țară amară./ Ard-o para focului])* (Păiuș, 2008, 205-209).

The comparison between the two versions of the war letter (in prose and versified) enforces the opinion that the versified letter renders more accurately and intensively the soldiers' experiences and feelings. The author did not have a light soul after finishing the letter in prose, while the versified letter set free his burdened heart. And thus, the reader benefits from a personalised image of the war evolution, as "the verse is the peasant's company in society, at work and at social meetings in the village, it is the peasant's faithful comrade in joy and pain, at home and during wartime." (Precup, 1920, 2).

The analysed descriptions and narratives of the versified letters develop on the "frame" of the Romanian folk poems, by adapting the motives and topics to the new living conditions (Brăiloiu, 1969, 114). To be able to express their feelings, the authors of letters initiated a fictitious dialogue with their mother, with the loved one and even with varied elements of nature, this procedure being "one of the most appropriate ways of the folkloric art" (Vrabie, 1990, 67).

In most cases, authors use the traditional verse to act as a thematic introduction at the beginning of the letter: *Green vineyard leaf; Green fir tree leaf; Green leaf and dry wood [Frunză verde de prin vie; Frunză verde de prin brazi; Frunză verde lemn uscat], etc.* (Păiuș, 2003, 32-40). The same type of verse is employed also in the contents of the letter to make the connection between the approached topics.

Especially, the narration develops the chronology of events unfolding, from the recruitment moment to the one of writing the letter, focusing on several topics. Their weight varies from one author to another: recruitment and departure from family, house and village, the image of the front versus that of the village, the attitude towards the enemy and the alienation feeling. Some of the authors write their name, the native village, location and date of writing at the end of letters: *This dear Maria/ I had time to write to you/ On Palm Sunday [Acestea dragă Mărie/ Am avut vrem-a le scrie/ În Duminica de florii]* (Precup 1920, 10). The wording is simple, but sometimes these verses overwhelm the reader due to the dramatic events sincerely narrated.

The method of discourse analysis applied to the contents of the versified letters reveals the following main topics: the soldier's recruitment and departure from family, house and village; the image of the front versus the image of the village; the soldier's hostile attitude towards the enemy; soldier's alienation; soldier's loyalty to the Emperor; soldier's feeling of belonging to Ardeal; and the Christian soldier.

The soldier's recruitment and departure from family, house and village

At the level of the collective mentality in the Transylvanian rural world at the beginning of the 20th century, the young man was raised to have a certain mission in the collectivity: to

become a good householder, support for parents during their old age, to get married, and have a family. But very close to the moment when he could accomplish all this or immediately after, mobilisation came up and ruined their plans. We need to relate to this context in order to understand the woefulness and sorrow that the young men feel when they say farewell to their family, household, and working tools which are a symbol of their mission in this world. The young peasants' entire evolution aimed at forming certain skills and attitudes towards the world and life, totally different from what war brought about.

In the analysed versified letters, soldiers remember in detail the moment of recruitment and when they left for war, and these are felt like a terrible burden: *Then he leaves for the war/ With white and hollow face/ With his heart broken in two [Pleacă atunci și el la luptă/ Cu fața albă și suptă/ Cu inima-n două ruptă]* (Precup, 1920, 21). When the command comes, the soldier lets his spoon fall in the plate [blid – Transylvanian regionalism] and the plough in the field. The versified letter describes the image of the sad man who says farewell to the loved ones, to the tools and animals in the stable, who is accompanied to the railway station by wife and children, while leaving behind the village envisioned like a lost paradise: *I am crying dear Maria/ The whole country is crying today/ Because I don't know which of us/ We'll see each other again [Plâng și eu Marie dragă/ Plânge astăzi țara-ntreagă/ Căci nu știu care din noi/ Ne-om mai vedea doi cu doi]* (Precup, 1920, 9).

The repetition has the role of intensifying the strength of the expressed feeling, amplifying its significance: *I left my house,/ I left my food,/ I left my relatives and my father/ I left fast when the command came [Lăsai casă,/ Lăsai masă,/ Lăsai neamuri și tătucă/ Ca să plec iuti la poruncă]* (Păiuș, 2003, 44). The topic of leaving the village is a frequent one in military poetry/songs, as well as in the ceremonial burial songs and in laments.

The train appears almost in every letter because it takes away the soldiers from their homes: We shall go with the machine/ To the foreign country *[Noi ne-om duce pe mașină/ Către țara cea străină]* (Precup, 1920, 15); *The train took me, too/ Far away in foreign countries [M-a dus trenu și pe mine/ Departe în țări străine]* (Precup, 1920, 42). The general sadness and woefulness reaches the unbearable when the train leaves the station: *The train flies like an arrow/ Children cry, father has left [Zboară trenul ca săgeata/ Plâng copiii, s-a dus tata]* (Precup, 1920, 21). The train is the one making the transition between the two worlds: the one before the war and the one after the moment of recruitment. An antithesis appeared between leaving to work and leaving to war, the first one a simple, natural one, while the latter is exactly the opposite. This forced "transition" determines the soldier to say farewell to his family and acquaintances, the verses resembling those of the laments, a species occasioned by the individual's transition from life to death.

The recalling of the moment of recruitment and separation from the family environment is preceded or succeeded by the utterance of curses, specific also to military songs and love poems (Bârlea, 1983, 223). Most often, these courses are targeted against the mother, considered guilty for the soldier's unhappy situation, of being far away from the beloved, because she might have cursed him from the cradle. His mother's curse makes the soldier wander from one country to another, "like the wolf in the rare forest" (*ca lupu-n pădurea rară*) (Păiuș, 2003, 43). Not only the mother, but also the train is laid under the soldier's curse – Fire on you machine *[Ardă-te focu mașină]* (Precup, 1920, 15) –, as well as the "German"; all these are to blame for the soldier's separation from his beloved ones. Using versified letters for casting soldiers' mind over war recruitment and separation from family, household and village is a coping mechanism during war. This recalling is made by reproach and sorrow. Its unjustness and bad consequences are underlined. This versified confession helps soldiers get through the war.

The image of the front versus the image of the village

The richest part of the versified letters written by soldiers from the region of Năsăud includes descriptions of daily living in the trenches (the places they travelled, the deployment of battles, spending free time, celebrating the great religious holidays, etc.), but also descriptions of the home village image during wartime.

The image of the soldiers who are always marching is a motif these letters have in common with the ones from the end of the 19th century. The marching is accompanied by the sound of drums and trumpets that forespeak death: *You should see how the German takes us,/ On the sound of drums./ How our days are numbered,/ On the sound of the trumpet,/ How our lives are getting shorter [Să vezi neamțu cum ne duce,/ Pe sunetul dobelor./ Pe scurtarea zilelor,/ Pe sunetul trâmbiții,/ Pe scurtarea vieții*] (Păiuș, 2003, 36).

During the unfolding of the conflict, the soldiers' thoughts are permanently directed to the beloved ones at home and the longer their separation and the conflict are, the more apocalyptic their representations of the battlefield are, the selected vocabulary enforcing the image of the end of the world. The image of the war slaughter is evoked though a series of hyperboles: *The land moans of blood/ But I cannot go through blood/ This is gore/ Blood shed by young children [Geme pământul de sânge/ Că nu pot trece de sânge/ Sângele e închegat/ Din copii tineri vărsat]* (Păiuș, 2003, 34); *God, everywhere we go/ Only the dead and blood; One moans, the other one cries/ Another one lays wet in blood/ Blood flows from him/ Like from a lamb/ He puts his hand on the wound/ But the blood gushes/ He moans, he looks at the sun/ Then he bends his head and dies [Doamne, pe cât loc ajunge/ Nu vezi numai morți și sânge; Unul geme, altul plânge/ Altul stă scăldat în sânge/ Curge sângele din el/ Așa ca și dintr-un miel/ Mâna pe rană și-o pune/ Sângele curge cu spume/ Geme, se uită la soare/ Pleacă capu jos și moare]* (Precup, 1920, 18).

The hardships of the life on the front are augmented by the lack of food, by a permanent sensation of hunger: *Scarce food,/ And when I could eat more/ Bread is no more/ The portion they gave us/ Was never enough [Mâncare foarte puțină,/ Și când aș mânca mai bine/ Altă pâne nu rămâne/ Tot cu măsura ne-au dat/ Nici când nu m-am săturat]* (Precup, 1920, 24). The cold and the lack of clothes also determine a strong feeling of discomfort: *Had we shoes and caps/ We were more willing to be here [Încălțați, cu cușma-n cap/ Am cătăni mai cu drag]* (Precup 1920, 42).

The life on the front and the lack of minimal physical comfort contributed to a strong psychological discomfort: *No table, no bed/ No chair, no any cover/ Only on bare land;/ No oven for baking bread/ No pot for polenta,/ No pan for frying meat/ Nobody to wash our clothes/ We do not wash or comb our hair/ We do not pray to God [Fără masă, Fără pat/ Fără de scaun, făr de țol/ Numai pe pământul gol;/ Nici cuptor de făcut pită/ Nici oală de mămăligă,/ Nici crastol de fript carne/ Nice cine-ți spăla haine,/ Nespălați, nepieptănați/ Lui Dumnezeu nerugați]* (Precup, 1920, 42).

Description of life on the front is intertwined with recalling the peasant-soldier's paradisiac daily life before recruitment: *Do you remember father/ How well it was once in the world/ When we were all together?/ It was well sweet mother/ Before I left home,/ Cause we all had lunch together/ Nobody cried in the house/ It was well dear Maria/ In spring, the whole summer,/ At hay making and at reaping/ At picking and carrying./ It was well dear Maria … [Îți aduci aminte tată/ Bine-a fost în lume odată/ Cât am fost toți laolaltă?/ Bine-o fost măicuță dulce/ Pân de-acasă nu mă duce,/ Că prânzeam toți la o masă/ Nu plângea nime prin casă/ Bine-o fost Mărie dragă/ Primăvara, vara-ntreagă,/ La fân și la secerat/ La cules și la cărat./ Bine-o fost dragă Mărie...]* (Precup, 1920, 20). Here, recalling the images of the village is part of the mechanism of coping with war. Soldiers' answer to estrangement from all they loved and alienation in the new war environment is evoking the village and its familiar elements.

The suffering and the hardships that soldiers were undergoing each day were augmented by the feeling of deep concern for the fate of those left at home, without help in working the land, without wood to keep them warm during winter and without any money for their bare necessities. In some cases, the authors of these letters describe in parallel their life on the front and the life in the village at that time, using information that they might have gotten from corresponding with their family, from being at home on leave, from the press or through word of mouth from the new recruits.

The image of the village is extremely sad. All men left for the front, there were no ploughmen left to take to the field a cart pulled by oxen. The ploughs were getting out of the village pulled by cows and plough the land being led by the old men and women. Moreover, in villages, cholera appeared and spread: *And death makes a havoc,/ And the ones left at home/ Still cry around the table/ Because of their great sorrow [Și cu moartea pustiește,/ Și câți au rămas acasă/ Încă plâng pe lângă masă/ De necazu ce-i apasă]* (Precup, 1920, 13), and it made uncountable victims among the children. To sum up, besides fear for tomorrow, the soldier lived with the anguish that when coming back from the front he would find his house empty, deserted, with high grass in the yard, the house in decay, the stable empty, the plough rusted in the stable, the well in the yard engulfed by weeds, and "dry thistle on the field".

The soldier's hostile attitude towards the enemy

With no exception, each versified letter includes the author's rebellious and furious voice against the ones guilty of setting off the world conflict, of prolonging it and of its bad consequences, both at the human and material level. In a subjective "hierarchy", influenced by

the location where the soldier was at the moment of writing and by the nationality of the enemy forces, the guilty ones are: the Serbs, the Russians, and the Italians.

The great guilt of Serbia and of its people is to have started the world conflict: *You Serbian you did a lot,/ You split world peace/ And you ransacked everybody [Sârbule multe-ai făcut,/ Pacea lumii-ai învrăjbit/ Şi pe toţi i-ai răscolit]* (Păiuş, 2003, 41). As a consequence, the young men were separated from their beloved; they had to leave their villages and fields and were sent to death.

The Russians are blamed that young men were called up to fight, because their bellicose actions were against the territorial integrity of the country. The names given to the Russians are extremely harsh: "cursed ones", "thieves" and especially "mad dogs*": Cause the Russian is a mad dog/ He lays down in ditches./ Let him lay as long as he likes/ Cause there is nothing he can do/ Cause the one who raises his head/ He would be shortly dead [Că Rusu-i câne turbat/ Şede-n şanţuri aşezat./ Las să şadă cât îi place/ Că nemic nu poate face/ Că care s-arată sus/ De pe asta lume-i dus]* (Precup, 1920, 16).

Furthermore, Italy is considered guilty for the death of many young men*: Italy, bitter country,/ Fire burn you down [...]/ Cause you've made a great wonder: many young men have died in you [Italie, ţară amară,/ Ard-o para focului [...]/ C-o făcut mare minune: C-o murit feciori în tine]* (Păiuş, 2003, 34).

Similarly to army and love songs, fire is a recurrent image (Dobre, 1977, 225), being invoked as part of a course meant to reset the world on its old foundation: *Fire burn the war/ Cause I can no longer see its ending [Ardă focu războiu/ Că nu-i mai văd capătu]* (Precup, 1920, 22); *If Saint Mary has mercy/ Russia should burn; Burn Russia in fire/ You have taken many men to the fire [De-ar da Maica Precista/ Ca să ardă Rusia; Arde-ai Rusie cu foc/ Mulţi oameni ai dus în foc]* (Păiuş, 2003, 44).

This hostile attitude towards the enemy is part of the coping mechanism during war. The hatred towards the enemy is as important for soldiers' motivation in battle as their love for their village and family or the loyalty to the Emperor (to be discussed further in this paper).

The soldier's alienation

The alienation or leaving for a foreign land is another main topic around which soldiers develop the contents of their versified letters: *Here comes the beautiful spring/ And I am still a stranger in another country [Vine mândra primăvară/ Şi eu tot străin în ţară]* (Precup, 1920, 10). The feeling of estrangement is also to be found in wedding songs. However, in war letters, the most serious consequence of estrangement is not physical, but psychological mutilation: *Because there all who go/ Do not touch the plough again/ And those who come back/ Are no longer complete men [Căci acolo câţi se duc/ Nu mai pun mâna pe plug/ Şi de-acolo care vin/ Nu mai sunt oameni deplin]* (Precup, 1920, 9).

Many times, in order to express the depth of his feelings, the author of letters speaks to the woods, to the leaves and birds, especially to the cuckoo, the most often invoked bird in Romanian folk literature. There is an association between the soldier's fate, who is on foreign land, and the cuckoo that is abandoned by its mother. The cuckoo is also the messenger that runs the errand of taking and bringing news from home, most of the time forespeaking trouble: *I am a stranger dear Maria/ Like the cuckoo chick in the vineyard [Străinu-s dragă Mărie/ Ca puiu de cuc în vie]* (Precup, 1920, 16).

As previously mentioned, war determined estrangement – *I am a stranger and I am sad/ I am estranged from my family [Eu străin şi supărat/ Şi de-ai mei îndepărtat]* (Precup, 1920, 14) – and this sets off two frequently expressed feelings in Romanian folk lyrics. These are the longing (*dorul*) and the woefulness (*jale*): *All these would go away one by one/ If my longing would be weaker,/ But my longing does not give up/ And builds a house for my tears/ And this presses on my heart/ Today my heart moans, tomorrow cries/ Until my heart fades away [Toate-ar trece aşa pe rând/ Dacă ar fi dorul mai blând,/ Dar dorul unde se lasă/ Lacrimilor face casă/ Inima o tot apasă/ Astăzi geme, mâine plânge/ Până inima se stinge]* (Precup, 1920, 10). Besides longing for their wife, parents and children, the soldiers express their longing both for their household animals (cows and oxen) and for nature ("beech leaves").

However, the most serious consequence of the soldier's estrangement is the perspective of death on the battle field without having the beloved ones near him and without undergoing the usual burial ritual: lighting a candle, covering the face of the dead with a piece of cloth, the three evenings of death watch and the church service performed by the priest, digging the grave and placing a cross at the head, the prayers at the grave, earth throwing on the grave and the wails of the family*: But the death in battle/ Is miserable, dear Maria,/ Cause here one has neither children, nor wife/ To hold his candle*

[Dar moartea din bătălie/ Jalnică-i, dragă Mărie,/ Că n-ai copii, nici soție/ Batăr lumină să-ți ție (Precup 1920, 18);
Without dipped candle,/ Without anybody from my village] (Păiuș, 2003, 32).

The soldier's loyalty to the Emperor

We have already mentioned that the border guards from the region of Năsăud and their descendants had developed a strong sense of duty towards the country and faith to the Emperor in Vienna (see also Ilovan, 2009 and Sabău, 2015), whom they had always perceived as a protector of the Romanians. The analysed versified letters confirm that these feelings remained unchanged during World War I. Therefore, the feeling of loyalty is another main topic of these versified letters.

The soldiers from Năsăud region went to war because they swore a holly oath to defend the Emperor and their country*: Farewell father and mother/ I go where I am called/ My duty as a soldier/ To fight for the Emperor;/ Against the enemy,/ To keep our oath,/ And defend our country [Rămas bun tată și mamă/ Eu mă duc unde mă cheamă/ Datorința de soldat/ În luptă pentru-mpărat;/ În contra dușmanului,/ Jurământul să-l ținem,/ Țara să ne-o apărăm]* (Păiuș, 2003, 37). The monarch is perceived as a parent and saviour of the people from the hardships brought about by the war, having no guilt in starting the conflict. In exchange, in a gentle manner, through "direct dialogue", he is asked to step in and make peace, because, besides the adversities and hardships that the soldiers suffer on the front, villages remain devoid of young men.

The soldier's feeling of belonging to Ardeal

Apart from the loyalty feeling for the Emperor, the soldiers from Năsăud region leave their families and villages because they have to defend their country, their Ardeal, "the beloved land" (scumpa de moșie): *With the Russian to fight/ Our land to defend/ And the little parents' house/ And my sweet parents,/ Beloved sisters and brothers [Cu Rusul să ne luptăm/ Moșia să ne-o apărăm/ Moșia cea strămoșească/ Și căsuța părintească/ Și pe ai mei dulci părinți,/ Surori, frățiori iubiți]* (Precup, 1920, 42).

From an identitarian perspective, the inhabitants of Năsăud region define themselves, at a first level, through the ones from their village, through the close ones: *There are many from our village/ That serve the Emperor [Suntem mulți dintr-al nost sat/ Care slujim la-mpărat]* (Precup, 1920, 43). At the next level, soldiers identify with all Transylvanian Romanians: *Write that I was a Romanian/ That I was not at all a foreigner/ Write that I have fought/ For our people, truly [Să-mi scrieți c-am fost român/ Și n-am fost deloc străin./ Să scrieți că am luptat/ Pentru neam cu-adevărat]* (Păiuș, 2003, 39). These soldiers are proud Romanians, they love their homeland and, what moves them to fight, besides accomplishing their duty, is their concern for the heritage that their descendants should keep untouched*: Instead of serving/ The Serbs and the Russians/ The Italians/ Insincere and cunning/ We should all die/ And our nephews will mention this sacrifice [Dar decât să ne dăm supuși/ La cei sârbi și la cei ruși/ Și la cei italieni/ Mult fățarnici și vicleni/ Mai bine murim cu toții/ Că ne-or pomeni nepoții]* (Păiuș, 2003, 35).

Collective identity – 'Cause Romanians are lion cubs [Că românii-s pui de lei] (Păiuș 2003) – , the feeling of belonging to a group that focuses on the same aim (observing the oath to the Emperor and defending their country), is an important element in the mechanism of coping with war. That is because of the fact that "collective identity is the requisite to the coherence of any survival strategy" (Fruntelată, 2004, 45).

The Christian soldier

Another topic in these versified letters and a powerful coping mechanism in facing the war was the refuge in religion, in God's faith. The soldiers from Năsăud region considered that war was a divine punishment for people's sins: *This is what God wants/ Because we all did wrong [C-așa vrea și Dumnezeu/ C-am făcut cu toții rău]* (Precup, 1920, 22), and they had to accept uncomplainingly what happened to them: *I've written this little book/ To make my life easier/ Because it was hard enough for me/ Maybe that was what God wanted [Scris-am cartea cu scorțișoară/ Să-mi fie lumea ușoară,/ Că mi-a fost bugăt de greu,/ Poate-așa-a vrut Dumnezeu]* (Păiuș, 2009, 188); Maybe this is what God wanted/ To see us wandering [Poate-așa a vrut Dumnezeu/ Să umblăm noi tot mereu] (Păiuș, 2003, 42).

In the fore of hardships, of physical and psychological pain, the faith in God had been the only hope for the better*: But God will change this/ And give us good time, not only bad one [Dar antoarce Dumnezeu/ Și mai bine, nu tot rău* (Precup, 1920, 10); *Only God knows/ How we live during battles,/ Only He can believe us/ Because He is above and can see everything [Numai Dumnezeu ne știe/ Cum trăim în bătălie,/ Numai*

el ne poate crede/ Că e sus și toate vede] (Păiuș, 2003, 35). Only God can bring peace in the world and He is the people's hope: *God will help us/ Get out of this fight/ And come back home [Că ne-ajută Dumnezeu/ Din luptă noi să scăpăm/ Și acasă să-nturnăm]* (Păiuș, 2003, 42).

Conclusions

Sent to fight in Italy, Montenegro, and Galicia or in the remote Russian regions, the authors of these versified letters express their feelings of longing, sorrow, alienation, revolt and protest, or hope by folkloric means. These creations reveal strong and profound feelings: the longing for the far away family, lacking the help of young arms; the longing for their villages, considered a true earthly paradise; the longing for the plough and mower exchanged for gun and cannon, but also the pain and alienation because of the conditions characteristic to battlefield conflicts in foreign countries.

Even if they are written in the first person singular, the texts of the versified letters sent to people from the former military border communities in the region of Năsăud host thoughts and feelings generally characteristic to Transylvanian soldiers enrolled in the Austro-Hungarian Army (see for Transylvania, Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Bistrița-Năsăud [Bistrița-Năsăud County Service of the National Archives], Anton Coșbuc fund, file 274 and for Bukovina, Brăiloiu, 1944).

After analysing the versified letters, we managed to set up the profile of the soldier fighting in World War I while originating from the former military border communities of Năsăud region: a good Romanian, loyal (to the Emperor and the country), non-heroic (hating the war), attached to traditional values (family, land, faith in God), and to old rites (afraid of being alone when dying in the battle). To be able to cope with the war hardships, the elements around which these soldiers develop their survival mechanism are the following: belonging to the villagers and to Romanians in general (these elements are part of soldiers' identity construction), faith in God, the good connection to the Emperor (soldiers' loyalty), and the process itself of writing the letters.

Among these, the loyalty to the Emperor is a characteristic feature (also discussed in previous research – *cf.* Ilovan, 2009; Sabău, 2015), being an element that enabled them to hold out through the war. Also the other inhabitants of Transylvania were loyal to the Emperor, but in other folk poems written by Transylvanian peasants-soldiers who participated at World War I (Esca, Șchiopul, 1916?), the Emperor is rebuked much more often for not ending the conflict (the letters let the reader know that they had no choice, they took an oath and they had to go to war), and this is an often recurrent line in this context: *Emperor, Emperor/ Make peace, do not fight [Împărate, Împărate/ Pune pace, nu te bate]*. This representation of soldier pacifists appears also in other letters from other regions of Europe during that period (*cf.* Winter, 2006, 110). In addition, the reader of these poems (Esca, Șchiopul, 1916?) does not feel the soldier's pride for going to fight for the Emperor. Another interesting aspect is that in poems (such as those edited by Esca and Șchiopul) there are frequent references to the "German" who is guilty for calling up soldiers to war. On the other hand, the versified letters written by soldiers from the region of Năsăud have few such references to the "German" that took them away.

Taking into account the above-mentioned considerations, we cannot discuss the undoubtful and clearly revealed existence by these versified letters of structures of a mindset characteristic to the former militarised Năsăud region. The feeling of attachment to the military border are expressed by pride and care for the heritage to be passed to their descendants, according to the principle that past cannot be betrayed.

From our point of view, an element that ensured the psychological survival of the soldiers of Năsăud during World War I, and maybe the most important one, was the process of writing the versified letter itself. Eugenia Bârlea stated that besides the old methods of enduring the "terror of history" (for instance, religious faith and rites), beginning with the Modern era, in the rural area a new "technique to exorcise" occured – the confession. This new trend is visible in the peasant world during the Great War, the confession taking up the "traditional form, in verses, or the newer one, in prose" (Bârlea, 2004, 6).

The Great War represented for peasant soldiers a double liminal situation: of alienation and of death danger, a situation when a new behaviour manifests, unusual under normal life circumstances. Such behaviour is also the one voiced by these people's writing with a double aim: informative and cathartic. Emil Precup wonders "how many hearts would have been broken because of pain and longing if it was not for poetry to caress and relieve them? The soldier on the battle field poured into verses his longing and woefulness, passions and suffering and his family answered in verses, too, and those verses were the soldier's comfort and hope" (Precup,

1920, 2). Therefore, writing is the soldier's psychological need of facing the reality and expressing himself within familiar frames: *If I couldn't write/ I would die in battle,/ Not of gun, not of cannon/ But I would die of crazy longing./ But I am lucky/ Because I know to write very well/ And then I write Books all the time/ And this does not seem hard to me [De n-aș ști cu pana scrie/Aș muri în bătălie,/ Nu de pușcă, nu de tun/ C-aș muri de dor nebun./ Dar norocul e cu mine/ Că știu scrie tare bine/ Ș-apoi scriu la Cărți mereu/ Și nu-mi pare deloc greu]* (Păiuș, 2003, 54).

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"THE LEGACY OF GUILT". REVERBERATIONS OF VERA BRITTAIN'S *TESTAMENT OF YOUTH* AND OTHER WRITINGS

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Abstract: *The paper looks at the career of Vera Brittain, writer and activist well-known in the inter- and post-war period and also author of the only writing by a woman included in the Anglo-American canon of First World War literature, Testament of Youth. While dealing mainly with the events of 1914-1918, the book, published in 1933, is less a reflection of the Great War as such, and more a commentary on the consequences of this conflagration on individual lives, as well as on the fate of the nations. Also, while called an "autobiography", the book is very different from the diary she kept during the years of the war, published posthumously as Chronicle of Youth. A feminist and a pacifist, Vera Brittain wrote numerous books of fiction and non-fiction, especially from the 20s through the 40s, in which her main message was that governments and the public opinion should be helped to learn from the mistakes of the past. She supported the hypothesis, not universally embraced in the interwar period, that the Great War had been ended arbitrarily with a peace to the detriment of long-term geopolitical strategies. But, even so, only international diplomacy and a pacifist vision could restore even the most precarious equilibrium.*

Keywords: *autobiography, feminism, First World War literature, interwar period, pacifism*

Introduction

In 1941, when Vera Brittain published a book about the English experience of Hitler's Blitzkrieg in the early days of the Second World War, England's Hour: An Autobiography 1939-1941, she commented on her reflection of the conflicts that marked the first half of the 20th century thus:

> *"In writing, in more than one book, of the last Great War, I was in the position, owing to the lapse of time, of an artist who is able to view a vast landscape in distant perspective."* (2005, 12)

This remark reflects better than anything else, even if in an indirect manner, the impact of her well known memoir, *Testament of Youth*, one of the most influential writings about the First World War for the English speaking public and probably the only writing by a woman in the canon of First World War literature. While dealing with the period 1914-1918, Brittain started working on the book in 1929, more than ten years after the events, and published it in 1933, when the international situation was rapidly deteriorating, the economic and political crises growing more alarming than ever. In this paper, I would like to discuss Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* less as a book about the Great War and more as a product of the interwar period and of the writer's intellectual position and activism in the area of feminism and pacifism.

"The love that lays upon the altar the dearest and the best…"

These lines famously belong to a poem written in 1918 by the British ambassador to Washington, Cecil Spring-Rice, a poem soon to become a canonical piece recited and sung on Armistice Day – later Remembrance Day – celebrations even now. This idea that the very best of an entire generation of men perished in the slaughter of the trench warfare was shared by many of the intellectuals who, having survived the conflagration, were, on the one hand, overwhelmed by a sense of profound guilt and, on the other, sharing the defeatist mood of the age, referred to the men who were sacrificed in

the war as a "lost" generation. While the phrase is best known in Ernest Hemingway's touch, as a cohort of men who feel all the meaning of life has disappeared after the war, for Vera Brittain, it means the actual loss of those who could have made a difference in politics, social and intellectual life and economy in the 1920s and '30s. Killed in action or severely traumatized, this generation was prevented by the war to contribute as mature professionals. That was the reason why, in her opinion, things went so wrong in the aftermath of the great conflagration. Vera, who lost four of the nearest and dearest between 1915 and 1918, had all the reasons to transform her personal suffering into a generalized observation about the imperfect and unstable peace that followed the Armistice of 11 November 1918. Her fiancé, Roland Leighton, her brother Edward Brittain, and her good friends, Victor Richardson and Geoffrey Thurlow, were all killed in action, being among the 888,246 soldiers who lost their lives in the Great War, as the final count indicates. This led Vera to massively reconsider her feelings about patriotism and the necessity of the fight. While early in the war she shared the general enthusiasm and pride in the country's involvement in battle and the sacrifice of the army men, she changed this view later, the Armistice Day finding her numb, despondent and agnostic. In *Testament of Youth*, she remembers one of the last good days of peace before the outbreak of the war, during that long and hot summer which disappeared, in the collective memory, in the mud and squalor of the rat-infested trenches, at the School Speech Day of Uppingham, where all her four dear boys studied, their voices being remembered as a prophetic chorus singing their own requiem.

The numerous letters she exchanged with the four young men, of which 560 were collected and recorded officially (Bishop, Bostridge, 1998), often display a rift between her idealized views and their disillusioned realism. This disillusionment, during the war, was, however, not as explicit as in the retrospective response to war appearing in novels and biographies written in the '20s, but rather, letters from the front have voices which are "eloquent, rarely resentful or questioning, occasionally dulled by grief." (Bishop, Bostridge, 1998, 5) A degree of estrangement can be seen in Vera's exchanges with her fiancé, who, going to war with the sense it was "ennobling", changed his mind soon and wrote, a few months before his death: "there is nothing glorious in trench warfare, day after day sitting in a ditch" in response to Vera's quoting from Rupert Brooke's heroic sonnets of 1914 (1998, 4). Even if she did admit that "Nothing in the papers, not the most vivid and heartbreaking descriptions, have made me realize war like your letters" (1998, 5), she chose to cling as much as possible to a view that, in fact, helped her and others, left behind in Britain, to cope with the anxiety. In 1916, when her brother was wounded on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, Vera opted to quote from the British war propaganda, calling this moment – for which, indeed, Edward was awarded the Military Cross – a "glorious day." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 76) But, by 1918, when he was killed on the Italian front, all traces of her former patriotic admiration had disappeared.

This change of heart is, of course, not exclusively specific to Vera Brittain. Looking at the best known and most often quoted war literature, written by a group of intellectuals who served and came to be known as the War Poets, we see that the alteration of the message was equally obvious. Rupert Brooke, who died in Greece in the early months of the war, left behind a collection of sonnets which was full of the conviction in Britain's sacred mission, to be carried by knights in shining armour. *The Soldier*, in *1914 and Other Poems,* soon became hugely popular on the home front, as an elegy in which death in battle, far away from home, is regarded as the best fate a man can aspire to:

> *"If I should die, think only this of me:*
> *That there's some corner of a foreign field*
> *That is for ever England. There shall be*
> *In that rich earth a richer dust concealed; A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,*
> *Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,*
> *A body of England's, breathing English air,*
> *Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home."* (in Walter, 2006)

Brooke was immediately and unanimously embraced, by the War office and the civilian population fighting their own little wars, as the spokesperson of the generation of young men who went to fight abroad for King and Country. However, as the conflict progressed and the number of casualties increased absurdly, in exchange for irrelevant military gains, the perspective began to shift, the signal being given by a more realistic, even pessimistic and resentful, poetry. Wilfred Owen's *Dulce et*

decorum est, written in 1917 and followed by the author's death, shortly before the Armistice, dismantles the ideal of military honour traditionally associated with war literature. Describing the ordeal and humiliation of gas poisoning, Owen engages polemically with Horace's famous urge to consider death for one's own country as "sweet and becoming":

> *"Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,*
> *Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge, Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs,*
> *And towards our distant rest began to trudge.*
> *Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots,*
> *But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;*
> *Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots*
> *Of gas-shells dropping softly behind."* (in Walter, 2006)

The transformation of vision and tone in war literature was obvious not only in 1918 as compared to 1914, but also in the decade that followed. The war saw a genuine inflation of soldiers who turned to poetry in order to alleviate their pain and fear – by 1916, the London newspapers were so flooded with requests to publish poems that the editors were compelled to recommend the authors to try prose for a change. Then, the climate in the 1920s came with the necessity of taking an emotional distance from these events, rather than a lack of interest in them. An escapist tendency characterized the production in the years immediately after the Armistice. This was to suffer another metamorphosis at the end of the decade, when a large number of war narratives was published, ranging from Robert Graves' autobiography of 1929, *Good-Bye to All That,* where he deplores the disappearance of an entire world order, to Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, also published in 1929 and immediately translated into English, where the veteran regards cynically all the survivors of this cataclysm as "superfluous." While Rupert Brooke was what people needed while they were mourning, Siegfried Sassoon and other realistic writers were preferred a decade later. And this was the context in which Vera Brittain wrote her *Testament of Youth*, a book she wanted to be "as truthful as history, as readable as fiction." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 190). Vera Brittain was familiar with the war literature written in the '20s not only because, like the general public, she sought here a connection with her own grief and a familiarity of the experiences described, but also because, as a journalist, she reviewed many of these productions. While she sympathized with the writers' traumas and agreed with their criticism of the war, she thought it was unfair that, in the large number of writings, in the variety of images they evoked and values they promoted, there was very little – if any – room for women. When they did appear as fictional characters, women were passive, irrelevant, or showed a gross incapacity to understand and help the men. Writing a pamphlet on the tenth celebration of the Armistice, Vera commented that women were excluded not just from the fictional realm, from narratives and visual arts, but also from war memorials: like the men, "women accepted the strain, worked, suffered", but, unlike the men, "did not die." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 189) Since she had worked tirelessly since 1915 as a nurse in the Voluntary Aid Detachment, first in a London hospital, then in clearing stations in Malta and France (Étaples), she thought that the women who had joined the war effort, risking their lives, often falling ill, being wounded or dying, deserved their own war memorial. In an article written in 1931, Vera counted few books written about women, but even fewer by women, the fact that "the woman is still silent" being regarded as a weakness that had to be remedied, since the other sex was equally capable of "presenting the war in its true perspective" and – something she thought women were more concerned with than men at that moment – "will illuminate its meaning afresh for [the] generation." (1995, 189) Consequently, she advertised her *Testament of Youth* as a book about "how to preserve the memory of our suffering in such a way that our successors may understand it and refrain from the temptations offered by glamour and glory." (1995, 187)

Chronicles and Testaments

The diary Vera Brittain kept from 1913, parts of which were later collected in *Chronicle of Youth*, is as different from her best-selling *Testament of Youth* as Brooke's *Soldier* is from Owen's gloom. For her *Testament*, Vera worked relentlessly for years and with a purpose that surpassed in intensity everything else she was doing. The diary was a less organized endeavour, Vera deciding, on the spur of a moment, to participate in a diary competition that was launched in 1922, with pages she had written during the war. She did not win the competition,

but the selection remained, being edited posthumously by Alan Bishop, with material from McMaster University, Canada, where the Brittain Estate Fund and Library are found (Brittain, 2000). In reviewing this diary, republished during the centenary celebrations of the Great War, critics tended to present it in a similar note with *Testament of Youth*, when, in fact, they are anything but similar. While a few doubts and hesitations are expressed in the diary, after Roland Leighton's death on Christmas 1915 and then after the death of her two good friends, they are a far cry from the utter condemnation of war Brittain expresses in the *Testament* of 1933. She calls her most famous book an "autobiography", but it becomes soon clear in reading it that it is written with the benefit of hindsight and, thus, autobiography and diary are complementary, if not diametrically opposite. In her 1916 diary entries, Vera still noted that her brother's experience of the Somme was "glorious"; conversely, in 1933, after the publication of the *Testament,* in a letter written from the visit to the Somme Memorial, she wrote: "[I contemplate] some of the most representative results of my generation's pursuit of heroism in the abstract – the 73,367 names of men whose bodies, on that one battlefield alone, had never been found or even identified." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 84). The mythologizing of the "selfless young literary patriot" (Walter 2006, xi) was visible in the letters Vera exchanged with Roland and her sending him a copy of Rupert Brooke's sonnets, as well as in the poem *To My Brother,* which she sent Edward in 1918, but which never reached him alive. The latter, "filled with militaristic imagery" and reviewed by the *Times Literary Supplement* as evidence of "exceptionally poignant personal sorrow", but showing utmost respect for sacrifice in battle (Bishop, Bostridge, 1998, 108) dates only a short while before Vera's patriotism took the definitive turn to anger. A diary entry from 11 November 1918, written amidst the general joy and relief, deplores that even the second best of the men in her generation has been mercilessly taken away from her.

Meanwhile, her feelings oscillated dramatically. In 1915, Vera was shocked and seemed not to understand the true meaning behind the sonnet Roland sent her in response to Brooke's poems, where her fiancé wished her to meet a stranger who "is not quite so old as the boy you used to know." (Bishop, Bostridge, 1998, 148) Roland was 20 when he wrote this, but obviously the experience of the trenches made him age considerably and Vera notes in her diary that the last time she saw him he looked at least ten years his own senior. In 1916, when Vera read Geoffrey Thurlow's laments about being too emotional to be of use in the army, she commented on the "pitiless lottery of diminishing hope" to ever see him again (Berry, Bostridge 1995, 84), but thought about the Gallipoli campaign as "a fine and wonderful thing to have fought so gallantly for such a forlorn hope", dreaming that Roland might have been killed on those beaches (Bishop, Bostridge, 1998, 275).

In 1917, when, of all the four boys, only her brother was left, she wrote to him: "the longer the War goes on, the more one's concern [falls] upon the few beings still left that one cares about" and served as a nurse at a clearing station in France, doing, as she wrote in her diary, "her small weary part in the war." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 94) The same year, she worked in the ward of German prisoners, first with mixed feelings, later realizing they were all victims of an absurd and evil war, this being the moment which triggered her love of peace, "even if I didn't recognize [the signs] as such." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 302) Realizing the tragedy of her efforts to keep the German soldiers alive, while her brother was making efforts to kill them, Vera Brittain embarks now on what was to become, in the 1940s, her most distinct involvement in activism for internationalism and pacifism.

Remember 1914

In 1933, when Vera Brittain launched her *Testament of Youth* with great success on both sides of the Atlantic, a widespread motto of activists and journalists was "Remember 1914." The Great Depression had already taken its toll on the American and European economy, while Hitler was taking full advantage of the restlessness and discontent that had dominated Central Europe after the Great War. For Vera, who was already giving lectures on pacifism in Britain and the United States, and who remained profoundly shocked and grieved after her visit in Germany, her best sold and best reviewed book was a chance to criticize the shallow jingoism of the older generation and to demonstrate that her four boys' sacrifice (as the sacrifice of millions others) had not been entirely in vain. In 1921, Vera was one of the first women to join the newly founded League of Nations as a correspondent and speaker, in the hope that this international organization could bring "a lasting peace to the brave new banner of collective security." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 276)

In a world that had lost all its illusions, the League could offer one form of idealism, which replaced the traditional, antebellum one: pacifism in exchange for military heroism. While heroism was national, or even local and parochial, pacifism was international: if, in 1914, "we only felt responsible for our own country, now our ideas of service take in the whole world," she said, in the mid-'20s, in a lecture entitled "Good Citizenship and the League." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 142).

Vera's involvement in campaigns for world peace went hand in hand with her feminism, for which she militated with equal energy. As a member of the Six Point Group, she wrote articles and gave lectures under the motto "Equality First", urging changes in the current legislation for pensions, equal pay, equal franchise, equal rights for children's guardianship, the improvement of the unmarried mother's social position, etc. She was well ahead of her time, in an age in which British feminism still took the form of a middle-class endeavour and focused mostly on the political aspects of the vote, to discuss, in her lectures, physical abuse and trafficking and to encourage women to take jobs that would offer them financial and social security, by signaling what activities were available to them. For this, she went as far as to offer, in 1927, a handbook about *Women's Work in Modern England,* which aimed at fighting the post-war prejudice about the existence of the "superfluous" women, i.e. the large number of females who were spinsters because so many men had been killed in action, their spinsterhood apparently placing a large burden on the state. To a certain extent, her sequel to *Testament of Youth*, *Testament of Friendship* (1940), documenting her life in the interwar period, is tributary to her feminist convictions. It deals with the friendship between Vera and the writer Winifred Holtby, which, despite accusations of lesbianism, is ultimately an example of an "emotionally and intellectually supportive relationship between two women." (Bostridge, 2012)

The main theme of this second autobiography – or biography of Winifred Holtby, who died at the age of 37 – is, indeed, the nobility of women's friendship, which, unlike male friendships, had not been, until then, aesthetically validated and accepted by the public as a serious subject.

Vera worked on the *Testament of Friendship*, while she carried research for *England's Hour*, a chronicle of the early days of the Second World War, in which she tried to describe the effects of the Blitz on the civilian population. The book was heavily criticized in Britain by the official propaganda apparatus of the government, which regarded it as a threat to the public morale, which could not be lowered by sentimentalism, but boosted with patriotic and bellicose exhortations. Churchill himself, famous for his speeches and charisma in promoting both the start and the continuation of the war in its early days, criticized the book for not being "virile" and constructive enough (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 333). In contrast, *England's Hour* was highly praised in the United States, which had not joined the war yet and consequently favoured the pacifist stance. The Americans were moved "to tears" and reviewers appreciated that the book "embodied the finest spirit of England." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 333) In the introduction, Vera Brittain lists several major differences between the previous Great War and the current one, this vast comparison indirectly suggesting that, in fact, the warnings of 1914-18 not being taken seriously, the history repeated itself at an even more monstrous scale. Like in her feminist stance, Vera is well ahead of her time in advancing the hypothesis – not favoured by politicians in the interwar period and the '40s – that the battle which ended with an arbitrary armistice rather than a definitive victory did, in fact, not end at all.

While the Second Great War was still in its early days when she prepared the book, the differences she listed were, in her opinion, quite conspicuous. On the one hand, the slaughter on the battlefield was more reduced (for every five soldiers killed in the first year of war 1914-1915, only one died in 1939-40). On the other, the present war appeared clearly as what was much later characterized as "total." The front was not limited to a strip of land in a foreign country, in which the sacrificed humans were adult men, but a vast area on all continents, including the largest cities and affecting the lives of civilians, women and children. "To-day", Vera Brittain argues in *England's Hour*,

> *"the failure of men and women to work with sufficient vigour for the lasting peace that they might have achieved between 10 and 20 years ago, has brought whole nations into the struggle. The front is everywhere owing to the moral inability […] to refrain from the manufacture and use of the bombing."* (2005, 13)

The guilt she had about her own feelings during the First World War, when she was unable

to grasp the intensity of men's suffering in the trenches and continued to encourage them to fight until she saw the reality with her own eyes, triggers, in *England's Hour*, her observation of another major difference between the two conflagrations. In 1914-18, the existence of soldiers overseas was unimaginable for the millions left at home and their experience of actual war was mitigated, so a barrier was raised between the soldiers and those who loved and missed them. "To-day both suffering and suspense are universal" and, tragically, "the marks of war appear more clearly in the eyes of […] women, and sometimes, alas! of her children, than upon the faces of her men." (2005, 14)

While she engaged in political activism under the patronage of the League of Nations, as the second decade made way for the third and the unrest escalated, Vera Brittain grew more and more wary of the League's ability and authority to actually make a difference in international geopolitics. Aware of its limitations, she continued to see it as a platform from where she could address a sensitive and sympathetic public. Considering pacifism and feminism as closely related, Vera accepted the positions in which the League appointed her, as Vice-President of the Youth Movement and Vice-President of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She pleaded for the public opinion's attention to the feminine example, "the infinite capacity of most women for resignation […] their united efforts could save the civilization", as she argued in her lecture *"Women and Disarmament" (*http://archive.ppu.org.uk/e_publications/vera_women4.html). In other words, she thought that soft diplomacy and gentle, moral compromise were always better than the bellicose attitude. Thus, she encouraged women who showed no interest in politics to get involved in the peace movement, since what was the point of immersing herself in household and nursery duties if both the household and the nursery could be destroyed by a bomb in less than a minute? Feminism was, then, not just about giving women rights, but also "responsibility to think about world affairs and take an active part in politics." (Brittain http://archive.ppu.org.uk /e_ publications/vera_women6.html) Like the children's crusade in the Middle Ages, Vera dreamed of a peace crusade, to counteract the military crusade, whose martial attractiveness could prove fatal once again. But this crusade, as the term suggested, had to contain spectacular actions and gestures, not only "the dreary droning of tired voices in somnolent lecture halls." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 277) This tediousness of the League of Nations' policy was doubled, in her view, by the fact that the organization continued the vindictive and unfair Treaty of Versailles, whose direct consequence Hitler was. So, from 1936, Vera abandoned the League, channeling her energy in the service of the Peace Pledge Union, a British group of pacifists led by a clergyman, advocating that any compromise, any treaty, no matter how unjust, was better than a modern war. The peace imposed after 1918, faulty as it was, kept a new war at bay, this new conflagration already showing signs that it would be "of a barbarity incompatible with a civilized world." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 280)

Honourable humbleness

Humility, or, in Vera's words, "humiliation" is a term that occurs repeatedly in *Testament of Youth* and other writings, while it culminates in the title of a longer pamphlet she published in 1942, *Humiliation with Honour*. If, the year before, *England's Hour* had been badly received at home but turned out to be a great success in the United States, still neutral at that moment, the pacifism of *Humiliation with Honour* caused a general outrage on both sides of the Atlantic. Vera was reiterating here many of the ideas she had lectured about on behalf of the PPU, especially in a series of "letters" (*Letters to Peace-Lovers*), which appeared twice a month from 1939 to 1946. She argued that it was the pacifists' moral, civil and even Christian duty not to remain passive and embrace an alternative form of service in order to alleviate the suffering of war's collateral victims. She thought compromise was better than Churchill's idea of obtaining Germany's unconditional surrender. Vera compared this intransigence with the crooked base on which the Versailles-generated interwar geopolitical *status quo* had been founded, believing that this "hate mongering" against an entire nation could only weaken the Allies' case against Fascism. Politicians could always come up with a right reason to justify a war, even if this simply meant "[using] Satan to cast out Satan." (Brittain, http://archive.ppu.org.uk/e_publications/vera_women5.html)

From 1936 on, Vera Brittain was less active as a journalist and writer, devoting most of her time to the cause of pacifism, to such an extent that she ended up being prohibited by her own government to leave the country and being on the blacklist of the Gestapo in the case of a

German invasion of Britain. She commented later that this status of double peril gave her a strange sense of comfort, as a sign that her work really mattered and could make a difference. During the 9-month "Phoney" War of 1939, she still believed that PPU's Stop-the-War campaigns would be successful, even now, at the eleventh hour, a diplomatically negotiated peace being a means not just against the aggressive approach, but also against the rising anti-German feeling and generalized xenophobia. She was involved, one by one, in most of the major humanitarian projects engendered by the war: helping the refugees from Germany and occupied Europe, helping the British children who were evacuated from the major cities during the Blitz, militating for the rights of the war prisoners and, since 1942, for food relief in occupied countries and against saturation bombing. She called the countless sufferers of the war's consequences "victims of Power", arguing that what should prevail, above military and political interests, was "the sacredness of human life. For me, victory does not mean acquiring the power to push another people into the outer darkness of desperation […] but the triumph of compassion." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 335)

In response to the very hostile reaction in the press against the pacifist movement and against herself, Vera wrote, in the *Letters to Peace-Lovers*, to her own defense and with remarkable foresight, that "the pacifist tries to live in accordance with the standards of a society which has not yet come." (Brittain, http://archive.ppu.org.uk/e_publications/vera_women5.html). Seeing modern man as unable to escape from the vicious circle of history, in which the mistakes of the past are rarely learnt and often repeated, she commented in *Humiliation with Honour*: "the young […] were paying with their lives for the mistakes of the elders." (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 332) The same foresight can be spotted in a short book she published in 1944, to a not only hostile, but downright furious public opinion, *Seed of Chaos. What Mass Bombing Really Means*, in which she argued that saturation bombing, with the destruction of thousands of civilian lives and vandalism against historical sites, could not shorten the war, only amplify its atrocious consequences, appearing to posterity as nothing less than "an extreme form of criminal lunacy." (Brittain http://archive.ppu.org.uk /e_publications /vera_women3.html)

In 1945, as the war was approaching its end, Vera attempted a reconciliation with the public whom she had so gravely offended by showing more international than local allegiances, in a book she worked on together with her husband, political thinker George Catlin, whose title was inspired from a cogitation by Goethe: "*Above All Nations* (is humanity"). The book's subtitle, *Acts of Kindness Done to Enemies, In the Present War, By Men of Many Nations,* summarized the purpose of this text, to illustrate how, in the darkest moments of the war, individuals risked their own lives to save others', albeit belonging to the enemy group, in the name of a value and creed beyond limited interest, which is humanity. In the preface, Vera wondered rhetorically: "Are we not all – Germans and Englishmen, Gentiles and Jews – are we not all children of one Father?" (Berry, Bostridge, 1995, 348) This interrogation echoed Shylock's egalitarian speech from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*:

> *"I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility?"* (III, 1)

While, during the war and Nazi propaganda, the Shakespearean play was used as a convenient caricature of the Jewish prototype, after the war, this monologue in particular was to be regarded as one of remarkable topicality. Unfortunately for Vera, her book's publication coincided with the macabre revelation, in the international press, of the concentration camps and Hitler's Final Solution. Despite this dwarfing, Vera's intentions were clear: in promoting the international rights of all human beings, she was coming, in 1945, full circle from the ideals she advocated in *Testament of Youth*, where she remarked that: "a dying man has no nationality." (2005: 96)

Conclusion

Because of the popularity of *Testament of Youth,* Vera Brittain is associated today with the First World War, while, in fact, her career and relevance spans the next three decades. After a

period of a relatively low profile, Vera Brittain was rediscovered in the 1970s, after her death, when her *Testament* was republished and adapted for television. Then, in the new millennium, with the preparation of the Great War centennial celebrations, many of Brittain's texts and a lot of literature about Brittain was welcome, her opinions, many of which had been regarded as controversial or eccentric in her lifetime, being now acclaimed as fresh, illuminating and informing the political spectrum of her own generation and of the generations to come.

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FROM NOVEL TO FILM – CAPTAIN CONAN, A DIFFERENT TYPE OF HERO OF THE GREAT WAR

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Abstract: *All forms of art have been influenced by the war, with cinematography playing a leading role in shaping, more expressively, our views and impressions regarding the war. World War I being a theme of major magnitude, there were many films made over the years that captured the horrors of war or different aspects of the topic. The critical analysis of these films also illustrates the political and social context in which they were made. In the field of war films, "Captain Conan", a French production from 1996, is one of the few movies that evoke the struggles of the French Army on the Balkan Front and in Romania. Based on Roger Vercel's homonymous novel, the film is unique because of its theme and action placement in South-Eastern Europe.*

Keywords: *World War I, film adaptation, French Army, Romania, cinematography*

The First World War mirrored in cinematography

All forms of art have been influenced by the war, with cinematography playing an important role in shaping more expressively the public's impressions of war. World War I is a universal theme of crucial importance over time, with many films capturing the overwhelming impact of this cataclysm on humanity in all its aspects, from the lives of soldiers in the trenches, to the consequences on the life of the civilian population, in different stylistic registers. The Seventh Art has quickly mastered the Great War, as early as 1918, filmmakers such as Abel Gance[1] and Charles Chaplin[2] tackle the theme. Literary works written by direct participants in the conflict have been also adapted to screen. The best example is *All Quiet on the Western Front*[3], the first film, and one of the most important films, with an anti-war message from the soundtrack era, inspired by the novel with the same title by Erich Maria Remarque. The screen adaptations of already controversial novels, which did not necessarily present a romantic picture of the war and the heroism of the combatants or epic battle scenes, were not always well received by authorities, critics or public of the period. Even *All Quiet on The Western Front* has had countless problems with censorship on its appearance on screen (Sova, 2010, 28-29).

It is no coincidence that French filmmakers have given this topic great importance, France being the nation with the greatest losses in human lives of the Allied powers at the end of the war. The most important and bloody battles on the western front were also fought in French territories.

Since the 1930s, films have already been produced in a variety of manners, which do not necessarily represent only trench carnage. For example, *La Grande Illusion/The Great Illusion* (1937)[4] directed by Jean Renoir, was rather centered on psychological analysis. Another example is *Le Diable au Corps*[5], directed by Claude Autant Lara and inspired by the novel by Raymond Radiguet in 1947. However, the public will remain sensitive to approaches other than the official version of the French participation in the Great War. This is

[1] *J'acusse!/ I accuse!*; direction and script: Abel Gance; actors: Romuald Joubé, Maxime Dejardins, Severin Mars; 1919

[2] *Shoulder Arms/ Charlot Soldier*; direction and script Charles Chaplin; actors: Charles Chaplin, Edna Purviance, Syd Chaplin; 1918

[3] *All Quiet on the Western Front*; direction Lewis Milestone; script: Maxwell Anderson, adaptation of the homonymous novel of Erich Maria Remarque; actors: Lew Ayres, Louis Wolheim, John Wray; 1930.

[4] *La Grande Illusion*; director: Jean Renoir; script: Charles Spaak and Jean Renoir; actors: Jean Gabin, Dita Parlo, Pierre Fresnay, Erich von Stoheim; 1937

[5] *Le Diable au Corps* ; director: Claude Autant-Lara, script: l. Jean Aurenche based on the homonymous novel of Raymond Radiguet; actors: Michelline Presle, Gerard Phillipe, Denise Grey; 1947

the case of the film *Paths of Glory*[6], based on Humphrey Cobb's novel. The book's title was possibly based on the well-known painting of British artist Christopher Nevinson, made in 1957 by Stanley Kubrick. The painting was inspired by the French General Staff's lawsuits against soldiers who refuse to continue a suicide attack. The French public could see this film only in 1975 as censorship transformed the antimilitarist message of the film and tough criticism of the army's governing structures into a matter of French honour.

The easing of censorship and officials in the 1970s proved to be beneficial for creating variety in the War illustration register. Jean Jaques Annaud directed, in 1976, the film *Victoire en Chantant /Noir et Blancs en couleur/ Black and White in Color*[7], the first major French film to deal with the war in the French colonies of Africa. The film carefully portrayed the soldiers in the French army who created the so-called *Armée Noire*. The film, however, represented Côte d'Ivoire, not France, at the 49th Academy Awards, where it won in the best foreign film category (Blanc-Hoang, 2016, 35-41).

The French response to *Paths of Glory* will come after more than three decades, through Bertrand Tavernier's 1989 film *La Vie et rien d'autre / Life and Nothing Else*[8], a film about World War I with action that actually takes place after the end of the war. The movie is a subtle and sensitive study of the deep wounds left by war and the obsession with the past. The film presents the story of a French Major looking for a corpse in the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Finally, France, who censored Kubrick's film, ends his own war accounts.

Bertrand Tavernier will return to World War I subject, completing his filmography, with a new, atypical film about the Great War, *Capitaine Conan / Captain Conan*[9]. The film was made in 1996 and is an adaptation after Roger Vercel's 1934 homonymous novel (Vercel, 2014). Partly autobiographical, the novel is inspired by the personal experience of the author, a French soldier, on the Bulgarian front and in Romania, immediately after the end of the war (Bonnor, 2014, 250-251). The film, like the novel, is original in that it is one of the few Western productions to present the actions of the Allied armies on a secondary front, such as the Balkan, and the so-called "post-war war". The action is placed around the end of the First World War. The plot revolves around a group of soldiers leaving the military prisons, organized in a special unit led by a captain who carries his own war, with his own rules, on the Balkan front and then to Bucharest. A true warfare story becomes the starting point for an elaborate moral investigation.

Although the 2000s brought to the public's attention quite a large number of films inspired by the First World War, French cinema still retains the artistic tradition of launching onto the market of interesting and original movies exploring various aspects of the war. One recent example is *Au revoir la haut/ See you up there*[10] the story of two commrades of war, with nothing in common; a disfigured artist and a former accountant start a major heist and plot revenge on the officer that ordered a senseless attack during the last days of the war.

World War I and south-eastern Europe

If the Sarajevo assassination was the immediate cause of the outbreak of World War I, the first clashes between enemy forces also occurred in the Balkans. Austria-Hungary held Serbia directly responsible and planned to punish Serbia for its part in the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, invading the country on 14 August 1914. Although the Serbs were outnumbered and fairly ill-equipped, they managed to stay their ground and to repel the invasion. Serbia was finally defeated after more than one year, when Germany and Bulgaria, joining the Central Powers in 1915, supported the Austrian war effort. The survivors of the Serbian Army were all transported to Corfu in Allied warships and would later continue the war from Allied – occupied Salonika. At that time the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria were already involved in the war, followed by Romania and Greece joining the Entente in 1916, respectively 1917.

[6] *Paths of Glory*; director: Stanley Kubrick; script: Stanley Kubrick, Calder Willingham, Jim Thompson after the homonymous novel of Humphrey Cobb; actors: Kirk Douglas, Ralph Meeker, Adolphe Menjou; 1957

[7] *La Victoire en Chantant*; director Jean-Jaques Annaud; script: Georges Conchon, Jean-Jaques Annaud; actors: Jean Carmet, Jacques Dulfiho, Catherine Rouvel; 1976.

[8] *La Vie et Rien D'Autre*; director :Bertrand Tavernier; script: Jean Cosmos and Bertrand Tavernier; actors: Phillipe Noiret, Sabine Azema, Pascale Vignal; 1989.

[9] *Capitaine Conan*; director: Bertrand Tavernier; script: Jean Cosmos, Bertrand Tavernier based on the homonymous novel of Roger Vercel; actors: Philippe Torreton, Samuel Le Bihan, Bernard Le Coq; 1996

[10] *Au revoir la haut*; director: Albert Dupontel; script: Albert Dupontel, Pierre Lemaitre after the homonymous novel of Pierre Lemaitre; actors: Nahuel Perez Biscayart, Albert Duponel; 2017.

In the first two years of war, Romania had been courted by both warring camps. The Romanian government had swayed first one way and then another, depending on the fortunes of the war of its various suitors. The pendulum finally swung decisively in mid-1916 when Romania signed a military agreement with the Entente and declared war on Austria-Hungary. The Central Powers crushed Romania in a campaign that lasted from August 1916 to January 1917. After the Romanian army had made a half-hearted attack into Transylvania and sluggish advances through the main passes across the Carpathian mountains, it was soon facing the battle for survival. Falkenhayn, in charge of the German Ninth Army, pushed the Romanians back through the passes into the province of Wallachia, while Field Marshal August von Mackensen at the head of the Bulgarian-German-Danube Army moved up from the Salonika front and invaded the Romanian province of Dobrudja from the south.

The decisive clash came in early December 1916 when, after a four-day battle, Romanians were crushed. As a result, Bucharest fell and what was left of the Romanian Army headed north-wards with the Russian allies. By the end of the year, the Romanians were only able to hold on to the province of Moldova, and the government and royal family had settled in the city of Iaşi. The campaign had cost the Romanians upwards of 300,000 casualties, much of the country's oil-producing facilities and large quantities of stored grains were destroyed in order to hinder the Central Power's advance. The Central Powers took control of the economy and held over 70 % of the country's territory.

The Allied effort in the Balkans had largely been moribund since troops had first arrived in Salonika during 1915. But matters changed, especially, in the summer of 1918, when a new commander was appointed to be in charge here, the able French General Louis Franchet d'Esperey. He revitalized the plan of operations, which involved an offensive all along the line from the Aegean Sea in the east to the Albanian border in the west (Torrey, 2014, 324-325). German troops had been withdrawn from the Balkans and transferred to the Western Front in early 1918, and the Allies, who had recently been reinforced by various Greek units, faced a roughly equal number of Bulgarians.

The final Allied offensive began with the Battle on the River Vardar, which opened on 15 September when French and Serbian troops pushed the Bulgarians back rapidly as the Allied forces made fast progress in the next days. Bulgaria was so weak at that moment, that it offered a ceasefire, but the proposal was rejected as the Allied offensive pressed on. As the pressure mounted else-where, especially on the Italian front, Austria-Hungary began to withdraw its troops from the Balkans amid this, further isolating Bulgaria.

Soon the Allied forces were lined along the Danube River. Romania, as mentioned above, was largely overrun by the Central Powers at the end of 1916 and had signed a Treaty with Germany in May 1918. But in the last act of the war in the Balkans, the Romanian government actually declared war on Germany for the second time on 10 November – just one day before the Armistice ended the conflict (Leuştean, 2002, 23). Romania came out of the war – plundered and nearly destroyed – in the Allies camp. The war years proved to be harsh for Romania, as well for the other participants in the conflict, winners or losers. The Great War is over but its end coincides with the rise of equally serious social, political and economic problems for Europe and the whole world. The new European order not only does not guarantee political stability and peaceful coexistence among the nations, but it states an even more explosive situation than the pre-war one. The coming years see the revitalization of nationalism. The northern and eastern coasts of the Adriatic, Macedonia, the new borders of Poland and Romania, the contact areas between Russia and the new states formed in the territory of the former empire of the tsars are, between 1919-1920, neuralgic points on the map of Europe.

Moreover, the Bolshevik Revolution have had major effects on international relations and the internal policies of the states that participated in the war. Romania found itself in 1919 waging war against Hungary led by a Bolshevik-inspired regime, but also in armed actions to defend its eastern border.

The French presence during and after the Great War in the Eastern part of Europe is not accidental. France among the Allied powers was the most committed in the fight and suffered the biggest losses. French (and colonial) troops saw action in the Balkans since the establishment of the Salonika front.

As recognition of France's role in the war effort, French Marshal Ferdinand Foch has become commander of Allied forces on all theaters of war, in April 1918. The French have also been in the foreground of the last acts of the war on the Balkan front, participating in the liberation of Serbia and reaching Romania, marching through defeated Bulgaria. With the temporary weakening of the power of Germany

and Russia, a wider path of French influence has opened in the area. Thus, France has become the main Great Power set out to implement a diplomatic program in Eastern Europe.

This is the stage set for the heroes of Tavernier's movie, Captain Conan and his band of ruthless, irregular, but highly effective French fighters, culled from the ranks of troublemakers and petty criminals, who love close combat, from the closing phase of World War I in the Balkans theatre to the post-war Bucharest, with no one left to fight.

Captain Conan - a French film about World War I

In the First World War the combatants faced the deadlock of the position war (Renouvin, 2001, 44-51). The military commandments of both the Central Powers and the Entente have disposed of the creation of mixed mobility units for rapid infiltration action behind enemy lines, diversions, etc. The members of these shock troops will be part of special units called *Sturmbataillon* in the German army or *Arditi* in the Italian army, for example.

Captain Conan is about these trench "cleaners", whom we see acting coldly against the Bulgarians in the last weeks of the war. People coming from marginal environments and recruited from military prisons are not heroes, they do not follow the chivalric rules of the war, but are effective. With the help of a charismatic and protective leader in their command, the ties of comradeship born here are real and solid. Beneficiaries of a special regime, they are respected by soldiers in regular troops and are despised by superior troops, thus being left aside in the manifestations of Germany's defeat. Conan, the commander of the unit, and his men, are individualized to the other military by uniform and military equipment. For example, we see the captain wearing a blue chasseur alpine uniform in a sea of khaki.

The acts of this shock troop are passed through the personal interpretation of Lieutenant Norbert, the witness of the actions taken by Conan's team. Conventional and solemn, the Lieutenant is the temperamental opposite of the Captain, an anti-hero, and an ambivalent character. Norbert's fascination with Captain Conan captured the dilemmas of an intellectual seduced by the aggressiveness of a free spirit, generated by the brutality of the war.

The opening scenes of the movie could mislead us to suppose that this is going to be a rather simple war film, with hard ruffians talking about mannish silliness in-between battles. However, the film developed into something far more interesting, zooming in on aspects of war that the audience might find surprising to have not been explored more in other films.

The battle, with visceral close-quarter combat, the camera catching the ferocity and confusion of the battle, as well as the unconventional fighting tactics imply the special unit's coldness and indifference to danger. While the other soldiers are looking for shelter or remain shocked in front of the carnage, Conan's men do not seem affected. Tavernier's direction creates an intesity, not only for the battle scenes, but also later, in the movie, when the conflict is that of words and ideas rather than an exchange of bullets. However, the battle sequences from the beginning of the movie can label the movie as an epic movie, as *Captain Conan* is epic in every sense of the word; it's early scenes paint an intricate and complex war picture, a brilliant portrait of the confusion and terror of the battle.

Still in the first part of the film are underlined aspects of military bureaucracy. A classic comic scene comes with the announcement of the armistice as the rag-clad troops stand on parade in the pouring rain, while their commander is reading out the proclamation of victory by Marshall Foch. As he reads trying to keep the pages in order in the rain and wind, the men break formation in twos or threes to hotfoot it to the other side of the woodpile to relieve themselves, as everybody has dysentery. In this scene we also see a harried-looking officer saying to his men that he doesn't expect them to work miracles, but does expect them to put their guts into it. "And don't", he pleads, "make me look stupid". But instead of a reversion to a scene of battle, it turns out to be the bandmaster urging the highly decimated members of the band to play "Marseillaise" a little less execrably than they do, in fact.

Arrived in Romania, frustrated that after four years of war and bold actions they no longer receive any combat missions, they come into conflict with the military justice. Lieutenant Norbert, Conan's friend, investigates, as rapporteur commissioner, the deeds of some soldiers who do not seem willing to accept that the violence the war justifies turns to murder in peacetime.

This is also the major theme of the film, the difficulty of adapting the warrior, fed with violence, to civilian life. The frenzy of the war has not left the veterans, who hardly adapt to post-war life. The soldiers moved to Bucharest soon realize that no one will need them anymore. But because they have not been

discharged, they spend their time in Bucharest's slums. Forgotten in this part of Europe, in a "war on peace," they are facing the prospect of confronting Bela Kun's Hungarian Red Army or the Bolshevik Russians. These soldiers become again dangerous criminals who maintain Bucharest in a state of oppressive terror.

Eventually, the inevitable came forth: three of the people under Captain Conan were accused of killing two women following a night club robbery. Lieutenant Norbert, mobilized at the Military Tribunal as a lawyer, then as a prosecutor, was pressured by his friend Conan to defend the accused "criminals". Now the friendship between Conan and the gentle Lieutenant, who wants to become a school teacher in the peace time, grows slowly but once established, it is indestructible.

In the scenes of military justice in action, the director has dynamized and enriched the character study of the film with a complex meditation on law and justice, manhood and morality, in a civic culture pushed to the limit after four years of bloodshed. Norbert's foray into military law deals with the themes of the millitary conflict through the lens of military ranks, in the same way as *Paths of Glory* but less theatrical.

Among the legal matters that cross Norbert's desk there is that of a young soldier condemned to death for desertion. There is a marvelous scene in which the boy's mother, a handsome and charmig aristocratic woman pleads for the life of her only son. Norbert is moved by hear plea and he rather brilliantly appoints Conan to defend him. Conan gets seriously into the part and insists that De Sceve, a fellow officer, in whose unit the boy had been, was really at fault. "The medics weed out the unfit; you should have weeded out the cowards. Snuffing him for desertion is disgusting". Both Conan and the boy are saved from what would otherwise have been dire legal consequences for them by the recall of French Expeditionary Force back into the field to fight the Bolsheviks. The theme of desertion brings to mind the same topic explored in the classic anti-war film *King and Country*[11].

Peace, installed after the end of the war, was only apparent. The society, still severely traumatized, has been trying hard to return to normal life. War veterans, in their turn, were trying to establish their manhood both in attitude and mentality. For many, it was quite difficult to come down from the status of the uniformed hero to that of the civilian. Especially, to become a civilian with no orders. For a soldier, the lack of orders means chaos, and soldiers find it hard to understand that violence during peacetime means crime. The nightlife is thus transformed into battlefields, and amorous conquests become spoils of war, as Conan states at some point. The interaction with the Romanian comrades is violent and dominated by a state of tension.

Although, as portrayed in the novel and the film, the image of post-war Bucharest is contoured in gray tones, the atmosphere of the city just emerging from the German military occupation is bleak, objective, avoiding the exotic sensationalism. The novelty of the adaptation to normal life through the connections between the French and the local population is unprecedented. Various characters from local authorities, police inspectors to merchants and members of the underground world are presented to the viewer.

In this world, Captain Conan tries to keep his people under control, fighting for them even with military justice and his superiors. Being a fine observer of man's psychology and first of all a man in uniform, he gives explanations for any slippage of his people. He knew exactly when and how each should be rewarded or punished.

As a result of the serious misconduct of military discipline, Captain Conan and his comrades are sent to the eastern border of Romania in Bessarabia, where they fight against the Bolsheviks, part of the Allies' interference in the Russian Civil War. It is the place where many of his people are remarked in the last battles, a clear example that although the war was over in 1918, the state of conflict would be perpetuated the following year. Some of them fall into debt, others are honoured and decorated. In fact, a victory against the Bolsheviks is obtained by the people released from the military prison, led by Conan. But it turns out that heroes only exist on the battlefield. Outside, they are just civilians who lead only a trivial life.

The same is true for the film's hero, peace is not good for him. The end of the film brings us face to face with Conan returning to civilian life, carrying a banal, small bourgeois existence as the owner of a small store somewhere in the province. Still, he listlessly awaits his death, being seriously ill. The complete anti-war message of the movie unfolds at the end in the scene when, years later, Conan is dying of some unnamed illness, and his friend Norbert, with whom he has fallen out of touch,

[11] *King and Country*; director: Joseph Losey; script: Evan Jones. Based on the play *Hamp* by John Wilson and the novel *Return to the Wood* by James Lansdale Hodson; 1964.

comes to visit him. He is a shadow of his former self and haunted by his memories. “The best are inscribed on the war memorial”, he says; “the rest are swill”. He then tells him that if he got around, he would meet a few others of those famous 3,000 who were said to have won the war. “They are like me”, he tells him grimly. “All of them.”

But if for the moment, we believe this to be true, why should Conan’s sacrifice, of something essential to humanity, be less admirable than that of the men of the memorial?

Although the fictional heroes of the film and the novel are inspired by true characters, the film also refers to historical characters such as General Berthelot, the head of the French Military Mission in Romania during the war, and others. The historical context is accurately illustrated: the war of Romania with the Republic of Hungarian Councils, the attempts by the Russian and Ukrainian Bolsheviks to infiltrate the eastern border of Romania (illustrated here by the possible battle of Tighina, Stan, 2006, 304-305), the resulting border conflicts, the rebellion of French troops under Bolshevik influence.

In front of the Bolshevik troops on the Dniester, some of the French soldiers refuse to fight, radicalize, start singing revolutionary songs, showing solidarity to the attackers. This intervention of the director inspired by the leftist political thread alters a little the spirit of the novel and constitutes the main difference between the film and the novel. At Vercel, soldiers lack a clear political point of view. In the film, all members of the officers' body, largely of aristocratic origin, give the impression of salaried operetta soldiers. It is still an artistic license assumed by the director Tavernier, caused by a leftist sensitivity, characteristic of several contemporary French filmmakers (Brendon, 2003, 59-60).

But the art representation of that age captures only certain perceptions of social phenomena. If we accept the idea that different forms of art are a mirror of society in a certain historical time, then, of course, we must be aware that the reflection can suffer distortions. The illustration of the Great War and the years immediately following the end of the conflict, with all their complexity in art, can start from palpable elements, but the way the author presents the events is subject to interpretations.

Both the novel and the film adaptation were positively received by the critics and the audience, the novel winning the prestigious Goncourt Prize in 1934, the year of its appearance, and the film adaptation obtained in 1997 two Cesar awards for the best actor and director, among other nominations, awarded by the French Academy of Cinematography Art and Technique (Maltin, 1998, 203). The screen adaptation of the novel, as well as the novel, remain unprecedented in the French and Western cultural landscape, both by theme and by placing the main action in south-eastern Europe. The author of the novel, Roger Vercel, was one of the few French writers of the interwar period who showed interest in the Romanian realities immediately after the war, his book being considered of both documentary and artistic value, due to the detailed and objective descriptions of places and people in post-war Bucharest. The film adaptation, though not fully respecting the novel, renders justice to the literary work, and originally complements the long list of World War I films.

World War I tends to be represented in repetitive patterns in films: either the atrocities of the trenches, facial wounds, the analysis of the shortcomings of the high command, or the incredible amount of dead and lost soldiers. Among these, *Captain Conan* stands out through interesting aspects, such as the locations where the action is set and, through the depth of psychological analysis confronting the issue generated by the question: “Can you ever take the savageness out of the soldier?” The film brilliantly deals with this, pitting mateship and loyalty against laws and justice through intriguing dialogues and interactions between its key characters, an incredibly powerful and captivating drama that portrays the cruelty of war and the similarly brutal legal world behind the scenes.

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List of illustrations

Fig. 1. French actor Philippe Torreton as Captain Conan.
Fig. 2. Captain Conan and a part of his crew.
Fig. 3. Conan and Norbert.
Fig. 4. Still from the movie.
Fig. 5. Still from the movie.

Fig. 1. French actor Philippe Torreton as Captain Conan.

Fig. 2. Captain Conan and a part of his crew.

Fig. 3. Conan and Norbert.

Fig. 4. Still from the movie.

Fig. 5. Still from the movie.

ART AND INDUSTRY, ETHIC AND AESTHETIC IN THE INTERWAR FILM

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***Abstract**: The present study approaches the birth and evolution of cinematography in interwar Romania, revealing both the artistic and political points of view regarding this kind of artistic expression. In this respect, the opinions enunciated by Tudor Vianu or D.I. Suchianu are, in great part, favourable for the film art, while Constantin Kirițescu expressed his reluctance regarding cinema development. In interwar Romania, the artistic film developed into a loisir activity, whose success was confined by foreign film productions. But the disregard or even the opposition of the authorities regarding the film industry led to a small production of Romanian films. In addition, the film failed to become a mechanism of the national reinforcing process. Nevertheless, the public could reach and embrace a new form of artistic expression through film magazines and an increasing number of cinema halls.*

***Keywords:** cinema, film industry, film criticism, censorship, "Curierul filmului" magazine, interwar Romania*

Tudor Vianu on the role of the film

The era of the image starts after the First World War. After the experimental stage and the expressionist experience, the film becomes narrative, a great support for melodrama. Moreover, the film has been constructed on visual perception and then on the aural one. These evolutions have transformed it not only in evasion[12] and educational means, but also in a propaganda tool (for both totalitarian and democratic systems).

Cinematographic influences have been analyzed by aesthetician Tudor Vianu, an enthusiast of promoting cinema (Vianu, 1931), considered a vulnerable, yet expanding art (in 1928, 50,000 cinema halls could broadcast for 150,000,000 people worldwide) (Vianu, 1931, 420). Vianu notices that, despite its debut as art, the film became an opportunity for capitalist investment, a dynamic industry due to its popularity and influence:

> "*Given the references of 1924, the United States invest yearly for staging films 200,000,000 $. The cinematographic industry occupies the fourth place for the great industries of America and the third place in Germany."* (*Ibidem*)

In his analysis, Vianu presents the social and economic effects generated by the film industry. He describes how the film (like the industry) determined unprecedented demographic growth (Vianu, 1931, 421), contributing to the birth of Hollywood as a metropolis in a few years. Between 1920-1924, the city reached 100,000 inhabitants from 25,000. And that was possible due to the amplitude of the film industry that required a myriad of professions and people. Hollywood became an exotic city, a place of fabulous dreams, given the fact that a director could hire virtually anyone (see the case of Rudolf Valentino). It was a city that seemed an impossible crossroad of dimensions:

> "*On these heteroclitic streets, bourgeois and proletarian public mingle with a disguised public, with Roman centurions, Asian tyrants, or romantic elegant people – actors who come back at the lunchtime or party for one hour in a picturesque and feverish atmosphere, which offers this city a unique aspect in the world*." (*Ibidem*)

[12] See Comarnescu 1934, 3 on cinema as a habit and the fascination it stirred among spectators. The Romanian interwar cinemagoers attended cinema twice a week, watching historical films and enjoying the cinema halls with theatrical aspect, polite doormen, comfortable chairs, usually symphonic music. See also Suchianu 1934, 9 about cinema halls in Bucharest.

Vianu's conclusion is more than realistic:

> "*Reaching such a flourishing, cinematography may be considered an expression of capitalist contemporary civilization*." (*Ibidem*)

Vianu employs sociological research (especially German ones on film's socio-economic and cultural effects – Altenloh, 1914) in order to accomplish such a complex analysis regarding cultural phenomena that stirred the universal interest. According to Emilie Altenloh's study, German cinemagoers were workers in industry and commerce:

> "*Among these, young people had no family to be responsible for and had comparable salaries with married workers. The young people working in commercial and industrial areas of both sexes fulfill their thirst for imagination in sentimental and adventurous spectacles in cinema. They satisfy their curiosity regarding the life of their superior in capitalist hierarchy, as we expect from their age and status"; "nowadays the usual customer of cinema halls is the man of modern masses, living by the laws prescribed by the present, who does not find life content and dedicates his/her activity to the industry and commerce. When the profession offers people life content, the interest in cinema decreases, and this is the case of small enterprises or freelancers involved in an activity that overlaps with the scope of their lives*." (*Ibidem*)

When referring to the socio-cultural structure of the Romanian cinemagoers, Suchianu points out that they are "mostly typists, students, shop assistants, manicurists, officers – all of them young and relatively poor people, easily disposed to adopt a lifestyle based on good luck and good fortune instead of effort and active expectation." (Suchianu, 1934, 6)

Thus, according to sociologists, workers found refuge in cinematography, finding compensation of the ugly "gathered during those long hours dedicated to a strange and indifferent factory or a store where they were working." (Vianu, 1931, 422) Vianu points out the psychological effects of a film watched in the cinema hall, the difference between a show that involves a group of people to contribute to a traditional party and the way cinema brings people together, "the excitement stirred by a film for its spectators […]. The pleasure of watching does not add to the pleasure of being aware that you enjoy the same thing." (*Ibidem*) At the same time, paradoxically, although the film uses confabulation, it also has a great degree of generality, using stereotypical characters and cliché situations (Vianu 1931, 423). According to sociologists and aestheticians, such an orientation of cinematography – "lacking nuances, finesse, while matters of the heart could not be presented delicately" (*Ibidem*) – alienated intellectuals from this art. The balance could be established only by the tasteful acting and "directors' tactfulness […] so that verisimilitude of life would not be lost, while the delicacy of presentation would be saved in this status of the generality of the film." (*Ibidem*)

Vianu considers that the success of cinematography was due to particular evolutions of modern literature that drove away from the average reader; this place was occupied by cinematography that became such "an art for the people." According to Vianu, the visible change in the status of the actor is another manifestation of this new cultural paradigm. Thus, the actor's private life and self-perception changed and determined forms of pseudo-religiosity. Actors who played parts of adored heroes, representative for the traditional epos, national history and culture were especially praised. For the simple man, the actor was a consecrated image; actors became to identify with their heroes. Therefore, the film was partly responsible for the alienation of the modern man. According to Vianu, the perfect actor – the one who embodies a real man, but he/she does not identify with the character – is Charlie Chaplin, the one who "knew to embody a man, victim, satire and redemption of this civilization. Chaplin is the type of American proletarian, immigrant, or tramp who tries unsuccessfully all trades." (Vianu 1931, 424). Moreover, Chaplin expresses "the radical incapacity to adapt in a world where pragmatism is the new religion […]".

> *"Clumsy in civilization matters, he proves to be extremely agile with natural resources thus shaming civilization by his ingenuity. And that trait that allows him to survive, without helping him to win, may be found in Chaplin's character when he faces greater suffering than his own and finds the way to ease it. Chaplin's genius unlocked an ethicist direction in the modern film that was missing." (Ibidem)*

Preoccupied with the moral finality of the film as art, Vianu quotes again German sociological literature (M. H. Baege and Konrad

Lange) and decries how cinema yielded to the capitalistic desire of profit. Thus, investors encouraged and maintained ambiguous tastes, being incriminated by the immoral film, the so-called "Schundfilm". Vianu states that many western film critics were worried by the fact that the cinematography creates imitations, counterfeits history and culture, human relationships, asking for the nationalization of the film industry, or instituting censorship (Vianu, 1931, 424-425). The author mentions again the German experience and the fact that private associations and initiatives supported the state concerning "propaganda to enhance the instructive value of the film and to create model cinematography (Musterkino)." (Vianu, 1931, 425) The Romanian theoretician points out the international initiatives that aimed at purifying film of dangerous manipulations: in Paris, "a grand international congress of cinematography (27 September – 3 October 1926) discussed film's de-belligerence and de-politicization, avoidance of scenarios capable of awakening and fuelling the hatred of peoples, or perpetuating ideas of war." (*Ibidem*) On that occasion, a resolution was voted by representatives of 31 countries and 13 international organizations (trade union, Red Cross, Child Protection etc.).

In his speech, Vianu focused on how the film responded to aesthetical exigencies. He supported the idea that one of the film's keys to success was the "terrific closeness", the illusion of co-participation to a life full of exceptional events and romantic exaltations. But such emotional involvement creates addiction and ethical issues. Thus, Vianu tackles his favourite subject – the relationship between ethical and aesthetic in the film:

> "*The ethical problem of cinematography is an aesthetic matter. During the process of aesthetic enhancement of the film, viewers' attention would get used to considering less the plot and more and more the elements that transfigure it artistically. To the same extent, a much-refined public would be won for the cinematography and its good taste and its moral superior elegance would impose corresponding norms and principles, as it has already started to happen. On its road to this aesthetic improvement, the cinematographic press has its role. Created first to support the interests of capitalist cinema, it is just to say that this specialized press did not prove independent or inspired by higher ideology. Fulfilling its role, nearby advertisements that occupy great space in the cities, the cinematographic press proclaimed star any mediocre actor/actress, and great achievement any ordinary and dull film. Nevertheless, the situation has recently improved not due to the specialized journals, but due to cultural journals. They dedicate several pages to cinematographic criticism, being interested in issues of modernism. Given the fact that this new art has gained such a numerous audience, and even an educated and bourgeois public, it is predictable that a specialized press could develop with no material support of the interested enterprises. As such, specialized journals could complete the ethical and aesthetic reform of the industry. […]"* (Vianu, 1931, 430)

Regarding the finality of the film, Vianu states that it "does not reside in the enhancement of the comfort of life, or in helping produce new material goods, but in contributing to our spiritual culture, occasioning a new type of aesthetic satisfaction and in providing a new instrument of culture and scientific research." (Vianu, 1931, 433) Similar aspects are discussed in western analysis. Denis Marion highlights in an article, published in *Variétés* that "the sole power the films exert on a vast audience, having magical effects on our private life." (Marion, 1928) Besides, in another article, he asserts that while the documentary supposed rediscovery of the world, "the feature film has the power to impose an appearance of existence as reality." (Delsemme, 2012)

Furthermore, the socio-cultural importance of cinema was well known and debated back in those days. Whereas in democratic countries there was a constant preoccupation for preserving and asserting the liberty of speech, cinema as a means of knowledge and universal communication became an annex of the party and state propaganda in totalitarian systems. The elites were convinced that the:

> "*cinematography was the most powerful and direct means of expression that has been ever produced by human ingenuity due to its popularity. Greek and Roman antiquity had agora, and the number of listeners was fatally reduced, while the coverage of the discourse was limited. […] Cinematography was the most important factor of progress. People communicate with the utmost easiness through hundreds of thousands of meters of film, on thousands of screens, enlightening the entire globe. […] The cultural degree of a country may be determined in the most certain way by the report between the*

meters of film consummated and the number of its inhabitants. People are cultivated and share the same feelings through cinema." (Cehan, 1934, 1)

On the other hand, much has been written on the danger of moral ambiguity, of possible sympathy to negative characters, especially under the circumstances of the high rate of criminality during the Great Depression. (Santamaria, 1933, 3) That is the justification of introducing the Motion Picture Production Code that meant to drastically censor the film production.

Similar appreciations were stated given the fact that melodrama was seen as rehabilitation of romanticism (quality music, pathetic and sentimental scenes, and heavily exaggerated gestures especially in the era of the silent film) and dominated the film production of the period, infesting and contributing to a hybridization of other genres. The excessive gestures of the actors' playing, as well as the music, had the role of potentiating the emotional character of the message and of seducing the audience.

Melodrama – popular genre

Melodrama as a film genre pertains to popular culture, being enhanced by film adaptations and mythological background. In the 1960s, changes in literature had effected changes in film theory so that historians of cinematography tried to distinguish between genres based on the theory of myths. Characters of the films were considered archetypal heroes of the collective conscience, and according to that perspective, human archaic experiences were transformed in the modern era into popular myths. Melodrama was derived from theatre plays, which in the 19th century were characterized by an exaggeration of emotions and stimulation of the viewer's empathy. Narration of the melodramatic type is usually focused on a romantic love that becomes a source of social and domestic conflicts. Thus, melodrama becomes a film about passion. The hero is usually a woman subjected to the pressure of social roles – devoted daughter, innocent girl (seduced and abandoned), renegade daughter, orphan, martyr mother, wife, or independent woman – roles that determine the heroine to solve the major crises within family and society. Although women are main characters, melodrama cultivates stereotypes and archetypal roles specific to masculine conceptions about woman's functions. Therefore, this genre does not say much about women, only about the way the male society imagines a woman's nature.

The first important melodramas were produced in the 1920s[13], contaminating other genres. We consider that only Erich Von Stroheim's *Greed*, in 1924, surpassed the genre despite using tragic scenes consecrated to melodrama. The type "femme fatale" – the modern hypostasis of the woman-mermaid or the medieval representation of the carnal temptation – is used in F. W. Murnau's *Sunrise* (1927). From now on the precocious teenager, adulterous wife and intriguer become manifestations of demoniac nature of woman. Silent melodrama identifies and condemns this character from the perspective of traditional values.

In the middle of the '30s, melodrama underwent significant changes upon the development of the sound film when the pathetic aspects of the actors' play diminished by the power of suggestion and expression of the uttered word. Furthermore, censorship intervened to control attitudes that could have become models. Women-victims or unstable and fallen women are replaced by complex and powerful women who, despite their suffering, play exceptional parts. It is the period of Greta Garbo, Bette Davis, Catherine Hepburn, Marlene Dietrich. Thus, melodrama gave rise to the star as a social phenomenon.

How may be explained the huge number of viewers who rushed to watch melodramas? It may be explained due to the illusion produced by this genre:

"When we refer to the average viewer, he/she thinks he/she sees, while in reality he/she just watches: the viewer is just following the plot and does not realize that the plot is different than the film expresses, watching the film like reading a literary story and understands even less when faces a film with no plot." (Aristarco, Orto 1980, 63 in Nicolaeva, 1986, 176)

Nevertheless, we could point out that even the plot of a literary story may differ from what it seems on the surface. For example, the fall of a family may stand for the fall of society, of a class or of a lifestyle – aspects that may be overlooked easily by an inexperienced reader. Therefore, (melo)drama and romantic film,

[13] See *Broken Blossoms* (directed by D. W. Griffith; main actress Lillian Gish, 1919) and *Way Down East* (pastoral melodrama directed by G. W. Griffith; main actress Lillian Gish, 1920).

genres that had a literary and theatrical background, stirred the interest of the viewer regardless of era, place, colour, religion or age.

In the '40s-'50s of the 20th century, melodrama spread on all screens, especially due to the Mexican film. The main themes were "tears, blood, violence, passion, love, death etc." (Popa, 2003, 35) A successful adaptation of the genre was done in Balkan space in Greece and Turkey. Marian Țuțui underlines the abundance of melodramas in the Balkan space till the Second World War and activity of directors of the genre – Jean Mihail, Ion Șahighian, Boris Grezhov, Muhstin Ertugrul, Dimitris Gaziadis, Ahilles Madras, and others (Țuțui 2008, 152). Melodrama conquered more space in Greece and Turkey, contributing to the enhancement of the Turkish film. The few films produced in Romania were either melodramas or musical comedies (Căliman 2000, 99): the first feature film was *Amor fatal* (1911)[14], then *Răzbunarea* (1913)[15]. We mention Romanian melodramas of the '20s: *Țigăncușa la iatac* (1923)[16], *Păcat* (1924)[17], *Manasse* (1925)[18], *Datorie și sacrificiu* (1925)[19], *Lia* (1927)[20], *Piatra lui Osman* (1929)[21], as well as dramas[22] *Venea o moară pe Siret* (1929) and *Leiba Zibal* (1929). The first tone of the Romanian film is a co-production (Romania-Germany) – *Ciuleandra*, directed by Martin Berger (1930). In the same year, Ion Niculescu-Brună directed *Ecaterina Teodoroiu* about the legendary heroine of the First World War.

The melodrama offered the Romanian public stories of love and war, or love and adventure, the drama of the "impossible love", with happy endings, or, on the contrary, an unexpected turn of events and tragic unfulfillment because of the irrevocable breakup. The cliches of the narrative structure of this genre are based on the heroes' capacity of overcoming their social status. Therefore, researchers Barîş Kîlîbay and Emine Onaran Inciro identified three types of melodramas: the ones that "reflect irreconcilable class differences; the ones where social barriers are overcome and there are happy endings, and the third category that present moral dilemmas triggered by changes in social situation of the heroes" (Țuțui, 2008, 154). The third category is especially true regarding the heroines, as after the silent film era they receive evolved roles in difficult situations. Tirnea Hungler differentiates between several sub0genres of melodrama: the period film (most of the time a film adaptation); melodrama focused on heroine's sickness or her self-sacrifice as a mother.

Moreover, the melodrama satisfied the viewer's need to remodel social or marital existence by a process of identification, as only the film is „capable to direct deprivation in pleasure so that individuals not only accept, but pay to give up their own imagination in favour of the other's." (Steriade, 1985, 65) Besides, the young people substituted a walk in the park or childish escapade by going to a film: "it was important to experience the short and merciless illusion together." (Mazilu, 1978, 30) The viewer is under the illusion that his/her life is not affected by drama, while death is also searching for someone else, for the other so that the identification with the characters on the screen is partial, temporary, and superficial:

> *"I have no aesthetic interests when I watch a film; my entire focus is on moral issues – the adulteress to come back home, the criminal to be punished [...]. Only the film has the power to make us happy by such simple devices [...]." (Ibidem)*

The changes of the woman's role in melodrama offer profundity even to the category of "object-woman", while the carnal passion is replaced by the discovery of failure and rupture. For example, the schedule of cinema „Rio" for 1933-1934, presented in the pages of *Curierul filmului*, on 15 October 1933, announced the public a series of masterpieces, pointing out the investment. Actually, most of the films were melodramas (with German music and actors mostly), comedies of the Urbis-Film production house: *Rakoczi-Marsch* ("a film of love and friendship"), *Rund und eine Million* ("a

[14] The film was directed by Grigore Brezeanu; actors: Lucia Sturdza, Tony Bulandra, Aurel Barbelian.

[15] Directed by Haralamb Lecca, film adaptation of I. L. Caragiale's drama *Năpasta*.

[16] This is the case of a lost film, directed by Alfred Halm, film adaptation of Radu Rosetti's novel about the love story between a gipsy girl and a boyar played by Elvira Popescu and Ion Fintești teanu.

[17] Directed by Jean Mihail, film adaptation of I. L. Caragiale's story.

[18] Directed by Jean Mihail, the melodrama is about a love story between a Romanian guy and a Jewish girl, film adaptation of Ronetti Roman's novel.

[19] The film was directed by Ion Șahighian – a love story during the First World War.

[20] Directed by Jean Mihail.

[21] Directed by Marc D'Arly.

[22] Both directed by Martin Berger; the first one is the film adaptation of Mihail Sadoveanu's novel, while the second of I. L. Caragiale's story *În vreme de război*.

musical comedy of an astounding beauty, with an interesting plot"), *Das Lied vom Glück* ("a film of a remarkable technique, while partners offer an excellent interpretation"), *Hochzeit am Wolfgangsee* ("successful operetta, with plenty of music and a wide variety of feelings of a theatrical refinement"), *Keine Angst vor Liebe* and *Ein Abenteuer am Liebe.*

We notice that in the 1940s the French and German productions were very successful in the Romanian market. That was the period of horror and noir films, where the voluptuous eroticism (sometimes vulgar) played an important part:

> *"When German and other European filmmakers, left to work in Hollywood in the 1930s and 1940s, the influence of Expressionism, in particular, can be identified in the visual style of particular cycles such as the horror films of the 1930s and film noir in the 1940s."* (Chapman 1968, 88)

For example, director Robert Florey, born in France and familiar with European impressionist and expressionist movements, reached the USA in 1921 and after experimenting with the artistic film, turned to commercial productions, loved by the audience, but retaining features of the German Expressionism. In 1932, the director filmed *Murders in the Rue Morgue*, based on a famous book. Following the same trend to film based on books (Duca, 1968, 52), we mention *Les Misérables*, directed by Henry Fescourt, *Mask of Zorro* (1921) and *Robin Hood* by Douglas Fairbanks (1922). Moreover, the narrative of the film *The Fall of the House of Usher* (1928) was based on the viewer's knowledge of Edgar Allan Poe's text (Thompson, Bordwell, 2003, 183).

In theory, the mechanism of reception supposes the fact that "the truth exposed by aestheticians is valid in films as well, according to which people enchanted in the spectacle of art regard the world by discovering new facets and a new charm." (Crețu, 1980, 12) That "enchantment" refers to the film addiction, as the universe of a worker, servant of the Fordist conception, integrated him in a routine and alienated lifestyle. However, the interwar period provided joy to the eye of the cinema-goer, presenting different civilizations and lifestyles, fascinating and obscure areas of life. Later, in totalitarian regimes, reality is defined by the suggestion of development and emancipation through work, by images that demonstrated knowledge of the process of economic production instead of focusing on human relationships and melodrama. The following quote is telling of the nature and character of the film in communism:

> *"do not avoid specialized terms, as they impress, and no one would criticize that, because their usage is proof of the fact that you know life and the process of production. Sentimental conflicts have no place in this recipe, as a new man subordinates his personal life to the interests of society, while the problems are dealt with gradually."* (Pascadi, 1978, 40)

In contrast, while reading simple recommendations in the pages of *Curierul filmului*, one might feel closer to the naïve human tone than to the alienating topic proposed by the totalitarian cinema: "*Walking Down Broadway* – the subject if very powerful: the drama of a young woman, seduced on the street and then left by the man with whom she shared moments of supreme happiness." (*Curierul filmului,* 1933, 5)

Nevertheless, the coming back of melodrama was not an enthusiastic phenomenon in the view of the elites. Although Xavier de Montépin recognized the success of the corny narrations, melodrama was a "compromised tragic by the technical aspects and author's insistent intention to excite the audience. The victory of good over evil characterizes melodrama, while in tragedies evil maintains its intransigence and resists until the end. The cinema is a refuge place for melodrama, as the public prefers the massacre of feelings. Despite that, the viewer's sensibility is nothing but a dull and shrill string. True sensible people are those who do not stand melodrama and accept tragic but only as a conclusion of the interior monologue." (Robot, 1934, 1)

The institutionalization of censorship in Romania

In both the USA and Russia censorship appeared two years after the debut of cinematography and it was equally ridiculous. In Moscow, a film where Napoleon was dancing with a ballerina was confiscated and removed, while in the USA a film became unintelligible after 60 cuts[23] because of an illegitimate child, in *Way Down East* (directed by D. W. Griffith, main actress Lillian Gish, 1921). The censorship was shattered for the first time after the fall of the Tsarist regime (1917-1922) and that made possible the creation of films presenting Rasputin as the evil genius of Tsarist rule and Russia.

[23] The record was set in England, when John Ford's *The Informer* (1935) had 128 cut scenes by censorship.

Surprisingly, during the same period, erotic films appear in Germany. But on its reinstatement, censorship would take care to install draconic rules, affecting the beginnings of film criticism.

In 1934 Romania, the control of the cinematographic spectacle was exerted in the name of the state by the "Commission of control and censorship of cinematographic films" that functioned as an organ of the Ministry of Instruction, Cults and Arts. The commission watched the following categories of films: cultural films, bad films, and entertaining films. According to the established standards, cultural films were "films that contribute to enhancing the knowledge or powers of the public." The category included biographic films and films with historical topics; the latter was considered a subgenre that ensured the profit, offering a grand image of historic people and events. Thus, *Curierul filmului*, no. 10-11, Festive Christmas issue of 1934 presented historical films: *Voltaire* (directed by John Adolfi, with Georg Arliss, 1933); *Disraeli* (with Georg Arliss and Joan Benett; 1929), *Paganini* (Ivan Petrovitch; 1934), *Queen Christina* (directed by Rouben Mamoulian, with Greta Garbo and John Gilbert; 1933). Shortly after the premiere two films were presented in the Romanian press: *The Rise of Catherine the Great* (directed by Paul Czinner, Alexandru Korda, with Douglas Fairbanks jr and Elisabeth Bergner; 1934), *The Scarlet Empress* (subtitle *Catherine the Great*; director: Josef von Sternberg, with Marlene Dietrich, 1934). We may safely affirm that the years 1933 and 1934 were the years of cultural films.

A special category within the cultural films was the didactic film for school. The "bad films" were considered the harmful films that "due to the way of presenting life may pervert the souls and constitute propaganda to harmful actions for the public order". These are the films that represent: A. criminal actions, building a school of crime and trespassing; B. political actions against public and social order, or that would stage enmity or fight of one category of citizens against another, or would be a suggestion for disobeying the law; C. films that would harm the dignity or honour of our people, or of other peoples, or would popularize hatred and enmity between peoples; D. films that would diminish people's self-confidence in its rulers and their respect; E. films that would mock or belittle respect for fundamental institutions of the State: church, army, school; F. films with vices and debauchery[24] that constitute an attack to the respect of moral propriety of the young and family; G. films with violent scenes and cruelty.

The so-called "entertaining films" were presented in a neutral manner – they had the role of entertaining the public, with no qualities of the first point and no flaws of the second one. After watching and evaluating, the commission had the right to "authorize the entertaining films, to approve the cultural ones, with special mentions, and to refuse the authorization of representation for the films classified as bad." There was a strategy of encouraging the cultural films by "recommending fiscal and custom reductions, according to international conventions in this matter and financial legislation." Besides, the commission controlled advertising and cinematographic poster; it had the right to ban "reproduction, projection and display of texts or scenes that characterize the bad films" (see article II, point 2). On Sundays and holidays, the program in cinema consisted of only cultural films: "News and short humorous films may be broadcast, with special approval, but not theatrical scenes or magazines." The broadcast authorization of films was issued for three years (for the entire country or for regions) and it could be renewed. The cinema halls that did not comply with the instructions were penalized by the "General direction of theatres and authorities of public order[25]." (Kirițescu, 1934, 12)

This regulation is the masterpiece of Constantin Kirițescu[26]; his demarche was accepted, praised (Suchianu 1934, 8) and contested, even ridiculed (Cehan, 1934, 1)[27], but

[24] The expression "sexual film" was used for fims with explicit love scenes. See the reference to *Liebe wie die frau sie Braucht* (director: Vander Velde) in *Curierul Filmului*, year I, no. 1, 15 September 1933, p. 4. The oldest pornographic film was *l'Ecu d'Or ou la bonne auberge* (1908).

[25] See also the article Control and Censorship of Films. A Decision of the Ministry of Instruction" in *Curierul filmului*, no. 7, 25 February 1934, p. 1 and "New Regulations of the Ministry of Instruction. Cultural Film Comes into Effect on 1 May" in *Curierul filmului*, no. 8–9, Easter Issue, 1934, p. 1.

[26] He was the general director of Superior Education, at the Ministry of Instruction. After the economic crisis, the Romanian state tried to get involved in the production and broadcast of films. Thus on the 9th of July 1934 the Law of National Cinematographic Fund was approved that decided the collection of films by the "Cinematographic Service", within the "National Office of Tourism" (1936-1938).

[27] On the same page of *Rampa,* V. Timuș states that the regulation is the instrument to "install didactic dictatorship over the cinematography of Romania".

it came into effect. Polemics were so heated that they involved the initiator Kirițescu: "Public opinion, so arbitrary so often, that it considers the general director of superior education a man filled with prejudices, nicknamed the «moralist», the one who stopped the broadcast of the film *Blue Angel*" (Massoff 1933, 1, 4). After an interview, the columnist would conclude that Kirițescu was a man with "wide vision" (*Ibidem*).

Shortly after the censorship of films came into effect, but the most conclusive effects were visible in 1937 when the Ministry of Internal Affairs closed several cinema halls „because of broadcasting films with expired authorizations, or because of hiring unauthorized films" (*Curierul filmului* 1937, 6). That was the case of "Thalia" in Sibiu, "Comunal" in Sf. Gheorghe; "Astra" in Satu-Mare, "Stern" in Tg. Frumos (Iaşi), "Apollo" in Marghitta (Arad), "Cinema" in com. Ciacova (Timiş-Torontal), "Modern" in Slatina (Olt), "Feyman şi Tillschneider" in com. Grabaţi (Timiş-Torontal); "Palace", "Soroca", "Dom Polsk" in Suceava; "Transilvania" in Făgăraş; "Muncitori" in Cluj, "Modern" in Craiova and "Carol" in Zalău (*Ibidem*).

Curierul filmului

Specialized publications in broadcasting information about the films in cinema halls had the role of shaping a receptive audience of "cinema lovers."[28] However, not the number of watched films was relevant for film fans, even though the captions of films offered information on the director, film studios etc. A journal that would present the cinematographic schedules, would recommend the films and would offer a brief description, creating at least the illusion of informing the public.[29] Thus, *Curierul filmului* contributed to the beginning of new aesthetic perceptions of the film. The journal set to appear twice a month, becoming a mediator between the cinematographic companies and the public. The issues of this journal overlap the golden year of the Romanian novel, when the following texts were published: *Patul lui Procust* by Camil Petrescu, *Maitreyi* by Mircea Eliade, *Cartea nunţii* by George Călinescu, *Creanga de aur* by Mihail Sadoveanu, *Maidanul cu dragoste* by George Mihail Zamfirescu, *Europolis* by Jean Bart, *Femei* by Mihail Sebastian, *Rusoaica* by Gib Mihăescu etc.

The beginning of the 1940s meant a new stage in the history of film and of melodrama as well, after the crisis of 1933, when the chances of attending the cinema were scarce[30]. We have to point out other aspects, such as: the majority of the population (78-79%) were living in the village and around 72% were working in agriculture. During that decade, economic development contributed to the growth of industrial workers (in 1938, in Romania were working over 1,000 workers) and of social unrest. That was a period of relative relaxation, when the horrors of the Great War and the sacrifices were memories, while Romania seemed to experience economic recovery, cultural ebullience and a tendency of synchronization with the spirit of the era.

On the other hand, after Carol's restoration (1930), in 1934-1938, the royal policy violated democracy. Probably the citizens trusted the seeming peace and stability though, in the period of the rise of Fascism and Nazism, resistance through culture started to become a form of evasion, mentioned by the specialized press. Even *Curierul filmului* presented and debated episodes of breaking the democratic rights, among which applying censorship in undemocratic regimes of Europe. The German space may be considered the most eloquent and monstrous example of the film serving the system. The Jewish director Kurt Gerron worked at a film about the "human" treatment of the Jews in camps to support the Nazi propaganda. Afterward, the director was sent to Auschwitz and killed (Reimer, 2008, 58). The incident regarding the premiere of the film *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Lewis Milestone, 1930) in Berlin, 1931, is also relevant. The film adaptation of Erich Maria Remarque's pacifist novel was interrupted by Nazi demonstrators, whereas law enforcement did not intervene. Joseph Goebbels

The author considers that "control of the film was passed to the Ministry of Instruction, although it should have been dealt with by the Ministry of Arts, thus transforming the film from commerce into an educational tool, ignoring therefore the existence of 100 cinema halls of Bucharest".

[28] The journal *Cinémagazine* was the role model for the "pedagogical character" of other specialized publications of 1933.

[29] Starting with its first page, the title of one central article reads "1,600 artists fired at Hollywood", aiming at informing and comparing.

[30] Though the following films were announced for 1933 in "Standard Arad": *Prima dragoste* (director: Jean Mihail, Romanian version of the French film *Marie*), *Suflete în furtună* (with Dinu Bădescu, director: Jean Mihail, script: N.D. Cocea), *Numai o fetiţă* (director: Jean Mihail). „Record", „Mercur", „Pathé- Natan" broadcast French films, "Ricoli-Film" distributed Austrian and German easy films, while "Casa Oer-Film" broadcast the most films – 25 of all genres in 1934-1935.

declared that the film was "unpatriotic" and "Jewish", and the government forbade its projection (Reimer, 2008, 9).

In this difficult context for the liberty of expression of cinematography, the journal *Curierul filmului* tried to grab the public's attention with a sensation title, from its first issue – Charlie Chaplin against Hitler – describing one comical sequence. The sequence is about the character's resemblance to Hitler due to his mustache so that he decides to get rid of it. Charlie Chaplin was admired and adored by the Romanian public, and the journal attempted to create the profile of an ideal viewer. For example, *Liane Haid şi Szöke Szakall*, a production of "Recom-Film" was announced as a "musical comedy, whose success is ensured beforehand by the spoiled Liane Haid and the popular Szöke Szakall […]" (*Curierul filmului*, 1933, 4). Thus, the stars were considered "spoiled" individuals that ensured the success of the film so that the Romanian audience could have considered privileged to have access to productions of "Casa Fortuna" that "reported the most resounding success abroad and in front of which the most spoiled stars of the international screen have played." (*Ibidem*) In fact, as in the case of specialized western journals, *Curierul filmului* proposed columns that combined professional biographies of actors with elements of private life. By the end of the 1940s, the most famous star was Marlene Dietrich[31].

The selection criterion was important – what was liked in the west must have been appreciated in Romania. It was written about *L'Homme a l'Hispano* that it was a film with a premiere with an extremely numerous public (*Curierul filmului*, 1933, no. 1, 1). The bombastic style of presentations was not imposed only by the rules of marketing, or behavioral patterns, but also by the perception of the film as a special event: "each film should signify a moral and material celebration for our client." (*Curierul filmului*, 1933, no. 1, 4). It was frequently mentioned that the efforts to shoot a film were "superhuman". On the other hand, it was inoculated that the involved capital in a film production represented the value of the film, while the price for a ticket was a bargain and a "celebration". While presenting the film Adventures of the king Pausole, the journal offers details on the film production, the "grand set up", with 2,700 actors and 41,000 extras, a symphonic orchestra of 700 people and, above all: "Emil Jannings plays the role of the king, surrounded by 365 charming queens." (*Curierul filmului*, 1933, no. 1, 4). After such presentations, the reader was prepared for these premieres as if they were exceptional events. "Abroad" – a sort of extended west – was a constant reference. The journal mentioned that the productions of "Fortuna" gathered most of cashing abroad (*Ibidem*), which might have been a strong argument for the Romanian audience[32].

We may notice the (economic) relationship between the public and cinema, which explains the fact that cinematography became the tenth important industry only after the second decade of its history. According to Charles Pathé, cinematography was placed second in France at the beginning of the century after the weapons industry.[33] The war as a topic represented benefits for both literature and film; however, literature as a business could never compare to the cinematographic industry.

Going back to the dramatic genre, including melodrama, romantic comedies, soap opera, we might ask why it attracted so many devoted viewers. Most of the time, the consumer had a simple rationale: choosing the thing that seems closer, understandable. Such a simple explanation may have attracted the audience for decades. Social and historical melodramas were enthusiastically presented in the pages of the Romanian aforementioned journal. That is the case of *I'm a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*[34]: "The most impressive and thrilling film on-screen today, with the greatest tragedy man – Paul Muni. The whole of mankind was amazed by this profound and powerful film. The press and the public had only the most fantastic eulogies for it." (Davidescu, 1933, 4).

[31] See the paradigm "angel and demon" in T. X. P. "Unknown debut of von Losch, alias Marlene Dietrich" in *Curierul filmului*, year III, 15 October 1935, p.2.

[32] In Bucharest of the 1933 there were many luxury cinema halls, and their schedule was presented in the pages of *Curierul filmului*: "Capitol", "Cinema Trianon", "Cinema Regal", "Cinema Select", "Cinema Vox", "Cinema Rio", "Cinema Bd. Palace", "Cinema Roxy", "Cinema Femina", "Cinema Corso", "Cinema Forum", "Cinema Tomis", "Cinema Omnia", "Cinema Lido", "Cinema Izbânda", "Cinema Rahova", Teatrul "Regal Cinema". Starting of 1934, the following are mentioned: "Cinema Griviţa", "Cinema Triumf", "Cinema Gloria", "Cinema Rex", and "Cinema Marconi".

[33] In 1900, a benefit of 345,000 francs was declared, and of 1,320,000 in 1901.

[34] Director: Mervyn LeRoy, main actor Paul Mundi (1932, nominated for three Oscar prizes). The script is an adaptation of Robert Elliot Burns' autobiographical writing.

The publication offered information on the schedules of the Bucharest cinema halls twice a week. The profit is what matters the most. The texts are not signed, and most of them belong to Matei Marțian, editor of the journal and director since 1934. The journal also shares (pseudo)critical opinions on films, mentioning the most popular premieres and the failures of the film industry. Sometimes social problems of the cinema background are pointed out by short articles that are not integrated into specialized columns. Accidents, decrease of income, redundancy (*Curierul filmului,* 1933, no. 1, 1; no. 4, 1; no. 2, 1) and stikes in the film world are discussed (*Curierul filmului*, 1934, no. 14, 1), as well as gangsters' threats, or uncertainty of the stars (*Curierul filmului*, 1936, no. 1, 1) and gossip.

Despite the fact that the aim of *Curierul filmului* was advertising of distribution houses and presenting the most popular films, several articles inform about political transformations that affected actors' life or determined the propagandistic nature of films. Some rare cases of films seen as examples of resistance through culture were noticed. That was the case of the repression exerted by the Nazi regime (*Curierul filmului* 1933, no. 3, 1; 1936, no, 44, 1).[35] However, there is hardly any information on how Fascism and Nazism affected film production because of implementing censorship and anti-Semitic policy. The way in which Marlene Dietrich obtained German citizenship is mentioned briefly, as well as her relationship with the Nazi regime. After obtaining American citizenship, the actress gained more attention in the press in general, as well as in the pages of *Curierul filmului* in 1933-1939[36].

On the other hand, the artistic productions of the fascist regime, with consistent propaganda elements were appreciated. That is the case of the film *Camicia Nera*, directed by Giovacchino Forzano (1932), considered „the living icon of integral nationalism..." (*Curierul filmului*, 1934, no. 15, 3). Actually, the film was a film of fascist propaganda, with scenes of public delirium, a model for the accomplishments of the future Nazi cinematography. The main character, a hyperbole reminds of Mussolini's biography, while the story is about Rome's awakening. Ultranationalist rhetoric dominates the message of the film, as well as the cult of personality. It was written much about Mussolini as inspiration for the main hero on the opening ceremony of Italian film studios "Cinecittà", in 1937 (*Curierul filmului*, 1935, no. 29, 2). The same Romanian journal welcomes the governmental initiative to broadcast Soviet films that prove to be artistically and technically superior to American and European productions (*Curierul filmului*, 1937, no. 44, 3).

The year 1937 was considered the year of European film offensive on the Romanian market, previously dominated by American films. *La grande illusion*, directed by Erich von Stroheim (actor Jean Gabin) is praised, films with Greta Garbo are reviewed aplenty[37], but films from neighboring states are neglected so that the Polish film enters Romanian cinema halls only in 1937 (*Curierul filmului*, 1937, no. 25, 3). Silent films, except for the comedies with Chaplin, Stan and Bran, are forgotten. Broadcast of experimental films that were successful in the 1920s (Tyler, 1967, 9-111) is ceased. This type of films, inspired by Expressionism, was not broadcast again in the 1930s in Romanian cinema halls, as the majority of the Romanian audience had no education to appreciate this type of film. Such a decision would have affected financially the distribution houses and the cinema halls. The Soviet experimental film had fewer chances because of its propagandistic nature, especially after 1924. After the Great Unification, Romanian society had no grand frustrations and anxieties so that even the successful German films *Die Nibelungen: Siegfried* (1924) and *Die Nibelungen: Kriemhelds Rache* (1924) were unpopular on the Romanian film market. The film is a fantastic narration, an adaptation of the heroic medieval epic *Nibelungenlied*, and although the myth was overused in German culture, the director Fritz Lang did not pervert the legendary narration. *Curierul filmului* announced in a brief note the broadcast of the tone variant of the film in 1933, which was also the last broadcast of productions of German Expressionism[38].

[35] The cultural journal *Rampa* also discusses the exodus of German artists and the virulence of Nazi propaganda, approaching political topics from democratic position. See especially *Rampa* 1933, year XVI, no. 4548, 5.

[36] While the films *Der blaue Engel* and *Morocco*, both directed by Josef von Sternberg in 1930 proposed a certain type of femininity, the USA films – *Shanghai Express* and *Blonde Venus* (the same director, 1932), *Angel* (director Ernst Lubitsch, 1937) remodelled the type of femme fatale.

[37] Especially *Anna Karenina* (1935), *Camille* (1936), *Conquest* (1937).

[38] The beginnings of German cinematography are marked by *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (script: Karl Mayer and Hans Janowitz; director: Robert Wiene; scenography: Hermann Warm, Walter Roehrig;

Editorials of the journal *Curierul filmului* expressed the idea that Romania was sold to foreign cinematographic industry, given that the import of films after the war constituted 16 billion lei. Moreover, many important films were undesirable from a moral, artistic and cultural point of view. The need for saving the needs of Romanian nationalism was mentioned. In this context, dubbing was considered the first stage in nationalizing the cinematographic industry: ”Due to dubbing, the screen will render the Romanian language with all its spirit and characteristics”, being perceived as ”means of national propaganda among so many minorities” (some American films broadcast in Romania were dubbed in German). The French experience in film dubbing was frequently presented as an example, although it was a relatively recent method (see the decrees of June and July 1934; only 26% of the films for Alsacia and Lorena were productions in German). The first film dubbed in Romanian was broadcast in Ing. Moccia studios (*Curierul filmului*, 1934, no. 15, 1).

Romanian film review

When talking about the beginnings of Romanian film theory, D.I. Suchianu's definitions are both exciting and controversial. According to him, „film is a literary genre” and a „school of happiness” (Suchianu, 1973, 17). If we admit that the feature film is only literature, then the issue of directing, the artistic quality of image, and elements that do not pertain to literary technique remain uncovered. On the other hand, we cannot deny the literality of film, as that would mean denying the literary character of the script, which is the narrative axis of the film. Like other arts, cinematography extracts it subject from real-world and presents it either from a unique perspective or from multiple and relative ones. Often enough though, it processes the literary material and adapts popular books to ensure a constant public. Therefore, plenty of popular novels were transformed into famous films (Tibbetts, Welsh, 2005). Consequently, it is evident that from the perspective of narration and storytelling, the film is both literature and non-literature.

While discussing the relationship between cinematographic creation and literary genre, we cannot avoid the fact that literature as an artistic mean of expression has no comprehensive definition. It was stated that literature is a creative and imaginative writing but creativity and imagination are not exclusive features of literary writings. The critic Roman Jakobson considered that ”literature is a type of writing that [...] represents organized violence over the common language” (Eagleton, 2008, 16). Following relatively simple reasonings, literary scholars demonstrated their peculiar and specific definitions to each other, reaching a generous consensus that may be reduced to the idea that literature cannot be defined in an objective manner.

The English theoretician Terry Eagleton suggested that the definition of literature „depends on the way we choose to read, not on the nature of what has been written” (Eagleton 2008, 23). We may expand this view on film studies so that the focus on the mechanism of reception would be augmented. The function of communication of a message is activated/legitimated each time only in the moment of its decoding. The film reaches its finality only if the viewer has the cultural competence necessary to understand it. Thus, the film has the status of a not fully comprehended book, an incomplete and involuntarily forged message. At that point resides the risk for cinematography to become a minor, maybe decadent art, a rhetoric in ”icons” for those who do not know to ”read”.

I.D. Suchianu attempted to demonstrate that decoding the film message requires a better capacity to analyze than in the case of the literary works:

> “*The reader of a novel is helped by the author's analysis (that sometimes discloses not only the characters' secrets, but also author's opinions about the events and characters), whereas, in the case of a film, the viewer has to guess everything. There is a difference of nature when we talk about such great a difference left to the reader's/viewer's choice. That is a dialectic difference with a qualitative leap. That is why the spectator's level of intelligence is superior to that of a novel reader.”* (Suchianu, 1973, 9)

In order to agree to that comparison, we should believe that the spectator must limit his thinking while reading a novel. In addition, according to Suchianu's vision, a director would never reveal his intentions. It is also unlikely that an experienced reader would find it difficult to understand the cinematographic art, with strikingly similar techniques. In order to guarantee

1919), a horror film, the fantastic genre. The film expresses the anxieties of the era as effects of human behaviour of the Great War. Scepticism and fatalism regarding the evolution of humanity gave birth to the grotesque and hallucinating universe of the film, resembling the delirious visions of a madman.

the understanding of a masterpiece, a vast cultural background is required. Different social classes have unequal cultural competence, which means that different people have more or less knowledge of the necessary "code" to understand a masterpiece (Bourdieu, 1984; Barnett, Allen, 2000, 147). In this social-cultural background, cinema has become a social place and a common good of all social categories, including those who "climbed on benches, encouraged frantically the heroes on-screen screaming and commenting, […] then leaving the cinema exhausted." (Cassvan, 1976, 12-13) Concerning the judgment of value, the film spectator had to appreciate the quality/innovation of the director's technique, not only to interpret the facts. And most probably, the ignorant reader or viewer has no idea of the importance of narrative technique (focus, intertextuality, narrative perspective etc.)[39].

Though a perseverant film reviewer, Suchianu was also preoccupied with literature. In his book dedicated to the subject, Grid Modorcea (1986, 14) considered that the meaning of the word "literature" in Suchianu's study is that of "story" or "myth". However, Suchianu suggested, at least in the case of melodrama, giving up the meaning of "story", favoring "Expressionism" (the feeling) at the expense of "Impressionism".

According to François Truffaut, ambition is what confers the cinema maker the status of the artist. It is the ambition to overcome and to remove the norm/pattern from his area of activity (Galt, Schoonover, 2010, V-VI). In other words, authentic art is the one that exposes or renders unique phenomena. Regardless of a new movement in painting, literature or film, the same genius is required, whose intensity cannot be objectively quantified.

Despite the similarities between cinema and literary art, the director is partly a writer, in the same way, a writer is partially a director, while both of them are artists. However, the frame shoots or filming techniques do not confer the director the status of a painter, sculptor, or architect. The director Robert Wise considered that the author cannot be trusted to write the script for a film: "because he's too tied into the material and can't see where it needs to be changed and cut and adapted for the screen." (Tibbetts, Welsh, 2005, XIV) He also suggested to watch the book and to read the film: "Or is it see the book and read the film? Maybe that's not as silly as it sounds!" (*Ibidem*).

When we focus on the melodrama as the genre that dominated the interwar cinematographic world, we must admit that the interwar film was a hybrid genre – literary theatrical-musical creations. We refer especially to the way the melodrama is being "read" and "rewritten", more specifically, the passion expressed in the film, which is the main interest of the spectator. The audience is attracted by the pleasure of being part of the feelings, the desire to know if the heroine stays with the hero. Melodrama risked becoming a bad play, absurd theatre, or puppet show if it wasn't for the spectator's emotions. The importance of the viewer's contribution is emphasized by Tudor Caranfil:

> *"Not the facts are melodramatic in a melodrama, but the way of watching them. […] Melodrama as genre consists of the schematized tendency, ostentatiously generalizing projected over the story and characters. It forces the flow of events, it occasions fatal coincidences that have no aim than to grow artificially the intensity of emotions."* (Caranfil, 1990, 245)

Despite all these flaws, cinema fascinates, overcomes the intellectuals' skepticism. Liviu Rebreanu,Victor Eftimiu, Camil Petrecu, D.I. Suchianu (in 1930, he publishes *Curs de cinematografie*), the critic Ion Cantacuzino write film reviews. Furthermore, some of them, especially Victor Eftimiu discuss the lack of politicians' reaction to the parliamentarian debates on the "spectacle tax". The President of the Council of Ministers, Alexandru Vaida-Voievod, promised to elaborate and discuss a "law to encourage the national cinematographic industry." (Serafim, 1934, no. 1, 2; Marțian, 1934, no. 5-6, 1).

The feature film became dynamic art due to the development of the tone film and had success in the Romanian market. However, the success was ensured by the foreign production of medium artistic quality. The Romanian film was less significant in the interwar period, given the lack of investment and disinterest of the political class. Cinematography was important in Romania as *loisir*. Although in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia or Greece the films had contributed to the effort of identity reconstruction, this potential was largely neglected in Romania. Generous projects or intellectuals' initiatives were repeatedly avoided. Despite the fact that it might seem too categorical of a conclusion, in Romania, the interwar cinematography was perceived only from the view of primary cultural consumption and less as a way of communication between the individual and society.

[39] That is why the German films of Expressionism had no success in Romanian cinema halls.

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THE GERMAN WEIMAR REPUBLIC IN 1923 AND "THE BLACK OBELISK" BY ERICH MARIA REMARQUE - BETWEEN HISTORICAL REALITY AND LITERARY FICTION

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Abstract: *The study is based on the analysis of the events that took place in Germany in the early 1920s, considering historical facts about Weimar's Republic and the fictional-retrospective sphere of the novel "The Black Obelisk" by Eric Maria Remarque. The aim of the paper is to highlight a painful event in the early 1920s that strongly affected German society - hyperinflation. But at the same time, the rise of nationalism was an important factor in destabilizing German society. Right-wing political groups in Germany exploited the sentiment of nationalism in society after the First World War, which contributed to social turmoil and increased opposition to the Republic of Weimar. Despite German postwar deficiencies, in this period, the German citizens had been living the "Golden Age of Weimar". Published in 1956, "The Black Obelisk" by Erich Maria Remarque, significantly subtitled "Story of a Delayed Youth" is a novel concerned with politics and life in the Weimar Republic in 1923. "The Black Obelisk" opens in April 1923, in the midst of hyperinflation, the first real crisis in the Republic of Weimar, and ends in fall of the same year when the crisis is over. Many scripts and characters in the novel developed around the type of policy promoted in the era. For many German citizens the memory of Germany's glorious past was painful. Despite the economic degradation that affected the inhabitants' lives, the charm and elegance of the 1920s survived and sketched a small veil of life depicted in the Walhalla Hotel, the Rote Muhle Nightclub and the Bloom Branch. Although written in a fictional register, the novel creates the hallucinating atmosphere of the early 1920s in Germany.*

Keywords: *hyperinflation, crisis, nationalism, the Weimar Republic, "The Black Obelisk"*

Introduction

The interwar period, but especially the first years after the First World War, will bring a breath of fresh air to literature. In Romanian literature, authors such as Max Blecher, George Călinescu, Mircea Eliade, Anton Holban, Gib Mihăescu, Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, Camil Petrescu, Cezar Petrescu, Liviu Rebreanu and Mihail Sebastian set the trend for modern novelistic formulas that confirm the synchronicity of Romanian writing with the world literature. The authenticity and the national specificity, assumed as a social dimension, as well as the assimilation of the national spirit with the European one, are starting points in the Romanian literature of the '20s.

The end of the First World War to the beginning of the Nazi dictatorship is one of the most fertile artistic eras of German literary and cultural history. The Golden Twenties and the Great Depression are topics reflected in literature, theatre, painting, and architecture.

This historical period is mirrored in immortal fictional literary works, such as Berlin Alexanderplatz (1929), Alfred Döblin's urban novel or *The Black Obelisk* (1959), Eric Maria Remarque's anti-war novel.

The city of Berlin during Weimar Germany is memorably described by Alfred Döblin in *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1929). The subject of this book is the life of Franz Biberkopf (the main character) in Berlin. The main character is a former cement worker and haulier released from prison The film, vaudeville, cabaret, but also the print and audio media created a mass culture that reverberates over the city a new air of freedom.

In the non-fictional area, Otto Freidrich in his work "Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s presents a fascinating portrait of the troubled political, social and cultural life of the city in the 1920s. Joseph Roth in *What I Saw: Reports from Berlin 1920-1933*, depicts the

tragicomic world of the 1920s, in Berlin, seen by the greatest journalistic eyewitness.

Erich Maria Remarque created a new literary genre in German literature marked by the German experience of the post-First World War period.

The Weimar Republic was Germany's government from 1919 to 1933, the period after the First World War until the rise of Nazi Germany. It was named after the town of Weimar where Germany's new government was formed by a national assembly after Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated.

In 1923, because to the Treaty of Versailles, Germany's ability to produce revenue-generating coal and iron ore decreased. As war debts and reparations drained its coffers, the German government was unable to pay its debts. The Weimar government simply printed more money. The effort backfired, however, and further devalued the German Mark—and inflation increased at an astounding level. The cost of living rose rapidly and many people lost all they had.

Published in 1956, *The Black Obelisk* by Erich Maria Remarque, significantly subtitled *Story of a Delayed Youth* is a novel concerned with politics and life in the Weimar Republic in 1923. *The Black Obelisk* is a literary fiction, rich in comedy and tragedy, a romantic, robust story, full of ironic insight into the condition of man. Ludwig Bodmer, the hero of this novel, is a young man of twenty-five years, veteran of World War I who lives in a provincial German town during the days of 1923, the days of hyperinflation and renewing nationalism. The novel opens in April 1923, in the middle of the hyperinflation, the Weimar Republic's first real crisis, and it ends late in the autumn of the same year, when the crisis is over.

> *"The sun is shining in the office of Heinrich Kroll and Sons, Funeral Monuments. It is April 1923, and business is good. The first quarter has been lively; we have made brilliant sales and grown poor in the process, but what can we do? Death is ineluctable, and such is human sorrow that it demands memorials of sandstone, marble, or even, when the sense of guilt or the inheritance is large, of costly black Swedish granite polished on all sides. Autumn and spring are the best seasons for dealers in the appurtenances of grief, more people die then than in summer or winter: in autumn because the sap has dried up, and in spring because it mounts and consumes the weakened body like too large a wick in too thin a candle."* (Remarque, 2013, 3)

The Weimar Republic's first real crisis, hyperinflation – the historical reality

After World War I, in February 1919, The Weimar Republic opened its National Assembly and had to accept the economic penalties imposed upon Germany by the Treaty of Versailles.

> *"The first years of the republic, characterized by the politically polarized violence remained turbulent for several years after the end of the war, with extreme right-wing and extreme left-wing groups, Freikorps on the right, Spartacists on the left, which developed later into the equally polarized opposition between the fascist Nazis and the communist Red Front."* (Murdoch, 2006, 70)

From January 1922 the rate of inflation in Germany began to rise, largely at the expense of the working and middle classes, whose wages and savings rapidly became worthless. 1923 was a difficult year for Germany. Between 11 January 1923 and 25 August 1925 the German Ruhr valley was military occupied by France and Belgium. The German Weimar Republic was defaulting on reparation payments in the early 1920s. The total reparation sum of £6.6 billion has been established by the Treaty of Versailles and Germany experienced a disastrous period of inflation. In January 1923 the Cuno government had taken measures for stopping the inflation. They had fixed a rate of exchange that made the dollar worth about twenty thousand marks. The currency remained stable until April when inflation blew up. The inflation was reaching ludicrous proportions, with rates changing twice daily or even more frequently against the dollar, rendering savings, wages, and prices meaningless within hours.

Arthur Rosenberg noted in *A History of the German Republic*:

> *"Then followed the mad days in Germany, when for a loaf of bread notes were paid whose face value ran into milliards or even billions. The German currency had, in fact, lost all value. Those who, as has been indicated above, were making a profit out of the inflation – the financial speculators, great industrialists and estate owners – were enjoying a Golden Age. Since German factory-owners were able to produce goods at the most absurdly low costs, the German prices were lower than those of any competitor in the world market. Hence production rose in Germany in 1923 and*

goods were dumped upon foreign markets. The victims of the inflation were the German lower middle classes, the wage and salary earners. And those who had any savings in Germany lost their last farthing." (Rosenberg, 1936, 183)

Key witnesses of those years left written testimonies about inflation and especially about the effects it had on the middle class, which at the end of 1923 almost ceased to exist.

On October 9th 1923, Betty Scholem wrote to her son Gerhard Scholem, a Jewish-German historian and philosopher, who emigrated in Palestine in 1923, this letter, describing how life and economic activity had deteriorated due to hyperinflation:

"So you had a lovely and interesting trip… Just be glad to be where you are. Here it has become simply terrible. I can imagine that outside Germany, people must have the strangest notions about this place. The reality is even stranger. When you left, the brand of sausage I gave you cost 12 million marks; today it's up to 240 million. All prices have risen at this pace, often even faster. The collapse of the economy is complete. No one can buy a thing and the unemployment rate has thus been on the rise." (Scholem, 1923)

Writing in 1943 the Austrian-German author Stefan Zweig recalls living through the 1923 hyperinflation:

"The mark plunged down, never to stop until it had reached the fantastic figures of madness – the millions, the billions and trillions. Now the real witches' Sabbath of inflation started, against which our Austrian inflation with its absurd enough ratio of 15,000 old to 1 of new currency had been shabby child's play. To describe it in detail, with its incredibility, would take a whole book and to readers of today, it would seem like a fairy tale. I have known days when I had to pay fifty thousand marks for a newspaper in the morning and a hundred thousand in the evening; whoever had foreign currency to exchange did so from hour to hour, because at four o'clock he would get a better rate than at three, and at five o'clock he would get much more than he had got an hour earlier." (Zweig, 1943)

Sebastian Haffner, a journalist and author who lived through the period, noted:

"Anyone who had savings in a bank or bonds saw their value disappear overnight. Soon it did not matter whether it was a penny put away for a rainy day or a vast fortune. Everything was obliterated . . . The cost of living had begun to spiral out of control . . . A pound of potatoes which yesterday had cost fifty thousand marks now cost a hundred thousand. The salary of sixty-five thousand marks brought home the previous Friday was no longer sufficient to buy a packet of cigarettes on Tuesday." (Haffner, 2000, 55)

The crisis had a lasting effect on many Germans. As one historian explains:

"Hyperinflation became a trauma whose influence affected the behavior of Germans of all classes long afterwards. It added to the feeling in the more conservative sections of the population of a world turned upside-down, first by defeat, then by revolution, and now by economics." (Evans, 2004, 112)

In the second part of 1923, Gustav Stresemann's government introduced a mortgage-based currency, the Rentenmark (Roggenmark) which stabilized the situation rapidly. In November of that year, Hitler staged his "Beer-Hall Putsch" in Munich in an attempt to take over what he saw as a collapsing government. Even if the "Putsch" was suppressed, the events of 1923 marked Hitler's debut on the political stage and the rise of nationalism in Germany.

Hyperinflation in literary fiction

Remarque's retrospective novel *The Black Obelisk* is narrated by Ludwig Bodmer, a young former soldier of the First World War, who is employed by Heinrich Kroll's firm that provided gravestones and war memorials. The firm has had on stock a black obelisk since before the war and has been unable to sell it. This obelisk has come to symbolize the old order, the period before the First World War. On the other hand, this huge stone has symbolic meanings. It represents the rigid mindset, but sometimes its function is ironic. It becomes a nocturnal urinal for the drunken former sergeant Knopf. When it is finally sold, the obelisk becomes the phallic memorial for the grave of a prostitute who had died in the practice of her profession. The obelisk saves the firm. The stone is paid in currency out of dead prostitute's immoral earning.

The action of the novel follows two parallel planes. One plane is dedicated to the professional and private activities of Bodmer and his friends. On the other hand, the novel follows

Bodmer's relationship with a girl, whom he meets in the psychiatric hospital.

Bodmer lives in two worlds. In the real world, the outside world, most of the action is focused on Bodmer's workplace, the tombstone repository, the inhabitants of the neighboring houses or the clubs, bars, restaurants, and the town brothel.

Every Sunday Bodmer plays the piano in the asylum. It is there, in a milieu that is deliberately cut off from the real world. There he meets a girl whose real name is Geneviève Terboven, but who is being treated for schizophrenia and calls herself Isabelle. The illusory Isabelle is in contrast to the women he encounters in the supposedly sane world. In his visits to the asylum, Bodmer meets the priest, Bodendiek, and talks to him regularly, as well as doctor Wernicke.

The Black Obelisk opens in April 1923 in the middle of the hyperinflation, the Weimar Republic's first real crisis, and ends late in the same year, when the crisis is over. At the beginning of the novel, Bodmer is lighting a cigar with a ten marks bank-note and his friend, Georg Kroll, has brought in a suitcase full of cash. Kroll looks back with ironic nostalgia to the time not long ago when inflation was only three hundred percent. Towards the end of the novel the inflation is so huge, it reaches billions. In a scene Bodmer gives money to some beggars, who rush off immediately to buy ~~a~~ soup because the price of it might have risen by a few million marks within the hour. Only speculations thrive. The economy depends upon the holding of capital assets, speculation, and the use of credit that can be paid back at a later rate.

The general effect of the inflation upon humans is described through Bodmer's comments, which summarize the crisis of the Weimar Republic:

> *"The dollar has gone up by another 200,000 marks, hunger has increased, prices have gone up, and the whole thing is simple. Prices are rising faster than wages, so that the part of the population that depends on wages, salaries, income, pensions is sinking more and more into hopeless poverty, and the other part is suffocating in uncertain riches. The government just watches. It is getting rid of its debts because of the inflation. Nobody notices that it is losing the people at the same time."* (Remarque, 2013, 219)

Nationalism as historical reality

Nationalism was an important factor in the destabilization of the German society and hyperinflation. German right-wing political groups exploited the sentiment of nationalism present in the society after World War I, which contributed to social turmoil and led to increased opposition towards the Weimar Republic. Additionally, nationalistic sentiment in Germany allowed the Nazi party to gain influence and power during this period. Furthermore, nationalism was manifested in the widespread militarism in the Weimar Republic that led to numerous riots and demonstrations in Germany. In 1923, nationalism largely influenced Germany's social and political environment in a devastating manner, inflicting a highly volatile German society. Nationalism was a fundamental concern in the right-wing German groups and political parties, which caused significant instability in the Weimar Republic. After World War I, these right-wing groups encouraged the "stab in the back" myth – *Dolchstosslegende*. Unpatriotic groups, such as pacifists, socialists, democrats and Jews, were accused of undermining the German Army during the war. These accusations were readily accepted by the disgruntled German population. The accused groups became widely cast out, and the German society became increasingly divided.

Nationalism in Germany found popularity and support in the Nazi party, which caused solid unrest and instability in the German society. The Nazi Party was a relatively small party during the period of hyperinflation. The Beer Hall Putsch, orchestrated by Hitler was an important representation of the growing instability in Germany at the end of 1923. Despite the fact that the Beer Hall Putsch was a relatively insignificant hit for the Weimar government, it served as a demonstration of the growing discontent in the Nazi party and the potential threat from other right-wing groups.

Journalist Joseph Roth in *What I Saw: Report from Berlin 1920 -1933* records the social and political violence that shakes the Weimar Republic's democracy, warning of the danger posed by the Nazis. Beyond the fascinating life of inter-war Berlin, Roth shows us the ugly face of the city: immigrants, criminals, dead without names that filled the morgues of the city: "What I see, What I see. What I see is the day in all its absurdity and triviality." (Roth, 2004, 23)

The German writer of conservative political views Thomas Mann didn't criticize Adolf Hitler, but in 1921, he took note of the rising Nazi movement and dismissed it in his diary. However, he never attacked Hitler in print. In 1922, Thomas Mann spoke in a favor of

democracy and the Weimar Republic to a group of students:

> *"Patriotism and republic, so far from being opposed, have sometimes appeared as one and the same thing; and the cause of freedom and the fatherland had the passionate support of the noblest youth."* (Mann, 1922)

Unlike his brother, Heinrich Mann was interested in left-wing politics and in the Weimar Republic era, he was a supporter of Kurt Eisner, the Jewish leader of the Independent Socialist Party in Munich. Thomas Mann, in *Letters of Heinrich and Thomas Mann, 1900-1949*, commented that Heinrich pretended that:

> *"Eisner had been the first intellectual at the head of a German state... in a hundred days he had had more creative ideas than others in fifty years, and... had fallen as a martyr to truth. Nauseating!"* (Mann, 1998, 124)

Rise of nationalism in literary fiction

Many scenes and characters in the novel are developed around the type of politics promoted in the era. For many German citizens, the memory of Germany's glorious past was painful.

There is a relevant scene in *The Black Obelisk* that takes place outside Werdenbrück and it involves most of the characters. A local village has bought from Heinrich Kroll's firm a war memorial, which is to be dedicated at a ceremony organized by the anti-Semitic former Major Wolkenstein, now an enthusiastic supporter of the right, for whom "the mass murder has become an adventure." (Remarque, 2013, 118) He appears in full imperial uniform, which is in fact illegal, though he knows this will be ignored. The former Major Wolkenstein has suppressed all real memory of the war and turned everything into the nationalistic pride. The Wolkenstein's nationalistic speech invokes the myth of the undefeated German Army stabbed in the back and calls for revenge. However, one man in the village exposes the black, red, and gold flag of the Weimar Republic and not the old imperial black, white, and red flag. The man is set upon down by the mob. He is beaten up till he dies. Bodmer and Georg Kroll manage to exploit the incident to pressure the local community into paying for the memorial, the overall effect is pessimistic, because no one will be found responsible for the deed. Bodmer summarizes that fact in the following words:

> *"Political murder perpetrated by the right is honorable and always has mitigating circumstances. We've got a republic, but we've kept the judges, the officials and the officers of the old regime."* (Remarque, 2013, 128)

Characters like Heinrich Kroll and the horse butcher, Watzek, an early adherent of Hitler, demonstrate the rise of the right. The extremism of Heinrich Kroll is set up as a target for Bodmer or Georg Kroll counterargument. When Georg Kroll produces an imperial Goldmark, a prewar gold coin, Heinrich sees it as a reminder of a time when there was employment, a thriving economy, and respect for Germany, concluding: "That we need a Kaiser and a decent nationalist government again." (Remarque, 2013, 298) Bodmer replies: "We've got five million unemployed, inflation, and we were defeated because we had your beloved nationalist government." (Remarque, 2013, 298)

In another scene, the horse butcher, Watzek talks about Hitler's speech he has just heard on the radio. In 1922 and 1923 Hitler had begun to move into public life, largely in Bavaria, and by 1922 the title Führer was already being used in the party's newspaper. Watzek claims that Hitler will change everything.

The charm and elegance of the 1920s in the Weimar Republic's – the historical reality

The '20s are often described as the "Golden Age of Weimar" because of their stability, economic security and improved living standards – at least in comparison to previous years. The seeds of German recovery were planted in the autumn of 1923 when Gustav Stresemann was elevated to the chancellorship. Stresemann and his ministers formulated plans to arrest the hyperinflation crisis by introducing a new currency, the Rentenmark, and fixed its value to gold prices. The government announced its determination to meet reparations payments and sought international assistance to do so. The US-led Dawes Plan was completed in April 1924 and implemented four months later (*** 2018).

Professor Eric D. Weitz in his book Weimar *Germany: Promise and Tragedy* portrays the Weimar era as a period of revolutionary cultural creativity. The rise of social democracy and the optimism of the Weimar Republic provided the impetus to seek new solutions in architecture. The leading architects of Expressionism such as Bruno Taut, Erich Mendelsohn, Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and Hans Poelzig, along with other Expressionists

in the visual arts, such as Hannah Höch in photomontages and Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill in theater, had a pragmatical approach.

Professor Weitz's book takes the reader back in time. We are in the 1920s when the city of Berlin lives in a new light of modernity - the bright lights, the cinemas, the new woman without prejudice, the cabarets, the restaurants, the bright stores with silk cloths. The Weimar period can be considered a time of self-discovery. The desire for life manifests itself in all dimensions.

> *"An intense desire to grasp life in all its manifold dimensions, to experience love, sex, beauty, and power, fast cars and airborne flight, theater and dance crazes, arose out of the strong sense of the ephemeral character of life, of lives so quickly snuffed out or forever ruined by bullet wounds and gas attacks."* (Weitz, 2007, 11)

Otto Friedrich, the author of *Before Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s*, a nonfictional work and a charming history of Berlin offers the readers an authentic picture of the daily life in the years after World War I. Berlin in the 1920s is a city with many faces. The great inflation, the strikes and the riots, the unemployment and the bankruptcy, the rise to power of the Nazi party represented the bad and ugly face of Berlin and of all Weimer Germany. But Otto Freidrich shows out to readers a city with cultural aura into a unique time. Friedrich covers aspects of the city's history — political and historical facts — but also highlights famous musicians and composers who lived in the city of Berlin. He talks about the Russian diaspora and Nabokov who gave tennis lessons, about designers of the Bauhaus School, about writers like Auden and Isherwood.

> *"The twenties were not golden for everyone, of course, for these were the years of the great inflation, of strikes and riots, unemployment and bankruptcy, and Nazi and Communists battling in the streets. Still, the magic names, keep recurring – Marlene Dietrich, Greta Garbo, Josephine Baker, the grandiose productions of Max Reinhardt's "Theatre of 5,000", three opera companies running simultaneously under Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer, and Erich Kleiber, the opening night of Wozzeck, and The Threepenny Opera."* (Freidrich, 1985, 7)

The many faces that make up the city of Berlin in the 1920s represent in Friedreich's vision "a state of mind, some freedom and exhilaration" (Freidrich, 1985, 7).

The charm and elegance of the 1920s in literary fiction

In the spring of 1923, Germany is trying to recover after the First World War. Inflation increases, while the German mark devaluates and becomes used as wallpaper in the rooms of the missing as an accessory of indifference. Young Ludwig Bodmer, employee of the monumental funeral firm Heinrich
Kroll & Sons, is experiencing a small bohemian society that helps them forget the doubts.

Despite the economic degradation that affected the inhabitants' lives, the charm and elegance of the 1920s survived and sketched a small veil of life depicted by an antic deluxe in the Walhalla Hotel, the Rote Muhle Nightclub and the Bloom Branch. Ludwig is fraught with questions about life amidst this chaos. In these conditions, he meets Isabelle and he hopes to find love and to understand the meaning of the atrocities of a war that the world, trying to subsist, is already beginning to forget.

These are the happy years of jazz and foxtrot. They are the elegant years of the silk. Life and a non-conformist fragrance, this interwar period perfectly defines the creation of new tastes in terms of dress style, and way of spending time in society.

> *"The Red Mill is jam-packed. All we can get is a table next to the orchestra. The music is too loud anyway, but at our table, it is completely deafening. (...) The dance floor is so crowded that the dancer can hardly move. But that doesn't matter to Riesenfeld. He spies a woman in white silk at the bar and rushes up to her."* (Remarque, 2013, 61)

Drinking alcohol, dawning parties, dangerous adventures on dark streets, and provocative women's dances on cabaret tables were all part of a new era of free-flowing behavior. Everyone is trying to recover the lost years of the war and lives his/her life.

Epilogue

The novel ends with the currency reform and Ludwig's move to Berlin. Ludwig "reaches a certain level of maturity at the end." (Wagener, 1991, 91-92) A brief epilogue in which the narrator recounts the fates of the book's main characters during and after World War II shows, cynically, that "the victims of the Third Reich were not properly taken care of, and those who were responsible for the crimes committed were rewarded with pensions and high positions."

(Wagener, 1991, 86) This epilogue of the novel throws us from the fictional to the real world of events that took place in the history of Nazi Germany.

Erich Maria Remarque's novel offers glimpses into the complex, chaotic and anomic society of Berlin of the early 1920s. The author depicts a difficult period of the Weimar Republic from an economic, political and moral perspective, exploring the tension between historical reality and literary fiction. Alongside Alfred Döblin, Otto Friedrich, Thomas Mann and many others, Remarque's portrait of Berlin revolves around the financial and moral crisis of the German society in its desperate attempt to recover after the First World War.

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SERBIAN DIVISION IN DOBRUDJA OR DISPUTABLE ALLIES

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Abstract: *The Great War had a dramatic impact not only on the military involved states, but on the entire society, which was forced to change and re-evaluate its capacity to overcome the hardships. Both soldiers and civilians found it difficult to adapt after the war. The study attempts to present the complex relationship between two states with a similar evolution within the Habsburg Empire – Serbia and Romania. After the terrible defeat of the Serbian army, the Serbian division that fought alongside Romanians and Russian to defend Dobrudja, established an alliance no one doubted. Nevertheless, during the Peace Conference in Paris, these relations were questioned when the borders between the newly established states were set. Ten years later after disputing the Banat territory, in 1926, a commemorative event took place in order to unite through memory the fallen people on Dobrudja land. The paper highlights the diplomatic tensions of the after-war period between the Great Romania and the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom, as well as the alliances between the two parties during the Great War and a decade after its end.*

Keywords: *the Great War, Austro-Hungary, Serbian and Romanian army, Dobrudja front, Diplomatic tensions, Medgidia monument*

The Sarajevo attempt proved to be difficult to foresee for Serbia, with all its consequences, as it supposed serious and confusing repercussions, among which the main was Serbia's condemnation. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand offered the AustroHungarian generals the occasion they were searching for a while to solve an internal issue – the Slavic national movement within the Habsburg Empire.

The first years of the war unfolded a military situation opposed to the optimistic expectations. Defeats of the Austro-Hungarian army were obvious, followed by prisoners' executions and an indescribable violence against the civilians who were living on the Serbian front line. The crimes that took place starting of August 1914 constituted the Black Book of the Serbian government, being presented at the Peace Conference in Paris.

European public opinion took notice of the first violent attacks against civilians, killing hundreds of people to avenge the Archduke. The document that triggered this evil chain of events was issued by the general Hornstei to the 9th Austro-Hungarian army, spread in brochures on the front: *Directives on the attitude toward the Serbian population*.

Serbia's population was considered "animated by fanatical hatred, in a country, where assassination is permitted even in the higher classes of society, as the Sarajevo catastrophe proves. Moreover, assassination is glorified; as such, no feeling of humanity and generosity has to be shown toward such a population." That military behavioural pattern was a sombre premonition regarding the next worldwide conflict that perfected the industrial level on which the total war was conducted (Locotenentul Dorin, 1915, 8).

In the autumn of 1915, numerous Serbian refugees, elders, women and children sought refuge in Romanian Dobrudja, where they considered they would be safe. Their arrival remained in the memory of population in Dobrudja; desperate mothers who were unable to find their children were vividly described by witnesses of those sad war events.

Although Romanians from the Old Kingdom and the Austro-Hungarian Empire were not approving the Archduke's assassination, they were sympathizers of the Serbian cause. Romanians from Transylvania and Banat identified with Serbs' fate, especially civilians' cruel fate who suffered a lot during the war. Romanians from the dualist state were warned by authorities that they

might find themselves in the same situation as the Serbs. The prisoners' camp, such as the camp from Arad, were examples of dealing with Serbian civilians brought from Serbia and the Serbian elite from Banat. The terrible living conditions and high mortality rate led to thousands of victims, while the material support from Romanians from the city and its surroundings was essential to prisoners' survival (Maior, 2016, 228-237).

After the intervention of the German army, the army of the Serbian Kingdom retreated in Corfu and Saloniki, but those who continued to fight were the Slavic military men from the Habsburg Empire. Volunteer units appeared as a result of the Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pasici initiative to save the Serbian army. It was also the result of the initiative of the Yugoslavian Committee, formed in London by the Slavic leaders from the Habsburg Empire, who found refuge there from the beginning of the war. The Tsarist Russia contributed with the sum of 80 million rubbles-gold so that the period August-September 1915, in Serbia there were 3,500 volunteers included in the Serbian army. However, after the retreat, this action was ceased, and the only viable solution was forming volunteer units among the Slavic from Kuk army who were kept prisoners by the Russians.

That is why, those who were enrolled in Russia, forming the 1st Serbian division of volunteers, were included in Army Corps 47 of the 3rd Russian army that had the role to protect Dobrudja. The name was justified by the great number of Serbs – 98%. But it is also possible that the percentage is not accurate, as Croats or Slovenians were also part of this unit (Milin, 2013).

The Serbian division that fought in Dobrudja was organized in Odessa, while the instruction was provided by Serbian officers who came from Corfu until the formation of the new generation of officers. Although the Russian officers did not trust the members of this division, the way Serbs fought in Dobrudja changed the Russians' attitude.

Colonel Stefan Hadjici commanded the division in most of the Dobrudja battles. He had 12 battalions of infantry and 3 batteries; the division was brought on Danube, landing at Cernavoda on 16-18 August 1916 (Ioaniţiu, 1929, 45). Under the orders of General Andrei Zaioncikovscki were 624 officers, 18,244 soldiers. The first battle took place at Bazargik, on August 25, 1916, followed by Cuzgun Karaomer, line Raşova-Cocargea-Cobadin. The last resistance was the fight for the railway Medgidia-Constanţa. As a result of the suffered losses, the division was retreated from the Dobrudja front.

At the beginning, the impression about the Serbian division was not favourable, as the lack of experience and few pieces of artillery were mentioned. However, the Serbs managed to establish a great collaboration with Romanian soldiers.

The Romanian historiography noted the merits of soldiers from the Serbian division, especially at Bazargic, Tropaisar and Cocargea, as well as their feirce resistance that was on the verge of anihilating the 4th Bulgarian division (Cupşa, 1967, 73). I.G. Duca also praised the Serbs' courage in his memoirs, convinced by their contribution to maintaining the line Raşova-Cobadin-Tuzla. Numerous references were made by Constantin Kiriţescu in his work to the "Serbian-Croatian division". The order given by General Andrei Zaioncikovscki proved his belief in victory: "Today, the first day of 1877, when the Romanian-Russian and Serbian troops fight together, I decided to attack with equal forces so that victory would not be attributed only to one party."

Another battle that ended with resistance and great losses was for the suport of the line Raşova-Cobadin-Tuzla, where after a series of "violent fights and bloody counterattacks, Romanians and Serbs had to retreat in positions from the edge of the village." Frimu brigade or artillery lead by Captain Corneliu Dragalina at Tuzla or Cocargea also supported the division. It is also mentioned at important battles in Dobrudja: Tropaisar, Perveli, Amzacea and Cobadin. The retreat on the line Murfatlar-Constanţa followed on the 22nd of October, alongside the rest of the 9th and 19th Romanian divisions. That was the moment when the division was decimated (Duca, 1994, 42; Kiriţescu, 1989, 336-389).

General Romulus Scărişoreanu mentioned the Serbian division referring to Bazargic and to Hârşova battles, when, due to the losses, on 11 October 1916, it had to go to Isaccea or to Russia for rest. Ştefan Opriş noted the presence of the Serbian division in the battles of Amzacea and Tropaisar (Scărişoreanu, 1934, 45; Opriş, 1937, 25).

Alexandru Averescu also mentioned the Serbian division many times. After his inspection on the Dobrudja front, on 7 September 1916, he analysed the fighting capacity of Romanian units 5, 9, 12, 19, the Russian division 61 and the Serbian division conducted by Stefan Hadgici. Although Averescu admitted that by that date the Serbian division was affected after battles, it had a

better morale than some Romanian units (Averescu, 1935, 37).

Officer Alexandru Stoenescu who fought on the Dobrudja front, highlighted the harsh reality on the road to Cernavoda: "this night, the march was tough for the tired people who have been marching a lot with no rest. We met convoys of wounded Serbs, Russians, Romanians – some gathered in a house, others around a campfire, all groaning, crying and moaning", "even worse, after the Cocargea battles, the enemy had broken the front between the Russian-Serbian troops and the Romanian troops of the 9th division." According to the memories of George Mumuianu, former prefect of Constanţa county, many soldiers from the Serbian division were in the hospitals of Constanţa. The wounded wanted to go back to their comrades on the front (Stoenescu 1919, 29-30). As a result of bloody battles, the Serbian division lost over 59% of their people, between 6 September – 25 October: 8,331 people, among which 42 dead officers, 197 wounded officers, 1,689 killed soldiers, 6,172 wounded soldiers, and 866 lost soldiers (Torrey, 2014, 132).

Beyond the common military operations, after the end of the war, at the Peace Conference in Paris, the relationship between Serbians and Romanians became tensed because of the Banat territory, where there were Serbian inhabitants. In 1919-1920, there were people to evaluate the idea of Serbian Banat given their participation at battles in Dobrudja: "and a Yugoslavian division, of which our friends knew to explore so many exaggerated political uses, sent at the beginning of our war on the Dobrudja front to fight against Bulgarians, our common enemies."

In a discussion between Alexandru Marghiloman, president of Red Cross, with the Romanian king, the sensitive subject of the execution of Bulgarian prisoners was tackled. The king declared that "not the Russians executed the Bulgarian prisoners, but Serbian officers and Czech or Croatian soldiers." (Bocu, 2018, 54; Marghiloman, 1995, 68)

In the period 1919-1923, until the Romanian Parliament voted on 20 December 1923 the treaty with Serbia, the common bravery acts seemed to be long forgotten. The Romanian public opinion, as well as the political elite (especially from Banat) recognized the tenacity of the Yugoslavian delegation at the Peace Conference in Paris to delineate the borders with all neighbors: Austria, Hungary, Romania, Italy, Bulgaria and Albania. Mistakes in establishing useless borders for the fate of the population and for the sake of diplomatic relations were behavioral patterns of the former dualist state. Unfortunately, such an example was the Serbian occupation of Banat in 1918-1919 that was not a happy event for Romanian inhabitants of the region, as historian Liviu Maior noticed.

The fight for the entire Banat seemed to be for some Romanians just a confrontation of ideas, as the dispute between Ionel Brătianu and Take Ionescu shows. According to the Prime Minister, Ionel Brătianu, the best border between Romanians and Serbs was Danube, the natural border. However, it was not his point of view that triumphed after these complicated negotiations and discussions.

Another sensitive matter to which Serbians responded with great rigidity, characteristic to the former dualist empire, was the policy regarding the minorities – Romanians from Timoc and Voievodina. The situation remained unsolved despite the vehement Romanian public opinion concerning the Serbian persecutions of "our enslaved brothers" (Zbuchea, 2010, 37; Maior, 2018, 233; Demian, 1933, 9).

It was not the confrontations between the delegations and the way England, France and USA reacted to them that surprised the most, but the way in which the involved parties changed the side from victim to master, regardless of recent alliances. That was also the case of the complicated conflict between Romanians and Serbs for the border between Romania and the future Yugoslavia.

We've selected two references for the situation of Romanian soldiers who were prisoners in Bulgarian camps from where they managed to escape in autumn 1918. Two reports of the general counsil of Romania in Saloniki, Gheorghe I. Ionescu were sent to Prime Minister I. I. C. Brătianu at the beginning of 1919 and refer to the situation of Romanian prisoners in Greece. Ionescu sent three lists with 401 Romanian soldiers, former prisoners in Bulgaria, refugees in Greece after the Allied offensive of September 1918 on the Saloniki front. They were embarked for repatriation by the French state major. When they escaped Bulgaria, they were in a deplorable state, lucky to have reached the Italian, English or French sectors, where they were treated well and the sick were placed in hospitals.

Other 96 Romanian soldiers had the back luck to reach Serbs, in Micra camp, near Saloniki, where they were treated badly, alongside the Bulgarian prisoners. Serbian military authorities offered no information concerning these prisoners to the Romanian General Consulate of Athens. Only a year later, on 19 September 1919, a letter

written by a Romanian warrant officer of regiment 73 Tulcea, Pântea, reached the Romanian consulate. The letter described the camp conditions: sleeping on the damp land, sitting in rain and cold. After the intervention of General Franchet d'Esperey, the Romanian prisoners of war were released. They were in a terrible state, given the fact that they spent the most difficult period of discussions regarding Banat between the two involved parties. There were fears that Serbia had several hundreds of Romanian prisoners.

The second case from the same camp concerned 60 Romanians from Bukovina. They were prisoners from the former Austro-Hungarian army, who after passing to the Serbian sector after the offensive of September 1918. They were threatened that they would be sent to work in Serbia. The first intervention of the Romanian consul was refused, as the Serbian military command of the Service of war prisoners argued that he needed the acceptance of the Serbian Ministry of War. The reason for that is given by the status of the Romanians of Bukovina, considered Austrian subjects in 1919 (*România la Conferinţa de pace de la Paris. (1919-1920).Documente diplomatice, vol. I, 1 12 1918-28 06 1919,* 7476, 94).

Ten years after the brave Serbian division fought in Dobrudja, erecting a monument to honour the fallen might have been the symbol of a friendship between the Serbs and Romanians. Initially, King Ferdinand intended to organize a military cemetery at Mircea Voda, Constanţa county, where everyone who fought in Dobrudja to be brought together, regardless of their status, friends or foes. But the former Serbian fighters (together with the former command of their division, then General Stefan Hadjici and military attaché of the Yugoslav kingdom) proposed to commemorate their fallen comrades in Dobrudja by erecting a monument only with the Serbs' human remains.

Medgidia was the chosen place, where the marble monument as a pyramid was brought from Belgrad, with inscriptions and a bassrelief with the emblem of the newly declared Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian kingdom.

The main inscription expressed the fact that the monument is for the heroes of the 1st Serbian voluntary division who fell in the battles of Dobrudja betwen 25 August and 12 October 1916: Dobrici, Kara Sinan, Hardali, Tekederese, Kokargea, Amsacea, Emghemahale, Edelkioi.

Leutenant N. Copaciu was responsible with the re-interment of the Serbian soldiers, on the behalf of the society "Cultul Eroilor".

bringing the monument from Belgrad, the Serbian heroes' remains had to be brought from Medgidia, and were gathered from "all the hills of Dobrudja". The operation was done with the help of the army, 2nd regiment of border guards and members from the Centre of Instruction from Medgidia. 242 Serbian soldiers were set in crypts at the ceremony that took place on the 15th of July 1926. Among the reburied, the most known was Leutenant-Colonel Matici, Academy colleague with General Antici. Soldiers and officials from Constanţa county were present, alongside pupils, orphans of the marine and other people (*România Eroică*, 1926, 10-11-12,16-17).

The ceremony of inauguration of the monument took place on the 8th of September 1926, when 383 Serbian guests participated, together with General Stefan Hadjici. They were all met at Medgidia by General Miricescu, Romanian Minister of War. Among the Serbs were descendents of the fallen soldiers, invalids of war and widows. Members of the Yugoslavian Legation from Bucharest were accompanied by French and Czechoslovak diplomats. Numerous Romanians were present at the event, reflecting the great importance of the event and war consequences: Association of War Widows, National Union of Former Soldiers, Union of Reserve Officers of Ilfov section, Defenders of Motherland, Association of Chevaliers of Military Virtue and the Circle of Reserve Warrant Officers.

The discourses of General Hadjici and General Miricescu presented different versions of war events, pointing out the common aspects the two nations had – the fight for national freedom. The kinship between the two royal houses contributed to the alliance between the two countries. General Miricescu mentioned even the medieval battle faught together against the Turks at Kossovopolje. Thus, the fight of Romanians and Serbians for their liberation gained consistence. Nearly a decade after 1918, in 1926, the Austro-Hungarian war against Serbia could be re-evaluated, highlighting the Serbian resistance and the alliance between Romania and Yugoslavia. It was also mentioned that 11 members of the Serbian division received the order Mihai Viteazul.

Corneliu Dragalina, the son of General Dragalina who has fallen in battle General Dragalina, was also present at the ceremony. He faught in Dobrudja as artillery officer with the Serbian division. 40 wreaths were brought to the monument and land from Yugoslavia, while an eagle was released to symbolize the courage of

those fallen (*România Eroică*, 1926, 10-11-12, 9-15).

During the same year, at a ceremony dedicated to the celebration of Small Entente, an aerial raid was organized by the diplomacy of the Romanian Kingdom. A new ceremony took place at the Medgidia monument where members of the Yugoslavian Legation from Bucharest participated, as well as aviators, garrisons of the towns Medgidia and Constanţa, the mayor of Constanţa, and numerous people. There were marches of Medgidia troops, while the ceremony was enhancing the alliance between the two nations (*România Eroică*, 1929, 9, 9-10).

Nearly ten years after the Great War these events were attempts to re-evaluate the complicated mechanisms of some alliances. At the same time, the quick changing context contributted to different expectations after 1918. The figth against the dualist state was a sufficient reason to plead for an alliance between Romania and Serbia, and a subsequent Small Entente.

Both the Romanian and Serbian societies of the 1919-1923 were concerned with the huge burden of the human loss during the war and the difficult reconstruction period. On the other hand, there were diplomatic concerns and the ambition to prove the power of the newly formed Serbian state. The diplomatic model regarding the alliances was one of the concerns of the states formed after 1918, searching for a powerful regional ally. In this respect, the Medgidia commemoration served as the perfect occasion to create the image of powerful allies immediately after the end of the Great War. However, the projected ambitions of each of the involved states proved that there was no perfectly durable alliance despite the common painful war losses.

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List of illustrations

Fig. 1. Members of the 1st Serbian division.

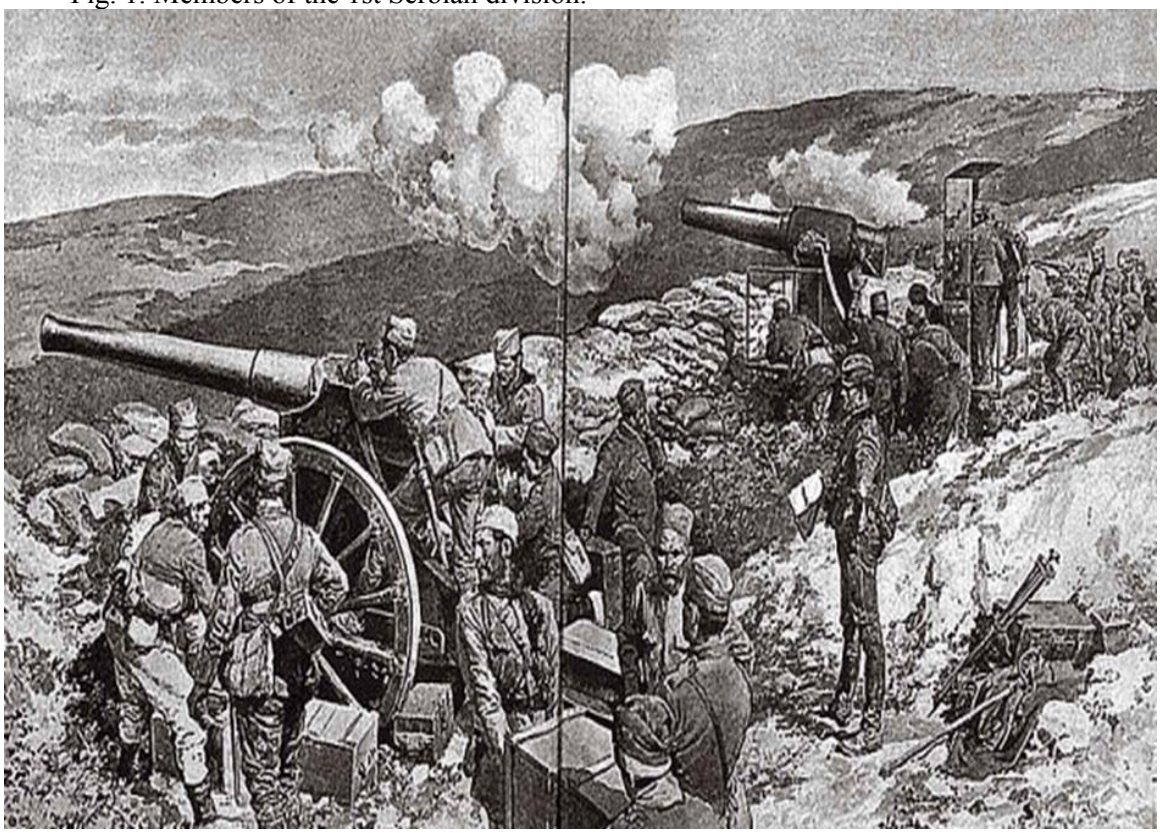

Fig. 2. Members of the Serbian division on the Dobrudja front.

Fig. 3. Medgidia monument.

BETWEEN FICTIONALIZATION OF HISTORICAL EVENTS AND IDEOLOGIZATION OF SUBSEQUENT FILM ADAPTATIONS. MIKHAIL SHOLOKHOV'S *AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON*

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Abstract: *The Russian identity reconstruction process involves revisiting themes considered crucial in the Soviet myth-making phenomenon and legitimizing process. Both the Russian Revolution(s) and the Civil War constitute the topic of a myriad of recent Russian films and TV series, in an attempt of linking the Russian Imperial past to the Putin era. The thorny Soviet legacy finds probably the best image in subsequent film adaptations of a novel with a complex, complicated and uneasy subject – the restless 1916-1922 period in the history of Cossacks on the Don River. This is the case of Mikhail Sholokhov's novel "And Quiet Flows the Don" (1928-32, 1940). The article points out the changes in the four-film adaptations: from the first "ideological waste" of the 1930 and S. Gerasimov's successful canonical version of 1957 to S. Bondarchuk's project of the '90s, finalized in 2006, and the most recent S. Ursulyak's courageous directorial act (2015). Beyond the obvious differences between the four film adaptations, what matters is the assumed perspective of the period of filming, be it the case of Socialist Realism, fall of the Soviet Union, or post-Soviet era.*

Keywords: *Mikhail Sholokhov, Soviet and post-Soviet film adaptations, Russian Revolution and Civil War, cultural perception, debatable reception*

Introductory Thoughts

Subsequent film adaptations of a famous novel have never had an easy path, and Mikhail Sholokhov's acclaimed novel *And Quiet Flows the Don* is no exception. The complicated subject of the novel's paternity in the Soviet period did not stand in the way of Sholokhov winning the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1965. While the novel's paternity was settled once and for all only in the post-Soviet period, with the discovery of the manuscript and its acquisition by the Russian Government in 1999, the complexity of the novel is yet to be explored. First of all due to the fact that Sholokhov is among the few writers to dive into the trauma of the First World War and to compare it with previous wars. Secondly, the writer focuses on the Cossacks' movement towards autonomy or independence amidst the chaos of the unfinished First World War and the beginning of the Civil War. And to that end, he uses interviews of war participants, as well as Don's inhabitants (Polyakov, 2003). Thirdly, the complexity of the narrative could compete with Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. Considered the "most weighty foundation epic of Soviet civilization" (Rollberg, 2008), the novel requires a sensitive directorial approach and few were those to approach such a difficult task. A task to be considered in the light of the four film adaptations, each with its peculiar background and cultural specificity. It is futile to add that each film staged its own perception and interpretation of the turmoil described in Sholokhov's not so quiet Don. The study aims at highlighting the main features of each film adaptation. Moreover, it unveils the change of perspective on the novel's narrated events, especially the Civil War.

1930 – "Ideological Waste"

The 1930s were not welcoming for cultural productions, in the midst of forced collectivization and liquidation of Kulaks as a social class. Preoccupied with legitimizing the Stalinist rule, administrative-bureaucratic units of cultural censorship and propaganda followed the direction of transforming cinema into an "institution for the production of history" (Dobrenko, 2008, 1). Thus, the Stalinist cinema was responsible for a double transformation of historical events in the case of literary adaptations and for the reconstruction of reality (Sorlin, 1980, 170). As such, the Stalinist cinematography creates the illusion of "reflection," corresponding fully to the nature of Stalinist art (Dobrenko,

2008, 4). The desirable "reflection" was not achieved in Olga Preobrazhenskaya and Ivan Pravov's film adaptation of Sholokhov's novel. Although it was only the adaptation of the first book, it did not underline (enough) the class struggle and revolutionary cause. The script was largely based on the love affair between Grigory and Aksinya, the main characters, and the directors' perspective was situated outside the class struggle. Besides, the directors refused to present Grigory Melekhov as adhering to the Soviet cause, given the fact that the fourth volume of the novel was published only in 1940. Despite the fact that Sholokhov served as a consultant, despite the powerful sequences specific to classical Soviet silent films[40] (expressive gross plans, poetic landscapes), the film's ideological direction mattered the most.

Verisimilitude is what comes to mind when watching the 1930 film adaptation. And this is due to directors' previous experience in filming the Russian countryside, with all its customs and traditions. The film's ethnographic value is exceptional, but depicting truly the Cossack lifestyle after the terror of the Civil War and abuses of both armies, as well as of the Bolshevik rule was not quite appreciated. The film was reduced to "Cossack adultery" (*kazachii adul`ter*) while "reveling in the Cossack daily life" (*liubovanie bytom kazachestva*). However, the directors of subsequent film adaptations would aim at achieving at least some authenticity in depicting the life of Don Cossacks. In the Preobrazhenskaya and Pravov case, filming after nearly a decade in a village near Don might have been easy, as most inhabitants were survivors of recent events and bearers of relevant information on dress code, customs and traditions.

As a result of the politically instrumentalized perception and reception of the film, directors Olga Preobrazhenskaya and Ivan Pravov were excluded from the Association of Contributors to Revolutionary Cinematography shortly after the film release for "favouring small bourgeoisie's tastes specific to spectators unaware of the class struggle" (*za potakanie melkoburzhuaznym vkusam klassovo chuzhdykh zritelei*). Therefore, the film was considered in the category *ideologicheskii brak* ("ideological waste") (Kenez, 1992, 129-130). Yet, the scene when Grigory beats Listnitsky for seducing Aksinya is accompanied by different words than in the novel: "For our suffering, for our damned life!" ("*Za muchenie nashe, za zhizn` nashu prokliatuyu!*"), transforming the private matter into a metonymical class revenge. That is why his leaving Aksinya and going to new horizons of his life may be interpreted as acceding to the Red cause.

Furthermore, Pravov's and Preobrazhenskaya's film adaptation stages one of the favourite Stalinist myths – the initiation, in an unlikely relationship between the brave Cossack Grigory and an Ukrainian soldier with revolutionary ideas (the myth of the mentor and disciple – Clark, 2000, 126, 144-145). Grigory's previous Tsarist loyalty is shattered, whereas suppressing the 1905 Revolution by Cossacks gets a different perspective in his mind. Even the open ending, suggesting a new beginning for Grigory Melekhov, illuminated by the revolutionary truth, did not save the film. In opposition with this scarce depiction of the class struggle, the film *Chapaev*, the film adaptation of Dmitri Furmanov's auto-biographical novel, directed by the Vasiliev brothers, is considered the finest example of filmic art specific to Socialist Realism (Kaganovsky, 2008, 11; for the comparison between the two films, see Grădinaru, 2017, 123-125).

Nevertheless, the film had a huge success, while the actors became very popular. The actress Emma Tsesarkaya is considered to this day the symbol of "powerful, militant womanhood", "full-blooded portrayal of Aksinya" (Rollberg, 2008). The role of Grigory represented a milestone in Andrei Abrikosov's career. The film's authenticity and the author's involvement as a consultant might have mattered to the public as well.

1957 – The Reference Point

No matter how good are the post-Soviet film-adaptations, they would have to face the canonical version. And, as in the case of Aleksadr Fadeyev's *The Young Guard* (Grădinaru, 2015, 908-921), the directors would have to compete with Sergey Gerasimov's perspective. This would be the inevitable reference point in judging the subsequent film adaptations, ignoring, as I have already mentioned, Pravov's and Preobrazhenskaya's ideologically unsuitable version.

There is an additional reason for considering Gerasimov's film "canonical" – after thoroughly choosing the actors and preparing the actor Petr Glebov for Grigory's role, the director invited Mikhail Sholokhov to auditions. After the first sequences, Sholokhov exclaimed: "This is him! A true Cossack!" (Paporov, 2003).

[40] Though conceived as a silent film with intertitles and launched in 1931, the 1930 film adaptation had a soundtrack added with some audible lines in 1933.

Moreover, the director valued Glebov very much for his profound involvement in playing Grisha Melekhov's role. It is noteworthy that Glebov met the actor Andrei Abrikosov – the first to play Grigory Melekhov in his youth and was impressed by his beauty and personality. Only twenty years later Glebov would have the chance to prove his Cossack material in the auditions for Grigory Melekhov, following in his idol's footsteps. Besides, Elina Bystritskaya in Aksinya's role has been regarded for decades as the closest fit for the Cossack beauty described in the novel. As in the case of lead actors from Gerasimov's *The Young Guard* (1948), both Petr Glebov and Elina Bystritskaya were considered the best fit and were unable to find equally important roles.

However, getting permission to adapt Sholokhov's novel was not an easy affair, as Gerasimov pointed out, especially in the late 1930s when the relationship between Sholokhov and Stalin was getting colder. The director's proposal for his version of *And Quiet Flows the Don* was rejected in 1939: "I was told that it hardly makes sense to adapt a novel, which, despite all its merits, highlights the fate of Grigory Melekhov, a man with no path and essentially sentenced by history." (*** kino-teatru.ru) The phrasing of this refusal could not have been any clearer for the undesirable plot of the novel, keeping in mind that Mikhail Sholokhov's last book had not been published yet.

After getting permission to film in 1956, Sergey Gerasimov started preparations in the village Dichensk, Rostov region, the same location for the 1930 film adaptation. The first two episodes were released on November 1957, marking 40 years after the October Revolution, while the last part was launched six months later, in 1958.

While filming *And Quiet Flows the Don* during the second wave of the "Thaw" (following the 20th Party Congress, with Khrushchev's "Secret Speech") may have been easier than in the 1930s, it did not offer complete freedom either. As Peter Rollberg mentioned: "Although not viewed as part of the Thaw wave of films, it did provide audiences with a renewed, de-Stalinized concept of history, which showed the class struggles in the Don region as part of an inevitable evolution leading toward Communism, albeit accompanied by countless victims." (Rollberg, 2008). However, we find it significant that violent scenes that involve Bolsheviks are rendered by ellipses. Besides, suggestive scenes that depict the Reds in unfavorable light are also missing (for example, Bolsheviks occupying Melekhov's house), while battle scenes between the Reds and the Whites and/or independent Cossack movement are shortened. Furthermore, there are no clear fighting scenes of Grigory alongside Fomin's "gang", as well as the entire narrative on the island after Fomin's defeat is modified.

In addition, Grigory Melekhov's period of hiding in the woods with deserters is missing. Moreover, the ideological message occupies a significant part of the 330-minute long epic film, with Shtokman, the Communist activist, playing an important role in the filmic narration and receiving a typical Stalinist symbolical death (Clark, 2000, 181-182). It is evident that the director's mission was to select the most significant episodes, but in this selection resides the core of his perspective – the nuanced perspective of Bolshevik victory, with sympathy for the individual destiny. And that single fact was unthinkable in Stalinist cinema when the individual was melted in the collectivity while struggling to achieve the ideals of the Revolution, giving birth to the "collective self."

2006 – A Matter of Cultural Perception

Although valued, intercultural teams are frowned upon in case of staging Russian film adaptations of patriotic value. The case of Sergey Bondarchuk's film adaptation has such a meandering path that it could easily be the topic of a documentary or even feature film. After decades of preparing to adapt Sholokhov's novel, Bondarchuk had to face a series of obstacles. Filming twenty episodes of Cossack saga (although not impossible after proving himself with his seven-hour *War and Peace*, Leo Tolstoy's film adaptation in 1967) in the shaky Soviet ideological atmosphere could not have been more untimely. Finding funds for filming in the so-called "wild '90s" in Russia was a matter of unfulfilled dreams, as 1992 represents the peak of an economic crisis, rampant corruption, lawlessness, economic dysfunction, violence (gangs, mafia), and various inter-ethnic conflicts in post-Soviet republics. Besides, the policy of "shock therapy" - a rapid transition to market economy began in 1992, triggering crisis and factors of uncertainty, with increased unemployment and wage arrears, alcohol consumption, social inequality, social dysadaptation and social disintegration (see details on the post-Soviet background in Grădinaru, 2018, 325-326).

Duncan Fallowell travelled to Russia during the filming of what remained in history as the last grand work of Soviet cinema, a „mired project in the chaos of a crumbling empire" (Fallowell, 2015). Rupert Everett, the choice for

the lead actor, shared his impressions on the shooting in Russia in 1991:

> *"Filming And Quiet Flows the Don and living in Russia represented an important shift in my life and an exciting life experience. I was living in a very interesting period: the Soviet era had not ended yet, but changes were approaching. Being there at that moment and understanding that you are one of the few people experiencing that… True exclusivity! True glamour!" (*** kino-teatr.ru)*

Under those economic-political and cultural circumstances, available funds came with a price in joining forces with Dino de Laurentiis, the Italian producer – foreign actors for the main parts. They became Ruppert Everett (seen as less of a man) as Grigory and Delphine Forest as Aksinya (considered too frail for a Cossack woman though incredibly beautiful). Unfortunately, due to "violent altercations" between the director and the Italian co-producers (Fallowell, 2015) and/or producers' financial issues, the filmed material for ten television series had been closed in a bank vault for more than a decade, during which the director died (1994). Fyodor, Sergey Bondarchuk's son, managed to recover (with President Putin's support) the filming and to piece it together in a far from flawless montage – seven episodes of fifty minutes each and a three-hours version launched on DVD in several European countries in 2011. Bondarchuk the son added only scenes of Don's nature for the successful passing from one narrative episode to another. Probably the extra-diegetic narrator (Nikita Mikhalkov's smooth voice) was a later addition to bring coherence and understanding to the viewer. Besides, three hours of footage were left unused in the Bondarchuk son's cut.

The result of such an epic enterprise is questionable for many reasons. We have already mentioned the difficult economic period and different ideological atmosphere, unfit for the proper reception of the Soviet masterpiece. Besides, the viewers' taste of the '90s favored Western-style melodramatic films, which was in line with Bondarchuk's vision for the TV series. The main issue of the 1991-1993/2006 film adaptation is the following - it is a matter of double cultural perception. On the one hand, the Russians were mainly frustrated by the choice of the foreign actors, unable to feel and understand the Russian spirit, whereas Europeans regarded skeptically the Russians' (over)acting skills. In addition, Russians could not resonate (anymore) with the foreign melodramatic tone of the film, as the taste has shifted towards original patriotic productions.

Moreover, based on the contemporaries' reaction to Gleb Panfilov's adaptation of Maksim Gorky's *Mother* in 1989 (Dobrenko, 2008, 182-184), one might speculate on the same reception to Sergey Bondarchuk's *Tikhii Don* in the 1990s. That might have been the reason for Bondarchuk to agree to international stars for the leading parts in his ground-breaking film adaptation. Apart from competing with Gerasimov, his mentor and father figure[41], Sergey Bondarchuk aimed to offer the western audience comprehensible glimpses into the complicated and (ideologized) fundamental epic of the Soviet Empire. On the other hand, his film might be regarded as a de-Sovietized version for his contemporaries, in line with the viewer's openness after the glasnost` of perestroika period. Keeping in mind that Sergey Bondarchuk was the acclaimed director of what was considered a timeless classic – *War and Peace* – one may suggest that his ambitious intention was to offer an epic film about the Russian spirit and culture, de-ideologized, and ably resisting the comparison with Tolstoy's depiction of Tsarist Russia[42].

Furthermore, Nikita Mikhalkov's *Sibirskii tsiriulnik/ The Barber of Siberia* (1998[43]), with Russian and international actors had no massively negative reactions. Besides, the director used recognizable melodramatic patterns in a narrative that presents the quest for moral clarity of the main hero (Larsen, 2003, 493-494). That is precisely the core of Grigory Melekhov's path, stripped of ideological nuances, made accessible to the Western audience. From this point of view, Rupert Everett in his pensive mood seems fairly suitable for Grisha's role, although the actor confessed multiple times that it had represented the biggest challenge of his career:

> *"I understand that [Grigory's part] is the dream part of any actor, but it is at the same time a nightmare. Having read the novel, and not only once, I could only get close to this role in a limited way."; "I*

[41] Apparently, Gerasimov asked Bondarchuk to wait for his burial until filming another Sholokhov's adaptation. Sergey Gerasimov died in 1985 and it was only after this event that Bondarchuk started his serious preparations for the quietly flowing Don.

[42] It is claimed that even Sholokhov aimed for such a comparison, as one of the pre-publications was even called "A Cossack 'War and Peace'." (Rollberg, 2008)

[43] Producer Michel Seydoux; main actors: Julia Ormond, Oleg Menshikov, Richard Harris, Alexey Petrenko.

*couldn't get how to play him [Grigory Melekhov]. I reread the novel several times until my arrival in Moscow, on the plane, and here. I have always been trying to understand – why they had invited me? Yes, that is the dream part for any actor. But how difficult it is! There is so much passion and suffering, and doubts, and erratic moves impossible to play for a man who wasn't born in Russia! You have to comprehend and let all this go through you." (*** kino-teatr.ru)*

Despite the director's best intentions, the Russians' disappointment with the film was profound: "The film is dead, and the actors perform in a deadly manner. It was Sholokhov who had asked Bondarchuk to make this picture, but there was no money in our country at the time, and the foreigners put up the condition that their own actors had to be cast. With them, nothing could work out." (Kuznetsov in Rollberg 2008) V. Voronin, the official representative of the Don Army stated that "Without a doubt, the film is beautiful, although kind of alien [*kakoi-to ne nash*] and more resembling an American comic" (Rollberg, 2008).

Fallowell put it like this: "The drama is elusive, the acting and dubbing worse than in *Oklahoma*, […] but the Bondarchiuk touch is notable in the work's dizzying panoramas." (Fallowell, 2015) And in the Russian audience defense, even Fallowell found Rupert "lukewarm in his performance" (*Ibidem*). Moreover, Rupert as Grigory was, as Rupert himself admits, a "strange choice", given his cultural background and sexual orientation. The latter could be the main reason for Russians rejecting him, given the "story's sanctity in the canon of Russian literature" (Osborn, 2006) and the status of "symbol of Cossack virility" (Rollberg, 2008). Nevertheless, the part of Pantelei Melekhov, was played marvelously by F. Murray Abraham and paradoxically did not stir the reaction of "overacting" in Western public's eyes.

2015 – Debatable Reception

Sergey Ursulyak is no stranger to the TV series film adaptations, as proves his directorial experience with Vasil Grossman's film adaptation *Zhizn` i sud`ba/ Life and Fate* (2012, 12 episodes). He also directed TV series as *Likvidatsia/ Liquidation* (2007, 12 episodes), *Isayev* (2009, 16 episodes) and *Nenast`ie/ Bad Weather* (2018, 11 episodes). But even for a professional of the TV series format, Sholokhov's film adaptation[44] proved to be a challenge. And that is mainly because of Gerasimov's canonical version, thoroughly instilled in the viewer's minds. If we add Bondarchuk's version to a trained eye, then it would be virtually impossible for any director to offer a fresh, yet familiar view on the turmoil of Don in 1916-1922. And yet Ursulyak surprises. Once the spectator gets over the not so suitable lead actors from the physical point of view (Grigory is not a tall dark-haired and black-eyed handsome Turkish looking Cossack and Aksinya is not quite a brunette ravishing beauty, as in previous films), their acting is enticing and realistic. Based on the online comments and reviews, some of the Russian audience preferred this type of acting to the style specific to Socialist Realism, referring to Gerasimov's film.

The TV series was awarded in 2017 the *Zolotoy orel* prize for "the best TV series in the category more than 10 episodes". The prize might be explained by the director's eagerness to depict events with historical accuracy, which is a sign of great cinematography. To that end, the filming took place on two sides of the Don River, in the region where Sholokhov placed the action of his novel. Criticism, however, was fierce mainly concerning the lack of ideological component that occupies a great part of the novel (and of the second Soviet film adaptation). Osip Shtokman and his followers in Tatarsky village are absent, which makes it difficult to follow the subsequent events and to find the linking pieces. Besides, the last episode, despite its melodramatic tone, simplifies Grigory's meandering path by finding no place for Fomin's gang or the reason for Grigory's hiding in the woods. Moreover, the status of his comrades in the woods remains unclear, and so is the entire Russian Civil War. From this point of view, the complexity of the Civil War in the Don region is schematized and reduced to chaotic and unreasonable movements of the Red, White and independent Cossack troops. Even the ill-fortuned Bondarchuk's TV series manages to offer a somewhat comprehensive view on the events of 1916-1922.

Russian critics even ventured to label Ursulyak's *And Quiet Flows the Don* as "grand style with no basic plot" (Rychkova, 2015). The director is reproached the fact that despite the generosity of the genre, he failed to present multiple plots and even narrowed the ones

[44] Producers: Maria Ushakova, Anton Zlatopolsky; main actors: Evgeny Tkachuk, Polina Chernyshova, Daria Ursulyak, Sergey Makovetsky, Aleksandr Yatsenko, Nikita Efremov.

beautifully developed in the previous film adaptations. Ursulyak's ungrateful position is given by the fourth attempt to offer a film adaptation. In this position, he might have taken care not to stage some recognizable scenes in the same manner, as that could trigger unfavorable comparisons. Therefore, the necessity to appeal to poetic license occurs. For example, Pantelei Melekhov (actor Sergey Makovetsky) dies suddenly on his way home and not in exile of typhus. Furthermore, Pantelei's part is played as if it was designed to be the source of humor rather than the epitome of patriarchal authority (as it appears in the novel). Unlike the masterfully played Pantelei Melekhov in Bondarchuk's film adaptation by F. Murray Abraham, the 2015 version falls short in portraying the severe father figure of the Cossack society.

According to the Russian writer and journalist Dmitri Lekukh, "there are things that are so inextricably linked to our culture that they are better left aside" (Lekukh in Rychkova, 2015). He argues that the Russian culture is more conservative than the English speaking one; hence, the rejection of remakes. Thus, it is more a matter of Russian cultural mentality than a matter of critical reception.

As mentioned above, less ideological content was no accident in Ursulyak's film adaptation. The director focused on the individual human destiny as the fabula rather than the monumental perspective on the Cossack society during the First World War and Russian Civil War. Moreover, as Elena Rychkova mentions, Mikhail Sholokhov's novel, unlike Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*, is not cinematographic. That might be one of the reasons any film adaptation expresses only partially and fragmented the reality of the novel.

On the other hand, the 2015 TV series stages brutal acts for the involved parties: Mishka Koshevoy coldheartedly kills Natalya's grandfather, whereas Natalya's brother kills Koshevoy's mother and related children. Thus, the director's position might be unclear to the audience, as it is not revisionist in the pure sense. The film does not condemn the Bolsheviks, revealing hidden cruel acts, but it does not exalt the White movement either (a trend of the recent Russian cinema). It is a floating ideological perspective, as the director admits: "I was not interested in taking sides in this story – Reds or Whites. I have loved simple people who only wanted to live. I feel for this kind of people." (Ursulyak in Rychkova, 2015) From this point of view, Ursulyak resembles Sholokhov (Tabakov in Alperina, 2015). However, the director is concerned with the humanist view on people's destiny in troubled times, ignoring the ideological basis of historical events. The result is a Russian yet bourgeois story of a quite wealthy Cossack environment.

Nevertheless, this particular approach of Sholokhov's novel has brought more negative reactions. The reason resides in the fact that the director eluded to take a political position, not only ideological by removing key characters and thus motives that triggered actions, reactions and counter-actions in an unfortunate chain of events. Dmitry Puchkov considered Sergey Ursulyak's TV series the result of historical illiteracy combined with his imagination (Puchkov in Rychkova, 2015). Reducing Grigory's wandering from Reds to Whites and vice versa to action and amplifying the romance results in a lyrical film adaptation of no intended complexity.

The aforementioned lack of complexity is also obvious in the construction of characters. No director has ever pointed out Aksinya's tragic destiny; Ursulyak has highlighted more than others on screen Aksinya's unreasonable behavior concerning her longing for Grigory. On the other hand, Natalya's part stands out and it may be the most profound perspective on her fate, considering all film adaptations so far. The scene of Natalya's attempt of suicide is skilfully filmed; the camera movements form a complex choreography: from the close shot of her face, ellipsis of the decisive act, moving to the close environment and then offering gradually aerial view on the place, including the yard with the people and chicken, neighboring houses and the church. The epilogue of the TV series is also impressive – the exhausted and spiritually devoid Grigory is returning home swimming while facing in a vision all his dead dear ones, including the first officer he killed in World War I. Only after seeing them all (dressed in white clothes, while he wears his uniform), he gets to the real devastated world, his house not far from the Don River and he kisses the land in the yard of his house, while the camera moves to offer the aerial view of the Don River and surroundings. Significant is the fact that Grigory does not hug his surviving son, as in the previous two film adaptations, but his land.

Nevertheless, the director's attempt to depict daily Cossack life, the natural acting that adds verisimilitude to one hundred years old events have been successful facets of the 2015 film adaptation. As Aleksandr Rodnyansky, producer of films *Elena*, *Leviathan*, *Stalingrad* and others, points out, Sergey Ursulyak's film is a timely Sholokhov's adaptation, as "what could be

more stringent than a saga of war among brothers (*bratoubiistvennaia voina*) and time?" (Rodnyansky in Alperina, 2015) Moreover, the famous Russian producer underlines the fact that Ursulyak's risky attempt to find suitable filmic heroes for classic literature heroes may be considered successful.

Conclusive Ideas

As previously analyzed, the path of M. Sholokhov's novel *And Quiet Flows the Don* underwent several stages of ideologization toward de-ideologization. And this is mainly due to the fact that Sholokhov's novel had an inconvenient subject and plot that did not correspond to desirable schematized plots of Socialist Realism. Given the fact that the author had gathered information from local inhabitants and had used prototypes for his characters, his novel may be considered fictionalization of historical events. The novel depicts the daily life of a domestic version of Cossacks that proved essential in both the imperial expansion (Hosking, 2001, 20-21) and in maintaining the Tsarist empire (see their involvement in suppressing rebellions and waves of revolutions). Cossacks' inability to grasp a clear direction after the Tsar's abdication is telling in the main character's disarray[45].

Despite the fact that the 1930 film adaptation of the first part of the novel was historically accurate, of ethnographic value and was successful with the public, Olga Preobrazhenskaya and Ivan Pravov's film was considered as "reveling in the Cossack daily life". As a result, both directors were excluded from the Association of Contributors to Revolutionary Cinematography and the film was gradually forgotten. Sergey Gerasimov's film adaptation in three parts of 1957-1958 appears as the aestheticization of Bolshevik ideology. This is the only film adaptation when the love story between Ania and Stepan from the Red Army is depicted (though briefly). In addition, Shtokman has a central role, being constructed as character from a positive perspective. Based on these aspects and on the fact that the film was directed during one of the subsequent waves of the Thaw, Gerasimov's film earned the status of canonical version.

Sergey Bondarchuk's long-awaited film adaptation is most likely a version for the west, in line with the 1990s melodramatic taste and the attempt of making accessible the Russian spirit and mentality. Besides, Bondarchuk tried to adapt Sholokhov's novel in such a manner as to reveal the struggle of the Cossacks in the Civil War reduced to universal values as in the case of Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* film adaptation. Sergey Ursulyak seemed to follow the same direction in his version of *Tikhii Don*, simplifying, even more, the plot and getting rid of consecrated characters like Shtokman and Fomin. Ursulyak's focus was on the dramatization of the character's feelings, offering, according to some, a de-Sovietized and non-ideological film, or, according to others, an intimate perspective on people rather than events.[46]

[45] See Kershaw, 2017, 150-153 for a comprehensive summary of the Bolshevik path to victory.

[46] This work was supported by the project "Quality, innovative and relevant doctoral and postdoctoral research for the labor market": POCU/380/6/13/124146, project co-financed by the European Social Fund through the The Romanian Operational Programme "Human Capital" 2014-2020.

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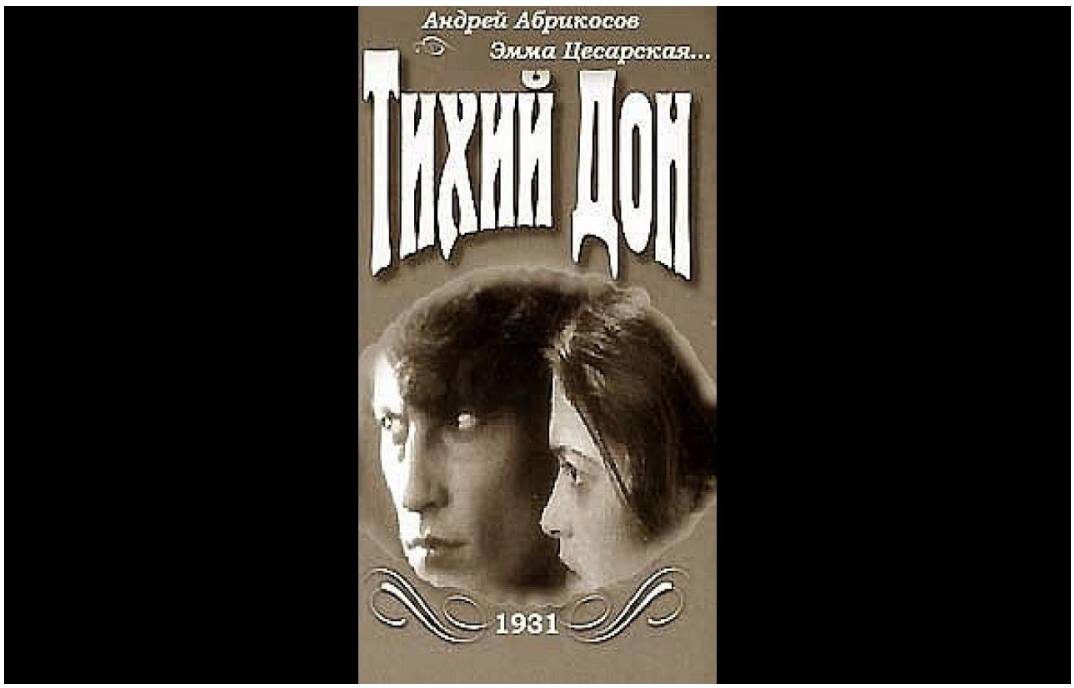
List of illustrations

Fig. 1. Poster of Olga Preobrazhenskaya and Ivan Pravov's film adaptation (1930).
Fig. 2. Poster of Sergey Gerasimov's film adaptation (1957-1958).
Fig. 3. Poster of Sergey Bondarchuk's film adaptation (edited by Fyodor Bondarchuk) (1992-2006).
Fig. 4. Poster of Sergey Ursulyak's film adaptation (2015).



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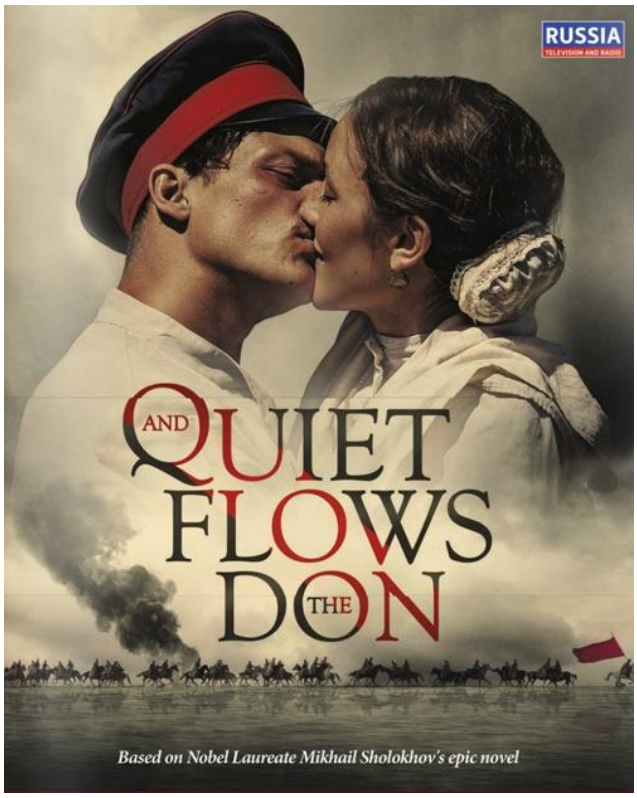

Fig. 4. Poster of Sergey Ursulyak's film adaptation (2015).

B. MISCELLANEA

JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS IN MEDIEVAL BANAT: WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN COURTS

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Abstract: *The present research attempts to analyze the woman's image in the Banat medieval counties in the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century. The presence of women in front of the local or central county courts in the Kingdom of Hungary is our way to approach the subject. Historians' less concern with such a theme proved to be a sufficient reason in trying to demonstrate that, despite preconceived ideas, noblewomen in medieval Banat, went to law as men did, with a notable tenacity sometimes in looking after their own interests. I do not certainly aim to overbid here as the male preeminence really governed women's life at that time. But to ignore such a theme is also risky and makes it detrimental to the real image of the medieval country courts we might get (as women were a rather common presence). 200 documentary units state my research for that time, 138 of them (69%, belonging to 86 lawsuits) speaking about litigious questions involving women that the judicial offices of the time solved. Certainly, a degree of relativity is to be referred to, as the research was almost totally dependent on the written reference of the time. Such personal research has no chance to be exhaustive, so I have worked with a sample of documents I considered significant for certain reasonable conclusions. On the other hand, the loss of documents in the course of time is an insurmountable impediment. The preserved documents I have given attention represent different stages of lawsuits (summons, investigations, adjournments, decisions or sentences, etc.); there was no case with complete documentation of a lawsuit. Consequently, I have tried to find answers to a series of questions the office documents generated: if we can speak about women during the medieval age as having legal personality, who is to be called in law, which was the women's position in front of the county courts, or if they went in themselves or sent their representatives there?*

Keywords: *southern parts of the Hungarian kingdom, counties of medieval Banat, Angevine age, noblewomen*

Over the last decades, gender studies have become more and more important in historiography, considering that gender is a social and normative construct ready to cover any aspects of the social life. This new meaning of the term opened more research directions that never before. The medievalist studies were more directed to non-traditional subjects, especially to women, children and other marginal categories in the medieval society (Mitchell, 2017, 1). The gender phenomenon offers, in fact, a new cultural vocabulary that allows us to analyze the omnipresent facts relating to women and men, as long as they are visible in any of the social and cultural constructs, especially in the historical testimonies, regardless of the shape they took.

In a patriarchal society, as the medieval one was, the role the woman played was determined by a series of patterns created by society. Her position in society or within the family illustrates particularly the male ideals projected on her. There were three reductionist stereotypes on the woman's image – young girls, wives, and widows – each hypostasis carrying some criteria women were to fulfill for different positions (Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, 2011, 76). It is incontestable that those women were exposed, at that time, to more vexations coming from a predominantly patriarchal system. From a public-private relation perspective, contemporary historical research emphasizes that women's taking part in the public life was more active than it was accepted for a long time; so, the idea historiography inoculated before that men were the exclusive protagonists of external relations and women were mostly within the domestic and private part of life is not, in fact, accurate (Mentzinger, 2012, 119; Solcan, 2005, 6; Fodor, 2011, 17-18). Ever frequently the historians agree that women in the European Middle Ages were far from being subjugated to a severe regime of quasi-detention or closed in impervious spaces; there were different fields and circumstances in which they could demonstrate their power and

state their individuality. None could contest for instance that some of the ladies of those times managed their own goods and estates, and also of their whole family under some circumstances, and that becomes proof of their administrative and financial capability.

The present study aims to broach an interesting subject concerning the female presence in front of the central or local courts in the Hungarian kingdom in the 14th century and the first part of the 15th century. More precisely, the subject consists of the way women came in court: either *in persona* or represented by someone. A lack of concern with the subject becomes my sufficient reason to raise it and try to prove that women had access to instances at that time, despite different preconceived ideas. Moreover, they proved sometimes a notable tenacity in the way they looked after their own interests. Under certain circumstances, women during the two centuries possessed real goods and movables (Boldea, 2015, 235-251) they had to contend for. The judicial questions cover a large percentage of information I have analyzed during my research on the image of women in the Middle Ages. Litigious questions involving women and solved in the courts at that time are referred to in 138 documents (69%, respectively) from the 200 ones I have consulted, belonging to 86 suits. I may say from the very beginning that the quasi-total dependence of my research on the time references (for lack of relevant studies on the subject, the area or the selected age) entails a certain degree of relativity. I have worked with a sample of documents I considered to be sufficient in coming to relevant conclusions, as my research would have had no possibility of becoming an exhaustive one. On the other hand, the loss of documents along the time becomes an insurmountable obstacle. And in the third place, the preserved acts I considered represent in most of the cases different stages (summons, judicial inquiries, and adjournments or verdicts and sentences, etc.) and none of them could give full documentation on a certain lawsuit.

It is evident that the presence of women at courts depends on their juridical status, as they had legal rights at that time. In most of the cases I have analyzed, I might underline that, given their privileged juridical status, the noblewomen had access to courts when their rights were endangered or they were accused. Judiciary in the Kingdom of Hungary in the 14th–15th centuries was based on customary law and orality, and it didn't have written legislation to undoubtedly define woman's position in society. It is worth mentioning that during the medieval age there was a certain concern for confering juridical position to a woman, even if she had an inferior status and was not considered able to control her life and manage her wealth (Kitonich de Kosztanicza, 1650, 388-389). Yet in the 14th century the royal orders stipulated that the ecclesiastic justice (archbishops, bishops, and *locum tenentes*, etc.) had to take care of women's problems – the filial quarter, respectively, dowry and marriage gifts, or wills and other matrimonial questions (DIR-C, 1955, 204; DecRegHun, 1989, 85)[47]. The numerous cases in the documents I have analyzed show a wide range of litigious questions which brought women in front of the central or local courts. A series of stipulations gathered by István Werböczy in *Tripartitum*, at the beginning of the 16th century is largely a synthesis of juridical reality during the previous centuries: the young women could betroth or marry since 12 years old, with the right of taking legal proceedings and naming representatives in front of sedria; after turning 14, they took into their own responsibility their golden and silver personal chattels and had the right to mortgage them; when being 16, they entered into possession of the immovable property they had the right to (*quarta puellaris*, dowry or other lands) and could testify or leave legacy through a will (Werbotz, 1637, 207-208). This right of immovable property women got under different circumstances was the basis of their ability to come on their own in front of courts to claim their rights or to defend themselves. Generally, only the unmarried ladies and the widows might come on their own in law, the married ones used to come with their husbands or appointed representatives. But the analyzed documents illustrate diverse situations in the Hungarian Kingdom in the 14th–15th centuries. It is clear that people involved in this area had to act upon traditions or customary laws, and there were juridical regulations or practices making them more flexible and adapted to any specific circumstance.

When a lawsuit was initiated and carried on, it was necessary for the involved parties to come to the courts *in persona* or through the office of their representatives with credential letters emitted by offices of authentication recognized both by the secular and the ecclesiastic courts. Noblewomen in search of their rights had undoubtedly the same problem to appeal to the *sedes judiciaria*. We might presume that sending the ante-appointed representatives in front of

[47] Order of Louis I (July 27, 1344) reactivated by Matthias Corvinus through his own order (January 24, 1458)

courts was the easiest and more available way, especially in the case of noble ladies. There are some questions to be taken into account: the case difficulty, requiring sometimes special acknowledges or a larger experience in the field; difficulties in arriving at the court location, part of them lying far from ladies' residence (especially in the case of central courts); or – and why not? – a reality that could generate nervousness as the ladies had to confront with courts exclusively formed by men, in a generally predominant male environment. Were those abovementioned aspects insurmountable impediments at that time? To find out possible interpretations let's turn again to documents.

First of all, out of 86 analyzed lawsuits, only 51 cases present certainly how the women came in courts. I took into account only the documents explicitly containing the words *in persona* or "represented by". The resulted diagram has shown a balanced report between the noble ladies' personal involvement in lawsuits and the cases through appointed representatives: there were 28 lawsuits the women came *in persona* in front of the court and 23 where they were represented by their procurators.

a. The 28 lawsuits the women came to *in persona* at a certain moment interested me in particular. The earliest document I have taken into account, dated back from the 5th of August 1338, registers the presence of Ana, widow of Dimitrie of Gabra, in front of Charles Robert's court, in Visegrád, to protect her right of possession on some parts of an estate and forest in Arad county; she got that right some years before from the bishop of Cenad and Chanadinus, archbishop of Strigoniu, appealed it to the king's court (Fekete Nagy, Temesi bánság, 290).

In fact, when speaking about the marital status of the women presented *in persona* to the county courts, it is not a surprise to find out that in 23 lawsuits they were represented, comparatively with the 5 lawsuits where some wives or daughters were presented *in persona*. Widowhood offered, beyond the disadvantages it generally generates, the opportunity for women to dispose of their personal goods or the family's ones in a categorical way (even limited or temporary).

Referring to the type of courts the noble-women came to in persona, the local courts had the ascendancy over the central ones, as follows: 20 lawsuits in the county and chapter courts in comparison with 8 in central courts. It is not a surprising fact as the real problems of shifting to Visegrád, Buda or other places along the royal or palatine ways the ladies had to face were insurmountable sometimes. After all, not any case was to be presented to the superior courts and, on the other hand, not anyone could arrive in front of the royal court or of the dignitaries commissioned with the country justice. Only female members of some rich and influent families came to the central courts, as the different analyzed cases show us, mainly those families from which dignitaries of the Banat counties came too (Himfi, Posa de Szer)[48]. From another point of view, only more complex cases arrived in front of the central courts, the ones that could dramatically influence the involved ladies' future by their unfavorable consequences. Partition of some considerable estates are referred to (Ortvay, 1896, 145, 191; Pesty 1882, 171, 217)[49], for instance, or preservation of lands owning (DL 91775; Pesty, 1882, 160-161; Miscellanea Heimiana, 75)[50], as well as the filial quarter getting from the familial goods (Ortvay, 1896, 337, 596, 599)[51], or, simply

[48] Some names in question: brothers Benedict, Peter and Nicholas Himfi's widows (the first one was a ban of Bulgaria, ban of Severin, and count of Timiș, Caraș and Cuvin), Thomas of Telegdi's widow (a noble family in Torontal County); count of Arad, Blasiu of Szer's daughter, or Ana, daughter of Negru of Recaș (a family of Wallachian boyars, with more estates in Timiș County, given by Louis I, in 1369)

[49] It was the case of the Himfis' wealth shared between 1387 and 1391.

[50] It was the case of Ursula, Blasiu of Szer's daughter who claimed in front of the royal court, in January 31 1371, that Nicholas of Recaș had made havoc on her estate *Ewsy*, Arad County, by setting a house on fire and taking by force some of her bonds and animals. The case of Peter Himfi's widow was similar: she came to Buda (March 1393), in front of queen Mary, to accuse Nicholas of Jank for devastating her estate *Voya* by destroying a sluice at one of her water mills on the Caraș river and taking a noble steed. Her sister-in-law, Benedict Himfi's widow, came to Buda too, in front of the royal Curia, in 1390, to ask an interdiction for his nephew Stephen of Remetea, to give the possession of Șoșdea, Timiș County, as a wedding gift to his sister, as that possession belonged to the Himfis' familial patrimony, and she and her grandsons had the right of ownership in that condominium.

[51] Ana, daughter of Negru of Recaș, presents a special case, less frequent probably: because she married an ignoble man, her father had disinherited her, so she and her successors seemed to become ignoble too. But in 1404, after her father's death and in the circumstances of the right hair's minor age, she asked the king to re-give her the right of *quarta puellaris*; she was given that right consisting in the fourth share of her father's estates Recaș, Marginea and Icuș, Timiș County. The king's decision, in 1405, proves once again that behind some inherent vicissitudes of daily life, the time customary laws protected in general the noble woman if brought to a deadlock. Ana, Emeric Hamfi's widow

the quality of witnesses in major cases (Andea, 2013, 152)[52].

Another necessary aspect to take into account when referring to the judicial system in the Hungarian Kingdom is the Angevins' reforms. It allowed also royalty to have a more severe control on justice, either through the king's office or the great dignitaries appointed to administer justice in the name of the king (Palatine, the royal Curia judge, the supreme chancellor or the great treasurer) (d'Eszlary, 1963, 196). The Angevins and Sigismund of Luxemburg, especially, were much more and directly involved in justice at the central level, both in major problems that could lead to capital punishment or the seizure of the goods, and in common cases between noble families in different counties. From this point of view, there are 9 lawsuits within the 14th century directly involving the noble ladies, 6 in the central courts and 3 in the local ones. Another ratio stands out for the 19 lawsuits within the 15th century, with 2 lawsuits in central courts, and 17 in the local ones. Although the central courts judged by the peerage customary law, the nobles, in fact, came to repudiate the king's personal judgement, especially the way that Sigismund of Luxemburg administered it, so that such a practice ended after 1430 (Engel, 2006, 246). Beginning with the 15th century the county courts' role exponentially increased (together with the counties' activity), and this is emphasized also with what I've analyzed on women's presence in different *sedes judiciaria*.

The local courts were more accessible in the case of women. The high percentage of litigations that took place *in presentia* to county and chapter courts speaks for itself. Most of them were of a patrimonial nature, similar somehow to those the superior courts meted out justice. Yet a sensible difference is to be noted relating to the cases' gravity: regularly they were limited to minor conflicts following abusive taking hold or use of lands, goods destroying and attempts to transfer lands. The noble ladies also appointed their procurators to local courts in view of future juridical actions. It is rather impossible to find out the reasons for directing a suit to a chapter court or to a county court as long as the first case typology was identical to the second one.

b. Procurators (advocates) who took the places of the involved ones in lawsuits were constantly present in the 14th century in the Hungarian Kingdom courts (Kitonich de Kosztanicza, 1650, 382)[53]. Coming to courts with their letters of appointing *(littere procuratorie*) emitted by the offices of authentication, they firmly acted in the name of the litigants (Hajnik, 1899, 176). The widows also appear in the cases they disputed through the office of their advocates (14 law-suits); the percentage of wives and daughters under the same circumstances is higher than *in persona* cases of presence (9).

The ratio between central and local courts where women were represented was extremely well-balanced: 11 lawsuits to central courts, 12 to the local ones, as the data I have identified clearly show. All the lawsuits in central courts took place within the second half of the 14th century (between 1364 and 1400), while the ones coming to the local counties belong to the first half of the 15th century. It emphasizes my previous note on the juridical system development in the Hungarian Kingdom: from a centralization towards the top in the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century, to a prominent decentered one starting with the 15th century, that contributed to the increasing role of county and chapter courts.

For an intermediary conclusion on women's need for representation in courts, it cannot be said that it was larger than the noblemen's representation. Based on the data I have tried to quantify, I might state that there were some ladies to whom the cases' difficulty, the distance toward the central counties or the lack of money were not insurmountable obstacles. But all those above played a certain role in the case of less wealthy ladies when speaking about the ability to administrate their own goods or the ones of their families. However, that is not relevant in the case of ladies from the rich and prominent families in the area, who came to the courts of the king (queen), or to Palatine or the royal Court judge, to dispute more difficult litigations and more important for their future. It is also the case of expensive lawsuits in the complicated mechanism of a judicial action that could last for more years.

Holding out a lawsuit by procurators certainly came to facilitate women's life. The

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came at law with her relatives from his father's family, Chep of Gherteniş, for the same *quarta puellaris* from his father's estate. The suit was prolonged for more years, between 1423 and 1430, and Ana had to come to the royal court twice in 1426: in Buda, in September, together with her mother and her husband, and at Lipova, in November, together with her husband.

[52] To exemplify, I propose the case of Peter *Nigri*'s widow who we might find among the witnesses in a criminal trial before the palatine meeting at Şemlacu Mare, in 1370.

[53] János Kitonich utilizes the word *advocate*, specifying that *per advocatuum quem vulgo procuratorem vocamus*.

procurators appointing was done in the case of women according to the general practice in the Hungarian Kingdom, namely by coming in front of the local, county or chapter courts, to nominate for a term of a year their representatives in future lawsuits, in exchange for a certain amount of money (DecRegHun, 1989, 99)[54]. For the Banat counties, I have identified six such examples, both in the courts of Caraș, Timiș and Torontal counties, and Cenad Chapter.

The number of those procurators attracted my attention as long as it changed from 4-6 procurators in some cases (Ortvay, 1896, 231; Pesty, 2014, 202)[55], to 10-16 ones, nominated in one single session (Ortvay, 1896, 531, 590; Pesty, 1882, 356)[56]. It's quite possible that such variations were given by pecuniary reasons, some of the women not being able to pay more procurators. On the other hand, it is true that their need of being represented was different from case to case. There were also noble ladies who could solve their problems out of courts. The great number of procurators, in turn, makes me believe that it was directly justified by the difficult situations the women passed through in administrating their family wealth, and so they were motivated to get juridical means for one or more lawsuits. There are two suggestive cases. One of them is offered by Caterina, wife of Jacob Chep of Ghertenis, who became a widow in 1416, after her husband's death in the military campaign in Bosnia. Having got the whole responsibility over the proprieties of his former husband and of her two daughters, she took on 14 advocates at Aracs, in the county of Torontal court, at the beginning of 1417; the next years she had to hold out nor less than 4 suits for some properties in that county. She had to take on 10 other prosecutors in 1425, in Cenad Chapter court, for 2 suits concerning properties in the counties of Caraș and Timiș. Married to Emeric, son of Stephen of Remetea, Ana, Caterina's daughter, once entered the noble family of Himfis, seems to have had a similar fate. After a long and exhausting lawsuit she and her husband held out against her own family between 1423 and 1430 (during which she came to the court alone, after her husband had joined the colors, in 1428), she was involved in 5 other suits in 1435–1437, in the courts of Caraș, Timiș, and Torontal counties; she had to appoint 16 advocates at a time, in two separate times, in succession of a month. What is unique in that case is that only 7 from the 16 procurators were the same in both lawsuits. There are samples of widows' combative hypostasis in complex situations of life, when they became rather "aggressive" against their relatives or neighbors as long as they resorted to all the means the law offered them at that time.

The place where the credential letters were issued was another aspect to be noted in the juridical practice. Initially, before the 14th century, there were no restrictions in the kingdom concerning the geographic area of the offices of authentication's jurisdiction, but since the 14th century, a certain limitation and distribution of those offices became more visible, without superposing the near counties (Páll, 1957, 396-397; Andea, 2014, 205). The earliest reference I have identified for a noble lady's procurator in Banat counties dates back to July 26, 1364; it is about Thomas of Bayton, the representative of a widow named Clara, in front of the palatine meeting in Caraș County, near Șemlacu Mare (*Mezeusomlyo*) (DRH-C, XII 1985, 306). The first act of appointing belonging to a lady I have identified is dated on July 20, 1393, when the widow of Stephen Feldes of Chorna named 4 procurators in front of Timiș County, in Timișoara (Ortvay, 1896, 231).

The issue of credential letters so the noble ladies' advocates could come to courts shows other interesting aspects, even if the documents do not refer to these in all the cases I have studied. Firstly, I have observed that they were issued both by secular central or local courts and the ecclesiastic ones (Hajnik, 1899, 177). For arriving in front of royal or palatine law seats, some of the procurators presented to such court letters issued by those central instances. Dimitrie of Perechke, the advocate of Benedict Himfi's widow and of her grandsons, came to palatine court in Visegrád c*um procuratoriis litteris regalibus,* on May 28, 1393, in a lawsuit disputing acts of proprieties belonging to the members of Himfi family (Fekete Nagy, Temesi bánság, 1426). The same Dimitrie of Perechke presented on May 31, 1394, a year

[54] According to the royal order from June 8, 1458, an advocate's credential letter in Transylvania and Partium cost 24 dinnars; it was the same the cost of a credential letter on request.

[55] The widow of Stephen Feldes named in July 22, 1393, four representatives in Timiș County court: Cenad chapter certified in July 12 1449 that Elisabeth, widow of Sebastian of Varias, together with her children had selected six legal representatives.

[56] Jacob Chep of Bikach's widow named in March 3, 1417, 14 procurators before Torontal County courts; the same one named 10 procurators, in March 7, 1425, in front of Cenad chapter. Her daughter Ana, Emeric Himfi's widow, named alone (in March 16, 1537) and together with relatives from her former husband's family (April 6, 1537) 16 procurators at a time in Caraș County court.

later, a palatine credential letter (*cum procuratorijs litteris palatinalibus*) in a litigate he represented the widow and her grandsons against one of their relatives, Stephen, son of Peter of Egurzeg (Ortavay, 1896, 240). A similar palatine credential letter was used by Thomas of Bayton, as an advocate of Clara, Farkas of Farkasfalva's widow, in front of the palatine meeting nearby Şemlacu Mare, in July 26, 1364, to defend the noble lady's rights after she had left her former husband's house to marry another nobleman (DRH-C, XII 1985, 306). Another credential letter, issued by the court of Caraş County, was presented by John Paruus of Gherteniş, the procurator of the widow of Jacob Chep of Gherteniş, in a lawsuit against Maios of Orozpati, in 1424 (Ortvay, 1896, 582).

More frequently, those letters originated in chapter offices. Cenad (ecclesiastical) chapters were the issuing offices in Banat counties (Miscellanea Heimiana, 297; DL 42315; Pesty, 1882, 196; DL 54149) and Arad counties (Pesty, 1882, 217; Ortvay, 1896, 622), but, as I pointed out, there is no clear limitation regarding their competence on the near counties, for the simple reason that many registrations overlapped territorially[57]. What was surprising was the fact that there were procurators who came to courts with letters originating in other chapters, some of them at a great distance from Banat; for instance: Veszprém chapters (Pesty, 1882, 171, 176, 210), *Scepus* (Zips) (Ortvay, 1896, 141), or Oradea chapter (Fekete Nagy, Temesi bánság, 1212). There are cases based on which we may conclude that those were only lawsuits in central courts (Buda or Visegrád), in front of Queen Elisabeth the Young or King Sigismund of Luxemburg, or the palatines Nicholas of Gara and Stephen Lackfi. That was the case even if only a series of properties in the counties of Caraş and Cenad were in question.

As some of the women represented to courts belonged to the family of Himfi, with properties both in Veszprém and Banat, we can admit that it was the reason the widows of Benedict Himfi and Peter Himfi appointed their procurators in Veszprém chapter. I believe that another case could have a similar explanation: Thomas of Telegdi's widow had an advocate with a credential letter issued by Oradea chapter to be presented in front of the palatine. The Telegdis, with their many familial branches, had possessions both in Cenad County and in Bihor (Nagy, 1865, 139-143; Petrovics, 1991, 43-44).

A further question arises: when did they need a credential letter? Mainly, the style sheets are very clear in suggesting an answer: when the noble ladies were represented by their close relatives or acquaintances, their representatives needed no credential letter. In all other cases, the procurators presented those letters to confirm their competence in executing the will of the noble lady.

It is worth mentioning that if represented by relatives, the formula *sine litteris procuratorys* was always used, while in the situation of the familiars (*familiaris, officialis*) named for procurators by the noble ladies, such an addition doesn't appear. I presume that in the second case, the obligation to represent their mistresses to courts (the local ones, exclusively) was one of those familiars' general commitments in the noble women's entourage. As for the noblemen, their familiars, who would also be nobles most of the time, were responsible for military services and not so frequently with administrative or juridical jobs (Rady, 2000, 110-131; Popa-Gorjanu, 2007, 364, 369-370). In the case of the noble ladies, I am convinced that those familiars were of a modest situation. In addition, their true service made them a kind of *famuli* or *officiales*, i.e. ignoble servants having charge of the lands superintending or domestic services. In fact, the noble ladies were represented by their servants exclusively in matters of land, like displacing or abducting serfs (Pesty, 1882, 359; Magina, 2012, 72), or taking hold of some lands abusively (Pesty, 2014, 131).

Who were those procurators? Having analyzed the few acts of naming procurators by the noble ladies I noticed some patterns. First of all, the procurators had to prove their moral probity and juridical capacity to face the court's exigencies (Hajnik, 1899, 178). Certainly, there were both personal and "professional" options in selecting the ones to represent women in front of the courts. Generally, the procurators came among the ladies' relatives, familiars, and neighbors, but there were also *literati* (clerks), educated persons so to say (mainly by following ecclesiastic schools) and it is certain that their literacy and experience were necessary in more complex

[57] What I could find out is a certain predilection of Cenad chapter to issue different acts for the counties of Caraş, Cenad and Cuvin, while Arad chapter issued them for the counties of Arad and Timiş. It wasn't a general rule, as shown in enough documents issued by Cenad chapter for Timiş County, and by Arad chapter for Caraş County.

cases, in front of central instances (Ortvay, 1896, 590)[58].

In 8 suits out of 23 women instituted a civil action through the office of their representatives, with relatives or familiars as procurators, and 15 with *literati* or different individuals who had become "experts" in such actions. Probably, they were recruited among the neighbors and among the ones who revolved around the courts (Rady, 2015, 122). It was found that the simple documents of representation did not need special schooling, but literacy, juridical studies, possibly, and experience in the field mainly, were necessary in supporting any case in front of a court (Drăgan, 2000, 323).

In most of the cases, the ladies were represented by their family members (father, mother, husband, brother or son-in-law). The litigates were interfamilial disputes concerning inherited goods establishing, within different branches of some families, assigning of ownership records, or goods destroying and abusive taking hold of lands. Being relatively simple cases, of local interest, they were solved regularly in county or chapter courts.

However, I have come across two more serious cases that required, at a certain moment, the named relatives coming to superior courts. In 1377, magister Nicholas, son of Alexander of Lypthovia, appeared before Louis I, in the name of his sons Gregory and Ladislav, and of daughter Ana, to accuse magister Benedict Himfi of a grave offence, the banishing of the children from their possession of Șoșdea, Timiș County, when the claimant had made his pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre (*ad sepulcrum domini*); Cenad chapter had, in fact, confirmed that offense (DRH-C, XV 2006, 137). The second case refers to a manslaughter solved 12 years after the murder, by the counties of Timiș and Caraș noblemen general congregation, on November 18, 1399, in Timișoara (DL 86557). In front of the congregation, John of Ozlar was found guilty for murdering Jacob of Szentgyrgy and had to pay, to Nicholas the Literate who also represented his stepsister, Caterina, as being the deceased's successors, 60 marks for expiation (Rady, 2015, 111)[59].

The cases in which the women were represented by their servants or neighbors and escorts, were exclusive of domanial nature like displacing or abducting serfs (Pesty, 1882, 359; Magina, 2012, 72), or taking hold of lands abusively (Pesty, 2014, 131). In fact, they were the people to come from the ladies' domains or neighborhood, reliable persons who knew the reality better (past or present) and, probably, their services were not too expensive for the women in question.

The place and role the literati (Engel, 2006, 220)[60] and the specialized procurators (Iusztin, 2012, 7-23)[61] played in representing the different parts in litigious situations was different. That is mainly because of being schooled to come to courts and, probably, asking for a better payment. Moreover, they had been involved in lawsuits at the central courts. So was the case of John the Literate who came to Visegrád in front of Queen Mary, on the 9th of February 1385 (DL 42315), to represent Ladislav of Omor's widow with the former ban Benedict Himfi's widow for a debt; or, the case of Benedict the Literate, the procurator of Nicholas Himfi's widow, who

[58] Let's take for example, the widow of Jacob Chep of Gherteniș who named 10 procurators, on the 7th of March 1425, in the Cenad chapter: Ladislav of Berkez, Benedict of Bochaar, Stephen, George of Ikerhalom's son, Andrew Chep of Gherteniș and his son Stephen, John judge of Gherteniș, Philip of Beuldre, Emeric, her son-in-law, Peter Bench of Petherd and John the Literate of Themerdekeghaz. Chep of Gherteniș family was one of the noble families with possessions in three counties of Banat: Caraș, Timiș and Torontal. Analyzing the list of the named procurators we can mark out the categories I presume were regularly appointed procurators. Relatives were on the list, with Andrei Chep and his son, Stephen (the widow's brother-in-law and nephew-in-law), and Emeric (Himfi), her son-in law, married to Ana, her daughter. A literate (clerk) is presented after, a man of some schooled level. Finally, we might note that the widow named procurators from the three counties her family had possessions: Berkez and Gherteniș in Caraș County, Beuldre and Bochaar in Timiș County, and Petherd and Themerdekeghaz, in Torontal County.

[59] Since the medieval law that Werböczy centralized in *Tripartitum*, they considered that *homagium* paid by the guilty person to the relatives of the murdered one atoned for the murderer's life, not for the bloodshed (*wergeld*).

[60] The literati's (clercks') activity within the courts and offices of authentication asked them to know the local law, the kingdom customary laws, and Latin, the language of official documents.

[61] The family of the nobles of Muron was one of such families, whose members were outstanding personalities in the administrative and juridical system in Timiș County. It was almost a tradition for the family's members to be procurators of other noble families. Blasiu of Muron was the most known one, a procurator for years of the family of Posafi of Szer. He was contemporary with Dominic of Muron, the one who represented in 1410 Caterina, Nicholas of Szer's daughter, at her law with her brother for a vineyard in Arad County, her mother had bequeathed to.

appeared in front of palatine Leustachiu of Ilsua, in Visegrád, to ask a new adjournment for the lawsuit with Benedict Himfi's widow and her grandsons, concerning a series of acts of property.

There were also noble persons among the noble ladies' advocates. It is the case of different provincial landowners who attempted to get a lift up in the world and so arrived to represent the litigants in return for some money (Popa-Gorjanu, 2007, 377). Of a particular interest seems to be the case of Dimitrie of Perechke, a nobleman in the county of Veszprém, who was for more years, between 1387 and 1393, the advocate of Benedict Himfi's widow at court with her sister-in-law, Nicholas Himfi's widow, for a series of property acts in Caraș County (Pesty, 1882, 171, 180; Fekete Nagy, Temesi bánság, 1425, 1426). He came repeatedly in Visegrád for that case, in front of the palatine court, with credential letters emitted both by Veszprém chapter and the king. I suppose that his relation with the represented part in law began when the former ban Benedict Himfi and his wife lived for a while at their estate at Döbrente, county of Veszprém. Benedict of Bochaar, a nobleman in Torontal County, was another procurator with the same status, who represented the widow of Jacob Chep of Gherteniș in three lawsuits, between 1420 and 1421 (Magina, 2012, 63, 64; DL 54149). It is also an eloquent fact that his properties adjoined one of the main estates of the Cheps in Torontal County, namely *Beuldre* (Novo Miloševo, Serbia, today). It is also worth mentioning the case of Michael Bodor of Ezeriș, the procurator of Ana, Emeric Himfi's widow, who was noted both for being a nobleman and an official (*officialis*) of Ana, in a document from July 20, 1437 (Pesty 1882, 265). Probably his social superior status, compared to that of a simple servant on an estate of a noblewoman, dated since the decease of Ana's husband, who belonged to the well-known family of Himfi and had taken part with his men in Sigismund of Luxemburg's campaign at Golubac, on the Danube border.

It is clear that the noble ladies with possessions in more counties (widows in the family of Himfi, owning lands in the counties of Caraș, Timiș and Veszprém; or widows in the family of Chep of Gherteniș, with possessions recorded in Timiș, Caraș, and Torontal) named different procurators in different counties for practical reasons: saving up their money and the procurators' expertise in the ladies' cases. Certainly, the same was the situation in the case of noblemen.

There were some particular but not exceptional cases to be reminded, generated by some specific personal data or situations. I observed for instance that there were some families which kept the same procurator from a generation to another, a proof of confidence between the contracting parties. It was the case of Blasiu, Dominic's son, who represented within a period of 10 years, both Ladislav of Omor's widow and her daughter, Caterina of Omor, during two lawsuits in Visegrád in front of the royal Curia, winning both cases (Miscellanea Heimiana, 297; Pesty, 1882, 196)[62]. As for Dimitrie of Perechke, he represented for years the former ban Benedict Himfi's widow.

In other circumstances, long ongoing trials determined some noble ladies to appeal to more advocates' services for various unidentifiable reasons. It was the case of Ladislav of Omor's widow against some members of the family of Himfi, for a debt of 10 marks. Initially, in 1381, she was represented in front of the royal Curia by Blasiu, Dominic's son, but Nicholas Himfi's death (he was the accused in that case) lead to the debt transferring to his mother, Benedict Himfi's widow. In 1385 at the final appearance, Omor's widow was represented by John the Literate in front of Queen Mary's court (Miscellanea Heimiana, 297; DL 42315).

I might add another interesting fact, namely the attitude of Stephen Feldes of Chorna's widow, who named 4 procurators on the 22nd of July 1393, in front of the court of Timiș County, but a week later, on the 29th of July 1392, she came *in persona* to the same instance, together with her son, to amiably share Chorna estate with Briccio of Chorna (a relative or a shareholder in the family's condominium) (Ortvay, 1896, 231, 232).

The question of noble ladies' presence and representation in front of courts at that time certainly reveals various situations and circumstances that generated attitudes, in no way different from what the noblemen had to face.

Final considerations

The present approach has attempted to discuss some aspects concerning women's presence facing the law in the medieval Banat. Objective reasons made me focus on the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century. After the long silence of the offices' records during the previous centuries, the (mainly noble) women's presence begins to be noted down, not spectacularly but quite sufficient to allow us to

[62] The species went at law in 1381 and 1390, both for recuperating a debt (1381) and for keeping some of the familial estates especially (1391).

sketch up certain hypotheses which might be extrapolated to the whole medieval society. Noble women's access to the law comes from their juridical status and right of landowning that offered them legal personality, but also generated dysfunctionalities when falling within the male traditional patrimonial right.

The detailed presentation related to the way women were involved in litigates is what I have taken for proof for the idea that the social and juridical limits were more flexible at that time than researchers initially believed. Equating the male and female citizens taking part in law would be just my presumption from this point of view. However, to ignore such a subject means to throw it into derision, implicitly to restratrain the reconstruction of a more proximate image of the reality of medieval courts in front of which women's presence was not accidental, but quite usual.

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THE COOKERY BOOK OF ANNA BORNEMISZA. LEISURE AND IDENTITY

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Abstract: *The Cookery Book of Anna Bornemisza from 1680 is published by Kriterion Publishing House edited by Elemér Lakó, based on the translation by János Keszei in 1680. As a fundamental work of European gastronomic history, apart from its original utility, the collection of recipes offers the opportunity of reevaluating the relationship between society, culture and food in the 17th century. Culinary preferences, from a cultural and social viewpoint, show a different image of the epoch seen from an individual and social point of view. The book provides a view towards a traditional food system, specific to the era, but which – through the translation of the book of cosmopolitan recipes of the time – undoubtedly expresses the intention of modernisation and tendencies of Europeanism of a society governed by family and caste-spirit. The engine of Transylvanian iluminism is the wife of a prince, stranger to the surroundings, who will forever dissolve the mediaeval type of woman. Thus, an interesting relationship comes to life between taste, culture and lifestyle, which is accountable for a modus vivendi specific to Transylvania.*

Keywords: *identity, gastronomic History, Transylvania, feminism, identity foods*

Introduction

Gastronomic semiotics links everything to identity. Anna Bornemisza's Cookery Book is the result of mass feeling, of a new culture of taste in the Transylvanian space, bringing new frame to a specific gastronomic model with its rites and rituals of identity, which revolve around certain identity foods, in a process of familiarizing foods that define people's gastronomic identity in Transylvania. Any re-reading of the above-mentioned book is an opportunity to decipher the socio-cultural background of the eternal art of cooking in these parts. We should not disregard the role of *culinary actors*, either: the cook, the cup bearer or the steward.

The first part of the Cookery Book is the textbook-description of court ceremonies, entitled "How to organize feasts of the upper classes, how to prepare and what servants we should need"[63]. The author draws attention to the fact that there are rituals that differ from country to country and from court to court, and underlines differences in terminology.

Key words in organizing court festivities: authoritarian spirit, dedication, respect, modesty, good will in maintaining the good reputation of the court among the guests. An ideal of elegance, respect, and dignity is formulated towards any direction of hierarchy: princes, kings, high nobility, as well as their subordinates. Rational spirit, tolerance, measure, balance. There appears the model of a society governed not by force but by the power of words evoking mutual respect according to Kant's *Sapere aude!* (Have the courage to use your common sense!).

The role of the steward (Hofmeister) is all-important: it is his job to maintain balance and quiet, to satisfy all needs of the guests, to propagate the good name of his master among the guests. In the spirit of enlightenment, the textbook of rituals defines the exquisite human being, harmoniously built inside and out, rational, balanced, to whom excesses of any kind are unknown. One concluding argument in the note referring to the steward's clothes: it should not be

[63] How to order and prepare a feast, what sort of personnel is needed in Anna Bornemisza's Cookery Book from 1680. The chapter is divided into the following subchapters: 1. On the duties of steward, captain of the court and chef; 2. On the administrator/curator; 3. On the chef; 4. On the cup bearer; 5. On those who serve the dishes and drinks; 6. On the *fissneider* – the taster.

too short like those of a monkey or the buffoon (Keszei, 1983, 37).

The most dangerous enemy of an ideal society is foolishness accompanied by ignorance, laziness and a lack of measure. The administrator of the Prince's court should have, in Rumpolt's vision, a harmonious body, he should be merry, busy, handsome, clean and with an unstained moral attitude. He is obliged to learn from those cleverer than himself, to set the general good before his personal one, and to respect his master as his own self. Other members of the prince's household are the main chef, the cup bearer or the food-taster.

Historical context

Anna Bornemisza became the wife of Prince Mihály Apafi[64] in an era when the glory of Gábor Bethlen and György Rákóczi I had begun to decline. We have little information from the period prior to her marriage[65]. Even the place and date of her birth are uncertain. According to some sources, she may have been born in 1626 (Kulini, Sárvary, 1861, 185), but 1630 is also possible as her date of birth (Balás, 1918, 37). On July 10th, 1653, she marries Mihály Apafi and moves to his estate at Ebesfalva/Ibasfalau. Mihály Apafi took part at all great military campaigns of the Transylvanian armies towards the end of the reign of György Rákóczi II: in Moldova in 1653, in Wallachia in 1655, and in Poland in 1657, which ended with the defeat at Czarny Ostrów. After this defeat, Apafi was taken prisoner by the Tartars and spent three years in Crimea. The turning point in the existence of the two is the year 1657. That detail would remain unnoticed in the future prince's biography as a simple documented historical fact if it did not bring into view his wife, Anna Bornemisza. The Tartar chief had imposed a huge sum on the family as a ransom for the prisoner, 30,000 talers[66]. The fierce lady Bornemisza negotiates promptly the ransom and thus he manages to return to Transylvania after three years, on October 24th, 1860, for the sum of 12,000 gold ducats. On September 5th, 1661, he becomes prince of Transylvania, with the consent of the ottoman court. Writer of the era's chronicles, Mihály Cserei, depicts the couple in sombre notes: Apafi was too soft, too undecided, politically left-handed, preferred to implicate his wife in the major decisions of leadership. The writers' remarks are funny when they concentrate on the unwanted prince's small weaknesses: he was notorious for drinking too much, for becoming violent and taking hasty decisions in such moments. His greatest pleasure, however, was his love of watches: he had an impressive collection of them, 18 small pieces, and he was capable of admiring them for hours on end to understand their mechanism. Baron Péter Apor describes in his work Metamorphosis Transylvaniae Apafi's favourite piece: the mechanism moved a small shaggy puppy, which at each and every hour moved and opened its mouth, barking like a real dog as many times as the hour was. Such observations from the era, more or less malicious, depict the prince's reign in an unfavourable light, but also bring into focus Anna Bornemisza's active implication and determination in Transylvanian internal and external politics. How can we explain the reticence and even the rejection of the couple? The decision of Ali Pasha to put Apafi on the throne of Transylvania, the member of a family which had never been intended for any high

[64] He was born on November 3rd, 1632, in the manor house of the family in Dumbraveni (then Ibasfalau/Ebesfalva, Eppeschdorf, Sibiu county), to magnate György Apafi, Lord Lieutenant of Tarnava and former judge of Sibiu, and to Barbara Petki, daughter of the Chancellor of Transylvania Princedom. The original estate of the family, where his name comes from, is Apanagyfalu (today Nusfalau, Grossendorf, Bistrita-Nasaud county). Apafi spent his childhood on another domain of the family, Sieu (Nagysajó, Bistrita-Nasaud county), where he acquired a thorough Calvinist education.

[65] New sources of information are offered by the correspondence between Anna Bornemisza and Mihály Teleki, as well as by her diary.

[66] In Apafi's diary, the moment is marked in the following way: On January 8th, 1657, I left /to Poland/ in on July 31st the same year I fell prisoner to Mehmed Girai, Ottoman chief of Crimea. I myself was the prisoner of Haras Bey, captain of the town of Or/today Perekop, or Or Qapi in the Tartar language/. I spent the years 1658, 1659 and 1660 in awful and hard prison. Our Almighty Lord took pity on me and saved me, for which I will always bless His sacred name. On the evening of October 24th, in Iasi, the chains were taken off my legs and I went to the voivode Stefan /Ștefăniță Lupu/ from where I left on November 3rd; on November 8th I reached Bârgău, in my own village. By God's grace I found my wife healthy and sound. Four years minus two months I stayed in Poland and Tartar land, and I was saved by a ransom of 12,000 thalers." – the translation belongs to József Lukács in The Clockmaker Prince, in Apostrophy, year XXVI, 2015, nr 7 (302).

position in the political hierarchy, is perceived as an offence against other dignitaries: a usurper who as a Stranger, the Other, should never have become the ruler. The couple had never belonged to any of the traditional Transylvanian noble families in the nucleus of the Transylvanian aristocracy. They were foreigners, they came from Oradea (Ilona Balás indicates Oradea as the birthplace of Anna Bornemisza) (Balás, 1918, 27), and respectively from Ebesfalva/Ibasfalau in Dumbraveni Sibiu, thus they were intruders upon a space and a regime to which they were strangers and enemies. The great noble families were surprised by Apafi's tempestuous designation and they saw themselves dispossessed of all political privileges. Chronicler Mihály Cserei (Cserei, 1983, 89), loyal to old Transylvanian aristocracy, deconstructs the image of the rational, powerful and patriotic prince, but his texts also suggest the birth of Transylvanism, with chauvinistic traits in front of strangers: „the dangers of the country feed young strangers" (Cserei, 1983, 97), sighs the chronicler, thus identifying the source of destruction. Or, in another source:

> *„The poor Transylvanian is more of a stranger than a stranger... he was overcome by strangers like Mihály Teleki… Any lousy wretch wandering this way from Hungary has found himself a position immediately."* (Cserei, 1983, 161)

Without further details, we may conclude that the second half of the 17th century is one of the most turbid in Transylvania, a stage of profound crisis, that will lead to the dissolution of the autonomous principality and the start of foreign domination. On hearing of Apafi's acceptance of the throne in 1661, Mihály Teleki himself (future trusted counsellor of Anna Bornemisza) observes maliciously that he "tasted the princely shit but he will leave his teeth there"[67]. However, it is to be noted that for almost three decades, until 1690, the period of Apafi's reign, Transylvania is spared of any wars.

Assessed from the perspective of the present, Mihaly Apafi's deeds contribute to the image of a sensible and responsible prince, whose decisions had a positive influence on both economy and education: founding the glass factory at Porumbacu, building paper mills, reawakening mining in Abrud[68] and founding a mining school, relaunching trade in Transylvania, repopulating Transylvanian villages, as a result of numerous Ottoman and Tartar incursions, taxing nobility estates. Husband and wife financed schools in Fagaras, the Protestant College of Aiud, the college in Sárospatak and Kassa; in his reign, taxes are imposed on noble estates, the printing press of Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós and the printing of books are financed. The Prince and his wife supported and encouraged the training of teachers at foreign universities and raised their salaries and benefits – *professor peregrinus*. Their attitude towards Romanians must not be overlooked either. They made efforts for spreading religion in the national tongue, founded churches and the Prince, a religious man, intended to translate the Bible into Romanian. There are many educational institutes linked to the Apafi family's name. Perhaps the most eloquent example is that of the Protestant College in Aiud, moved from Alba Iulia as a result of Turkish and Tartar incursions. Another example is the Abrud School. The old building behind the church was donated to the reformat-protestants by Prince Apafi. Even today one can see the inscription on the wall: "This building was donated by Prince Apafi as a workshop for students in 1670". The role of Apafi – looked down upon by his contemporaries, and considered more like a puppet of occult political interests of pro-Habsburgic and loyal to Ottoman Transylvanian noble interests – is described by Ernest Oberlander-Tarnoveanu as follows: "Under the rule of Mihail Apafi, Transylvania enjoyed a relatively peaceful period for almost two decades (1664-1686). After a western model, the prince encouraged the founding of manufactures paper, glass, cloth, iron foundries or the exploit of salt; he supported education by founding schools and printing, including in the Romanian language. He also allowed the colonization of Armenians and that of the 'Greek' Company in Sibiu and Brasov, as developing factors of international trade" (Oberlander-Târnoveanu, 2014). The monography of Ilona Balás is frequently quoted where the writer depicts for the following centuries the image of a woman who is intelligent, willing and ambitious, manages to shock her contemporaries

[67] Correspondence of Mihály Teleki, II, 199.

[68] The protestant church in Abrud was built during the reign of Mihály Apafi.

by her different way of acting in social life and of assuming her obligations as the wife of a prince.

Anna Bornemisza – an Unprecedented Image of the 17th Century Woman

After her marriage to Apafi, she becomes the lady of Fagaras Castle, which at that time is a free baronhood. Anna Bornemisza is considered both by Ilona Balás and by Judit Balogh (Balogh, 2014, 104-122) the perpetuator of a model of princess imposed by Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, wife to Prince György Rákóczy I, in whose court she grew up. It must be noted, however, that Anna Bornemisza, like other wives of princes, is defined as a princess according to her marital status, and the term has no administrative-political value. The limits of their power were therefore variable, imposed by the social context and the will of the prince.

> *"The main reason for the lack of feminine roles was the lack of a stable ruling house, with dynastic features, and neither were there principles previously stated for their role. Thus, in their marital strategy, they did not constitute important aspects for a ruler. Among the princes of Transylvania, Ioan Sigismund Szapolyai never married, and neither did his successor, Stefan Báthory until the moment of his election as Polish King. Stefan Bocskai, Sigismund Rákóczi, Gabriel Báthory or Gabriel Bethlen were not raised as sons of rulers, and Apafi married before his election as prince. In this way, the marriage of princes reflects the marrying strategy of any Transylvanian or Hungarian nobleman, not the marrying strategy of a ruler attempting to aid his dynastic intentions and to consolidate international relationships."* (Balogh, 2014, 118)

– concludes Judit Balogh, in a study of the ways of princely courts in Transylvania, in essence, a discourse on the image and status of the woman in an essentially male world: the princely court during the 150 years of Transylvanian autonomy. With certainty, such studies have the role of reconfirming the distorted negative image of Anna Bornemisza, created by Mihály Cserei's chronicle (Cserei, 1983).

His political reluctance influenced the portrait he created, accusing Anna Bornemisza of power hunger, an unwanted implication in state affairs, and incorrect influence over her too labile and fragile husband who was improperly sent to the princely throne. Making personal remarks and calumny are never far from the chronicler: he specifies that the appearance of the princess is rather unpleasant, makes a sickly and dry impression; her clothes are also controversial, lacking in good taste, emphasizing disgrace. Feeling inferior to beautiful women in the prince's court, she was full of jealousy, which she never hesitated to show, and she was notorious for conjugal conflicts often taken to a level of violence. [69] Naturally, the information originating in the chronicler's work must be treated with the necessary doubt given his known reticence towards the new type of woman consolidated by Anna Bornemisza in 17th century Transylvanian society. Her activism, the role of *iron lady*, consequently played in Transylvanian domestic and foreign policy, in deep contrast with the mediaeval status of women perplexed her contemporaries. Perceived as an intruder in the profoundly masculine sanctuary of political life, and as a usurper of a role previously only played by men, that of a leader in administrative-political life, she becomes the target of a satirical writing by Ferenc Szentpáli Németh, *Imago veritatis*[70], in which the young princess is recommended in an acid tone to lay her hand on needle and thread and start sewing, instead of meddling with state affairs. The study of Ilona Balás views the Princess as a landmark in the history of Hungarian feminism in society. The author insists on her role in governing Transylvania, in the development of the economy and the flourishing of Fagaras Castle. Anna Bornemisza's implication, her resistance to the wave of hatred and disrespect which reached mystical-fantastic degrees[71], her

[70] Collection of poets of old times, 17th century, 13: poems by Ferenc Szentpáli N., György Felvinczi, Ferenc Pápai Páriz and Mikós Tóthfalusi Kis, edited by Imre Varga, Akadémiai Publ. House, Budapest, 1988, 36.

[71] The Bewitchment of Anna Bornemisza: Witches in the political fight in Transylvania 1678-1688 (red. Keserű Bálint), A detailed study of the most notorious witch trial in the history of Transylvania (1686). Bornemisza and her husband were firmly convinced that the constant ailing state of the princess as well as the sudden death of 13 out of the 14 children (only Mihály lives, descendant on the throne) were the result of constant intrigue, notorious at the time, of the couple Pál Béldi-Zsuzsanna Vitéz, apparently appealing to occult forces, by which the two would try to take

different rapport to social life and to her obligations as the wife of a prince result in the embodiment of a new status for women in society, a new *forma mentis*.

The destiny of Anna Bornemisza takes place within an ample European context, that of *Entzauberung der Welt (demystifying the universe)*, in the purest of illuminist manifestations. In one of his works from 1711, Pápai Páriz Ferenc[72] raises awareness over the frequent illnesses of Hungarians: the shivers, nausea, and indigestion. These were caused mainly by unbalanced and irregular eating habits, and excessive consumption of animal proteins. The appearance of a cookery book entitled *Of new cooking* intended to correct these eating habits. Not unexpectedly, the book contains a chapter on the therapeutic role of certain spices, as well as a set of main recipes based on wine.[73]

The study by Balogh Judit, like the one by Petrőczi Éva (Petrőczi, 2015, 265-275), conceives the princess' personality as a continuation of Zsuzsanna Lórántffy, wife of György Rákóczi I. Her portrait is built in a fundamentally different way from that of the image of a woman in Wallachia or Moldova. Without entering into details, we must specify that the latter's role was to be confined in her chambers and boudoirs as spaces of existence, and their role in society was resumed to giving birth to descendants and to being décor in a profoundly male universe. The position of the Woman in Transylvanian princedom is fundamentally different. Judit Balogh defines her role as follows: she was creative and full of initiative, even though she supported her husband and agreed with him in everything, as it was customary for a wife according to the customs of the day and the principles of strict puritan Christianity. Yet Zsuzsanna Lórántffy was more familiar with the social relationships in the early modern era, which were considered the essence of life at court, in spite of the fact that sate room life at the court of a prince had not been shaped as specifically as in Italian or Western European courts, where the woman was allowed to be the man's partner in many ways and could be his equal at least in making conversation. The clever and creative wife of George Rákóczi I, learned in the ways of fashion, theology, wine-making methods, household matters, education, and gardening, was ready to converse with theologians, scientists and artists alike. According to her contemporaries and other sources, she could attract both men and women. In the culture of the renaissance court, Lórántffy Zsuzsanna knew her ways from as early as the period of her life when she was the wife of a high aristocrat and an excellent partner of conversation (Balogh, 2014, 111). If in the renaissance court the woman was accepted as having equal rights to those of men, Anna Bornemisza assumed not only the formal role of princess, imposed by Lorántffy, but also the prerogatives of Prince, she imposed herself as a *leader*. Through the destiny of Anna Bornemisza, we may follow the process of a profound change in the status of women in the 17th century, the assumption of prerogatives formerly reserved for men only.

Gastronomic Literature – A Component of National Identity

The rebirth of culinary art on the European continent happens in parallel with the great geographic discoveries: through a process of rediscovering the ideals of humanism. Italy is the centre of reviving culinary art. Some examples of cookery books at the base of European gastronomic art are Marcus Gavius Apicius' *De Re Coquinaria* (4th century); Bartolomeo Scapii's *Opera dell'arte del cucinare* in 1485; in 1604 in Liege Lancelot de Casteau writes *Ouverture de Cuisine*. The first restaurant in Europe, called *Champ d'Odiseau*, opens in Paris in the 18th century. In Transylvania we mark the appearance of the following recipe books: *Az erdélyi fejedelem szakácskönyve a XVI századból* (689 dishes, in the appendix a number of 103 dietary dishes) – 1622*; Das Wissen des Kochs, Kochbuch des Chefskochs der Fürsten Siebenbürgens; Büchlein des Berufkochs* (1695, Cluj); Ignaz Gastler's *Wienerisches bewehrtes Kochbuch*

revenge because of the political failures of Béldi.The latter will go on to die in the prison of Ediküle.

[72] The princess shows interest in the publishing of a medical book, which she discusses with Ferenc Pápai Páriz. The latter writes a treaty, Pax corporis, finalised in manuscript as early as 1683, but he will only publish it in 1690.

[73] This is about dishes based on sugar, confectionery, and juices, in Chapter 170, On healing products obtained from sugarcane honey, and about a relatively independent chapter in the recipe book, non-existent in Max Rumpolt, On the trade of wine-butler, with information on obtaining different types of wine, among which those of medical nature.

(1749); J.C. Hintescu's *Bucătăria națională* (1877).

In 1581, Max Rumpolt publishes in Frankfurt am Main *Ein Neu Kochbuch* (the second edition is published in 1604). On Anna Bornemisza's order, the recipe book is translated by Janos Keszei in 1680, bearing the title *Egy új főzésrül*. The translation is achieved between February 7th, 1680 (Fagaras), and August 23rd, 1680 (Iernut). From Anna Bornemisza's property, the work is handed down to her son's family, Mihály Apafi II, later ending up in the possession of the Bethlen family (the family of his wife). At the beginning of the 19th century, the book is the property of the Protestant College of Cluj, and after the 1948 nationalization, it enters the custody of the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj branch. Along the years, the cookery book was the subject of several newspaper articles published by Kálmán Simonffyin Budapest, in the magazine *Nemzeti Képes Úság*, on March 29th, 1863 or 1877, Ottó Hermann refers to it in his work *A magyar halászat könyve* (The Book of Hungarian Fishing). In 1963, Elemér Lakó edits and prefaces Keszei's translation, publishing it with the title *The Cookery Book of Anna Bornemisza from 1680*. Although Marx Rumpolt had written his work while serving as main chef at the court of Count Daniel Brendel von Homburg, the fact that in the preface he declares himself to be *ein geborener Unger* (a born Hungarian) and the fact that the princess of Transylvania commanded its translation into Hungarian, support the idea that the work is, in effect, an act of consolidation of the national identity of Transylvanian Hungarians.

Anna Bornemisza's Recipes book contains a number of 1,646 recipes, grouped in four major categories: recipes made from four-legged domestic animals, recipes from wild game and poultry, recipes from different kinds of fish, and a fourth one, about the preparation of salads, marzipan, different kinds of pasta and a number of sweets. The main ingredients are grouped in accordance with the logic of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*; the four-legged: from cattle to squirrel; birds: from eagle to starling; fish: from sterlet to green frog.

From the ethnical point of view, the recipes have German, Hungarian, French, Czech, Dutch and Turkish origins. A great number constitute those of Hungarian origin. Thus, there is to be found a remark in many cases, such as the *Hungarian style*, or *This is what Hungarian nobility likes*, etc. Consequently, Hungarian cuisine had acquired fame in the court of the king in Mainz, and also in Europe, as Rumpolt recommends meals of Hungarian origin.

It is to be specified that Rumpolt's edition of *Ein Neu Kochbuch* contains 201 letters, numbered in Roman style, reduced to 105 letters in Keszei's version. The reason is that the Hungarian translator comprises the chapters dedicated to the different hierarchic roles in the royal court. The first page of *The Cookery Book of Anna Bornemisza from 1680* opens with a motto from Psalm XCI, verse 10-12:

> *"therefore no calamity shall reach you, no dread shall reach your tent/ for He will command His angels to watch over you in all walks of your life;/and they will carry you on their palms so you should never hurt your feet against a rock."*

Keszei's Dedication follows, to Anna Bornemisza, princess of Transylvania: *To the Blessed Anna Bornemisza, Princess of Transylvania by the mercy of God, Lady of the realms of Hungary, mistress of seklers, to my merciful Lady.*

The second page announces a new way of cooking four-legged animals, domestic and wild, poultry, raw and smoked fish, cooked or roasted food in the oven, carbonates, diverse stuffing, pâtés, cold food in Hungarian, German, Spanish, Italian and French style, assorted with different mashes, fruits, mustard, sauces, confectionery, lictaria. Cooking appears as dependant on the social class of the guests at table. In a separate chapter we find information on how to preserve wine, prepare beer or vinegar and other drinks.

What can be the characteristic feature of cooking as described in the book? The terse style of remarks suggests the ritualistic character of preparing meals. The author omits measurements and quantities of ingredients (many of these are missing), laying much greater emphasis on the solemnity of preparation and serving, on the transformation of ingredients into edible meals and arranged on trays and tables according to the aesthetics of opulence, luxury and lavishness. We may remark the length of time for preparing certain meals from several hours to several days. The spectacular nature of the recipe book stems from the great number of recipes, the diversity of

basic ingredients and spices, and also from the exotic nature of some meals.

The number of soups is relatively low, yet compensated for by the variety of sauces. The borderline between cooking or frying and roasting is not very clear; cooking meat in wine was widely practiced; meals appear in two colours: the gravy is either black or yellow. One peculiarity of cooking in the 17th century is the black gravy, which is a version of a highly concentrated sauce with bizarre ingredients, sometimes incompatible with today's consumption, such as carp blood, vinegar, and water put to boil with added apples, red onions, and estragon. The resulting product is filtered, and sugar is added to it. It is obvious from this example that there was no clear borderline between sweet and salty meals. One recipe especially draws attention: *Monsoblanc* is made from capon breast and rice flour, upon which sweet milk is poured. All the ingredients are cooked over a small fire, then rose-water is poured over. It is cooked on, then sugar and butter are added. Out of the resulting food, small pieces are taken with a spoon, and they are strewed with sugar. Special dishes were the different kinds of homogenized mushes. Here is an example: Capon liver is fried and cut to small pieces, toast, and black currant is added. Later, warmed red wine is added. It is passed through a sieve, sugar is added as well as pepper and cinnamon, and then it is brought to the boil. It can be served hot or cold.

A few general observations

Spices were used excessively: saffron, aniseed, pepper, nutmeg, estragon, ginger, clove, horseradish, red onion; pork is not a major ingredient, it acquires notoriety only in the 19th century; the preference for red onions is to be noted (no white onions were used); tomatoes and corn appear to be unknown; potatoes were unknown, there are only two references to *Erdapfel,* another name for artichoke, but which might as well mean potato. Wine consumption is more than generous, being considered in the same way as in the theories of Socrates, Dioscorides, Avicenna: medication for body and mind[74]. Contrary to the opinion that in earlier centuries meat was consumed in excess, *The Cookery Book of Anna Bornemisza* contains a large selection of salads: endive, green lettuce, artichoke, chicory, red beetroot, red onion, asparagus, oranges, pumpkin, cabbage, lettuce, borage, radish. For grease, butter is used, sometimes lard. Fruits were oftentimes consumed at princes' and noblemen's courts, as they were a measure of welfare and even luxury: lemons, oranges, dates, quinces, apples, pears, gooseberries. Vinegar and flavoured vinegar are unmistakably present in 17th century cuisine. An inventory of the main ingredients used in 17th century culinary art indicates the preference of consumers for a certain type of meat: 83 recipes containing beef, 7 recipes with cow's udder, 45 recipes of mutton, 28 recipes of lamb, 32 recipes of pork, 37 of boar meat, 22 of rabbit, 9 of eagle's meat, 22 recipes of turkey, 3 recipes of peacock, 44 recipes of capon, 16 recipes of woodchuck, 40 recipes of pike, 6 recipes of oyster, 23 recipes of crab, 9 recipes of tortoise meat. One new aspect could be the consumption of squids, whose cooking method is described in clear details. They are washed in rain water, they are left for three days, then rinsed in 12 waters, then scalded and fried.

In the category of exotic meals for the contemporary taste, we mention squirrel roast, lark, *holopotrida*, a kind of meal prepared from 90 ingredients: different sorts of meat, boiled or fried, poultry, boiled vegetables, parmesan, spices. All the ingredients are boiled together in a copper zinc-plated pot, on a layer of cabbage. Cooking time is as long as two or three days. *Holopotrida* is served on 10-11 plates; *habarnicza*, or tortoise meat is served boiled and cut to pieces, in its own tortoise-shell.

Deserts are also a clear borderline between past centuries and the present, the meals being a mixture of sweet and salty ingredients. Cakes, pies, fruits, and jams made of spicy fruit are predominant, but cheese-, spinach- or cabbage-cakes or a cake from the veal brain are also desserts. The recipe of the traditional Sekler chimney cake appears for the first time (Keszei calls it doughnut-on-a-stick) (Keszei, 1983, 225). The most important part of the book is the inventory of gastronomic rituals, which depend on the rank and social status of the invited guests to the prince's court. The fact that the recipes are categorized according to the guests' fasting days shows the spread of Catholicism, a religion that

[74] Wine with Artemisia is recommended to melancholic people and to those "half-witted", it is supposed to heal "women's hysteria" ; wine with borage is good against colic and melancholy, it cleans the brain of melancholy, brings back lost mind, and the wine of borage (mixture between the plant and must) cleans one of phantasies - promises chef Rumpolt.

imposes specific foods for specific days. The explanatory ample titles demonstrate the details of the recipe book: “A clear lesson follows on the kinds of meals served at tables of emperors, kings, nobles, bourgeois and peasants. To all, not only meat but also on fasting days. Four imperial meals, two for days of meat, two for fasting. Four meals for Hungarian and Czech kings. Four meals for electors. Four princely meals.” As an example, we have chosen a menu served on the occasion of receiving emperors (Keszei, 1983, 48-55).

First Course

Boiled beef, served hot
Beef boiled in salty water, served cold
Mutton
A capon, boiled in its own juice with parsley root and nutmeg bloom; sprinkled with raw peas
Beef bowels: white or yellow
Roast beef with parmesan, on a layer of toast
Fried venison fillet, in sweet almond sauce or with thick almond sauce
A capon fried with sweet soup (chaudeau) or with fruit juice
Kapridat
A Hungarian pie
Roast veal with garlic
A roast, dried rooster, hot
A roast hen, hot
Pork roast with rinds of bacon, with sour juice
Roast pheasant, with sweet juice, prepared with oranges
Partridges with lemon juice, served hot
Roast chicken, thoroughly cleaned
Spanish paté, with pieces of chicken breast
Mansoblank; this is a Spanish dish (stuffed dough)
Chicken with yellow sauce, prepared in the Hungarian style
Roasted hazel grouses
Mutton fillet
Boiled veal with lemon
A roast piglet
Doughnuts of veal kidney or stuffed pasta
White peas

Second course

Italian cabbage and beetroot with lamb
A roast goose (on a layer of goose milk)?
Roast pork with red onions
Kid in sweet juice
Dough stuffed with apples, which is also called cake or pie
Roast rabbit
English pie
Mutton
Stag paté, served cold
An expensive pudding, nicely toasted
Lung paté, served hot
Stag fillet, boiled, then browned on a grate, served in its own juice
Stuffed stag chop, served hot
Cold rabbit paté
Wild boar, served white, with lemon
Stuffed veal roast
Pork head, served cold
Poultry, served with almond sauce
Roast partridges
Roast lark
Pork roast
A corponada of grouse
One more corponada, suitable
Cold meal with pork legs, with almonds
Cold capon
Mutton with lemon
Rabbit paté, served cold
Sauces for all dishes
Olives, oranges, capers and lemon with honey or sugar
Lemons cut to pieces, served sweet

Third course

Fruits
Marzipan made of almonds
Sweets made from apples
Boiled pears
Small doughnuts made of marzipan
Marzipan made from red peanuts
Praecedata – dough of flour, egg, sugar, roast aniseed and sprinkled with cinnamon
Pancakes
Quince juice (jelly?)
Almonds, peanuts, aniseed, coriander, cinnamon, ginger sprinkled with sugar
Almond cake
A veal head made of sugar
A castle, animals, vegetables and fruit made of sugar; the ruler’s court reuilt on a small scale, made of sugar and rose water

For fasting days

A lunch meal, served to Hungarian and Czech kings

First course

Almond soup
Pea soup: with belly or liver
Fried pike with garlic
Boiled eggs
Eggs fried with red onion

Second course

Sturgeon in dark juice (carp blood, vinegar,

water, apples, red onions; estragon; boiled and filtered, sweetened with sugar)
Sterlet stew
Spinach and fried fish
A pike, prepared the Hungarian way Capridat of pike

Third course
Sturgeon in its own juice, with parsley
Salted trout
Pie with cheese and sour cream

Fourth course
Carp in dark juice, prepared the Hungarian way
Pickled carp and pike
Pike paté, served hot
Cold pike
Rice boiled in milk
Fruit

In conclusion, we may state that the translation of Marx Rumpolt in 1680 constitutes a basic landmark in the policy of Mihály Apafi and Anna Bornemisza, in view of their determination to set the princely court on its way towards Europeanization, but also of defining a Transylvanian identity. The work offers a new *forma mentis*, new rapport of man to himself and to the world.

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TRENDS AND CONTROVERSIES IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN KITCHEN. CONTRIBUTION TO THE CULINARY HISTORY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA

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Abstract: *This paper aims at contributing to the culinary history of Transylvania by presenting the culinary habits of Transylvanian ruling classes from a cultural point of view. In the eighteenth century, due to the "civilizing of the appetite" local tastes gradually changed, qualitative elaboration replaced quantitative display, and thus prestige-based consumption appeared. But the implementation of the new trends was not affordable for all, therefore this article would like to present food from another perspective, showing how new dishes and table manners could contribute to the creation of group identities. The study also describes the most important culinary innovations from eighteenth-century Transylvania; such are the introduction of an extra meal: the breakfast; the reinvention of soup as a main dish, and the refinement of confectionery products. We will address the issue from a gender perspective as well, underlining the importance females played in the implementation of the newest culinary trends.*

Keywords: *18th century, Transylvania, ego-documents, culinary history, breakfast, soup, coffee and alcohol consumption*

"Food could be considered the world's most important subject" (Fernández-Armesto, 2002, xi), and yet, we rarely came across food and eating in Transylvanian academic literature, since food history had been underappreciated and neglected for a long time by historians. Once again the pioneers in this area were ethnographers and anthropologists very willing to discuss food-related issues and alimentary matters in their work. However, in the last decades, due to the rise in popular interests, the situation has changed, and food is no longer regarded as a marginal subject, but as a topic of central importance. Our paper is also a modest attempt to contribute to this issue by presenting the culinary habits of Transylvanian ruling classes from a cultural point of view, taking interest not only in the preparation or consumption of food, but rather in how food has fed and shaped group identities for centuries (Montanari, 2006, 94).

To reconstruct the culinary taste of an era or social strata is quite challenging, especially if we want to write not necessarily about the foods put on the table, but about the attitudes toward them or about the way collective identity is formed at the dining table (Wheaton, 1996, 194). We will first discuss the menial tasks in the kitchen, and then briefly present the consecrated spaces, and the objects related to the table. The controversies from the kitchen or the change of taste does not refer to the change in the consistency of the food, the main meals or the spices used, but concerns especially attitudes regarding the changes that have taken place in the dining room, since the "civilizing of the appetite" came with the transformation of table manners as well (Mennel, 1996, 32). Eating was no longer perceived as a biological necessity, but as a mundane activity, and what differentiated social classes from one another were, after all, the attitudes towards food consumption. Representatives of the ruling elite constantly interrupted their activities and daily routines to take refreshments and to eat or drink (coffee or tea) "in a minimal state of hunger" (Mennel, 1996, 33; Collingham, 2018, xvii) and maximum fashion. These new table manners entered into Transylvania as well, as a result of the intense contact between Transylvanian nobles and especially the Viennese aristocracy. Once familiar with the new culinary customs, elitism appeared. Many Transylvanian nobles would accumulate significant debts out of their desire to conform to the new habits that were financially beyond their reach.

In the following presentation, we will rely on several sources, not only on ego-documents (memoirs, autobiographies, travel journals and

letters), but also on cookbooks, inventories and medical literature. Therefore we will discuss texts produced by and for the ruling classes. The analyzed narrative sources are written in Hungarian, usually by Calvinist noble males. We will present, however, the feminine perspective as well, even if the lack of sources sometimes prevents us from offering an exhaustive presentation. From the studied period we have only two autobiographies written by women – only one of these contains data on culinary habits, a travel journal very useful for our subject, and numerous letters or gastronomic instructions. At a first glance, it seems that the recipes from printed cookbooks and the ones kept in the family archives of Transylvanian noblewomen were different. We will try in the followings to give an explanation for this phenomenon as well.

It should be established from the outset that we will talk a little more, and more often, about one of the most well-known memoirs of the century, namely about the work of Baron Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, because it is the most commonly used source about everyday life in Transylvania. The work contains the nostalgic description of seventeenth-century Transylvanian customs, from baptisms to funerals, from travel customs to eating habits. Apor devoted several pages to criticize the new culinary wave from the eighteenth century. The majority of the works on early modern Transylvanian culinary history rely on this memoir, but despite its importance, we conclude that most of the descriptions offered by this author regarding eating habits and table manners are contested by other personal narratives of this time. Therefore, in the followings we will present sometimes contradictory perceptions regarding food consumption, which could be naturally explained by the fact that individual tastes vary, family customs differ as well, thus the changes occurred in gastronomy in the studied century are perceived differently. Therefore, we will try to avoid generalizations, or to use them only when pieces of information from the studied sources coincide.

The kitchen was a masculine space, and the monopoly of male chefs in the noble and bourgeois environments is obvious. Noble families held more cooks, and had more kitchens. The Transylvanian princes usually had two master chefs followed, of course, by a large staff. At the court of the princes there were usually between 7 and 10 cooks (Benda, 2014, 238–239). Catherine of Brandenburg, the second wife of Prince Gabriel Bethlen, even after she was no longer a princess, kept three kitchens: one German, another Hungarian and a third one, entitled "the inside kitchen", where women were cooking in a German way (Benda, 2014, 242). The situation did not change much during the eighteenth century. István Wesselényi, the son-in-law of Governor György Bánffi, kept an exhaustive diary during the years the family lived in Sibiu. From his narratives it appears that the Governor also kept three kitchens, one in Hungarian style, and one in German style, because on onomastic days, most often celebrated in these times, guests had the possibility to eat after their own taste. "In the middle of the table we put German food, on the side Hungarian dishes. The general was the most cheerful among the officers; he raised glasses to this, to that, he even tasted the Hungarian dishes, no wonder his wife got upset and left the house." (Wesselényi, 1983, 410–411) Apor complained, of course, that all the nobles had German chefs preparing French dishes, which was an exaggeration, given the aforementioned, since important noble families were always searching for German cooks. Serving a certain food is never accidental, the dishes also represented relations of power and prestige (Montanari, 2006, 97); therefore it was customary to offer the distinguished guests dishes they were familiar with. But the aforementioned quote from Wesselényi brings another topic into light. It was a common element, especially in the seventeenth century, to refuse food of other nations, but especially of other confessions (Black, 2003, 67–68). Accepting other nation's and confession's cuisine could mean the acceptance or embracement of the cultures that produced it, since food also represented the values of a society (Montanari, 2006, 62). Therefore, sometimes the rejection or acceptance of a certain dish was guided not so much by individual tastes as by social and cultural prejudices (Mennel, 1996, 34). Descriptions of Turkish celebrations are very suggestive in this regard (Tóth, 2006, 198–199; Kármán, 2019), as well as the travel accounts of Calvinist Transylvanians which often note about the disgust Protestants felt toward Catholic cuisine (Halmágyi, 1906, 462; Székely, 2019, 226).

Until the seventeenth century, food was served on square, extendable tables (Apor, 2010, 10), since according to Apor *round tables* appeared only in the eighteenth century. Much was written about the symbolism of round tables, since they redraw the existing hierarchical relationships. The setting arrangements of the rectangular table were always built around the most influential diner. In contrast, round tables created an intimate and "democratic" atmosphere between the parties (Montanari, 2006, 96–97), not to mention that they were more than proper for the

consumption of fashionable refreshments, such as hot chocolate or coffee. Inventories and especially testaments suggest that in Transylvania many girls received round tablecloths, which means that our ancestors embraced this custom very early on. By the end of the century, wills mention not only tablecloths with matching napkins, but also two types of tablecloth, one for covering the whole table, and a narrower one as decoration, placed in the middle (Tóth, 2006, 196).

We face much more difficulties when we have to reconstruct the actual table, the placement and use of *silverware* or *plates* and other serving bowls. According to Apor, until the eighteenth century each nobleman had his own knife, therefore, there were no cutting tools on the table. There were usually one or two spoons, and those who wanted to eat soup (if there was any) used them one at a time. The situation seemed to be the same with forks, since inventories note only the big serving forks. The very few cutlery items mentioned were made out of silver. Most of our data refer to knives, as there was a custom for each individual to have his or her own cutting tool. Men carried their knives in a sheath on their belt, women in an ornamented little bag that "reached almost to their ankles." (Apor, 2010, 10–11; 13). We have less data regarding spoons, and it seems that individual eating forks appeared only at the end of the seventeenth century. Food was served directly on bread (we have to mention that everybody had their own napkin), while the fashion of individual plates appeared also somewhere at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Curiously, the elites also preferred plates made out of wood: "I remember that when pewter plates became fashionable […] the great lord János Haller had some small wooden plates and put them in the middle of the pewter ones." (Apor, 2010, 10) By the eighteenth century it would be customary to set the table with individual utensils and plates. This put the nobility in great difficulties especially at the beginning of the century. The situation was even more complicated when organizing great ceremonies, such as weddings or funerals. In earlier centuries, most of the diners attended weddings bringing their own personal cutlery. Sometimes towns were asked to lend plates and bowls. This seemed to be unimaginable by the eighteenth century. The nobility would order complete dining equipment, but would still differentiate between the plates offered to special guests and those for regular guests (Székely, 2019, 123). In earlier centuries it was of utmost importance to save the best utensils and plates for the most distinguished diners in order to underline their otherness and to express the hierarchical standings of the invitees as well (Montanari, 2006, 96). By the end of the eighteenth century, this custom had disappeared, festive dining became smaller, and all the invitees would eat from expensive porcelain plates.

The desire to possess fine, refined dining equipment is remarkably described by Polixénia Daniel in her travel diary from 1745. From her records we find out that while the Baroness was living in Vienna, she visited the Viennese market every month for cutlery and plates, and bought several dishes, plates and even special cooling or heating vessels. Polixénia Daniel would sigh sadly at the thought of not allowing herself a set of porcelain from the famous Viennese factory recently acquired by Maria Theresa. Polixénia describes sets that cost over 1000 forints, so they "were not for the Transylvanian pocket" (Daniel, 2000, 210). By the end of the century, regardless of its material inaccessibility, every noble household possessed, along the inherited silver, expensive porcelain plates and bowls. The old noble families were somehow disturbed by the fact that wealthy citizens and members of the administration also started to use expensive glasses and bought silver utensils (Wesselényi, 1985, 15). That is why they invested in porcelain, which remained for a long time inaccessible for other social strata. The fashion of expensive but also very sensitive vessels was harshly criticized by Apor:

> *"When you look at your silver goblets, cups and tankards left to you by your forebearers, what do you think, why your ancestors had them made? Certainly, for no other reason than that if they were dropped, even the fragments of such vessels were of value; and if they suddenly became short of money, and as soon as they managed to obtain the money, they redeemed them, and so he that had silverware had money. Drop a glass, is it any use? Try to pawn it; will anyone give you money against it? Poor Transylvania, how many thousand forints of yours are spent nowadays on that madness alone?"* (Apor, 2010, 15)

At the middle of the studied century, it was still fashionable *to consume food* on two occasions per day, but in each family the time of lunch and dinner varied. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, we read about lunches which began at 9 a.m., and which from the middle of the century would move somewhere around 11 a.m. Dinner was held at 4 p.m., while at the end of the century at 6–7 p.m. o'clock. Both meals were just

as nourishing. Many believe that the reason for these hours is to be found in the rhythms of work, namely consultations on state issues and hearings all had to take place in the morning (Kisbán, 1984, 390). The first meal of the day always occurred after these consultations. Most likely the administrative or political obligations had to be fulfilled early in the morning to avoid the confusion created by alcohol (Kisbán, 1984, 390), since at the table not only food was consumed, but a considerable amount of strong drinks as well.

At the middle of the century, there was a significant change in the number of meals. Curiously, Apor would *blame* the French, although the custom of having *breakfast* is rather a Viennese one, suggested also by the fact that in Hungarian this first meal of the day was called *felestek*, from the German *frühstück* (Balázs et al., 2007, 70). The morning meal consisted mainly of consuming tea, coffee or chocolate. The consumption of these refined dishes was harshly criticized by the conservative elite. The Hungarian Baron György Palocsay wrote in 1704 a very suggestive poem about the metamorphosis of the Hungarian diet: "At the table of the highest / Hungry you stay among the new diets / Coffee, Chocolate and Tea, all above wine, / You would rather stay at home and drink your cup of wine." (ITK, 1912, 8) According to Apor's work, in the seventeenth century, century Transylvanians consumed completely different drinks in the morning: cinnamon water in Braşov, aquavita – *pálinka*, which was occasionally sweetened with honey, figs or raisins. Fruit was also consumed, of course. Older men drank wine or vermouth, because they did not have "such weak stomachs as people have today" (Apor, 2010, 9). But coffee is not an invention of the eighteenth century, and despite what Apor wrote, it was not even of French influence.

The first information on coffee consumption among Hungarians dates back to the sixteenth century and suggests a Turkish influence. The literature distinguishes between good Hungarian wine and Turkish coffee (Kisbán, 1988, 154), suggesting that there was a reluctance towards coffee consumption. Despite the moralizing discourses regarding this Pagan drink, coffee was not only fashionable but indispensable as well. For example, Ferenc Rákóczi the Second complained in 1708 (otherwise during war-time) that he had no honey for sweetening his coffee (Thaly, 1883, 376–377). Noblewomen had similar anxieties, panicking when their supplies ran out: "send us coffee as soon as possible" is a common rhetorical element in female correspondence (Tóth, 2006, 203). And we also know that by the end of the seventeenth century, brown was among the most popular colors, thus coffee also entered the world of fashion (Tóth, 2006, 203). It is therefore certain that the consumption of coffee among Transylvanians was not a modern invention, nor a French one. However, the introduction of coffee as first meal of the day was indeed a new fashion. And if there is any French influence, then it is probably in the way coffee was drunk. Transylvanians consumed coffee with milk and sugar, while Turks without sugar (Kisbán, 1988, 151).

Most of our information regarding the introduction of coffee as a meal came from a Transylvanian doctor, István Mátyus, which is not surprising at all, since indications on preparation and consumption of food are quite usual elements of dietetic guides as well (Montanari, 2006, 53). And the reverse of this statement is also true; many cooks believed that they could contribute through their books to the diner's health (Wheaton, 1996, 197). According to Mátyus, in France coffee was eaten (more precisely the French moistened sweet bread in coffee), therefore it was rather a soup, while Hungarians drank it, therefore it was perceived as a drink. He would also be the first to draw attention to the social dimension of coffee consumption, emphasizing the inaccessibility of the product among the common population. In his opinion, it was women who picked up this habit of drinking coffee; on the one hand, because they did not get drunk from it – on the contrary –, its beneficial effects being immediately noticed, on the other hand, because it was something elegant. It was extremely important to serve coffee, not tea – the latter being too cheap, thus accessible to many (Mátyus, 1792, 530–531). Mátyus also noticed the fact that the preparation of the drink was not even compatible with the standard of living of the ordinary man, who had no time to waste; this fact, of course, did not prevent him from preparing "the black drink of the gentlemen". It was perceived as rude not to offer strong, black coffee after lunch or dinner. Reading the medical work of Mátyus, one realizes that there existed some normative claims with profound social and cultural significance regarding coffee consumption (Piper, 2013, 64); and that the rituals regarding its preparation (time and skill) made coffee even more preferred among the elites.

But not only women fell for these new habits; Miklós Bethlen and László Székely both mention in their autobiographies the fact that they consumed coffee on a daily basis. Bethlen "lived" with this refreshment especially if he had digestive problems, Székely consumed it every

morning, and always with milk (Székely, 2019, 367–368). Coffee was also served as refreshment during the day, after meals, especially after lunch, and at parties or weddings (Kisbán, 1988, 152). Autobiographies suggest that there was usually a person in the household who only dealt with this task. Coffee could also be used to take or give bribe, as evidenced by the experience of Count Székely who was sent to collect taxes in his County, when to his astonishment: "I was invited by a local judge, he wanted to treat me with coffee with sugar […] but I told him that I was sent here to work, not to chat." (Székely, 2019, 386)

Regarding the first nourishing meal of the day, *the lunch*, traditionally – and the sources seem to agree – all dishes were brought to the Transylvanian tables at once, and the bowls containing vegetables, meat, and sauces were placed separately, but at the same time on the table. At a regular meal, three dishes were served; when more, that was considered already a feast. French society – because in this case the French influence is proven – reinvented this table arrangement. Large quantities were replaced with a variety of quality food on Transylvanian tables, too. At the end of the century, instead of 3 consistent dishes at lunch time, 6–8 were brought, and at dinner 8–10. According to the new fashion, instead of placing all dishes simultaneously on the table, food would be served in courses, and each dish was accompanied by different drinks (Collingham, 2018, 73). The French example was quickly implemented in Vienna. For example László Székely, invited to the palace of the Batthányi family, remained thirsty because he did not find – in fact he did not know he should have been looking for – the wine menu (Székely, 2019, 152). Count Pál Teleki was also confused by Western dinner customs. Teleki was invited to the Haller family in Nürnberg, where at the usual dinner time for Transylvania, fruit, sweets and other refined dishes were brought in, followed only at nine by a dinner "worthy of a wedding", as the preceptor of the count, István Halmágyi noted in his diary: "At 6 o'clock in the evening we received tea, coffee, fruits, cakes and we each served as we pleased from the goods from the table. I was a little scared that we wouldn't have dinner, but once we got up from the table – because some were going to play cards, others to talk ... at nine I wake up with a feast like one can see only at weddings." (Halmágyi, 1906, 472–473)

Certain dishes were not consumed at the main table, as revealed by the abovementioned quotation. Thus, coffee, sweets were usually consumed in another room. All male writers recall the invitations to the tables of the great Western aristocracy, and those of the Transylvanian elite, and not only in their diaries but also in the retrospective ego-documents, which reveals the pride of taking part in an exquisite dining experience. In the salons of Western aristocracy, the guests were carefully selected; coffee, chocolate, tea and other delicacies were served in porcelain at small tables, creating an intimate atmosphere "of fashion and flirtation" (Wheaton, 1996, 194). Women seemed to be in charge of creating this ambiance, to cultivate this "intimate atmosphere", and the conservative Transylvanian Calvinist elite had to accept, until the end of the century, the necessity of these expensive and worldly entertainments in their homes, too. Many countesses and baronesses were criticized in the memoir-literature because of their Western style, but their salons were ultimately the places where their husbands nursed and enlarged their networks of influence.

Soup consumption is another culinary innovation of this century. Lunch was from now on introduced by the *soup*. It is difficult to identify what was meant by it: which were the criteria separating a sauce from a soup. It is certain that the name of soup exists, descriptions exist, only dishes or bowls for serving it are missing. Either Apor is right and all ate with a single spoon from two large bowls or there was no current version of soup, just the consistent sauce, which could be served with bread, more precisely in or on bread. In any case, Transylvanians mention soups in their memories, especially when they are sick, and their preparation reminds us to some extent of decoctions rather than of our soups today. All the diets of the century were based on soup, and this was the main meal for children and for pregnant females, or those in childbed (Weszprémi, 1766, 45; 52–53). By the eighteenth century soup lost its curative function, since it was equally consumed by all the table guests, as suggested by the number of recipes found in female archives (Háziasszony, 2013, 103). From the descriptions it appears that soup was served first, then the meat and vegetables from the soup. A frequent complaint was that all meals started with soups, although they should have started with salted cabbage, "as it was in the time of our ancestors" (Rettegi, 1970, 90). Whether served before the other dishes or at once, soup seemed to be the ideal meal before long roads; it could be served early in the morning, or even instead of breakfast, as Zsuzsánna Toroczkai did (Toroczkai, 2019, 442).

The main meals were always followed by *desserts*. Traditionally, Transylvanians ate fruit as last dish (dried in winter and fresh in season), and

bakery products such as pancakes and donuts. Some of the most beloved desserts were the rice pudding and the "floating islands". Everything was sweetened with honey, and occasionally with lemon, since this has been considered an expensive delicacy for a long time. During the eighteenth century, along traditional pies, complicated cakes appeared (Háziasszony, 2013, 23). The desserts were sweetened with brown sugar as well, and luxuriously decorated with fresh or artificial flowers. Many female recipes contain detailed descriptions on how to ornate a cake (Wesselényi, 2017, 124–126). Therefore, we face the same changes as in the menu: thick consistent yeast-based desserts were not preferred anymore, instead fruit-flavored and ornamented cakes were served. Another interesting fact we want to bring into attention is that female recipes from the eighteenth century gather around delicacies. In opposition to traditional cookbooks which organize their data into thematic structures (following the rhythms of meals which were imposed and influenced also by the church), such as: meat, food for fasting, food with butter and eggs (Kisbán, 1984, 386–387), female cookbooks were no longer organized in chapters. Their structure indicates spontaneous conditions in which the manuscripts were written and suggests that the collected recipes were selected based on personal interests. Kata Wesselényi also provided an index at the end of her cookbook in order to find her favorite dishes more easily (Wesselényi, 2017, 188–190). More than half of her recipes are about cakes, followed by the preparation of sophisticated drinks and ornaments. The great number of desserts kept in female archives suggests that the last dish served was always somehow a female responsibility. And since the implementation of the new tastes was of female domain, and the competition was heavy in bringing new and refined tastes to the table, this could explain the reason we find other (moreover very modern) types of recipes rather in female archives than in printed cookbooks.

Meals, from soup to cake, usually lasted about two hours, and it was considered rude to eat fast or get up from the table during these hours:

> *"Sometimes I would merely sit at the table for half an hour, leaning on my elbows, and just looking and offering; in fact, I detained the other guests; often I was uninterested but did not have the table cleared or the food removed from before them […] I sometimes spent two hours at table, even more, if there was drinking."* (Bethlen, 2004, 134)

And this quote leads us to the last subject we want to discuss, namely *alcohol*. The pre-modern era was characterized by heavy alcohol consumption. As it appears from our sources, Transylvanians got drunk twice a day, exactly as many times as they ate. The abovementioned Bethlen was convinced that he lived long (that is to say 67 years) because he did not consume alcohol, unlike the rest of his male relatives, who barely lived 40 years (Tóth, 2006, 200). Bethlen, after giving up alcohol, drank only 0.7–1.2 liters of wine at each meal – which is about 2.5 l a day (Bethlen, 2004, 138). Many complained about the "crazy" Bethlen who even at his wedding stood sober and did not prepare as much wine as he should have. We want to draw attention to the fact that the wine Transylvanians drank was a light one, and had somewhere between 6-8 degrees (Tóth, 2006, 201). Strong wines, such as those brought from Walachia, generated great problems, much like dessert wines, therefore Transylvanians avoided these because they feared the heavy consequences, since they could hardly endure them and became ill after their consumption (Wesselényi, 1983, 362). We are aware of princes and diplomats who preferred ice cold water instead of alcohol, but they were considered out of the ordinary, as was Bethlen, who was a man of bad fame, considered unfriendly, because he did not drink. It was an insult not to drink at an event, since drinking bore a public significance and was considered a form of bonding. Birthdays, baptisms, weddings and holidays in general ended with severe drinking; this was considered normal, because guests had the obligation to drink repeatedly for the health of the whole household. The situation changed in the eighteenth century, when drinking habits started to be socially, culturally and politically regulated (Piper, 2013, 65), and as a consequence the consumption of hard drinks was no longer acceptable, as recalled by one of the most well-known Hungarian memoir-writers:

> *"Oh, how much people enjoyed drinking without measure, some even died of so much drinking. Today is different. You don't even see drunk people, not even in the best places, and if you bump accidentally into one, the bigger the shame, only drunk not to be seen today, because if you get caught, you will be stamped forever."* (Rettegi, 1970, 90)

Therefore, drinking appetite was no longer celebrated and what once was considered a matter of prestige became suddenly a source of

shame. Instead of getting drunk from too much wine, in the eighteenth century even males accustomed themselves to refined drinks, such as fruit-liqueurs, served with ice along with fruits. The female recipe collections contain lots of useful information about growing sweet grapes, and then about the preparation of dessert-wines (Wesselényi, 2017, 189; Háziasszony, 2013, 103). It was the duty of a good housewife to be skilled in the preparation of these refreshments. Besides wine, Transylvanian male authors occasionally mention beer and vermouth or brandy in their ego-documents. Surprisingly, not all Transylvanian nations consumed these drinks in the same manner:

> *"After the table was cleaned, they brought vermouth and began to toast with it as we used to do with wine. I was never into this drink. Otherwise, if Hungarians drink it, they do not drink it after the meal, but they drink it in the morning, as they wake up, to warm their stomachs. To which the rest [Germans] said that it is better to drink it after the meal to help digestion, because it has no use on an empty stomach, only when it is full with food, then you need it to help to warm the stomach."* (Wesselényi, 1983, 633–634)

In conclusion, we may say that in the eighteenth century, due to the mobility of the Transylvanian nobility and the impulses received by them in the West, local tastes had also gradually changed, the nobility aiming to distance themselves from the rest of the population not so much in consumption as in refinement. The quantitative display was replaced with qualitative elaboration – food became palatable (Mennel, 1996, 32–33), and this refinement changed table manners, too (Montanari, 2006, 97). Instead of crowded tables, several dishes would be prepared. Although simple foods or regional specialties were still on the menu, they would receive less ordinary ornaments or fittings, being "dressed by clever hands" (Wheaton, 1996, 195). The most important culinary innovation is the introduction of an extra meal, the breakfast, which usually consisted in the consumption of hot drinks, such as tea, hot chocolate or coffee. Next to the introduction of breakfast, soup was also reinvented. While in previous centuries it was a dish served for young children and ill adults, from now on soup would appear on the menu as a main dish, served before the meat. Guests were no longer required to bring their own cutlery and the use of forks, spoons and knives together with porcelain plates and crystal glasses became a symbol of power. However, these crystal glasses did not abound with alcohol, because it seems that this century had brought with it a kind of temperament regarding the excessive consumption of strong drinks.

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A PORTRAIT BY PETER KOHLBECK IN THE COLLECTION OF THE BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM IN SIBIU AND SOME ADDITIONS TO THIS BOHEMIAN-AMERICAN ARTIST'S BIOGRAPHY

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Abstract: *Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer (1823-1860) was Auditor of the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment (recruited mainly from Transylvania), which in 1850 was located in Klattau / Klatovy in Bohemia and whose patron at that time was King Ernst August I of Hannover. His portrait, signed by Peter Kohlbeck, entered the Brukenthal Museum in 1937, as a deposit of Auditor Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Franz Arz from Budapest, but was never published until now. The uniformological analysis shows that this portrait, dated in 1850, was painted most likely after a coloured photograph and not ad vivum. Peter Kohlbeck (1826-1892) is a less known artist and therefore his recently found funerary inscription, the long forgotten newspaper mentions, his works and the genealogical records are important, but previously unexploited sources to reconstruct his biography. He was a Bohemian (more precisely a Catholic Sudeten German) painter and photographer, born in Springenberg / Sprymberk near Pilsen / Plzeň and documented as working in Tannau / Damnov, in the same area. He is also the author of the oldest signed outdoor photograph presently known in Bohemia (1850). The same year he emigrated to the United States of America, where many of his relatives settled, especially in Wisconsin, almost at the same time. However, since 1857, he was documented as working in New York, especially as a painter of portraits (commissioned generally by businessmen, industrialists and politicians) and a photographer, but during 1860-1878 (apparently) only as a photographer, being revered as one of the early New York photographers and as the first Bohemian photographer in New York. He retired to a rural area of Wisconsin, where he also died.*

Keywords: *Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer, military auditor, Peter Kohlbeck, Sudeten German, Bohemian-American artist, early New York photographer.*

The research on portraits from the Brukenthal National Museum led to a better knowledge of the portraits belonging to various members of the House of Habsburg (most of them preserved in satisfactory and some in a poor condition). It has focused on the identification of new paintings of this kind among the works in the museum's collection, on the research about the uncertain identity and attribution of several portraits, on the possibilty to have closer dates of the paintings, as well as on the cultural and historical context in which they were made. An important discovery of the past years is the attribution of the portraits of Samuel von Brukenthal and of his wife Sophia von Brukenthal to Johann Nepomuk della Croce, which also clarified their date (1766) and their relation to the older anonymous portrait of their daughter, Sophia von Brukenthal. Recently, I published the results of the research on a portrait of Empress Anna Ioannovna of Russia by a painter from the school of Johann Gottfried Auerbach after Louis Caravaque, which, during the 19th and 20th c., was wrongly considered a portrait of Catherine I or Catherine II by an anonymous German painter, as well as on a portrait by Karl Pavlovich Bryullov. I also did some research on portraits of important characters of the Polish and French history and culture, on some 18th-19th c. portraits by Austrian painters (among which the selfportraits of Peter Wolf and Franz von Defregger), as well as on some portraits by 16th-20th c. Transylvanian painters, representing members of the Transylvanian Saxon elite or being of documentary importance, as well as on the anonymous portraits of an Armenian couple, by two mid-19th c. Romanian painters.

In relation to the researches of military history, a particular attention was paid during the last years to 17th-19th c. battle scenes and portraits (some still unpublished). Besides several scenes from the Thirty Years War, various other fights between Austrian and French troops during the 17th-19th c. or between Austrian and Turkish

troops during the 17th-19th c., noteworthy examples are an allegory of the battle of Vienna (1683), the Austrian conquest of Buda (1686), the battle of Oudenarde (1708), the battle of Poltava (1709), the battle of Aspern (1809), the battle for the bridge in Simeria between the Austrian imperial army and the Hungarian revolutionary troops (1849), an Ottoman attack on an Austrian-Hungarian cavalry unit during the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878), respectively the portraits of Duke Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar by Joachim von Sandrart and by an anonymous German miniaturist, of Iohannes Corvinus de Hunyad by an anonymous 18th c. Austrian painter (a deposit of Jan de Maere), of King Jan III Sobieski by Johannes Säger, of Sultan Mustafa II by an anonymous 17th-18th c. Austrian painter, of Prince Georg Christian von Lobkowitz, commander of the Austrian troops from Transylvania by Johann Gottfried Auerbach, of Grand Duke Friedrich Wilhelm of Mecklenburg-Strelitz as Patron of the 31st Infantry Regiment from Sibiu by Georg Kannengiesser, of General Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, the last Governor of New Russia and Bessarabia by Horovich (a less known painter from Odessa) and of King Carol I of Romania by Tadeusz von Ajdukiewicz.

The Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu, Romania owns a portrait (Fig. 1) of Captain (or more properly said *Rittmeister*, according to the official Austrian military terminology) Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer (1823-1860), Auditor of the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment (oil on canvas, 119,5 x 85,4 cm, inv. nr. 1428). This painting is signed (Fig. 2) with italic *Fraktur*-type blackletters and dated in black, on table's top edge: *P. Kohlbeck pinxit 1850* (i. e., in Latin, "P. Kohlbeck painted in 1850"). Unfortunately, it is not in a good condition of preservation, as it shows several damages, among the worst ones being some cuts and loses of colour and therefore it cannot be exhibited yet. In order to avoid that dust may enter between the painting's canvas and its frame or that spidernet may appear in these areas, the backside of the canvas was fixed to the frame's borders by glued strips of paper cut from an old register, which overlay a similar older work, made using strips of an exercise book page written in Latin and in German and of a letter written in German, in both situations in *Kurrentschrift* (Fig. 5a-5c).

On the backside of the painting (Fig. 3) there are two handwritten paper labels (Fig. 4 and 4a) bearing the round seal of the Brukenthal Museum of Sibiu, expressed in German (*Baron Brukenthal'sches Museum in Hermannstadt*). Both labels are written in German, with black (maybe iron gall) ink. The text of the first label is: *No. 1441 / Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer / K. K. Regimentsauditor / Geb. 9 September 1823 zu Hermannstadt / als Sohn des aus Ödenburg zugewanderten / Statthalterei- Rechnungsrates Carl H. u. / der Johanna Müller (Tochter des Hermannstädter Senators Friedrich M.) / Gestorben 24. April 1860 als Regimentsauditor des k. k. Regimentes No. 2*. Its translation into English is: "Nr. 1441. Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer, Imperial and Royal Regimental Auditor. Born September 9, 1823 in Sibiu, as son of the Government's Accounting Councillor Carl H. immigrated from Ödenburg (now Sopron, Hungary) and of Johanna Müller (daughter of Senator Friedrich M. from Sibiu). Deceased April 24, 1860 as Regimental Auditor of the 2nd Imperial and Royal Regiment". The text of the second label (which is dated by seal June 23, 1937) is: *No. 1441 / Deposit von / Oberstlt.-Auditor / Dr. Franz Arz / Budapest* (i. e. "Deposit of Auditor Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Franz Arz – Budapest"). Even from the last record it cannot be ascertained if the portrait was really brought from Budapest by the mentioned military auditor living in Budapest, who deposited it at the Brukenthal Museum, or rather it was already in Sibiu, but belonged to him and was deposited at the museum either for its documentary importance (to which clearly alludes the information recorded by the first label) or for some other unknown personal reasons. It is sure, though, that this explains quite well why it was not known to Julius Bielz, the author of a reference book for the portraits of more or less famous Transylvanian Saxon people in 16th-20th c. (Bielz, 1936), which also contains some biographical and genealogical information.

The 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment, mentioned as I said in one of the labels, was established on April 17, 1742, at the request of the Transylvanian Diet, which requested from Emperor Franz I of the Holy Roman Empire that a Transylvanian Hussars regiment should be founded. In 1769 it was mentioned as the 17th Cavalry Regiment and only since 1798 as the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment. Till 1875, it was recruited exclusively from Transylvania, later also from the neighbouring areas of Hungary and Banat and, since 1889, only from the district of Sibiu. Since 1847, its patron (*Inhaber*) was King Ernst August I of Hannover (1837-1851), till 1852, when the patronage of the regiment was taken by Great Duke Nicholas of Russia (1831-1891) (Pavlović, 1999, 21), a son of Emperor Nicholas I, who was the regiment's patron till 1893, when the new patron became Prince Friedrich Leopold of Prussia (until 1918). Thus, in

1850, the official name of the regiment was King Ernst August I of Hannover's 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment and at that time it was garrisoned in Bohemia, in Klattau / Klatovy, near Pilsen / Plzeň. It came back to Transylvania only in 1891, being garrisoned in Sibiu, wherefrom it was moved in 1900 to Brașov (For the history of the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment: see Pizzighelli, 1905; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/K.u.k._Husarenregiment_%E2%80%9EFriedrich_Leopold_von_Preu%C3%9Fen%E2%80%9C_Nr._2).

Unfortunately, it is still unknown if there is any family link between Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer and Auditor Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Franz Arz from Budapest. About the latter there is no biographical information until now and therefore it is difficult to say if he served in the same regiment or in another. An unknown fact is also whether there is a kinship relation between Auditor Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Franz Arz and the famous Transylvanian Saxon officer, Colonel General Arthur Freiherr Arz von Straussenberg (1857-1935), the last Chief of the General Staff of Austria-Hungary (1917-1918) and later war memorialist, who died in Budapest on July 1, 1935, where he went periodically to collect his pension, provided since 1926 by the Hungarian government, as he had refused to swear allegiance to the Romanian state and to its King Ferdinand I (1914-1927). From Budapest, he used to return to Transylvania, wherefrom, as commander of the newly reorganised 1st Army and in cooperation with the 9th German Army commanded by General Erich Georg Anton von Falkenhayn (1861-1922), he had repelled in only 8 weeks the Romanian troops which had invaded Transylvania on August 16th, 1916. Rather than just the simple fact that this portrait of an officer from a "Transylvanian" regiment (garrisoned since 1891 in Sibiu and since 1900 in Brașov) could be occasionally bought outside of Transylvania, a kinship of the Arz family with the Hartmayers and the Müllers would explain the interest of another military auditor in this painting, which was deposited at the Brukenthal Museum, in Transylvania, although its owner lived in Hungary.

As this portrait was not thoroughly studied until now, in the museum's inventory register there is little information about its author, about the sitter and about how the painting entered the museum's collection in 1937, as the content of the mentioned labels was only superficially recorded. This situation is explained by the difficulty to find more information about the artist (who is almost unknown both in Transylvania and in Europe in general), but also by the fact that the curators did not read the labels glued on the backside of the painting, which are written in German. Last but not least, the explanation may reside in a certain hostility against the Austrian-Hungarian army and civil institutions in the Romanian public discourse (in certain periods), which made it difficult to exhibit this portrait, kept in a relatively poor condition, and delayed its research and conservation.

1. The description and uniformological analysis of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer's portrait by Peter Kohlbeck

The portrait shows the well-drawn figure of a middle-aged man, with brown hair and an oval face, slightly to the left. The composition (which is typical for mid-19th c. Austrian portraits of officers) is well structured, dominated by olive and dark blue tones, refreshed by white, gold and the colour of the skin. The olive background of the painting shows a halo behind the head of the portrayed character and the use of chromatic and light effects emphasizes the character's figure. The officer has a high forehead, green eyes, an aquiline nose, a dark blond moustache and sensual lips. His expression is smart, cheerful and benevolent. He is wearing the uniform of a captain of the Austrian Imperial and Royal Hussars: braided dark blue breeches and a shell-jacket or short coat with yellow olivets and rosettes, which usually is called *dolman* (as its Ottoman counterpart or that of some other European and even American armies' cavalry costume items) and after 1850 *(summer) attilla* (as being inspired by the Hungarian folk costume), as well as a golden sash. Over all of them, there is a dark blue pelisse (or winter attila, sometimes called *Pelzrock* or *Pelzattilla*) with red lining, trimmed with black lambskin and white leather gloves in his hands. His left hand rests on the sabre's handle and his right hand on the top of a small oval Biedermayer style table. On the sabre's handle is hanging a yellow sword knot.

The cavalry officers' 1850 pattern sabre (accurately depicted by Peter Kohlbeck) weighed 1.7 kg and its blade was 88 cm long and 3.1 cm wide (Pavlović, 1999, 14), being thus shorter and narrower than the previous model used by the light cavalry (Pavlović, 1999, 20). The sword knot of the sabre was also of a new pattern, also issued in 1850 (Pavlović, 1999, 22).

The white coated shako with various golden applied ornaments and a black plume which lays on the table bears the officially called "Highest Name Sign" (*Allerhöchste Namenzug*), i. e. the monogram of Emperor Franz Joseph I, in its

German form (FJ1), which is the single official one before 1867, when as a result of the Dualist Compromise and the creation of a separate home army (*Magyar Királyi Honvédség*) in Hungary was used in its own version (1FJ).

The shako is particularly interesting, in the context of the military uniform changes occurring c. 1850: its body became wider at the bottom than at the top, 15 cm high at the top and 17.7 cm at the rear (Pavlović, 1999, 22). As later, after 1871 (Rest, 2002, 288), its visor was made of black laquered leather, unlike the top, which in mid-19th c. was covered with cloth of the same colour as the shako's side, as shown in Peter Kohlbeck's portrait. The leatherwork of the shako did not virtually change at all during 1836-1866. While the shako's tasseled cord remained virtually unchanged (Pavlović, 1999, 21-23 and 33), the pompom was replaced with a brass cockade 6.5 cm wide with a black laquered centre, and the rosette with a crowned, double headed brass eagle (Pavlović, 1999, 21-23). Behind the cockade there was a new plume, 12 cm of black above 4 cm of yellow (Pavlović, 1999, 22-23). As of 1871, when the plume was of the same sizes (Rest, 2002, 288), but without its lower yellow part, it was made of horse hair. Prior to 1850, the shako's gold rank lace around its top had a black line near each edge for the captains (Pavlović, 1999, 21), while later it looked identical for all ranks and the captains's shako could be distinguished now mainly by the bigger width of the lace (4.6 cm), which had a black central line (Pavlović, 1999, 33). But the new aspect of the shako's lace was prescribed actualy only in 1851 (Pavlović, 1999, 24). In a later period, the shako suffered important changes, although less visible, as they affected mainly its interior. The 1871 model (in use at the beginning of World War I, but whose proportions were changed during the war) had the same exterior, but its body was made of a white-grey felt sheet, which was reinforced with steel spring clamps, in order to protect against blows (Rest, 2002, 288).

Doubtless, Peter Kohlbeck depicted correctly the new shape of the shako, its new cockade and plume, but the brass double headed imperial eagle is missing, instead, the old rosette is still visible, however without the regimental number. This confirms the supposition that he depicted the shako during this very transition to the new uniform, before the old gold-outside-black rosette fixed together with a gold loop by a gold regimental button below a golden lion mask, placed just below the cockade with the imperial monogram was replaced (even on the new shako) by the brass double headed imperial eagle on whose shield the regimental number was inscribed by pinking through (Pavlović, 1999, 21-22), similar with the 1871 model (Rest, 2002, 288). Inaccurate is only the orange (and not yellow) lower part of the plume, as well as the absent regimental number on the mentioned button, as would be normal before 1850 (Pavlović, 1999, 21), and the colour of the cord, which both prior to 1850 and afterwards, was gold mixed with black (Pavlović, 1999, 21 and 33). Despite this rendering of a transitional type of shako, its colour is indeed that of the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment, which was white after 1850 (Pavlović 1999, 21), but red prior to 1850 (Pavlović, 1999, 19).

The portrayed character's clothes are adorned with black-golden Austrian knot (actually of Hungarian origin and called *vitéz kötés* in Hungarian), as all the Hussars were entitled to have the Austrian knot on their uniform, no matter which military rank they had, unlike other parts of the Austrian army, in which it was reserved only for officers. For the officers, the braiding was the same as for the other ranks, but in gold mixed with black and their doubled shoulder cord strap and neck cords of the winter attila were of the same pattern braid (Pavlović, 1999, 33), as well as the seam braid (*sujtás*) of the breeches and of the field rank (Pavlović, 1999, 34). Thus, unlike the previous style, the Hussars' uniform introduced in 1850 was of the same design for all ranks and the only differences were the rank distinctions (Pavlović, 1999, 24). In number and colour, these rank marks of the Imperial and Royal Hussars officers correspond to them in the so-called (after the style of their uniform) "German cavalry" units (cuirassiers, dragoons and chevauxlegers) of the Austrian army (Pavlović, 1999, 34). Therefore, the metallic rank marks (three stars) on the collar of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer, as an Imperial and Royal auditor, are of golden colour (as in the later Austrian-Hungarian units) and unlike in the both later Austrian-Hungarian home armies (*Landwehr* and *Honvédség*), in which they were silver.

Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer' attila, lined with red lambswool and trimmed with black lambskin, is actually the winter attilla (Pavlović, 1999, 34), which would indicate that his portrait was painted in a colder season, most likely in the first third of the year 1850. This would explain why the officer has still the older model of shako and not the new one: the new model was produced maybe by a remote factory and could not be brought in time. However, the uniform's design is that of 1850, frogged like the undress (*Spencer*) made of lower quality cloth, worn previously, with five lines of braid, olivets

and rosettes instead of buttons (Pavlović, 1999, 22), which was withdrawn in 1850 and could be replaced by the officers with a *Kittel* like that of rank and file, worn between the mid-1850's and 1860 (Pavlović, 1999, 34). This garment was made of coarse, unbleached cloth, cut in the infantry tail-coat style, but with a vent up to the waist and the rear, whose stand-and-fall collar and front were fastened with hooks and eyes and which was loose enough to be worn over the coat in bad weather (Pavlović, 1999, 9). As the officer is rendered in dress uniform, there is no possibilty to mistake his winter attila, clearly recognizable both by its cut and by the black lambskin trimming it, with such an undress garment like the *Kittel*.

According to the current rules of 1850, the olivets and rosettes should be of the regimental colours, gold or silver, like the field rank lace worn on the summer attila collar or on the cuffs of both attila versions (Pavlović, 1999, 33-34). The regimental colour of the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment was gold (Pavlović, 1999, 21), therefore in this respect the portrait is historically accurate.

As for the other ranks, the barrel sash of the officers was reduced, but its aspect was similar to that worn in the previous period (Pavlović, 1999, 34): it became just 4.5 cm wide, with three blocks of three barrels each (Pavlović, 1999, 33). Following the trend in the uniform of the former volunteer Hussars regiments, which never wore a sash (Pavlović, 1999, 34), the sash of the regular Hussars uniform was discarded in 1865 (Pavlović, 1999, 35). The sash was of Emperor-yellow camel hair or silk with gold barrels interwoven with black, a gold double-over cord and toggle and tassels in gold mixed with black (Pavlović, 1999, 22). Therefore, although from a typological point of view the sash is correctly depicted, Peter Kohlbeck did not pay the needed attention to its chromatic details, as only its gold double-over cord is interwoven with black.

According to the current rules of 1850, for the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment the breeches were of the same colour as the attilla (Pavlović, 1999, 22), which was blue at that time, and were replaced by madder red (*krapprot*) ones only during that later period (Rest, 2002, 288-290), till (officially) August 16, 1915, when by a "Most High Decision" the so-called "campaign grey uniform" (*feldgraue Uniform*), was introduced in all three Austrian-Hungarian armies (Rest, 2002, 34), under an increasing German influence which can be noted in many respects, including the shape of the steel helmets. Very interesting is the fact that Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer's breeches do not depict the black-golden Austrian knot, which should be visible in a three-quarter length portrait, and this could be explained by the fact that the painter (who knew however that normally the dress uniform's breeches were of the same colour as the attila) used a photograph in which the sitter wore undress breeches, without this adornment. This supposition is supported by the fact that the officer is rendered, obviously, in dress uniform (although without waist sash and sabre bag), while in campaign the shako remains uncovered, but no sash would be worn. Thus, the Austrian knot on the breeches indeed would not be visible, as it was common to wear overalls of "Russian-grey" colour with a leather reinforcement at the bottom and up the inner legs, the latter sometimes added to extend the working life of the garment (Pavlović 1999, 46-47, plate E, 1 and 2).

Actually, it must be added that the uniform's colour of the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment was not at all dark blue, but rather light blue (Rest 2002, 288; cf. Pavlović 1999, 21), as during the period 1836-1849 (Pavlović 1999, 19), a detail which, like others (the orange rather than yellow lower part of the plume, the approximately depicted sash and breeches and especially the absence of the regimental number on the shako's button) could be explained only if Peter Kohlbeck painted after a photographic picture, inaccurately coloured, which was sent to him, without having seen the real uniform and therefore it should not be considered as an artistic licence, because, if the painter had lived in Klattau (a town in the same area where he lived), he undoubtedly would have noted the right regimental colour. Among the 4 Hussars regiments whose shako was of white colour, dark blue were only the uniforms of the 9th and 12th Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiments (Pavlović, 1999, 21), of which in 1850 only the first was garrisoned in Bohemia, in Kundratitz / Kundratice in the district of Leitmeritz / Litoměřice (thus not in the region where Peter Kohlbeck worked), where it was moved the same year from Graz, in Styria (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/K.u.k._Husarenregiment_%E2%80%9EGraf_N%C3%A1dasdy%E2%80%9C_Nr._9).

Therefore, from a historical point of view, the uniform details, depicted in this portrait by Peter Kohlbeck, are quite accurate, according to the military reforms of 1849 and 1850 (Pavlović, 1999, 21-35), even in what concerns some of the regiment's specific details, as the colour of the shako and of the olivets (Pavlović 1999, 21) and

considering the later evolution of the Austrian (and Austrian-Hungarian) cavalry and of the Hussars' uniform. This remark confirms the date inscribed of the painting and the information on the labels glued on its backside and therefore its authenticity, despite the doubts raised by the portrayed character's quite strong physiognomical resemblance (Fig. 6) to King Carol II of Romania (1930-1940), who was ruling in 1937, when the painting entered the collection of the museum.

2. Remarks on the artist's biography and works

To consider Peter Kohlbeck as a Transylvanian artist and to record his work among the paintings of the Romanian school, according to the current inventory register of the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu, is completely wrong. This is not due only to the fact that less biographic information was available about the artist when the painting entered the museum's collection in 1937 or even later, when the current inventory register was written. It is also due to a chorocentrist and ethnocentrist view on the development of the regional and/or national art schools within multinational states, as well as to the belonging of the artists working abroad to the national schools or to the foreign travelling artists belonging to the *local school of painting* rather than to the *local art's history*. In respect to this assignation, two criteria should be considered: the artist's self-identification *and* (although secondarily, but therefore not *or*) the cultural context in which the artist worked.

As generally (but more or less necessarily) in other public museums in Romania, to the national Romanian school of painting are assigned works of artists who were subjects of various 18th-early 20th c. German states, of Switzerland, of the Holy Roman Empire, or of the Austrian Empire (respectively, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire). They had settled in Transylvania or only worked for longer or shorter periods of time there (Anton Steinwald, Franz Neuhauser the Younger, Theodor Benedikt Sockl, Theodor Glatz, Heinrich Trenk, Johann Ludwig Friedrich Schuller, Carl Dörschlag, Heinrich Zuther, Theodor Lassy, Petr P. Matýsek etc.). The same applies to artists who had worked in the former Romanian Kingdom before 1918 (Carol Popp de Szathmáry / Szathmáry Papp Károly and Tadeusz von Ajdukiewicz), as well as to some 19th c. and early 20th c. Transylvanian Saxon (Robert Wellmann) or Hungarian (respectively, Jewish-Hungarian) artists who were born in Transylvania or other territories belonging now to Romania (Barabás Miklós and, respectively, Bihari Sándor), but who worked mainly abroad. Some works by ethnic German or by ethnic Polish artists who were born in the Austrian-ruled part of Poland (Leopold von Löffler-Radymno or Tadeusz von Ajdukievicz) and by a less known Russian artist (namely, a certain Horovich, artist of Jewish background, most likely from Odessa) are also recorded as belonging to the same school, whether or not they worked in Transylvania or in other current Romanian territories (or which were briefly under Romanian rule in the first half of the 20th c.). This is the case of many works from the second half of the 20th c. or the early 21st c. by artists of various ethnic origins (German, Hungarian, Jewish, Romanian) who were born in Romania, but after 1940 emigrated to western European countries, to the United States of America or to Israel, though they spent most of their life abroad and/or became famous there. More suitably (although only during the most recent period), the works of those in this latter category of later 20th c. and early 21st c. artists are recorded (if their works are dated after 1945) in the collection of Contemporary Art (Romanian and foreign).

Peter Kohlbeck was actually a German-Bohemian (or better said Sudeten German) artist. According to the Czech-American biographer Thomas Čapek, the artist was born in Neumarkt in the formerly Domažlice district of the Pilsen / Plzeň region (now Úterý, in the Plzeň-North district of the Czech Republic's region). In 1850 he migrated to the USA and lived in New York as a painter and photographer. About 1860, he became the first Czech photographer in New York and was the teacher of Joseph Křikava. For the biography of the artist, see: Čapek, 1921, 65). His New York studio (with a gallery) was located on Bowery Street, 229 (Washington, 2002, 92; Black, 2013, 180 and 224; cf. *Goulding's Business Directory* 1875, 417; Čapek 1921, 65), not, as mentioned by Mary Black, in the 70's (Black, 2013, 224), but already c. 1862, as documented by a photograph made by himself, in which near a tavern and a residence there is a wagon advertising his studio at the afore-mentioned address (Washington, 2002, 92). However, according to the records of the New York Historical Society, Peter Kohlbeck is documented working in New York during 1857-1878 (http://www.nyhistory.org/exhibit/mrs-john-vach%C3%A9-cox-1823-1899). This is because it seems that the artist moved from the city in a rural area in Wisconsin, inhabited by several Kohlbecks, where he died almost two decades later, in 1892. His grave is located in the Catholic Saint Michael's Church cemetery in Hewitt,

Wood County (Fig. 7), Wisconsin, U.S.A. (plot: Sec. I, Row 14) and was recorded on 17th of May 2012 by Linda Hahn-Weidman (https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=90284447).

His funerary monument (Fig. 8) is a silver painted casted iron crucifixion with two mourning female saints (Holy Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene) and has the following German inscription (Fig. 9): *HIER RUHET / PETER KOHLBECK / GEBOREN IM SPRINGENBERG, BÖHMEN, / ER STARB IM 66 · LEBENSJAHR / DEN 5. OKTOBER 1892. / RUHE IM FRIEDEN* (i. e. "Here rests Peter Kohlbeck, born in Springenberg, Bohemia. He died in his 66th year of life, on 5th of October 1892. Rest in peace!"). According to the age mentioned in the inscription, Peter Kohlbeck should have been born in 1826.

Despite the statements of Thomas Čapek, according to the inscription and to the language in which it is written, the artist identified himself as a (Sudeten) German and not at all as a Czech, being therefore a Bohemian Sudeten German patriot who did not forget his native country, rather than a Czech nationalist. Until now no descendants could be found in any of the American genealogical data bases where Kohlbecks are mentioned.

At that time Bohemian (i. e. Czech and Sudeten German) painters and photographers travelled much, reaching quite far from their homeland and their biography and work is documented with only little and sometimes contradictory information. Many of them reached indeed Transylvania and worked in Sibiu. Thus, the Romanian Painting collection of the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu records no fewer than 7 works (less well studied) of the artist Anton Fiala, usually identified as the Bohemian artist Anton Fiala (1812-1863?), who was born in Nimburg an der Elbe / Nymburk and was most likely a Czech and not a Sudeten German. It is believed that this contemporary of Peter Kohlbeck worked at first in Pest (although there is no clear evidence of this, a certain A. Fiala being documented in Kevermes, respectively in Arad and maybe in Szeged). Then, between 1846-1860, he can be found in Timişoara, Sibiu and Braşov, while he was not only a painter (he also made lithographs and miniatures) and is considered to be one of the first photographers in Transylvania and maybe the first who had a photography studio in Braşov (Popica, 2008; Popica, 2018, 8, 36; cf. Myß 1993, 124; Klein, 2005), open from June 1854 to 1860 (Popica, 2018, 36). Initially, it was believed that Anton Fiala may have died c. 1863 perhaps in Sibiu (Popica, 2008; Popica, 2018, 30, n. 33, and 118), but according to newer research, he died c. 1862, in Focşani (Popica, 2018, 8 and 123), where he seems to have settled in 1860 (Popica, 2018, 36). A different opinion on the biography of Anton Fiala is issued by Ela Cosma, who (following the *Biographisches Lexikon des Banater Deutschtums* published in 1992 by Anton Peter Petri, based on Berkeszi István's *Temesvári művészek*, printed in 1909) believes that the mentioned artist was born after 1820 and died in 1892 (Cosma, 2008, 177-178). Generally, authors as Konrad Klein, Radu Popica and Rodica Vârtaciu-Medeleț combined the extant biographical information (including even wrong birthdates) and the work of several artists from Banat having the surname Fiala or Fialla, without a deeper stylistic analysis (Miklósik, 2017, 356) and most likely also without a critical analysis of the archive information concerning biographical data. As a result, they identified them with a painter and photographer working also in Transylvania, namely in Sibiu and Braşov. This confusing state of research is due also to the fact that both names were very frequent in Banat, around Timişoara (Miklósik 2017, 355), as *Fiala* actually means violet (*Viola sp.*) in Czech. About 1850, in Hungary (or better said only in the region near Banat) there were actually at least two contemporary artists named *Fiala* or *Fialla,* who have not been very well distinguished until now (Miklósik, 2017, 355-356) by the research, although this appears to be extremely necessary: one used to sign *A. Fiala* (documented during 1840-1854, working without photographic support) and the other, more skilled and surely documented in 1845, 1846 and 1851, *Ant. Fialla* (according also to the information available on these painters from Banat, kindly shared with me by Elena Miklósik). But in the Brukenthal National Museum there are 3 portraits (inv. 1946, 2169 and 2170) signed *A. Fiala* (dated 1850, 1848 and respectively 1852) and one signed *Ant. Fialla* and dated 1850 (inv. 1947), while the less skilled artist (documented in only in 1850) uses to sign just *Fiala* (inv. 1411 and 2401). Here the differences between *A. Fiala* and *Ant. Fiala* are less important and therefore the signatures can belong, actually, to the same artist. His style is quite different from that of the portrait painter who used to sign just *Fiala*. Both me and Elena Miklósik believe that the works of Ant. Fialla, who, in 1846, worked in Timişoara (Miklósik, 2008, 418) have no stylistic similarities with the two painters signing *A. Fiala* or *Ant. Fiala*, respectively *Fiala* from the Brukenthal National Museum collection. The painter Ant. Fiala, well documented therefore as working for a while in

Sibiu, became the co-owner (most likely until 1854) of a photography studio opened in Sibiu in 1850 by the painter Theodor Glatz (Ionescu, 2008, 61). In painting historical scenes with landscapes (Popica, 2018, 12, 70 and 109, cat. 11) this Ant. Fiala is, however, very clumsy and E. Miklósik believes that such an unsigned historical work by the painter and photographer working in Sibiu and Brașov could be rather by A. Fiala from Timișoara, perhaps coinciding with the "painter from Arad" who, in 1835, made 2 altar paintings (lost maybe in 1847) for the Roman-Catholic church in Kevermes, Hungary (Miklósik, 2017, 355, n. 43), not far from Timișoara and Arad. It seems however very likely that, becoming increasingly interested in photography since 1853, Ant. Fiala (the portrait painter working in Sibiu and Brașov) gradually gave up painting in oil (Popica, 2018, 123), as Peter Kohlbeck also did after he settled in the United States of America.

Unlike for Ant. Fialla, there is no information that Peter Kohlbeck worked in Transylvania, but only (as already mentioned) that before moving to New York he painted near Pilsen (the region where he was born and where at that time the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment was staying, details which both were unknown to the former curators of the Brukenthal Museum, for whom important was only that the portrayed officer was partially of Transylvanian Saxon origin and was born in Sibiu). Thus, Peter Kohlbeck painted the portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer in his homeland and not in Sibiu, and, although he used a coloured photographic portrait of the sitter as a model, which was sent to him, there is no evidence that this photograph was made in Sibiu, by Theodor Glatz and/or Ant. Fiala and not somewhere in Bohemia, as it seems more likely. Neither Peter Kohlbeck nor A(nt). Fiala, Ant. Fialla and Fiala should be further considered as Transylvanian or Romanian artists.

The genealogical records show that a Peter Kohlbeck was indeed born in 1826 in Springenberg (in the Czech Sprymberk), to a family of German immigrants from Russia: Heinrich (born in 1797, in Mariental / Tonkoshurovka, in the Samara region) and Elisabeth (born in 1797, in an unknown place in Russia). Peter had other 5 siblings, among whom Josep and Johannes (https://www.myheritage.ro/names/peter_kohlbeck). Unfortunately, more information about him (like the date and place of his death, whom he married and how many children he had) is not available, which could be explained, of course, by the painter's emigration to America. Before 1846, his family (or the artist alone) might have moved to Tannau (now *Dannau* or *Dannow*, so Schaller 1791a, p. 572 and Schaller 1791b, p. 572, which were also spelled *Tanna* or *Damnau* or *Donnau*, sometimes even *Thona* or *Tomnia*, in Czech *Damnow*, in the same district of Pilsen, see Raffelsperger 1846, 16; cf. Sommer 1838, 151), the current Czech Damnov of the town Bor (the Tachov district, Plzeň region). A Viennese newspaper (*Der Sammler. Ein Unterhaltungsblatt für alle Stände*, 33, year 38, February 26, 1846, 132) published the following news entitled *Ein Naturmaler* (i. e. "A Painter of Nature") delivered by a correspondent from Prague: *In Tannau in Böhmen, an der Grenze von Baiern, lebt ein Bauerbursche Peter Kohlbeck, der zum Sprechen ähnlich porträtiert und wunderschöne Lichtbilder (sic) verfertigt. Wenn er ausgebildet würde, könnte was Tüchtiges aus ihm werden, denn Talent ist da, und das ist die Hauptsache* (i. e. "In Tannau, in Bohemia, on the border of Bavaria, there lives a young farmer Peter Kohlbeck, who makes portraits so real that it seems they speak and also produces wonderful photographs (*sic*). If he was educated, a good thing might result from him, as he has plenty of talent, and that is the main thing"). Considering the skills of the young artist, but also the closeness of this record's date to the date when the painting in the Brukenthal National Museum was painted, as the artistic quality of this work and of other portraits made later, in the U.S.A. (by using photographic techniques, perhaps), it could be inferred that Peter Kohlbeck was rather informally trained, most likely by a provincial painter (and photographer) and continued maybe to learn even later.

According to the current genealogical information, the Kohlbecks are known as a family of German-Bohemian origin (http://news.rootsweb.com/th/read/GERMAN-BOHEMIAN/2001-03/0985809098). In Bohemia they lived in several villages near Pilsen / Plzeň, among which Fuchsberg, now Liščí Hora (http://www.rothenbaum.eu/stammbaum/), colloquially called Lisu, as well as in Springenberg (now Sprymberk in the Plzeňský region) and Hirschau (now Hyršow in the Plzeň region) the latter being the place were most of the records occur, as well as the oldest known mention of a man bearing the same family name, Joseph Kohlbeck (1682-1710), who was born there and died there as well (http://gedbas.genealogy.net/search/simple?placename=Hirschau+%28Hyrsov%29%2C+B%C3%B6hmen&offset=50). The same family name occurs in Hirschau during the 17th c. as *Kohlwech*, the

first time for a certain Wolfgang (1626-1686), who was born and died there and in the 18th c. as *Kohlweck*, for another Wolfgang, born there in 1749, these being mispelt variants (http:// gedbas. genealogy.net/search/simple?placename=Hirschau +%28Hyrsov%29%2C+B%C3%B6hmen&offset= 50).

As a consequence of the vicinity to the Bavarian border, some Kohlbecks migrated at first from Bohemia to Bavaria (already in the early 19th c.) and settled in Roding, in Hassenberg near Coburg, where a child of the brewer Wolfgang Kohbeck was baptised in 1846-1847 by the castle's chaplain (https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/H7NQWMZBNUL4ZI4UGTP 62FYTVELBSPPH) and in Schwabering near Söchtenau, where another man called Wolfgang Kohlbeck was the head of the local snipers' association in 1876-1877 and in 1878-1881 (http://www.sg-wittelsbach-schwabering.de/?file=kop8.php). Other German Kohlbecks (still) exist in Munich, in Satteldorf near Schwäbisch Hall, in St. Wolfgang, Bad Kötzting near the actual Czech border and in other places in Bavaria and even in Baden. Others, maybe only in the mid-19th c., came to Vienna, where documents record a Kaspar Kohlbeck (between 1879-1891) and a Theresia Kohlbeck (between 1892-1897) as silversmiths (http://www.silvercollection.it/AUSTRIANKKO. html). Sometimes, members of the still existing branch in Vienna spell now their name as Kolbeck, like a branch living in Kaltenbach, Switzerland.

In the U.S.A., many people with the family name of Kohlbeck, who are born from the late 19th c. till 1964, are buried (latest in 2012) in the Saint Michael's Catholic cemetery in Cato, Manitowoc County, Wisconsin (http://www.2manitowoc.com/7.html; http://www.2manitowoc.com/7Hobit.html). The best known Kohlbecks living in the U.S.A. (mainly in different counties of Wisconsin and only sporadically in Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, Pennsylvania, Utah and Wyoming) are of various professions: two sergeants who died in the Vietnam War, an officer, a physicist, a priest, a Benedictine abbot, a nun, a physician, two owners of a graphics enterprise (including Peter Kohlbeck himself), an accountant, a postman, an upholsterer, a cheesemaker etc. Many Kohlbecks from Wisconsin were, according to their funerary inscriptions or to the genealogical records, very long living persons (aged 85-97). Although most of the Kohlbecks remained Catholic, there are some who were members of the Lutheran Church (maybe due rather to interconfesional marriages into the same environment of German settlers) and of the Episcopal Church.

Among the Kohlbecks from Wisconsin, particularly interesting is Wolfgang Kohlbeck, the father of Joseph W. Kohlbeck (1888-1974) and of other 18 children (https://www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/wolfgang-kohlbeck_91190681). Wolfgang Kohlbeck was born in 1858 in the Bohemian village of Hirschau (now Hyršow in the Plzeň region), like his gradfather Wenzel (https://www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/wenzel-kohlbeck_64135908; http://gedbas.genealogy.net/search/simple?placename=Hirschau+%28Hyrsov%29%2C+B%C3%B6hmen&offset=50) and maybe also his father Johann. Johann Kohlbeck emigrated with his family in America, where he died in 1883 in Hewitt (https://www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/johann-kohlbeck_13736942), the same town where the photographer Peter Kohlbeck is buried. Franz Kohlbeck (1840-1892) is buried in the Gate of Heaven cemetery in Marshfield, Wood County, Wisconsin and some of his descendants are buried in the Saint Mary's Catholic cemetery in Auburndale, Wood County, Wisconsin (https://findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi/Public%20Health%20Museums%3C/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=86758982). This genealogical information would suggest that the Kohlbecks continued to immigrate from Bohemia (more specifically, from the rural neighbourhood of Pilsen / Plzeň) to Wisconsin some years after the photographer Peter Kohlbeck left his native country for America. Their perennial concentration in Wisconsin, where the photographer is buried as well, would suggest that they preferred this region because the presence of relatives there, where the photographer (who seems to have been unmarried and childless) retreated in his last years. Several of these Kohlbecks kept the typical German first names, as Wolfgang (which is traditional in this family) or the same first names as the most popular Habsburg monarchs of the 18th c. and early 19th c. (Leopold, Maria Theresia, Joseph and Franz). Conversely, none of them is recorded with a typical Czech first name, excepting maybe the grandfather of the afore-mentioned Wolfgang Kohlbeck, who lived his whole life in Bohemia (where he was born in Hirschau in 1788) and whose first name Wenzel (Václav in Czech and Venceslas / Wenceslaus in Latin) recalls obviously the patron of Bohemia, Duke Venceslas I (c. 907-935). However, as reflected in their

funerary inscriptions, in the 20th c., the German identity of the American Kohlbecks seems to be almost extinct, as well as the use of the German language.

Fortunately, the Bohemian immigration in Wisconsin was studied by Richard M. Bernard (Bernard, 1980, 21-22), although he seems to refer to Bohemians not only as *ethnic Czechs*, as he does when speaking about the language they spoke, but as well (and even more frequently!) as *immigrants from Bohemia*, a territory which was not inhabited only by Czechs, but also by (Sudeten) Germans and by other smaller ethnic groups. Here it should be stressed that, referring to various groups of settlers, the mentioned author is inclined to consider the provenance according to the political realities after 1918 more important than the ethnic origin, especially (but not only) if the immigrants came from former territories of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. While the Austrians are usually treated as a distinct group and rarely together with the Germans and, despite the historical partition of Poland, the Poles are also a distinct ethnic group, the Slovaks seem to be assimilated with the Bohemians, as the reader of the work's index finds only Bohemia under the category of Czechoslovakia (Bernard, 1980, 161). The Jews, distinct, but considered a very small religious community, are mentioned rarely, rather as a small part of the Russian immigrants (Bernard, 1980, 39-40). Considering this remark on the meaning of *Bohemians* in the research of R. M. Bernard and in order to understand better the historical context in which the Kohlbecks migrated to Wisconsin, as well as their fate there until the mid-20th c., we should first recall some information about the areas where the Bohemian immigrants settled (for the administrative divisions of Wisconsin, see Fig. 10).

The first Bohemians came to Wisconsin in 1848, in Milwaukee and two years later, Caledonia, a town north of Racine, became the first in which this group predominated. Almost from the outset, the Bohemians dispersed across the southern third of the state, although they tended to favour border areas to the east and to a lesser extent to the west. Many Bohemians built their homes along Lake Michigan in Racine, Milwaukee, Manitowoc, and Kewaunee Counties, while others journeyed to the riverside counties of Grant, Crawford, Vernon, and La Crosse. In Kewaunee County, the earliest settlers arrived in 1855 from Milwaukee, where they had learned of the rich farmlands available farther north. More importantly, every noteworthy Bohemian community had established its roots in Wisconsin by 1857, and the in-movement itself reached a peak by the mid-1880s. Although this information (Bernard, 1980, 21) does not refer strictly to the Wood County, it would suggest that the first Bohemian settlers arrived in Wisconsin a little earlier, before Peter Kohlbeck left his home country, and that they would have reached the Wood County later, maybe looking for farmlands.

The information provided by R. M. Bernard about the social condition of the Bohemian settlers in the Kewaunee County (Bernard, 1980, 22), would rather support my suppositions, as the Wood County shows obviously similar economic and social realities, as suggested by its very name. Although primarily farmers, these original Bohemians who settled in the northern half of Wisconsin became part-time lumbermen as well. They paid their debts and gained clear titles to their lands by "cutting-over" much of the county's extensive timber lands. These people encouraged others to migrate and to obtain properties of their own, by borrowing money or by working in the large sawmills that opened in the city. The resulting population growth continued into the 1870s and even as late as 1890, the Bohemians making up roughly three-sevenths of Kewaunee County's population. These newcomers brought little capital with them, as they carried few personal possessions beyond "the ancestral feather bed." However, poverty proved a lesser danger for them than for other newcomers, just because of the money they earned as lumbermen. Some became mechanics and others businessmen and professionals. Most of these people had farmed in Bohemia, and they continued to do so here. In farming methods, they held to European procedures, but in dress they adopted native fashions completely. Nearly all improved their living standard by moving to America, where farmers and laborers earned considerably higher incomes than in Bohemia and many kept substantial savings accounts in the local banks.

I think that the Kohlbecks may have settled in the Wood County as lumbermen and farmers and managed even to enjoy a certain prosperity there, maybe not earlier than the late 1880s. The presence of some relatives there (like Johann Kohlbeck and his son Wolfgang in Hewitt and even a wealthier one, namely Franz Kohlbeck in Marshfield) and the growing local population, as well as the lifestyle allowed by the money which could be earned there may have attracted Peter Kohlbeck to move from New York to Hewitt, Wisconsin, where certainly a photographer and a portrait painter, accustomed to work after photographies, had less competition.

It is very important to understand how the Kohlbecks who settled in Wisconsin were integrated in the American society and lost completely their German identity during the 20th c. In this respect, some remarks by Bernard (1980, 22) on the local social realities are very useful. While perhaps less adapted to American ways by 1890 than many Western immigrants, the Bohemians living in the forested areas of Wisconsin's northern half were notably more like native-stock Americans than the Poles. As a group, the Bohemians were Catholic, but many reportedly strayed from their faith, which seems to have happened more frequently than among the Polish settlers. Among the Bohemians, only those who left the church strongly supported public schools, but many in the Bohemian community readily learned to speak the English language. Thus, not the depart from their original faith is, in my opinion, the main factor which led to the integration of the Bohemian settlers in the American society and which led the Kohlbecks to use English instead of German for their funerary inscriptions.

Although R. M. Bernard agrees that perhaps there is truth to the argument of the time that the natural bent of these Bohemians was to assimilation, but their geographic isolation in a relatively complete community largely prevented them from reaching this goal (Bernard, 1980, 22). This does not happen, in my opinion, so quickly as the language in which the funerary inscriptions of the wealthiest are written. More relevant for this problem is, I think, the study of the marriage preferences among the Bohemian settlers. Although, as of the 1880s, there is a general preference of out-group marriages for American spouses and the early tendency of English-speaking people to cling to one another declined by 1900 (although already in 1850 and 1860, the British did marry Germans more often than others outside the Commonwealth), while the slight inclination of Eastern Europeans (especially Russians and Bohemians) to seek out German or Austrian spouses (probably owing to language and cultural ties fostered by population migrations within Europe) never reached major proportions (Bernard, 1980, 49). In the 1880s, among the Germans, the majority preferred Americans of native parentage and all groups, except the Norwegian-Americans, were also interested in Germans or German-Americans (Bernard, 1980, 61). Particularly interesting is that Americans of Russian, Bohemian, and Austrian parents split their affections three ways: among their own people, native-stock Americans, and those of German stock (Bernard, 1980, 61). Thus, to most first-generation immigrants to Wisconsin, marital assimilation meant intermarriage, not with other foreign-born individuals, but with natives of this country (Bernard, 1980, 49). Later, by 1910, among the Western immigrants, only the Norwegians and Germans had more people who married within their own groups than outside of them (Bernard, 1980, 118), which shows a change towards endogamy in the marriage preferences of the Germans. A relatively high endogamy persisted by 1910 also among the second-generation Poles and Russians, their in-group proportions running 81% and 67%, respectively (Bernard, 1980, 119). At that time, more Polish-American women married within their own group, but the reverse was the case for Bohemian- and Austrian-Americans, though the differences were rather small (Bernard, 1980, 61). The native-born children of Bohemian and Austrian newcomers proved much more likely to find out-group spouses and in each of these cases, only about 30% married endogamously (Bernard, 1980, 119). As a consequence, despite the general tendency to marry Americans or within their own group, there was also a strong preferrence for German spouses among the British immigrants when the Kohlbecks migrated to Wisconsin, while during the next generation, beside the general interest to marry Americans or people born in America, almost all groups wanted German spouses, while the Germans themselves switched to endogamy only by 1910. Thus, by 1900, especially the wealthier Kohlbecks, known from their funerary inscriptions (mostly in English), were already integrated in the American society, but still preferred German first names, although some of them, who are known maybe from archival sources and kept their German first names, preferred to mary into their own group (German or even Sudeten German), which implies that they may have kept for a longer period even the use of the German language, although perhaps more in their familial environment. The photographer Peter Kohlbeck, who belongs obviously to his family's first-generation settlers in America and did not get married, kept the public use of his mother tongue, German, his knowledge of English being rather poor till the end of his life, in 1892, unlike some of his contemporary relatives, who were already better integrated in the local American society.

Until now, the military portrait in the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu is the single painting by Peter Kohlbeck known to be kept in a public collection in Europe and was doubtless painted some time before its author migrated to the USA, where he was known both

as a portrait painter and as a photographer (however, especially as a photographer, apparently). It seems that he became interested in photography quite early and, although young, he was one of the first Bohemian photographers, as evidenced by a recently discovered daguerrotypy of 1850, showing the small Riesenberg / Rýzmberk castle in Neugedein (now Kdyně), which is considered to be the very first outdoor photograph in Bohemia signed by this author (Procházka, 2012).

One of his first paintings in the U.S.A. was made c. 1852. This historical painting (Fig. 11), called *In Sight of the New World* (oil on canvas, 91.4 x 119.4 cm, inv. 1977.6.1) and sometimes erroneuosly *Land Ho!*, shows the sighting of the American shore by Christopher Columbus (12th of October 1492) and is currently kept in New Haven, Connecticut at the Knights of Columbus Museum, Inc. (a Catholic fraternal organization). Its composition is inspired by the painting entitled *Columbus Discovering Land* by a German academic artist, (Christoph) Christian Ruben (1805-1875), usually referred as *Christian Ruben* (as it seems that Christoph was not his real name), and known better for his teaching activity in Prague and Vienna and as a decorator of palaces and churches, as well as for being the founder of an important Bohemian school of historical painting. (For the biography and work of Christian Ruben: see Wurzbach, 1874, 200-205; ADB 1889, 413-415; Vollmer, 1935, 136). The original work, called *Columbus Discovering Land* (oil on canvas, 145 x 190 cm), painted in 1846 (or even 1843, according to Néstor Ponce de Léon) belonged to the collection of Count Erwin Felix Maria von Nostitz-Rieneck (1863-1931) and is mentioned already in 1893 as being kept at the National Gallery in Prague (Léon, 1893, 151, nr. 51). There are also some copies of this painting, which are considered author versions, but they could be actually studio copies, especially considering the teaching activity of Christian Ruben, beside the fact that, over the years, the original work was copied by countless artists and was reproduced by several engravers, in various techniques, both in Europe and in America. Two copies of the painting were auctioned by Dorotheum in Prague: one, on March 7, 2015 (lot 126) (Fig. 12), is painted in oil on metal (54.5 x 73 cm), while the other is painted in oil on canvas (55 x 68.50 cm) and was auctioned on September 24, 2016 (lot 226). Another one, whose provenance and technical details (excepting its dimensions of 75.57 x 99.70 cm) are unknown, was auctioned in New Orleans on May 4, 2008 (lot 985) by Neal Auction Company.

Among the prints reproducing Christian Ruben's painting, a lithograph by the Bavarian artist Franz Seraph Hanfstaengl (1804-1877), made in 1850, is worth mentioning (http://www.krugozormagazine.com/show/columbus.3212.html). It may be the earliest of all known reproduction prints. The Granger Collection in Brooklyn, New York keeps an anonymous American lithograph made in 1892 (image nr. 0011928), reproducing the same painting in Prague (https://www.granger.com/results.asp?image=0011928&itemw=4&itemf=0003&itemstep=201&itemx=204). It is a sure evidence that the painting was copied not only by European artists, but by American engravers as well.

In 1892, on the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Colombus, reproductions of the painting by Christian Ruben were produced both in Europe and in America, employing the Jacquard technique of waving, which uses a drawing copied point by point on perforated cartons. Better known and more significant for the information about its producers is a reproduction on silk, made in Krefeld (in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany), on whose backside are mentioned Christian Ruben as painter, Ewald Feldmann as author of the drawing and Julius List as the waver. Julius List was a waver born in Brandenburg, who came to Krefeld in 1884 and worked there till 1908, when he emigrated to America. A copy of this work can be seen at the National Silk Art Museum in Weston, Missouri. In the United States of America a woven reproduction of Christian Ruben's painting was made by the Arlington Mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts.(http://www.krugozormagazine.com/show/columbus.3212.html). This category of decorative art products confirms that both in Europe and America Christian Ruben's work enjoyed great popularity, and not only among the European and American painters and engravers.

The same year and on the same occasion, Christian Ruben's painting was also reproduced in a very popular book telling the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus by Washington Irving, the conquest of Mexico and Peru by W. W. Robertson and the history of the U.S.A. by Benjamin Rush Davenport, where it is referred to as "a painting by Rubens" (Irving *et al.* 1892, 138), the title page of the book stating very commercially that it has "nearly six hundred illustrations from the greatest artists, portraying every scene of the world's grandest drama". A century later, the popularity of this paiting does not seem to have faded too much, as it is reproduced on the 500th anniversary of the same event. On May 22, 1992 a block of post

stamps (2 million issues) was issued, designed by Richard Sheaff from Needham Heights, Massachusetts; the first day of circulation of this philatelic issue was held in Chicago (http://www.krugozormagazine.com/show/columbus.3212.html).

However, if compared to Christian Ruben's famous painting, the less known work by Peter Kohlbeck seems mediocre (despite its good drawing, showing a native talent and a rather practical artistic education), due to the latter artist's preferrence for too vivid and cold colours and the use of a too strong light, which may have been intended to impress the onlooker, even one who was quite familiar with the original painting or with one of the numerous coloured prints reproducing it. Still, due to Peter Kohlbeck's lacking formal academic background and the above mentioned particularities of his copy, as well as despite his Bohemian origin, which may have allowed him to see the original work in Prague or maybe a copy of it, his work seems to be inspired more by a coloured lithograph than by a watercolour copy of the painting by Christian Ruben, made by Peter Kohlbeck himself or by another artist. Aware perhaps of the consequences of his lack of academic education and fearing financial difficulties more than the hostility of academic painters, Peter Kohlbeck ceased to dream about impressive compositions commissioned by various authorities and consequently came back to the portrait painting and especially to the photograph, in which he was more skilled. Actually, in the U.S.A. his fame is due more to the photographs of documentary interest for the development of New York than for portrait painting, in which (according to the information provided by the inscriptions on his works) he actually resorted almost always to the assistance of photographs. All his best painted portraits known in collections from the U.S.A. are dated before the artist turned to photographic portraiture, in the 60's of the 19th c. (http://www.nyhistory.org/exhibit/millard-fillmore-1800-1874), which led me to this conclusion about his artistic evolution in America.

Newly arrived in America, Peter Kohlbeck painted in 1850-1860 a portrait of Millard Fillmore (1800-1874), the 13th president of the U.S.A. (1850-1853), which is kept at the New York Historical Society Museum (oil on canvas, 76.2 x 62.2 cm, inv. 1941.359 NYHS) (Crawford 2002, 289, nr. 2508; cf. Catalogue of American Portraits 1974, 265-266). This painting (Fig. 14) is signed on the right (*P. Kohlbeck. paint.*) and has a misspelled inscription on the left: "Meade Broters [sic]. Photograph". It was donated to the museum by the artist, art collector, patron and philanthropist Adelaide Milton De Groot (1876-1967) from New York (http://www.nyhistory.org/exhibit/millard-fillmore-1800-1874). This information is also confirmed by the records kept at the Center for the History of Collecting established in 2007 at the Frick Art Reference Library Archives Directory in New York City (http://research.frick.org/directoryweb/browserecord.php?-action=browse&-recid=7284).

In 1857, Peter Kohlbeck painted 3 important portaits. Two of them, kept at the New York Historical Society Museum, are actually pendants: the portrait (oil on cardboard, 31.8 x 26.7 cm, inv. 1935.63) of John Vaché Cox (1818-1882) and the portrait (oil on cardboard, 31.8 x 26.7 cm, inv. 1935.64) of his wife Eliza née Pilcher (1823-1899). The latter is signed *P. Kohlbeck Paent* (sic!) on the left and has the following inscription on the right: "Meade Prothers (sic!) *Photograff. 1857*." The lady's portrait, a gift to the Society from her daughter Isabella Vaché Cox (as the pendant portrait too), was painted from a photograph taken by Meade Brothers of New York. The painter's recent arrival in the U.S.A. probably accounts for the misspelling in the inscription (*paent* for *painted* and *Prothers* for *Brothers*), which is obviously due to the similar pronunciation of an *ä* followed by a consonant, respectively to the initial *b* in the German dialect spoken in Bohemia. Eliza Pilcher was the eldest daughter of Henry and Frances Pilcher of Canterbury, England. She married John Vaché Cox on December 10, 1844, at the Church of the Holy Evangelist, New York. (For the portrait and biography of Eliza Cox née Pilcher: http://www.nyhistory.org/exhibit/mrs-john-vach%C3%A9-cox-1823-1899). Her husband was the eldest son of Dr. John Palmer Cox (born 1794), and of Emilie Cox née Vaché, and a brother of Emilie Aglae Cox, the wife of Thomas Soden Henry. As a young man, he was employed by Prall and Ray, a wholesale drug firm in New York. He later became a drug broker and a mercantile broker. (For the portrait and biography of John Vaché Cox: http://www.nyhistory.org/exhibit/john-vach%C3%A9-cox-1818-1882). Dr. John Palmer Cox, married on April 9, 1776 Maritje Hudler (1755-1738), of Swiss origin, was the grandson of John Cox Jr. (1756-1825), of Reformed faith, a member of the Ulster County militia in the Revolutionary War and of the Reformed Dutch Church in Rhinebeck (Dutchess County, New York), farmer in Rhinebeck and estate manager in Grasmere (Richard and Janet Montgomery's

farm), as well as the Rhinebeck Town Supervisor and a member of the New York State Assembly in 1822 and thus the great-grandson of John Cox Sen. (1735-1825), a loyalist from New York City married to Elisabeth Palmer and who fled to Nova Scotia after the Revolutionary War, but returned home to the end of his life (https://www.findagrave.com/cgibin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=87738065).

The third portrait (Fig. 13) shows Ann Carmelita Winchester née Dorsey (1827-1907), the wife of Edward Constant Winchester (1823-1900), whom she married in 1849 (for biographical and genealogical information about Ann Carmelita Winchester: see Winchester Hotchkiss 1912, 330; https://www.geni.com-/people/Ann-Winchester/6000000041149733247). The painting is now kept in the Historic New Orleans Collection in Louisiana (http://www.askart.com/artist_pubs/Peter_Kohlbeck/10030383/Peter_Kohlbeck.aspx).

Among the portrait photographs dated c. 1860 by Peter Kohlbeck there are two very common pictures in visit card (CDV) format (6.5 x 10.5 cm), but significant, because both poses are typical for the self-expression of the American middle and lower classes in mid-19th c. and even later, for almost a hundred years: one shows a seated young lady (https://www.pinterest.dk/pin/215398794651952933/) and the other a standing young mullatto girl holding a prayer book in her right hand (https://www.pinterest.dk/pin/525232375264208381/). An undated CDV format picture from Laddy Kite's collection shows a boy in a goat cart (http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/image/04952151104354745647670656 92/), a frequent and fashionable pose for children of wealthy families at that time, influenced by older Rococo and Classicist paintings which render aristocratic (and even royal) children riding a goat. A portrait of a sitting elderly lady on a CDV format, albumen impression, partially coloured, is dated c. 1870 and mentions, on its backside, the address of Peter Kohlbeck photographic studio (http://www.ebay.com/itm/Kohlbeck-New-York-CDV-vintage-albumen-carte-de-visite-Tirage-albumine-6-/372031589179?hash=item569ecf8b3b:g:RdgAAOSwhSVZgKZa). A chromolithograph published c. 1861-1897 by L. Prang & Co., kept at the Boston Public Library, showing a woman's portrait framed by yellow roses, was also made after a photograph by Peter Kohlbeck (https://www.flickr.com/photos/boston_public_library/4706341000) and could be considered a sentimental, though common and fashionable romantic pose.

3. Conclusions

The previous biographical information about Peter Kohlbeck (1826-1892) is very scarce, consisting mainly of an inaccurate note in a work about the Czech community of New York and some records concerning his paintings from several public American collections. Besides the confusion about his ethnic origin and his place of birth in Bohemia, his year of birth was unknown and there was no information about his genealogy. According to his funerary inscription, now for the first time used as a source of information about the artist, as well as to the genealogical records about his family, he was a self-taught Bohemian (more precisely Sudeten German) painter and photographer, quite famous in his homeland in 1846, as he is mentioned in a Viennese newspaper for collectors. He is the author of the oldest signed outdoor photograph in Bohemia, dated in 1850. The same year he emigrated to the United States of America, where many relatives settled, especially in Wisconsin, almost at the same time. Since 1857, he is documented as working in New York, especially as a painter of portraits and a photographer, but between 1860-1878 apparently only as a photographer. He is revered as one of the early New York photographers and as the first Bohemian photographer in New York. However, his photographic skills which he used for painting portraits could not compensate his lack of a formal academic education, and therefore he could not manage to be a successful painter. So, he retired to a rural area of Wisconsin, inhabited by many of his relatives and compatriots and died there, apparently without spouse and issue.

For sure, the portrait rendering Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer (1823-1860), Auditor of the 2nd Imperial and Royal Hussars Regiment (garrisoned at that time in Klattau / Klatovy, also near Pilsen / Plzeň) could not have been the only portrait painted by Peter Kohlbeck while he still lived in his Bohemian homeland, not far from Pilsen (as documented by a Viennese reference from 1846). Therefore, it is difficult to state that this is the only exhibit in a public museum collection in Europe, although no other one is known to me. This portrait of a good artistic quality from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum is a significant work for the painter's biography, not only because it is dated a short time before he emigrated to America, but also because it is quite accurate from uniformological point of view and therefore of a certain importance for the military history of Transylvania (although actually at that time the

mentioned regiment, recruited in Transylvania, was garrisoned in Bohemia). Almost surely, this portrait was not made *ad vivum*, but after a coloured photographic image, like the portraits Peter Kohlbeck painted in the U.S.A., being therefore a good evidence of his skills and achievements just before his departure from Europe. In terms of the information recorded on the labels on the painting's backside, it also has a genealogical importance for the knowledge of the Hartmayer and Müller families, as well as maybe of the Arz family.

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List of illustrations

Fig. 1. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu.
Fig. 2. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Detail.
Fig. 3. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. The painting's backside.
Fig. 4a-b. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Labels on the painting's backside.
Fig. 5a-c. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Label on the painting's backside.
Fig. 6. King Carol II of Romania.
Fig. 7. The tomb of Peter Kohlbeck in the Catholic Saint Michael's Church cemetery in Hewitt, Wood County, Wisconsin. Photograph by Linda Hahn-Weidman.
Fig. 8. The funerary monument of Peter Kohlbeck. Photograph by Linda Hahn-Weidman.
Fig. 9. Peter Kohlbeck's funerary inscription. Photograph by Linda Hahn-Weidman.

Fig. 10. Administrative divisions of Wisconsin.
Fig. 11. Peter Kohlbeck, *Sight of the New World*, c. 1852. Knights of Columbus Museum, Inc., New Haven, Connecticut.
Fig. 12. Christian Ruben (or studio), *Columbus Discovering Land*, c. 1846. Dorotheum.
Fig. 13. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Ann Carmelita Winchester née Dorsey*, 1857. The Historic New Orleans Collection, Louisiana.
Fig. 14. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of President Millard Fillmore*, 1860's. The New-York Historical Society Museum, New York.
Fig. 15. Peter Kohlbeck, *Boy in a Goat Cart*. Photography.Laddy Kite's collection.
Fig. 16. Peter Kohlbeck, *Sitting Lady*, c. 1870. Photograph.
Fig. 17. Peter Kohlbeck, *Mullatto Girl*. Photograph.
Fig. 18. L. Prang & Co. (publisher), *Woman Portrait Enframed by Yellow Roses*, c. 1861-1897. Chromolithograph after a photograph by Peter Kohlbeck. Boston Public Library, Massachusetts.

Fig. 1. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu.

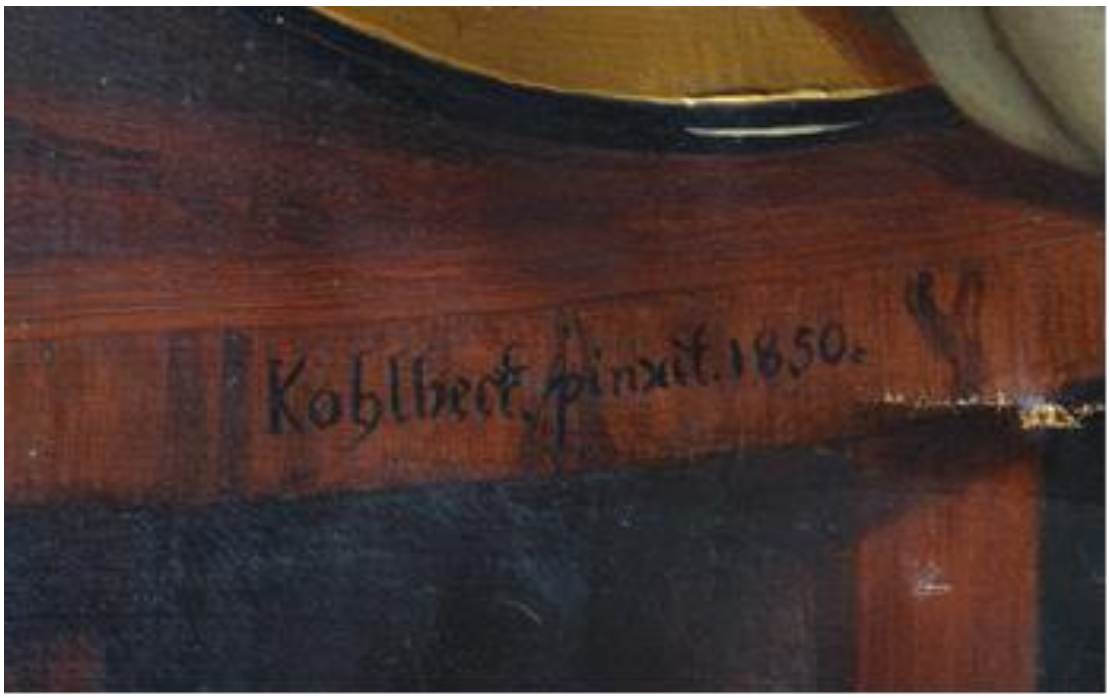

Fig. 2. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Detail.

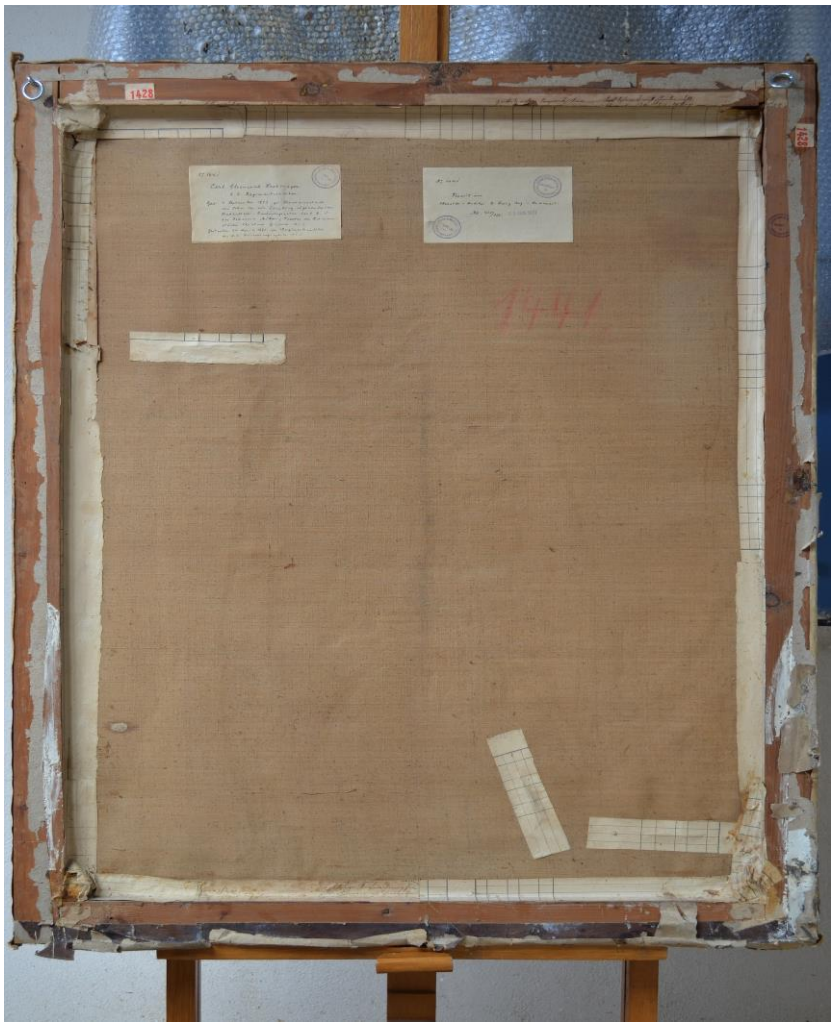

Fig. 3. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. The painting's backside.

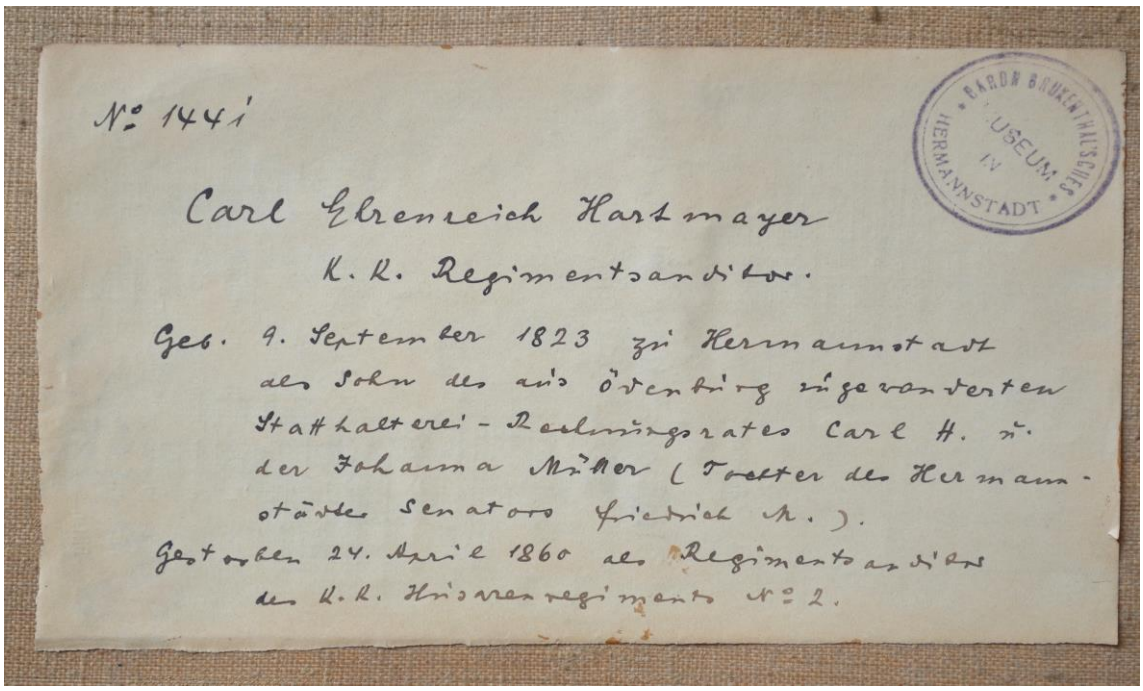

Fig. 4a. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Label on the painting's backside.

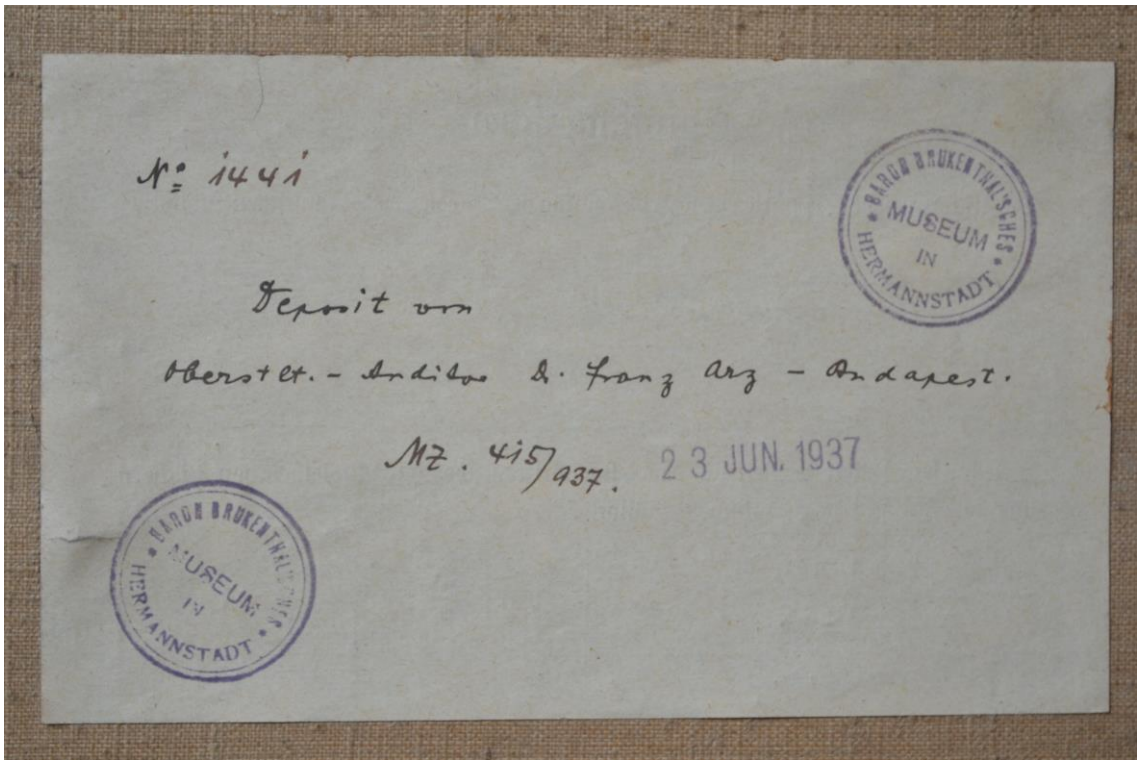

Fig. 4b. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Label on the painting's backside.

Fig. 5a. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Label on the painting's backside.

Fig. 5b. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Label on the painting's backside.

Fig. 5c. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Captain Carl Ehrenreich Hartmayer*, 1850. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu. Label on the painting's backside.

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Fig. 13. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of Ann Carmelita Winchester née Dorsey*, 1857. The Historic New Orleans Collection, Louisiana.

Fig. 14. Peter Kohlbeck, *Portrait of President Millard Fillmore*, 1860's. The New-York Historical Society Museum, New York.

Fig. 15. Peter Kohlbeck, *Boy in a Goat Cart*. Photography.Laddy Kite's collection.

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Fig. 17. Peter Kohlbeck, *Mullatto Girl*. Photograph.

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NICOLAE IORGA'S TRAVELS TO ITALY – FROM STUDENT TO INTELLECTUAL

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Abstract: *The article offers the reader a general image of Nicolae Iorga's travels in the Italic Peninsula. His travels to this country of the European continent were opportunities to know people and places, as well as to study old manuscripts of priceless value for the universal history in general and for the history of Romanians in particular. The perspective of cultural history offers the reader the opportunity to enjoy depictions with unique details seen through the eyes of the scholar, starting with the years of adolescence, moving on to his political and scientific activity. Nicolae Iorga was part of a generation of students who considered Italy "in vogue", choosing thus to study there. Having received a scholarship, he took his first study trip to Italy in 1890, creating a strong bond with this country, where he kept going back due to his political and academic activity. The Romanian - Italian ties and the common history occupy an important place in his works. Italy has opened the horizons of universal culture and history for many Romanian intellectuals from the 19th and 20th centuries. The libraries with materials impossible to be found in Romania represented a gold mine for them. With the knowledge of the Italian language and the links with the great Italian personalities, the Romanian intellectuals came closer to the other Latin countries. Iorga's steps to Italy were followed by other important Romanian intellectuals, such as Mircea Eliade, the latter being heavily influenced by the Italian writers he appreciated since childhood. Nicolae Iorga, on the other hand, was attracted to Italy as a separate entity. His memoirs and journals are characterized by detailed descriptions of art, culture, nature and cities, both materially and socially, making him "one of the greatest Romanian prose writers" (Valeriu Râpeanu).*

Keywords: *Nicolae Iorga, cultural influences, memoirs, Italy, traveler, intellectual*

Diaries, memoirs and notes of travel, as well as correspondence, are bibliographical sources of great value due to their intimate character, unique information and subjectivity. They also have a fundamental role in reconstituting scenarios based on the author's experience. Authors are often intellectuals, historians, philosophers, academicians, poets and prose writers. Memoirs offer an image of the writer's feelings and contribute to a connection between the writer and the reader.

When we think of well-known Romanian composers, George Enescu is the first name that comes to mind. When we think of Romanian intellectuals who traveled to Italy, we think of the titans of Romanian culture. Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940) is well known as playwright, poet, historian, literary critic, politician, professor, academician and "the man who wrote more than anyone in the world", as Mircea Eliade said. Above all, he was a traveler:

> *"I have always liked to travel. As a child, I was reading Victor Hugo's Les Orientales and Kogalniceanu's Chronicles not only for stories with plenty of French poems and old chronicles of Moldavia, but also for the new horizons where it seemed that I was transported. A trip during a vacation to Roman in the Vaslui region seemed to me a long wandering in wonderful worlds […]"* (Iorga, 1987, vol. 1, 135).

Knowledge of Italian allowed me to read Italian bibliography, essential for writing this article that has the aim of presenting Nicolae Iorga's experience in Italy. Due to the limited dimensions of this paper, I do not intend to make a detailed analysis of the political relations or the influences the Italian intellectuals had on Iorga and implicitly on his work. I have chosen the cultural history approach, focusing on his experiences in Italy and everyday life. This offers the reader the opportunity to enjoy depictions with unique details seen through the eyes of the scholar, starting with the years of adolescence. As Valeriu Râpeanu asserted about Iorga's memoirs:

> *"All this wealth of observations, thoughts, meditations, and the need for the breath of authentic life, finds its equivalence in the charm, relevance and conviction of the writer, who manages the incandescent force of the word and the scholarly structure of the phrase of a rare plasticity, handled in the most natural way possible."* (Râpeanu in Iorga, 1987).

Romanians' memoirs in the Italian Peninsula occupy a secondary place. And this is easy to understand, as there are few books if any to analyze the subject in the Romanian historiography. Writings in Italian of both Nicolae Iorga and Mircea Eliade are fundamental works used in Italian universities, especially by historians. Unfortunately, some of them have never been translated to Romanian. Nicolae Iorga was part of a generation of students who considered Italy "in vogue", choosing thus to study there. Having received a scholarship, he took his first study trip to Italy in 1890, creating a strong bond with this country, where he kept going back due to his political and academic activity.

> *"Nicolae Iorga started his long «intellectual wandering» when he was 19 years old, due to a scholarship in Italy. His horizon enlarges with travels to Paris and Germany, to the luxuriant and miserable Orient, alternating with travels to Romanian provinces […]. He who knew Europe from the Lusitanian landscape to Castilla's splendors, from France's cathedrals to Constantinople's mosques […] kept his thirst for discovering the native space, sanctioning the snobbism that would disdain the beauties of the [Romanian] world."* (Zaciu in Iorga, 1972, 7)

Besides, the Italian archives lured the young scholar, who was fascinated especially by Venice. In this respect, his memoirs describe nature, people and cultural elements; the writer is sometimes delighted by them, sometimes disappointed. The Romanian - Italian ties and the common history occupy an important place in his works. They have been translated from Romanian to Italian and vice versa, although some of the Italian writings have not been translated yet to Romanian.

Italy has opened the horizons of universal culture and history for many Romanian intellectuals from the 19th and 20th centuries. The libraries with materials impossible to be found in Romania represented a gold mine for them. With the knowledge of the Italian language and the links with the great Italian personalities, the Romanian intellectuals came closer to other Latin European countries. Other important Romanian intellectuals, such as Mircea Eliade, followed in Nicolae Iorga's footsteps to Italy, although they had a different experience. While Eliade had been heavily influenced by Italian writers he had appreciated since childhood, Iorga, on the other hand, was attracted by Italy incessantly. His memoirs and journals are characterized by detailed descriptions of art, culture, nature and cities, both materially and socially, making him "one of the greatest Romanian prose writers" according to Valeriu Râpeanu.

A great part of Iorga's notes are about his travels abroad, being explorations of foreign cultures – studies in foreign libraries, then conferences, congresses and speeches (Iorga, 1980, V-VI, XXIX). As he confessed, he did not intend to write a diary, but his travel notes came somehow naturally (Iorga, 1980, VI). In one case, the peaceful orchard of lemons and oranges of a guesthouse in Naples was enough to invite him to write (Iorga, 1936b, 5). In many cases these are comparisons with the Romanian homeland: "We are a people that do not know itself and its country. Otherwise, it would cherish the country and gain confidence in the future." (Iorga, 1904, V) The four volumes of *Istoria Românilor prin Călători [History of Romanians through Travellers]* is a vast collection of foreigners' travels in Romanian territories, starting with the 14th century to the second half of the 19th century.

First travel to Italy (end of the 19th century)

Iorga's first travel to Italy took place in 1890 when he obtained a scholarship, supported by N. Odobescu and B. P. Hasdeu. He mentioned that it was too early for a teenager who has not seen anything beyond the borders of his homeland to understand Italy profoundly, its cultural and artistic universe that has attracted writers and philosophers like Rousseau, Montaigne, Voltaire, Byron, Michelet etc., as well as scholars of Școala Ardeleană (Iorga, 1980, vol. 1, VIII, XXXIII). Therefore, N. Iorga stated long after this first travel to Italy that one cannot travel without a solid cultural background in order to understand the complex elements of civilization (*Ibidem*, VII).

He had also visited Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany, England, Spain, Portugal, Luxemburg, USA, Greece as a student and then as an academician (*Ibidem*, X-XI, XIII). Serbia, Bulgaria and

European Turkey constituted a gold mine for Bizantine sources while he was working on his studies. However, Iorga had never visited the Orient (*Ibidem*, XI-XII).

His attachment to Italy was very strong, even though in 1890 he was disappointed by poverty and falling economy, as well as poor governing and corruption (*Ibidem*, IX). His political and academic activity, Italian archives and invitations to conferences determined Iorga to travel to Italy time and again: in 1893, 1894, 1896, 1901, 1914, 1927, 1929, 1933, 1935 and 1936 (*Ibidem*, XXXIV, XLIV).

The common history and Latin character prompted his study in Italy (Iorga, 1926, 125), invoking many times the brotherly collaboration between the two countries (Iorga, 1939, 1). Iorga's efforts resulted in several books: *Breve storia dei rumeni con speciale considerazione delle relazioni coll` Italia*, *L`arte romena e l`Italia*, and *L`Italia vista da un romeno*. He wrote about the relationship between Stephen the Great with the Italian space, which had been developed over centuries (Iorga, 1911, 70-71). The Romanian scholar pointed out that Romania had not been properly promoted in other Latin countries: "If only the Romantic generation of nationalists of the years 1870-80-90 popularized our country in Italy [...]. That old generation loved Italy, went on trips there from time to time, but did nothing so that Italians would come and visit our country. How many Italians came to know Romania, except for those living here due to their family ties?" (Iorga, 1935, 5-7; Iorga, 1936a, 54-55). Iorga contributed intensely to popularizing knowledge about Italian history and literature in Romania and vice versa. He is the founder of the Romanian Academy in Rome and Romanian House in Venice. The Italian philologist Giulio Bertoni noted that due to the realist way of presenting Italian hopes and faith Iorga "cannot be named foreigner in any Italian city or place." (Iorga, 1930, 10-11).

N. Iorga loved both the Mediterranean Sea and the mountains, but especially Venice, its magnificent nature, grandiose past and superior artistic values. He would often compare Venice to Genova and Trieste (Iorga, 1980, IX-XIV). In 1891-1893 he traveled to England and Italy to gather documents about the history of Romanians and to write his thesis *Philippe de Mézières* (*Ibidem*, XXXIV). Lack of money affected his life abroad, determining him to search for modest guesthouses and simple food: "I was limiting myself to fried fish from the workers' pan and polenta bought at the corner of the street, as in Venice." (*Ibidem*, VI, XII, XIII).

The young man had a black sense of humor, regarded as useless and exaggerated by some (see Iorga, 1895, 194-197), but also he was sentimental, moving from amazement to regret, or melancholy: "Vesuvius is restless. Its white smoke has disappeared; it is crawling on the land, threatening, still in Pompeii's direction. [...] From time to time, the bloody apple throws sparks that are lost on the coast, toward Castellamare. And the sea is peaceful, grey, with ghosts of ships that split it slowly [...]" (Iorga, 1980, vol. 1, 13). The book *Amintiri din Italia [Memoirs from Italy]* was written when Iorga was very young; his style changed over time. Nevertheless, as Lucian Cursaru mentions in the Preface of Iorga's book, "[...] the chapter on Venice has a sober perfume, a diffuse clarity that prevents it from fading away." (Cursaru in Iorga, 1980, vol.1, VII)

Nicolae Iorga is a remarkable observer of the weather, human activity, physical and moral portrait of people, towns with their history and nature (see Iorga, 1980, vol. 1, 14,23; Iorga, 1895, 61, 157). The sensible teenager decided to write his impressions with no self-censorship, maybe immature and impulsively, sometimes extremely fascinated, or disappointed: "I dislike Rafael, I hate Tintoretto, I yawn in front of Veronese and I wonder how come he had not yawned like me when he was painting his saints; but I do admire Tiepolo, Gian-Battista Tiepolo." He admired Venetian churches, Palazzo Ducale, but he remained untouched by religious art, as religious painters seemed monotonous to him (Iorga, 1895, 89, 93-95). Analyzing Iorga's book, his friend Ioan Bogdan admitted that "to be honest, I do not like your book, because it needed to be more concise, more serious and more mature" (Iorga, 1936b, 7).

At the Conference of 1936, entitled *My First Italian Travels*, he recognized his imprudence to publish his initial impressions of which he was very proud at the moment. They were published for the first time in Hasdeu's *Revistă Nouă*, than being included in the book *Amintiri din Italia*. This book offers information about Iorga's evolution, the portrait of a simple and curious teenager learning from his own experience (*Ibidem*, 4-13).

Italian cities

The young man visited many Italian cities in that period: Venice, Padova, Verona, Milan, Turin, Genoa, Pisa, Rome, Florence and Naples. Iorga was pleasantly surprised by Florence and Tuscany in general, by Naples and the ancient Pompeii, but Venice fascinated the scholar-

traveler (Iorga, 1895, 117), comparing it to Genoa:

> *"Genoa is Venice moved to the other side of the peninsula, with fewer channels and more lime on the old walls. Otherwise, the resemblance is stunning: the sea at one side with its blue waves, ancient palaces, huge gateways as in Venice. [...] And there is something else: Venice is utterly dead, several ships, most of them state ships swing softly in the waveless port. Genoa is still in its plain brightness:a new city, which rose on the remains of the old one and is full of life." (Ibidem, 163-164).*

Furthermore, the traveler Iorga was not expecting to be enchanted by Piazza Castello and Turin's museums (*Ibidem*, 159-160). The landscape, language and cultural aspects are different from one region to another, creating an antithesis. Verona scared him so that he felt sorry for its former glory, which is similar to his reaction to Pisa (*Ibidem*, 139-142, 166; Iorga, 1972, 154).

The fantasies of youth and rich imagination mixed with the image of a too industrialized Milan, too noisy to his taste (Iorga, 1895, 148-153). His illusions concerning the capital of the former Roman Empire were smashed by the disappointing reality, underlined by frustration:

> *"A lot of movement on the streets, but Rome is not Milan or Venice, these two poles of Italian life – one is the modern, animated and commercial city, whereas the other is the medieval city, fixed with its coat of churches and palaces, a place of partying and shelter for tourists. This is only a rather boring mixture of both." (Ibidem, 176, 190-191).*

Filth contrasts with all the cultural elements, sometimes annulling the latter: "A deception today… a monumental one. I went to visit the Mausoleum of August, near the Tiber [...]. Rotten cheese on the counters, filthy Italians with unbuttoned clothes, children rolling on the streets." (*Ibidem*)

Iorga's memoirs are an easy read despite its old language; the main trait of his books resides in his personal opinion that summarizes the features of Italian cities: Miramare is "a nest of princes' happiness", while Genoa is the "white city, the city of marble palaces" (Iorga, 1980, vol. 1, 16, 21).

In 1896 he traveled for the first time to Emilia-Romagna region, where he visited Ferrara that appears visually pleasant, while Bologna was special due to old chronicles about the Romanian beginnings. He also visited the Trajan's Arch in Ancona, the medieval Bari and Rome, Florence, Naples again (Iorga, 1991, vol. 1, 282-285).

He condemned in his writings the loss of old values that conferred uniqueness, underlining the importance of traditions, cultural and racial purity:

> *"Trieste is a very commercial, very prosperous city that, among others, killed Venice. It has a stock market and Lloyd, known world-wide, very large streets, with great lighting, unequaled pavement and countless ships. If it had character, it would be a beautiful city; its inhabitants lack the character as well, as they speak all the languages and have the faces of peoples that meet, mix and visit each other."* (Iorga, 1987, 141)

Fiume is another city described as it "had never had and could never have its culture", given its troubled history and territorial dispute between Italy and Yugoslavia (today The Croatian city Rijeka) (*Ibidem*, 139).

The writer pointed out the geographical, cultural and historical elements, whereas the behavioral norms were criticized. Ferrara drew his attention because of the inhabitants' unpleasant reaction toward strangers – suspicion, psychological intimidation being the main components of Italian society, perpetuated over centuries (*Ibidem*, 153-154). In Padua political views were underlined by mottos like *Viva Lenin, Viva il socialismo*. *Viva i sovieti russi, viva la internazionale comunista* (Iorga, 1930, 349).

In his eyes, Brindisi is a city of "fabulous filth, with rare plants", but civilized men, affected by the "African heat" and famous for its port with numerous English and French travelers who conquered the commerce (Iorga, 1987, vol. 1, 177). Naples, on the other hand, is one of the Italian cities that inspire him the feeling of belonging and absolute comfort, the place where he started to write his memoirs. This is also the city that stirs his nostalgia each and every time. Naples is beautiful, the churches, historical monuments and nature are marvelous, while Pompeii and the Vesuvius represent the main attraction (*Ibidem*, 180-183). Florence, the heart of Tuscany is "the Italian Athens: a peaceful city, without being the tomb of a grand past [...] After the quasi-African Naples, you breathe the clean, comfortable and breezy simplicity of Florence: large streets, well kept, gardens with respected flowers, immaculate pavements, friendly people, light, air and peace." (*Ibidem*, 193-195)

The rain is mentioned many times in these writings, which might have affected the way the landscape is perceived after altering the writer's state of mind. Notes about the climate are specific to memoirs, as we may find that the Colosseum could inspire different feelings when it rains or it is sunny weather (Flaişer, 2015, 77-79).

Venice exerted its charm over the young and old Iorga: "Venice is not a beautiful city, but a unique city. That is the difference. It is also undoubtedly beautiful, but above all, it is a unique city and that is what differentiates it from other beautiful cities, each in its own way, due to its own features." (Iorga, 1926, 13) Whilst cities like Naples or Florence found their way to his heart, Venice was the one to inspire him to go back over and over again, comparing the city to a "forgotten love" (Iorga, 1895, 118) so that "[...] my travel of 1890 certainly prompted me to other Venetian travels." (Iorga, 1936b, 8) The city on water, the city of gondolas, the city where time seems to be frozen, leaving its history and culture intact. Later, in his *Five Conferences about Venice*, Iorga offers a complete analysis of it: "In What Resides the Beauty of Venice", "External Development of Venice", "Internal Development of Venice", "Art, Architecture and Culture", "Venice and Romanians".

Venice is a favorite destination for many other Romanian writers over time: Vasile Alecsandri, George Călinescu, Mircea Eliade are just a few who considered it more beautiful than Rome, the "eternal city": "You may spend weeks wandering from church to church; even the smallest of them has things inside to be discovered [...]" (Iorga, 1895, 79-89) Pleasant walks on the narrow streets with no carriages, but luxury hotels cannot be compared to anything else. The author does not offer paradisiac descriptions, but rather realist ones: "smell of mold, old, putrid, the smell of Venice, of the palaces rotten by the black death of centuries" (*Ibidem*, 62-65).

Like Eliade, young Nicolae Iorga is disturbed by a large number of English tourists that visit the city and by the mean guides of a "shamelessness like no other", be it gondoliers, touristic guides or doormen of the churches who try to extort money from the tourists in an elegant manner:

> *"with pleasant goodwill, a flock of gondoliers encamp against you, using an irresistible tone. Una gondola, gondola, signore [...] There is virtually no square, no monument where there would not be a man with a blue cap: Una lira per vedere il pallazzo ducale, for instance, or la chiesa di san Marco[...] At the churches, another comedy. You cannot find an open old wooden door to enter the church [...] Once you have entered, you need to pay the doorman who shows you around and names the paintings." (Ibidem, 67-69, 74)*

Coming back to Venice, Iorga is thrilled by the beautiful city also because of the sea. In his view, what confers Venice uniqueness when compared to Naples or Genoa is the fact that "it is no ordinary sea, but a domestic sea; Venice's sea is its property, lagoon of salty water. But this part of the sea that stops to surround and to run through the city, to create and to embellish does more than that – it vivifies Venice […]." (Iorga, 1926, 3-11) The mystical image of the city has been shaped by the economy based on tourism, developed by the not so wealthy Venetians, but lovers of art and eager to preserve their city once built by rich inhabitants. They built without destroying the cultural gems, museums, churches, works of the Renaissance and streets able to transport you in the distant past. Once you get there, you may "live the life of the last four centuries and the life of those who built those streets and who worked for those masterpieces." (*Ibidem*, 14-23) And yet, the inhabitants are not Venetians, but Italians who came across the entire Italy, a fact which is easy to distinguish based on their physiognomy.

Venetian women are beautiful, and the attitude of people on Sundays is a positive one: "It is a pleasure to be on the street in the middle of this on-going wave of people coming from both directions […]." The writer remarks the games of the children playing on the streets, regardless of their social status, all well-raised and educated:

> *"The noisy and cheeky children are long gone; no children-beggars would follow the timid foreigner – children would even tumble for you for free. And if you ask for directions, especially in the name of a group of foreigners, they would go and help you, shouting triumphantly […]. But the comradeship is only on the streets. Once at home, everyone shuts their doors and windows."* (Iorga, 1980, 33-36)

The travel notes have undoubtedly influenced the Romanian scholar's work, as his impressions and perception of the Italian people's development and civilization, as well as historical, cultural and artistic elements, contributed to his capacity of analysis and to his encyclopedic personality. Nicolae Iorga's memoirs are full of subjectivity and sometimes hasty remarks, especially in his youth writings, failing to reflect

the historical truth. His short trips might also be the cause of this, as the time did not allow profound analyses. Traveling a lot, sometimes Iorga alters his opinion, reaching different conclusions.

It is certain that Italy, and especially Venice, represented more than a cultural, historical and artistic center for Nicolae Iorga – it was his first love that may never be forgotten, given his young age of 19 and his first travel abroad. The first step that contributed to his recognition as the main supporter of the Latinity of Romanians was highlighting in his memoirs the importance of the relationship between Italians and Romanians. Under these circumstances, he founded the Romanian Academy in Rome and the Romanian House in Venice. Although his memoirs do not necessarily present objectively the Italian reality of that period, Iorga's descriptions offer a one of a kind image, with colorful details, also contributing to a bond between the writer and the reader. Despite the fact that the memoirs of adolescence were marked by sentimentalism that was no longer specific to the elder Iorga, he refused to adjust or complete them in any way for the sake of preserving their original ideas and style.

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BACK AND FORTH THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS: JAPANESE – ROMANIAN LITERARY REFLECTIONS

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Abstract: *Grafted on a history of more than one century of interrelations, the reception of the Japanese spirit in Romania has occurred in historically and mentally conditioned sequences. These sequences have shaped the reception, filtering it through exotic and cliché, so that we could discover a different, strong, lasting, authentic, spiritual background. The Occident represented Japan every time through its own epistemology. The intimate, genuine understanding of this extremely Oriental insular space depends on the abolition of the Occidental perspective or its reversal. Having as a starting point a theory of alterity, according to which the world may be associated to the other face of Janus, as the reversal of our world, arts, poetry, and thought are activated by another type of mechanism, which we intend to grasp in our study.*

Keywords: *Japanese literature, Romanian literature, reception of the Japanese spirit, Japanese blog, westernization*

Introductory Notes

Epos lies as an *axis mundi* in humanity's ontological existence, thus reading represents a mechanism of reflection, of mirroring literatures, cultures and mentalities. The influence of the Japanese spirit upon the Romanian art is significant if we refer to *haiku* poetry, it is exotic if we refer to *ikebana*, *origami*, martial arts, and it is prolific if we refer to the numerous translated literary texts. Diachronically, three periods can be traced on a historical level of influence: the first one – the exotic – was realized mostly through translations of various types and through writings of some travelers in Japan (1911 - 1943), some of which most rewarded. The second period – the awareness – is a period of linguistic and creative initiative, encouraged at one moment by the direct linguistic competence, having as results anthologies of Japanese poetry, translated from Japanese, but also lyrical creations with Japanese themes or shy attempts of *haiku* of some well-known Romanian writers (1945 - 1990). The last period (1990 - onwards) - the aesthetic - is a period of prose and poetic explosion and aesthetic rigor, this being the most constructive and rich period, in which writers with national and international success have become prominent.

On a literary level, two directions can be followed: the reception, which refers to translations, and the reflection, which refers to Romanian creations, based on the Japanese influence. Being so different, the two literatures explored here have found a fertile vitalizing channel through which diversity meets unity. Striving to reach to the invisible but powerful resorts that support the human nature together with its artistic side, we may catch a glimpse of these literatures communicating. The reception of this world reveals, through the pluralism of approaches, its contemporary relevance and, at the same time, its continuity on a position of *outsiders*, still yielding to the exoticism and to the cultural encoding of the much debated integrated alterity. Mapped with the Occidental compass, these coordinates of investigation have only underlined the structural difference between East and West.

Subdued by a colonial tradition, the West undergoes the elision of a fundamental premise – the reverse perspective. In the postmodern context there is just one edifice that has not been shattered: the cultural encoding. If the reception is made through the same code, subtleties will remain foreign, therefore unknown. A hypothesis of truly reaching the cultural and mental profoundness would consist in undertaking the difference and embracing it into one`s own epistemology by keeping and accepting the essence of that alterity.

Mechanisms of mirroring

A fertile analogy may be considered that between the dichotomist association *creation-reception* and *full-empty philosophy*: on the one hand creation, as a product, may be asserted as *full* (that can't be more than it already is), and on

the other hand, reception, through its flexibility, representing the *empty* that activates the latent symbols of the creation.

The central theme of the reception of Japanese spirit into the Romanian literary and publicist realm describes a significantly large area in the Romanian cultural and literary imaginary. Grafted on a history of more than a century of interrelations, the reception of the Japanese spirit in Romania has been given in historically and mentally conditioned sequences. These sequences have shaped the reception, filtering it through exotic and cliché, so that we could discover a different, strong, lasting, authentic, spiritual background. Alterity is very important within the theory of reception, given the fact that man is a social animal, and, as Jean Paul Sartre states, "art cannot exist but for and through *the other*".

The reception of literature through the act of reading is essential to man of all times. As Umberto Eco states "fictional texts come to help our metaphysical smallness" (Eco, 1997, 146), reading does not take into account boundaries. Moreover, man is learning especially from other cultures, from the wisdom of alterity. Hence, reception requires an ontological and epistemological opening towards the *other* in a search of the world and of the self. The reading (more than the spectacle) can project the "modern man beyond his time and integrate him into other rhythms, making him live another history", as Mircea Eliade considers (Eliade, 1998, 30), and *in extenso* to live History, to fully understand the Sense, beyond any temporal, spatial and linguistic boundaries, reinforcing the World through the Word.

Literature, as "verbal art must inevitably reflect the characteristics by which it is built of" states Roman Jakobson, (Ikegami, 1991, p. 394). The *word*, vehicle that transports the world "from itself to itself" (Stănescu, 2005, 52) must be loyal to the sense, the message, being the icon that gives life, processual coherence and historicity to the event, be it social, historical or artistic. As long as reading is interpretation, reception is the finality of interpretation, transforming the sense from a primary one during the reading into a secondary one, full of latency, following the reception.

A reception analysis of the Japanese literature, a literature which not long ago was considered exotic has been also highlighted by the diaristic prose or *travelogue* type. Besides, the contacts between the two countries have developed into a strong relationship so that we may acknowledge the results of Japanese and Romanian researches within the specialized studies, in the translated literature and in artistic creations.

Levels of reflecting

At a literary level, we can trace three waves of reception, one at the beginning of the 20th century through the travelers, then, in the half of the 20th century through translations from German or French of the Japanese poetry, and starting with this second half we begin to distinguish a wave of direct translations from Japanese prose and poetry. There was a literary development of wide scope of *haiku* poetry that passes over these waves, striving to become a form of poetry adapted to the Romanian spirit.

In essence, the mechanism of reflection, that of mirroring these two cultures through literary insight, reveals a back and forth movement of approaching spirits by understanding and accepting layer after layer the national and individual features, meeting hence the unity of the human core.

We thus reach the condition of the receiver, the reader or the attacker – the one who has the liberty of interpretation. Throughout this research, the triad reception – translation – creation represents the situation *beyond the mirror* of the natural process of creation – translation – reception. This perspective gives us the possibility of emphasizing the act of reception rather than the creative act. Considering the link between creation and reception, we may identify a series of dichotomies, outlining the condition of the reader. The reception supposes an intellectual and emotionally active engagement on the behalf of the reader that has the power of sense-making. From this point of view, we may notice two types of readers: the *prime reader* or the reader with power, who is the *native* reader and the translator, having direct access to the text; the second one, the *second reader* or the reader of the translation is the *foreign* reader. The latter can have access to the original through the quality of the translator as a conductor. The narrator projects the ideal reader as being the native reader. Thus, the foreign reader has access to a conditioned reception by the constitutive factors of the collective mentality specific to the source culture. But the benefit from such a situation is revealed in the access to another world, a plentiful access that extrapolates the limit.

The problem of *translation* and, consequently the access to the text through this filter, has brought up numerous interventions – pros and cons – regarding the imperfection of a translation. More recently, the theory of translation accepts this as an inevitable cultural

fact, as through translation cultures and societies may come closer to each other. The translation itself, says Romaniţa Constantinescu in the preface to the translation of the study *Actul lecturii* by Wolfgang Iser, "does not multiply the ways of saying, but finds the remembrance of the pure language. It does not exist for the sake of the original, but for the sake of the language beyond the idioms" (Iser, 2006). The reader of a translation is unprivileged *ab initio* not as much by the transposal from another language, but by the cultural, mental, historical and philosophical context of the original language, which they need to know for a responsible and de-coded reading. Through translation, we discover literature of a second degree, a re-created literature. This re-creation does not reside in impairing the original sense with the translator's "creativity", but in the creative choice of lexical, grammatical, semantic forms that are most suitable with the target-language, with the aim of the optimal equivalence of the message from the source-text.

In the case of Japanese literature, which is hardly accessible due to dependence on the context, we may discuss the relationship between translator and reader, confirmed by the tacit pact of partnership and trust. The iconic property of the Japanese literature consists in the non-discursive, visual-sensitive attributes that manifest photographically toward the meaning so that the translator has the responsibility of translating significances and subtleties.

From the historical point of view, the Japanese literary background is reflected in the cultural and daily press of the time on two segments: the one before 1989, when the presence in the Romanian press was weakly represented. It was marked by the interruption of the relations that was difficult to restore in the Romanian mentality. After 1990, the inter-cultural dialogue is manifested more freely, while the reflection in the press is much more dynamic. There are specialized and scientific journals as *Studia et Acta Orientalia* (1957; articles in English and French: *How to Teach Sino-Japanese Ideograms*, Radu Flondor – no. 1/1957; *La transcription dans la langue roumaine du système phonétique japonais*, Ioan Timuş, - no. 2/1959) or cultural and literary journals like *Studii nipone* (2000; established by several enthusiastic young men and the first issue is focused on Mishima's personality), while there are journals focused on poetry like *Haiku* (1991), *Albatros* (1992), *Hermitage* (1993), *Orion* (1995), *Orfeu* (1998), *Roku* (2010). All of them speak of the academic and amateur interest, promoting the Japanese culture and civilization, bringing closer to the public a large variety of perspectives. We can also identify the appearance of thematic issues in journals like *Secolul XX* or *Vatra*, as well as a variety of articles presented in numerous literary and cultural journals, all of them representing the vivacious image of the reception of the Japanese artistic spirit. The historical path of all these literary and cultural representations is an ascendant one. And it reveals the nowadays assumed interest with professional competence and no traces of superficial exoticism.

From the editorial point of view, Japanese literature translated into Romanian also follows an ascendant path, corresponding to the expansion of a few initiatives concerning the study of Japanese language. An investigation regarding the editorial projects reveals that, although initially the majority of translations came through European ways (French, German, English), later on appeared revised editions, translated from Japanese, aside with the first editions translated directly from Japanese. The editorial emergence of Japanese literature in the Romanian media and editorial context, with all its hesitations, manages to bring on the Romanian soil such a remote space (physically, culturally and linguistically speaking), the struggle of shaping an informed public is a rising, but flexible one. That is mainly because of some important publishing houses that are publishing extensive works written by authors such as Murakami Haruki, Murakami Ryū, Abe Kōbō (Polirom), Ōe Kenzaburō (Rao), Kawabata Yasunari, Mishima Yukio, Yasushi Inoue, or bringing into reader's attention an editorial diversity: Enchi Fumiko, Miyamoto Teru, Ariyoshi Sawako (Humanitas). On the other hand, we notice great interest for translating Romanian literature into Japanese, some echoes being signaled in the press concerning some translations from Mihai Eminescu, Lucian Blaga, Zaharia Stancu, Tudor Arghezi, Mihail Sadoveanu, Mircea Eliade (entirely translated), Urmuz, Fănuş Neagu, Eugen Barbu and others. The stocktaking of the works on the Romanian market by paying attention to the criterion of the source language traces this path toward quality reaching an optimal understanding of the *other*.

The Japanese literary field is now just a part of the cultural diversity available in the editorial market of our country. As far as globalization is concerned, the fascination for intangible spaces, protected by distance, fades away, facing a more adequate reception: the one of the financial power. Money fascinates in the postindustrial world so that the exotic has undergone a morphological mutation through which Japan is perceived as the second economic

power of the world. The contemporary Japanese literature unleashes its anguishes, limits, and problems in a search of post-occupational and post-Occidental humanity and identity.

From 1887, when Prince Carol awarded major Seigo Yamazawa with the Danube Cross, as the Japanese and Bulgarian diplomatic archives state (Japanese diplomatic archive No.5.2.11.1), followed by the official change of ministerial letters, until 1902 for the official direct contact, with a break between 1944 and 1959 until nowadays, the bilateral contacts were characterized by a sinuous path due to political aspects. Both the Romanian pre-war royalty and the post-war Japanese Communism had generated favorable contexts for developing political, economic and cultural relations, manifested by cultural exchanges (exhibitions, conferences, congresses, sports, booklets) or educational (scholarships for students and for businesses). Thus, we learn from diplomats' sources (from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or from published volumes), from travelers' notes (simple traveling notes, subjective, fragmentary in nature or well documented) the variety of contacts and the depth of some of them with long-term effects. For instance, the Japanese-Romanian Dictionary dating from 1940, written by the secretary of legation Radu Flondor instructed at Waseda University, collaborating with a team of Japanese specialists (professor Kenzō Nezu, interpreter Fukashi Hayashi and proofreader Kiyomitsu Aoyama); translations from Japanese, but also into Japanese, Niponologists/Romanists (Stanca Cionca, Ioan Timuş, Gheorghe Băgulescu / Naono Atsushi and Sumiya Haruya); the emergence of some official Romanian-Japanese Associations, which had supervised the activities of collaboration, or other associations with cultural interest, based on the twinning of cities (Musashino-Braşov, Yokohama-Constanța).

Historically speaking, the reflection of the literary level imposes two periods of creative effervescence: the first one is the inter-war period, when Ioan Timuş (1938) and Gheorghe Băgulescu (1939) earn recognition, but during that time works of commercial quality become successful, too, carrying on with the tradition of Pierre Loti, as the commercial prose of Vasile Pop (1921). The second period is the post-communist one, when the attention is directed toward the Japanese space, defining another age of literature. We encounter the short postmodern prose of Ruxandra Cesereanu and the novels of Claudia Golea, Florina Ilis and George Moise. There are also reverential novels of Mihai Epure, in which the literary labor of fictionalizing Băgulescu's biography and autobiography stops at a weak epic narrative. There is also his poetry, which, despite the obsolete charm of the 19th century, is nothing but amateurism.

As compared to prose, Romanian poetry, (by dissociating the reception into poetry that innovated through the content of cultural Japanese inspiration and poetry that followed the Japanese form), may be associated to a marathon. During the inter-war period, Alexandru Macedonski (1927) and Al. T. Stamatiad (1935) foster the Japanese cultural and literary space. In the post-war period, Eugen Jebeleanu (1958), Aurel Rău (1973), Marin Sorescu (1973), Nichita Stănescu (1978), Adrian Păunescu (1987), embrace an eccentric tendency of the Japanese pattern in the imagery of their works. Focusing on the Japanese literary lode until identification is the trait of the poets named *haijin* such as Florin Vasiliu, Mioara Gheorghe, Vasile Smărăndescu.

The reception of this cultural net may also be analysed through the foreign literature of Japanese inspiration, which may be framed historically in three periods, characterized by the need of the exotic and the new. The first period is the beginning of the 20th century, represented by Pierre Loti, the one who had lead the biographical and creative path for many writers, bringing in the foreground the exoticism of the *geisha*. James Clavell is the illustrative author of the second half of the 20th century, who reveals an unknown facet of Japanese mentality (*samurai*) through a different narrative approach, leading to a large-scale reception. In 2006, Arthur Golden brings to the Romanian public another type of perceiving the *geisha* – a disenchanted *geisha* from Loti's exotic, but charming due to the narrative pathos of the tale which opens the door of authenticity for the contemporary reader.

Traveling through cultures

From his position of cultural translator, the traveler was the first ambassador of the remoteness, the first promoter of intercultural communication. The journey means discovery, conquest, fascination and seduction of the unknown, the *Other*, thus, an apologia of alterity, an intrinsic premise of globalization through which the remoteness becomes closeness. The journey to the Rising Sun was dominated for centuries by the exoticism of its position at the opposite pole of Earth, on the one hand, and on the other hand, by the peculiarity of an extremely different civilization compared to Romanian Balkanism. The travelers have searched the different *par excelence* if not the opposite of what home means. The desire to understand, to enlarge

the pantheon of the human civilization through journey has been manifested through a variety of forms, but this research only exposed those that made possible the reception of the Japanese spiritual space in the Romanian literary space. Following the first steps towards the understanding of the prodigious cultural recognition, as in the case of *Caracterele civilizației japoneze* (in which there are studies of Ioan Timuș and Gheorghe Băgulescu, awarded by the Society for Cultural Relations (Japan) at an international contest for celebrating 26 centuries from the establishment of the Japanese Empire), names like Spătarul Milescu, Eugen Relgis, Elie Bufnea, Radu Flondor, dr. Gheorghe Ionăşescu, Ion Frunzeti, Radu Lupan, Ioan Grigorescu, Mitică Detot, Mihai Epure, Constantin Vlad, Florea Ţuiu, Paul Diaconu, Andrei Pleşu, Emma Tămâianu, Cătălin and Roxana Ghiţă or Emil Eugen Pop had brought news from the Rising Sun, who, being either in official, political, cultural or sportive mission, had presented the Country of the Rising Sun with an eclectic narrative flair or from the economical perspective in numbers, offering especially before 1989 a global and systematic image, in which the authentic impressions are sometimes overlooked by the responsibility toward the fulfillment of political expectations. From the historical-geographical accounts to reporter and spectator position or to the narrative exposure, these texts present the Far East experiences in a humorous, sometimes desperate, or subjective touch, dominated by discontinuity and ludic spirit.

The interaction path of the two cultures seen retrospectively points out the ups and downs, the stagnation and revitalizing of the contacts. From the literary perspective, the reception functions as a boomerang, turning in an eclectic way in various forms that emphasize the Japanese specificity, as it is the case of the novels of Japanese inspiration, placing the action in the Japanese space, or in forms specific to Japanese literature, but which emphasize the specificity of the Romanian imaginary, as it is the case of the *haiku*, *tanka* or *senryū* poetry, in which the Romanian culture is spread out.

The West shaped Japan every time through its own epistemology. The intimate, genuine understanding of this extremely Oriental insular space depends on the abolition of the Occidental perspective or its reversal. Having as a starting point a theory of alterity, that world may be associated to the other face of Janus, as the reversal of our world; arts, poetry and thought are triggered by another type of mechanism. There are, of course, similarities and connections, aspects that contributed to a dialogue between collective consciences so that the studies embraced alterity up to a full identification.

The unknown and the different had been judged through the known. Europe had labeled as *exotic* everything that was from the *outside*, *foreign* (<gr. *exotikos*) and had developed a dialectics of the reception of the different through *exoticism* and *alterity*. From a historical perspective, this dialogue involves a third concept, that of *identity*, and Ștefan Augustin Doinaș brings together the three concepts defining the exotic as the "ideal space in which the alterity of things is asserted, (...) [and which] constitutes, at the same time, an exam of identity with yourself" (Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, 1973). Therefore, the exoticism propels the "two irreducible realities: *Ego* and the *Other*" to communicate. We must divide the term, and the theoreticians of the exotic have formulated a disjunction: we separate the exoticism that preserves an aura of the sacred (Umberto Eco) or, in Blaga's perspective "enhances the mystery" which led by a high conscience may be found in the work of art, from the superficial touristic exoticism, found in the rush after weird souvenirs. This distinction comes from the fact that since the "journey absorbs the heterogeneous, it dissolves the exotic" (Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, 1973), reducing the diversity of the real to kitsch, exhausting its power of representation.

Through the dichotomy explicit/ implicit we want a taxonomy, which demarcates and emphasizes the process of reception of the Japanese artistic space, process that proves to function diachronically and synchronically. The mechanisms through which the Japanese culture and world have advanced towards our cultural area possess a large usage, but we are focused here on few directions, such as the journey that was the basis of the future reception, the foreign readings that had shaped and directed reception, and the translation that had brought the Romanian reader close to a variety of texts, leading the reception toward an authentic understanding.

Inspiring Romanian prose creation

In Romanian literature, the Japan's imagery is taken into account through the whole range of reshaped theories of cultural morphology: from an inner bond with Japanese tradition in Băgulescu's style or Ioan Timuş's authentic exoticism, through *haiku*, *tanka* or *senryū*, to Ruxandra Cesereanu's intertextuality and Claudia Golea's clashing taboos.

Placed near literary frontiers, in the area of popular literature and simplistic prose, Vasile

Pop fictionalizes the journey experience through the exoticism in the novel *Vândută de propria mamă* (1921). Its aim, revealed by the bombastic title typical of this sort of literature, excludes the author from the sphere of serious literature, but our interest in this novel is exploratory, taking into account the theme of exoticism and that of reception of the Japanese spirit in a time when diary notes (fictionalized or not) were the only harmonization of mentalities.

In the novels *Transiberiana*, *Ogio-san* and in the drama in seven scenes *Hara-kiri* (only mentioned as existing in manuscript), Ioan Timuș reveals himself as a prose writer, effervescent in narration, paying attention to details, unveiling a fine sense of humour, a remarkable ability of handling the sentence and reaching for the delicate and profound structure of the insular spirit as an insightful analyst of mentalities and language, the qualities yet un-explored by the Romanian criticism. The novel *Ogio-san* (1938), written from a cultural phenomenology point of view, is a powerful project bringing forward not the wrongfully embellished exoticism from the fashionable books of the time, but a carefully balanced journey regarding the inherent subjectivism and the learnt objectivism into Japanese reality in the years of opening toward the West.

The novel *Suflet japonez* (1939) written by Gheorghe Băgulescu is a successful intercultural communication, given the fact that his writing was spontaneous, thus, authentic, with no political commitment. The novel itself is the product of an amateur kind of writing, situated at the junction of canonical and amateur literature, succeeding to offer a truthful image to the historical document, as well as a fascinating fictional perspective. It succeeds in tracing the essence of the traditional Japanese spirit in the Romanian language. This triumph was recognized and appreciated in Japan and based on this fact we may classify this novel as an example of alterity reception, disenchanted by exoticism due to the fact that the author recreates a foreign topos with a certainty of narratological movement that disconcerts the informed reader's horizon of expectations. Far from being included in a theoretical taxonomy, although the Romantic and Realist elements may be discussed, the novel passes the test of time due to its historical accuracy and the internal net of significances that ensures the factual coherence and sometimes the dynamism, sometimes the discursive delicacy.

Leaning towards a stylized language, Mihai Epure tries to render what the historical document loses (that shred of life and emotion) by applying the epic form. But the texts remain at the level of romanced rendering of the biographical facts in a tendentious presentation, with no narrative force, which reduces significantly the reader's attention. *Dor de Sakura* (2007) is a reverential novel to Gheorghe Băgulescu, in which the author portrays the diplomat's biography, writing about his time spent in Japan and epically representing the love affair with Ueno Akiko. The failure as a prose writer is due to the lack of narrative talent and lack of vision. Instead, the lyrical space seems more suitable for him - even on an amateur level, he is more trustworthy. The eulogist discursive style specific to a necrology induces a state of compassion and revolt against destiny and human smallness.

The narrative discourse is radically changed in Claudia Golea's literary work. The style of auto-fiction allows the author to hide and to discover in a postmodern attractive and edgy manner the reality called "underground" in Tokyo, named this way as a cliché. *Planeta Tokyo* (1998) and *Tokyo by Night* (2000) are just two explosive novels in Murakami Ryū's style, in which the reality is exposed as nudity, bluntly and shamelessly. The reception of Claudia Golea's works has met harsh criticism, but also acclamation, being aware of the narrative and discursive change. We consider that a small dose of reserve is needed: unleashing in promiscuous language and underground imaginary, under the cover of auto-fiction doesn't certify the literary value.

Concerning Ruxandra Cesereanu's short story *Bătrâneţea periculoasă a domnului Hokusai* (included in the volume *Nebulon,* 2005), the value is re-established. In a postmodern mosaic, the prose brings in the same existential plan that the creators of famous matrices which strongly influence the artistic style of impressionists: Kurosawa – emblematic for modern Japanese cinematography, Kawabata and Mishima – household names of modern Japanese prose. Following a globalizing purpose of abolishing the distances, the author gives up the historical linearity and adopts the logic of synchrony so that the discourse flows naturally through Japanese and European names, while the fictional line traces zig-zags through time, space, history, culture and religion.

Florina Ilis, already a prominent figure of contemporary literature, has transposed the passion for Japan in a poetry volume leading toward an intentional traditional-artistic Japanese reception (*Haiku şi caligrame*, 2000) and in the novel *Cinci nori coloraţi pe cerul de răsărit* (2005), which brings the reverse of that

enthusiastic-exotic reception of the Japanese space in the actuality of a hyper-technologized reality in which the traditional survives in rich contexts, where the ceremonial is kept by generations as a cultural decorum. Florina Ilis' fictional game is not a simplistic one. The story is simple, while there are numerous implications placed on different levels of signification. In the backstage of fiction, Florina Ilis slides with subtlety from the Japanese world behind the mask, where the informational espionage pulls the strings of the Romanian underground world from the metropolis of the Far East. The name Darie, homonym with that of the Romanian restaurant in Tokyo, concealment for the hidden relations between the two countries' officials and the industry of exporting entertainment girls may refer, in Aesopian key, to the underground reality of the diplomatic secret.

The debut with an auto-biographical novel with an epistolary structure, *Iertaţi-mă că nu sunt japonez* (2011) brings George Moise to the literary scene. Composed as letters for those who are at home, the novel renders the first year of the narrator-character in his new life in Japan, the first year towards another "home". The narrative conscience, existing in the text, certifies the authenticity of the story, its narrative course, so that these letters are the "reloaded" form for the Reader. The reader is involved in the text, inherent procedure for the epistolary style, but Moise's model reader is an intimate one, because, although the reader had started by being the closest human being – the mother –, through publishing we shall call attention to Eco's model reader. The author manages to handle a familiar relationship between the text and the reader, so that the reception of the Japanese space, with all its differences concerning mentality, the pros and cons (non-exotic) has become an open, dynamic and persuasive, never met in the Romanian literary context.

A kaleidoscopic, ludic volume, *Stories from Cipangu* (2016) consists of a set of 21 stories written out of the genuine Japanese experience of Mirona Bengescu, Maria Grăjdian, Irina Holca, Elena Lulea Kase, George Moise, Alexandra Mustăţea, Raluca Nagy, Roman Paşca, Monica Tamaş, Carmen Săpunaru Tămaş, Sabina Yamamoto, Horea Sibişteanu, Deea Avram, Radu Leca. Through personal experience to a plurality of perspectives, these short stories tell about cultural shock, acceptance and cold-heartiness, love and frustration, nevertheless humor, joy and miracle.

Beyond every single story pulses a flash of that humanity that man is in search for. Regardless of the toughness of the external shell, the inner Romanian core meets the Japanese one, in confrontation, love or painful indifference - men and women in the eternal quest for love, the entire spectrum of it. The extreme pain, caused by the lack of an existential axis, due to a loss of religious ontological experience, ends up in suicide, an increasing practice among the Japanese.

The humor, a profoundly Romanian *haz de necaz* type ties up the stories, keeps up the spirit while the foreign reality shatters the ego.

Thus, we may notice that in the representation of the Romanian prose, which embraces the subject of Japanese cultural, literary, social, historical imaginary, there is an evolution from a simple narration under the influence of commercial novels, towards a critical and literary assumption of amateurism specific to Postmodernity.

Inspiring Romanian poetical creations

In Romania, the phenomenon of Japanese poetry has developed in the forms of *haiku*, *tanka*, *renga* or *senryū*. We should mention the existence of established literary societies that encompassed thematic journals, conferences and international associations, as well as contests and international awards so that *haiku* has become today the leading form of Japanese art. The poem of Japanese origin had pervaded firstly through edited anthologies, translated from French and German languages, and then from Japanese, and only later they were sought as species of the lyrical genre by Romanian poets tempted by exotic and unusual poetic formulas. Few are those who succeed in getting closer to the poietics of the formula and to withdraw behind the words, saying a tenth and suggesting the other ninth. That is a process of purifying the feeling that was advanced under the form of distilling purifying the thought, aiming at the same passing beyond concrete and derisory, pointed out by Ion Pillat in his one verse poems. The poetry of Japanese inspiration is found on Romanian soil in the following hypostases: *haiku*, *tanka*, *renga*, *senryū* and in the poetry with a Japanese subject matter, as in Macedonski's poems, Florin Iaru's postmodern formula, Eugen Jebeleanu's and Mihai Epure's thematic poetry or Emil Eugen Pop's combining formula.

In its Romanian condition, the Japanese influenced poetry is often characterized by metaphors, intellectualism and intertextuality, fading away from Japanese poetry's essence. A significant boost of quality is required due to the fact that the *haiku* poem should reach its goal of

temporary illumination. The frenzy of writing *haiku*, *tanka*, *renga*, the variety of poets and the vastness of creations make the reception suspended in error. Because of the abundance of poems, the reader loses the interest for the essence of this type of poetry: one cannot freeze the moment, running through poems – too many of them metaphorical, interpretative and cryptic. Those who are reminiscent and stop the moment by enhancing the mystery are about to get lost. That is why we have identified in the poetry of *haiku* three types of writing: a superficial one that keeps the form of the 17 syllables, but shares nothing (the message being paradoxical, unintelligible); one specific to the Romanian imaginary, ruled by metaphors and European intellectualism (named in *haiku style*); the third follows the way of the Japanese aesthetics, removing, layer after layer, the features of the European discursive and interpretative spirit in order to stay true to the flash of the authentic moment of de-subjectified feeling of communion with the Universe.

The history of writing poetry in the Japanese style has in the Romanian context an evolution marked by three periods. The first one – the exotic – was shaped through translations of various types and through writings of some travelers in Japan, among whom we mention here Al. Vlahuţă, George Voevidca, Al.T. Stamatiad, Traian Chelariu, Ioan Timuş, Gheorghe Băgulescu, Alexandru Macedonski, this period being set between 1911-1943. The second period – the awareness – is a period of linguistic and creative initiative, encouraged at one moment by the direct linguistic competence, having as results anthologies of Japanese poetry, translated from Japanese, but also lyrical creations with Japanese themes or wary attempts of *haiku* belonging to some well-known Romanian writers. The second period stretches between 1945-1990, with Eugen Jebeleanu, Maria Banuş, Ion Acsan, Dan Constantinescu, Aurel Rău, Florin Vasiliu, Octavian Simu, Emil Eugen Pop as household names. The last period is the contemporary one (1990-to nowadays) - the aesthetic -, a period of poetic explosion and aesthetic rigour. That is the richest period; poets enjoying national and international success have become prominent (Cornelia Atanasiu, Mircea Petean, Constantin Abăluţă, Alexandra Flora Munteanu, Ion Codrescu, Eduard Ţară and others). Some theoreticians of the Romanian *haiku* have become visible (Florin Vasiliu, Brânduşa Steiciuc, Ion Codrescu), as well as journals, publishing houses and specialized societies (*Haiku, Orion, Albatros, Hermitage, Orfeu*; Publishing House *Haiku*, Publishing House *Alcor*, Publishing House *Ambasador*; the Romanian Society of *Haiku*, Society of *Haiku* in Constanţa, School of *Renga*, *haiku* student societies, *on-line* journal *Roku* and others). There are also some new blogs and websites(romaniankukai.blogspot.ro, mariusche-laru.blogspot.ro/, haikudomm.blogspot.ro/) that express the phenomenon's creative dynamism.

The poetry in Romanian formula uses a Japanese imaginary and it is created under the exotic influence of literary readings, be it the case of symbolic-Parnassian nature (Macedonski), under the influence of the events of the nuclear conflict (Eugen Jebeleanu), under direct experience (Mihai Epure, Emil Eugen Pop) or using the postmodern linguistic game (Florin Iaru, Mihai Vieru). The reception of this poetry by the Romanian reader is tributary to exoticism and fascination towards the Far East, being less appreciated due to the message quality or form. Classified in poetry of a fixed form, in the classic formula, in the free verse or in postmodern deconstruction, this type of poetry represents for most poets a niche in their creation, under the influence of enthusiasm toward the condition of the *stranger*.

The effort of placing face to face two different epistemological systems, through the literature interface (emphasized here through the function of keeping and revitalizing the profound mechanisms of the collective subconscious), deals with observing, investigating and analyzing the way in which the reception is accomplished – what is mimetically adopted, what is filtered by one's own culture and mentality, what is changed into a new, authentic product, based on a space and time conditioned reality.

Westernization

As far as Japanese literature in its westernized level is concerned, we can spot the Western intrusion in the collective mentality, in Japanese cultural imaginary, as well as local reminiscences, which, together with the contribution of cultural, social, economic and political alterity, build a different social and cultural entity, although profoundly Japanese. The Japanese have not overtaken the Western culture, but have filtered it through its own mentality, adjusting it to the Japanese spirit and developing a new identity, a recognizable identity. The rhythm in which this transfiguration was performed was a quick one along time over the years the Japanese proved an overestimated frenzy, on many occasions, with important costs – *see* Katō Shūichi, 1998) and alienating in many cases. The history of the last century may be compared to a

journey with Shinkansen, in which the eye (*ie* the brain) does not have the time to perceive the landscape changes and, once reaching the destination, it feels a shiver of ontological bedazzlement. The fast industrialization and tech changeover, the restoration after the nuclear catastrophe, as well as the psychic defeat after the war, the rhythm of the daily life – represent organically and mentally absorbed aspects by the individual, creating at the subconscious level an acute feeling of losing identity and cultural roots. These facts were reflected in the artistic moments, the anguish literature with Western references – Camus, Kafka, Ionesco, and Dostoevsky – feeding the phobias born out of historical trauma. Our interest lies in the quicksand, still changing, coming closer to the commercial value, but being proof of a singular experience in world's history – that of shadow's petrifaction (*See* the atomic effects in Hiroshima!).

Throughout symbolic, cultural, psychological aspects, revealing affinities between the authors, within the European space area, pursuing themes such as autism, myth and reality, suicidal patterns, interculturality and internationality, or identity mutilated generation, man has found through literature, as ancestral art, the cosmological and eschatological power of the Word.

Modern and contemporary Japanese literature points to an alternative to suicide and alienation. Even if authors like Abe Kōbō and Murakami Ryū engrave in their novels a hurtful facet of reality with a direct cause in the lack of communication, there are still other new ways to regain humanity. The suicide (Mishima Yukio, Taguchi Randy, Yamada Taichi) is a social act, individual through execution and collective through cause and motivation. Therefore, the society must take a step aside, backwards and look at the entire picture in order to identify the problem, the cause and the solution. On the other hand, the Japanese novels project love profoundly (Natsume Sōseki, Kawabata Yasunari, Inoue Yasushi, Ariyoshi Sawako, Kanehara Hitomi), although this is a different type of love compared to the Western vision. Nevertheless, the power of the feeling, related to the inherent virtues of the Far Oriental spirit and the flusters of the soul, bring in the foreground the fascination of the *emptiness* and the limit of the *fullness*, of the flesh.

On another level of the Story, the internationalization of the writing (Murakami Haruki, Mishima Yukio), highlights the same problem of identity, but from another angle, from the reader's angle, more and more culturally informed. This brings us to the conclusion that, in the actual context of globalization, internationality is *a fact*, not a choice. The question that emerges and which we feel as being critical is the following: is there still anything national, rooted in the forefathers' land, giving identity and stability?

Fabricating myths through the Word's power, man has protected himself from the unknown and has developed his artistic imaginary. Thus, the myth becomes a defensive mechanism, but also a means of escaping from reality. We may shape the re-mythicizing perspective of the contemporary literature, as the natural order does not permit stagnation, only evolution, and after experimenting the crisis, the imaginary will open new reading perspectives of the myth. Brought at the forefront of these experiences, the character and the reader understand life differently, being aware of the existence of *before* and *after*. The limits of the space-temporal reality spread by the intrusion of the unreal concerning authors such as Enchi Fumiko, Murakami Haruki, and Taguchi Randy lead to a resettlement of the actual world's metaphors, to a reestablishment of priorities, aiming at reaffirming Man through an explosion of the subconscious safeties.

Digital World – a tomorrow land of writing

A non-conventional fictional form, *keitai shōsetsu* (the novel written using the mobile phone) though it is far from being literary in the sense of high literature, is the type of popular literature among the young generation, which, in this hyper technologized context, does not consider reading as the richest form of entertainment. Created during the time between school and home, in a colloquial, elliptical language, in series, these novels are the product of the Japanese post-technological culture in which the speed, the high technology on one hand, and the visual iconic specificity of the Japanese language on the other hand, are a form of psycho-affective therapy of the teenagers confronted with various temptations and dangers as sex, drugs, disillusion, need of a happy end. Thus, the Story persists in man's affective imaginary; the fairy tale with heroes and princesses survives over time and fashion.

Furthermore, the reception through the virtual space of blogs and the social-literary space of inquiries represents another mirror. The actual form of reception, more difficult to analyze is the virtual dimension of the one that stays hidden in a digital relativity. The blog is in its primary,

etymological sense, a "disseminated diary through the internet" (Boldea, 2012). Thus, the blog becomes the easiest form of contact between the author and the reader; the blog can be reached through a simple click. The revealed identity almost in the manner of an intimate diary also hides and fictionalizes itself. The blog as a virtual form of literature reception – through reviews, essays, opinions, literary creations, extensions toward other pages – has another advantage of continuing the reading in a virtual form depending on electricity, but in a direct contact with the teenage reader and with the future.

Conclusive Thoughts

Fabricating myths through the Word's power of bringing into being, man has protected himself from the unknown and has developed his artistic imaginary. Thus, the myth becomes a defensive mechanism, but also a means of escaping reality. We may shape the re-mythicizing perspective of the contemporary literature, as the natural order does not permit stagnation, only evolution, and after experiencing the crisis, the imaginary will open new reading perspectives of the myth. Brought at the forefront of these experiences, the character and the reader understand life differently, being aware of the existence of *before* and *after*.

Throughout symbolic, cultural, psychological aspects, revealing affinities between the authors, within the European areal, pursuing themes such as autism, myth and *reality,* suicidal patterns, interculturality and internationality, or identity mutilated generation, man has found through literature, as ancestral art, the cosmological and eschatological power of the Word.

If Japan's stigma in the Western imaginary (Romanian included) is represented by the exoticism of the cherry flower, of the charming and refined *geisha*, of the respect toward nature, of the Emperor cult and Kawabata or Mishima literature, then it is hightime to suspend this horizon of expectation, multiplying the reception of this space overflowing with latent valences through an epic and lyric perception of the Japanese spirit. This is a world with no high desires, in which man fights for survival in a reality seized more and more by machines, but which still has the power of carrying the message: "it's OK; the world is still under your feet. I stay on this ground; the same ground where are tress and ants that are carrying sugar to their hillocks, and girls who playing with the ball, and puppies that are running" (Murakami Ryū, 2005).

Regarding the reception of the Japanese literature as the mirror of Japan, Kawabata's novels have been regarded for a long time as a mimetic reflection of reality. The author still suggests that the Japan of his novels is a projection of *pharmakon* type, which treats the terrible anguish of those years, a fact that determined Ana Scuturici to say: "It is not Japan that created Kawabata, but Kawabata created a Japan" (*Discobolul*). In this way, the reception depends on a cliché and this exotic cliché originated in a cultural-mental and cultural-psychological lack of understanding that needs to be abolished.

On another level of the Story, the internationalization of the writing (Murakami Haruki, Mishima Yukio), highlights the same problem of identity, but from another angle, from the reader's angle, more and more culturally informed. This brings us to the conclusion that, in the actual context of globalization, internationality is *a fact*, not a choice.

Hence, what made the Westerner understand, respect and love this elusive space, full of delicacy and rigidity, is precisely the power of suggestion, of silence, of allowing the richness of significance to float *beyond* the palpable of *Yes* and *No*, in that void full of latency that *enchants*.

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BODIES IN UNIFORMS IN KAFKA'S *METAMORPHOSIS*

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Abstract: *A cardinal modern writer of the frail body and its endless traumas, Kafka is the creator of some essential allegories of power/powerlessness that involve military dress. In the wake of WWI, when antisemitic language and imagery became increasingly common throughout Central Europe, Kafka wrote his masterpiece "Die Verwandlung" ("The Metamorphosis") and published it one year after the outbreak of the Great War. A personal and historical sense of terror permeates the novel: uniforms are the metonymy of authority but at the same time they signal ethnic and political fractures that would later grow into historical disasters.*

Keywords: *military uniforms, Jewishness, the body, authority, power, identity.*

Franz Kafka wrote his famous short story *The Metamorphosis* in a relatively short time, in late autumn and early winter, 1912. However, due to his now legendary hesitations and uncertainties, he published it much later, in 1915. On August 2, 1914, the writer briefly noted in his diary "Germany has declared war on Russia", then, signaling that individual life was just as important as collective fate, he ended that day's entry with "swimming in the afternoon" (Kafka, 1949, 75). Indeed, as generations of critics have shown, Kafka's novella bears the indelible mark of some of his most significant relationships at the time: to his father, with whom he had a paradigmatic Oedipal conflict; to his then fiancée, Felice Bauer, with whom he was engaged twice; ho his Jewish friends, who mediated the writer's access to a vast cultural tradition that permeates the background of Gregor Samsa's grim story; and, less visibly, to his own Jewishness.

I intend to explore the meaning of the uniform as dress code connected to notions of power, control, ability and belonging, in order to reveal the significance of Gregor's barely visible portrait across the hall, as he was exiting his room for the first time. As the protagonist was trying to leave the space of his strange transformation, he was faced with his image as it used to be when he was human:

> *"Directly opposite, a photograph of Gregor from his time in the reserve hung on the wall, showing him as a lieutenant, with his hand on his sword, smiling light-heartedly, demanding respect for his stance and uniform."* (Kafka, 1996, 39)

Inversely mirroring his son, the elder Samsa, his father, would wear his uniform incessantly, once he became a bank clerk. His insignificant job, lacking real authority or consistent social prestige, had a transformative effect on the man and on his relationships with the members of his family once the symbolic balance of power is shifted. The narrator, using Gregor's perspective, promptly informs the reader about the father's rather pitiful state: "he was an old man who had not worked for the past five years and who in any case could not be expected to undertake too much; during these five years, which were the first vacation of his hard-working yet unsuccessful life, he had gained a lot of weight and as a result had become fairly sluggish" (Kafka, 1996, 21). Not without some irony, the father is described not as a man who lost his position of power, but rather as one who might have desired it and failed. He was not on an actual vacation, but more accurately out of a job, complacent about his situation as a parent exploiting his son. His physical heaviness signals his slowness and implicit indifference to the dynamics of the labor market. The father's uniform primarily reinstates the elder Samsa in a false position of power; however, he seems to gain a lot from it. Fake as it might have been, it reassures him he has not lost his physical abilities,

surfacing his violent temper and vindictive impulses. He seemed to draw his strength to punish his son from his uniform, as the narrative alludes to raw masculinity, dominance and military authority. The once decrepit father suddenly appeared vital and threatening: he would mercilessly attack his son with apples, in an outburst of silent rage that could only see in ”the sullen look on his face” (Kafka, 1996, 28).

Although the issue of Kafka’s Jewishness has been at the center of critical attention since the dawn of Kafka studies, it may seem of little importance in the discussion concerning the role of uniforms. Along with critics such as Walter H. Sokel, Mark M. Anderson, Eric Santner or Sander Gilman, I intend to correlate the function of uniforms in *The Metamorphosis* with a larger framework, namely one that foreshadows questions and dilemmas concerning identity, both ethnic and political. The father’s uniform has been easily assimilated into the psychoanalytical critical matrix, but Gregor’s image as young lieutenant in uniform remained less explored. These two instances – the father’s real, dynamic uniform, enabling him to assume an authoritarian position meant to punish and, ultimately, kill, and Gregor’s former position of social privilege, should be considered together, mirrored, placed in contrast and re-discussed in connection to Kafka’s Jewishness.

In a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic factor in Kafka’s identity as a writer, Walter H. Sokel argues that by adopting German as his language, Kafka denied his Jewish roots and “falsified his relationship to the Jewish way of life.” (Sokel 1979, 368) His arguments are mainly biographical, as Kafka notably wrote in his diary, in October 1911, that ”The Jewish mother is no «Mutter».” (Kafka, 1949, 111) By that time, he had become interested in Jewish theather and made friends in the artistic milieus of Prague, often mentioning his cultural endeavors in his journal. The writer was willing to gain a deeper understanding not only of Jewish culture and tradition, but of his own family history and roots, as well. But Sokel identitifies a graver consequence of Kafka’s increasing cultural and ethnic awareness, “a rupture from himself” (Sokel, 1979, 368), an unsurmountable identity crisis that ends in death. This profound separation is clearly reflected in *The Metamorphosis*, when Gregor loses contact with the outer world once he is no longer able to speak. Upon hearing Gregor’s new voice, the manager is quick to dismiss Gregor from humanity: “Did you just hear Gregor talking?" "That was the voice of an animal” (Kafka, 1996, 10). Gregor, on the other hand, felt, strangely, “much calmer” (Kafka, 1996, 11). His thinking seems clear and unaffected by the magnitude of his great loss: “It was true that they no longer understood his words, though they had seemed clear enough to him, clearer than before, probably because his ear had grown accustomed to them” (Kafka, 1996, 11). Like a familiar language one is used to hearing all the time, Gregor’s new speech doesn’t seem unusual or incomprehensible to him – it is the same dialect that he got accustomed to; in the end, after his unexplained transformation, he remains its only speaker and the only one who could understand it. Simon Ryan’s perspective targets the very sound of Gregor’s voice, “an unintelligible squeak”, that “is like Kafka’s Jewish voice, both heard and overheard in critical readings and finally ignored.” (Ryan, 2010, 197) Although not necessarily ignored, Kafka’s Jewish voice garnered less critical attention than other, more obvious issues, such as the divide between self and its visible façade or the familial conflict. Extremist voices deriding Yiddish as incomprehensible animal language were not uncommon in the decade of the First World War, and Gregor’s failing ability to speak in an intelligible manner, one that could be understood by his parents and the office manager from the firm could be read as proof of Kafka’s awareness that antisemitism was on the rise in that period. After the war ended, Prague was the site of new persecutions against the local Jewish population, a dark tradition that culminated in 1389, when over 900 Jews were killed on April 17, during the Catholic Holy Week. On the 20th November 1920, there was a massive riot in Prague, during which the local Czech population forcefully entered the Jewish Town Hall, destroyed the archives and burned Hebrew documents. The same day, Kafka wrote in his letter to Milena: “I’ve spent all afternoon in the streets, wallowing in the Jewbaiting. ‘Prasive plemeno’ – ‘filthy rabble’ I heard someone call the Jews the other day. Isn’t it the natural thing to leave the place where one is hated so much (for this, Zionism or national feeling is not needed). The heroism which consists of staying on in spite of it all is that of cockroaches which also can’t be exterminated from the bathroom” (Kafka, 1999, 212). It is not the first time that Kafka signals an apparently commonly used connection between Jews and vermin. Famously, he did the same in *Letter to His Father*, where he boldly accused his father of expressing his disproval of his son’s friendship with Jizchak Löwy, an Eastern European Jewish actor from Warsaw whom Kafka thought of very highly. According to this literary and biographical document, Hermann Kafka

called Löwy an "Ungeziefer", and this gesture hurt the son's feelings in such a manner that he placed the pejorative term in the very first sentence of *The Metamorphosis*, using it to describe the mysterious nature of his protagonist, Gregor Samsa. As Claudia Nitschke wrote in a recent study concerning Kafka's friendships, "Kafka's life-long interest in Jewish identity not only informs his work, but also represents an intrinsic facet in many of his friendships and love relationships" (Nitschke in Duttlinger, 2018, 18). She goes on to underline that Hugo Bergmann, Kafka's friend from school, introduced the writer and his friends, Max Brod and Felix Weltsch, both from assimilated Western Jewish families, to Cultural Zionism (as described by Martin Buber). In Buber's conception, Zionism was imagined in creative terms, as opposed to the preeminence of assimilation, desired by the traditions of the Jewish bourgeoisie. The primary goal of this intellectual project was the return to a close-knit community that shared the same fundamental heritage. As Claudia Nitschke argues, Kafka might have seen in Löwy "an example of uncompromised and undiluted originality, an impression not far away from Buber's notion of the creative potential of authentic, unassimilated Jewishness" (Nitschke in Duttlinger, 2018, 19). Ultimately, as Nitschke concludes, Kafka's fascination with Löwy reflected his admiration for Eastern Jewish vitality, sense of freedom and artistic liberation, as opposed to the more familiar restrictions of Western Jewishness. In this paradigm, as Kafka would incessantly show in the greatest part of his works, the questioning of identity often revolves around dilemmas concerning the body.

As Nina Pelikan Straus argues in her consistent (yet intensely speculative) analysis of the identity issue in Kafka's *Metamorphosis*, the "text is structured to represent systematically, in the most concrete terms possible, the process by which Gregor's male identity is demolished." (Pelikan Strauss, 1996, 136-137) At first, he intends to get out of bed and go to work; as he can no longer function socially (and his picture in army uniform is a painful reminder of his apparent former glory), he becomes increasingly dependent on his sister; after a few bouts of aggressiveness and rejection, Gregor must accept his sister's position of power in the household, as she was the only one who was willing to take care of him. The power struggle inside the Samsa family reunites Gregor, his sister and their father, and a vast part of the tradition of psychoanalytical interpretation focused on the dynamics of these relationships. However, there's a strong symbolic component concerning power, status and control attached to the imagery of uniforms, and, fundamentally, to that of clothing, of the dressed body. The metamorphosis that changes Gregor involves the entire family, and their old lives undergo such profound transformations that they need to change their home, too. However, for long intervals in the narrative, Kafka's attention remains fixated on the physical, where changes are visible and dramatic.

As an animal, Gregor no longer wears clothes. Facing his own image as young lieutenant and his brutal confrontation with his father in uniform are essential moments in *The Metamorphosis* - one that briefly revives the past and adds consistence to the vague background that readers are given concerning Gregor's life before the metamorphosis and the other one that violently displaces Gregor from his position of economic power in the family, placing his father in a position of symbolic privilege. These moments also reinforce issues present in Kafka's earlier work, namely in his short story *Wedding Preparations in the Country*. Although no uniforms are mentioned in Kafka's posthumously published story of 1907-1909, it is the starting point of one of the writer's major allegories, that of the clothed body as agent of identity. In this early short story, the clothed body is sent out there, in the world, to fulfill social roles, while his real self would lie on a sofa at home: "I don't even need to go to the country myself, it isn't necessary", Raban, the protagonist, thought. "I'll send my clothed body." (Kafka, 1954, 11) As Mark M. Anderson noted in an original interpretation of Kafka's notion of "Verkehr" (meaning traffic, circulation of commodities but also sexual intercourse), the term is important not only in the very last sentence of *The Verdict*, one of Kafka's most explicitly Oedipal conflicts, but in other contexts, such as *The Metamorphosis*. Here, as a traveling salesman for a textile company, Gregor Samsa is involved in a certain kind of traffic, that of fabrics, pertaining to the realm of clothing. As vermin, with his grotesque animal body, Gregor was no longer able to fulfill his duty as an agent in the social circuit, as a mediator that at the same time participates in the social game by wearing clothes himself. This loss, preceding the loss of his voice, signals his alienation, isolation and loneliness.

Two distinctive portraits are representative for the social dimension of clothing and the power relationships they entail – the lady in furs, Gregor's framed pin-up, and his photograph in uniform. Beyond his mysterious, unexplained metamorphosis, Gregor's human

form persists in the world in the immaterial form of an image. Both father and son wear uniforms, but not at the same time. As the son vanished form the social spectrum, the elderly man, who once would doze off on the couch, apparently having abandoned all social ambition, gained power and authority once he found a job as a bank clerk and received a uniform. The conflict is clearly outlined in Kafkian terms – the power lost by the son is ultimately gained by the father and is turned into aggression. The final vestige of his past, the photograph is a sad reminder that Gregor's appearance had forever changed, rather irreversibly. Mark M. Anderson saw the uniform as it basically was – an instrument of uniformity. He states clearly that the picture of Gregor in military attire is an "image of military authority, virility and happiness [that] depends on the effacement of individual singularity." (Anderson, 1996, 162) It is no coincidence, Anderson further argues, that Gregor's job is that of a salesman who shows samples (*Muster*) to his clients. In this ambiguous term, the critic does not read Gregor's exemplary character, like other critics previously had, but his lack of a firm, unique identity. Much like the samples he handles and delivers, he is interchangeable, one of the many, ultimately insignificant, like the animal he becomes after his metamorphosis.

Effacement and blurred identities tend to appear constantly in the Samsa family, as Anderson underlines – there's the case of the three anonymous young men who rent rooms in the house and tend to behave like its true masters, giving orders, being served, respected, treated with a mixture of fear and shame. Nevertheless, they remain unnamed, and, fundamentally, irrelevant, although the family tend to place them in a temporary position of authority and power.

The father is, in Anderson's argumentation, an example of the culmination of uniformization provided by his participation in the social and commercial circuit: "Branded with the bank's monogram and uniform, Herr Samsa's body functions only as a sign, a bearer of information in the Verkehr of the world's meaning." (Anderson, 1996, 163) However, such participation cannot avoid staining, leaving its visible mark on the clothes that symbolize his belonging to a specific order, the critic concludes. The father's uniform is soiled, dirty and in obvious disorder, directly contradicting the idea of orderly appearance a uniform is supposed to provide. The uniform is dirty, contrary to Anderson's speculation, because it was misused. Instead of wearing it where it was rightfully supposed to be worn – at work, in the social space – the father wore it at home, desperately trying to prolong the illusion of authority and power it provided. He ate while wearing it, slept in it, and clearly performed all other kinds of home activities in it. It gave him a sense of contentment that helped him function, maintain his pose, authority and ease in relation to others. The uniform is his source of energy and order, it is a mask, an instrument of control, a weapon in his implicit fight with other family members (his wife and his daughter) that seem to be serving him obediently. His "perverse obstinacy" is partially enabled by the female members of the household, who take on the task of "caring" for the uniform, cleaning it and polishing the buttons. More importantly, the uniform loses its glamour after the father brutally attacked Gregor while proudly wearing it, doubtlessly extracting his vigor and aggressiveness from it. An image of prototypic masculinity, endowed with all the symbolic elements of virility and predatory abilities, the father "was holding himself very erect, dressed in a tight-fitting blue uniform with gold buttons, the kind worn by messengers at banking concerns; above the high stiff collar of the jacket his heavy chin protruded; under his bushy eyebrows his black eyes darted bright, piercing glances; his usually rumpled white hair was combed flat, with a scrupulously exact, gleaming part. He threw his cap-which was adorned with a gold monogram, probably that of a bank-in an arc across the entire room onto the couch, and with the tails of his long uniform jacket slapped back, his hands in his pants pockets, went for Gregor with a sullen look on his face." (Kafka, 1996, 28) After the attack, the father seems to have become accustomed to his position of power and is unwilling to renounce it. His "perverse obstinacy" proved useful, even though, in fact, his dirty appearance is in tune with that of his son, who was "completely covered with dust" (Kafka, 1996, 35):

> *"With a kind of perverse obstinacy his father refused to take off his official uniform even in the house; and while his robe hung uselessly on the clothes hook, his father dozed, completely dressed, in his chair, as if he were always ready for duty and were waiting even here for the mice of his superior. As a result his uniform, which had not been new to start with, began to get dirty in spite of all the mother's and sister's care, and Gregor would often stare all evening long at this garment, covered with stains and gleaming with its constantly polished gold buttons, in which the old man slept most uncomfortably and yet peacefully."* (Kafka, 1996, 30)

In a most relevant note on the issue of the father's uniform, vastly accepted by critics as one of Kafka's most emblematic problematizations of power and authority relations, Stanley Corngold draws the attention upon the fact that "in the version of *The Metamorphos*is which Kafka oversaw and published in his lifetime, he so punctuated the sentence that it would have to be translated differently, indeed, in two different ways." (Corngold, 1996, 30) He further emphasizes that one way of reading says: "With a kind of perverse obstinacy his father refused *also* to take off his official uniform in the house", meaning that the father's refusal to take off the uniform was just one type of obstinate behavior out of the possibly many types that the old man might have had. A second reading would be: "With a kind of perverse obstinacy, his father refused to take off his official uniform in the house, *as well*." In order to clarify this issue, Corngold invokes Eric Santner, a critic who pointed out the fact that "The ambiguity of Kafka's diction makes possible the reading that the father has refused to remove his uniform not just at home but in public as well." (Santner, 1996, 201) In his reading, *The Metamorphosis* radically focuses on an authority crisis coring "a sham" (*Ibidem*), as the authority desired by the father is just a façade – he can only focus on appearance, on the outside, on what is shown. The father's "perverse obstinacy" is not, in fact, perverse at all, in Hartmut Binder's reading. He considers that the man's insistence to wear the uniform at home is meant "to indicate by doing so that his new professional position requires just as much time from him now as the activity of traveling salesman used to require from his son." (Binder, 1996, 181)

Less often invoked is the cardinal connection between Gregor's ill, failing body (mirrored in reverse in the photograph of himself as a young lieutenant) and Kafka's own Jewishness, or, better said, Jewishness as a major political problem in Central Europe, at the beginning of the 20th century. The transparent metaphor of illness attached to the Jewish body has almost become cliché in modern imagination. Not only the body, but the sick body becomes illustrative of the meanings of Jewishness in Kafka's work. In his comprehensive study *Kafka as a Jew*, Walter H. Sokel systematically argues that the writer's Jewishness and, more generally, Jewish identity as understood and manifested in the decades preceding World War I, greatly influenced Kafka's work. The critic has a concrete timeline to trace the emergence of the writer's interest in Jewishness and Judaism – the year 1911, when the writer was twenty-eight. The only son of a Jewish German-speaking family, Kafka is, in Sokel's argument, a typical case of an intellectual born in an assimilated Jewish family who manifests a serious interest in understanding his roots and his family origins. Sokel's description of the situation of the Kafkas couldn't be any clearer:

> *"They reflected the situation of the strenuously assimilating, but not yet fully assimilated, rising Jewish bourgeoisie, frantically trying to advance economically, which for them also meant socially, in an environment which provided a deceptive appearance of equality, prosperity, and security, a false picture of social integration which in actuality they did not enjoy"* (Sokel, 1999, 838).

On the contrary, as Sokel firmly points out, "exclusion of Jews was a law" (Sokel, 1999, 840), despite an official stance that appeared open and integrative: "Living under the double threat of German racism and Czech pogromic populism, the Jews of Prague lived with an undertow of anxiety, a siege mentality which, even though few admitted it, Kafka's nightmare fiction has become the eloquent testimonial." (*Ibidem*, 841)

There's a clear fracture between the political assimilationist Jewish project and the manner in which it was enforced. The troubled relationship "between use of the German language and Jewish being" (*Ibidem*, 852) translates into the divide between Gregor's human real consciousness and his vermin appearance. Again, the photograph depicting Gregor in military uniform becomes relevant. If considered in the dramatic context of the constant rise of antisemitism in Eastern and Central Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, the image of a Jewish young man wearing a uniform, proudly resting his hand on a sword, couldn't be further from the political reality of that time. Apparently, Kafka placed his protagonist face to face with his past, his former human body exuding self-confidence and social acceptability in order to bring forth elements of the character's life before the metamorphosis. It may appear as a welcoming world where authority is respected and young men are praised for their ability to undergo military service. As Simon Ryan poignantly argues, "fitness for military service was the overarching measure of masculinity in Europe at the time. In spite of the innumerable examples of highly competent Jewish soldiers serving in European armies, male Jews were popularly believed to be

physically weak (especially in the lungs and feet), to be cowards, shirkers, and potential traitors (Ryan, 2010, 207). As he could indeed no longer work after his metamorphosis, Gregor seems to follow the cliché that depicts the lazy, socially unable and military unfit Jewish young man. Indeed, Gregor's body is monstrous, and, as Walter Sokel earlier noted, it is "a figure of shame and disgust." (Sokel, 1999, 851).But it is not so primarily because it lies on a massive fracture, that between a real self and a façade, but because it reflects the guilt and shame of not being able to be a westernized, assimilated Jew. European antisemitism had long described the Jewish body in the radical terms of effemination, vulnerability and social inadequacy. As Sander Gilman notably proved in his analysis of the body in Kafka's work (Gilman 1995), Gregor, as vermin, is the embodiment of what "was socially constructed in Western and Central Europe as the anti-Semitic stereotype of the male Jew." (Gilman 1995; Ryan 2010, 211)

The linguistic pressure adds to the troubles of the defeated, unacceptable body. Deprived of language, Gregor can no longer speak not only because he had become sub-human, but because his speech must be suppressed and remain unheard, much like the dialects of unwanted minorities. Ultimately, what appeared to be a bitter reminder of Gregor's former glory days, gains a darker significance upon closer inspection – the protagonist's photograph in military uniform is not the image of potential lost, but of impossible potential, one that could not be valued, nurtured and grown in the hostile environment of antisemitism and minority conflict that, as Kafka's letters to Max Brod and Milena Jesenská later prove, were on the rise. One could easily read the roots of the great catastrophe of ethnic cleansing during the Second World War not only in *The Metamorphosis*, but also in Kafka's later works, such as *In the Penal Colony* or the posthumously published *The Trial*. Abusive control, physical torture and the rise of power structures and institutions designed to systematically eliminate, kill and destroy randomly lie at the center of Kafka's dark allegories confronting man and authority. And, in a most relevant scene in *The Trial*, denial of responsibility and the twisted reinterpretation of facts seem to warn of the horrors that lie ahead in 20th century history. As one man was brutally beating other two men behind closed doors, in a lumber-room, he refuses to admit his guilt, boasting about his good intentions to, in fact, protect them: "I'm seriously trying to have them set free; if I'd had any idea that they were to be punished, or even just might have been punished, I would never have named them. I don't consider them guilty, it's the organization that's guilty, the senior officials (Kafka, 2009, 58). This mysterious man was wearing a strange uniform, too, one that may hint he was beating the other two for his own pleasure.

Published in 1915, Kafka's *Metamorphosis* appeared at a moment in modern history when uniforms represented more than allegories of power, authority and uniformizing belonging. They also suggested a loss of the value of individuality, a sense of abandonment to a historical collective destiny that could prove perilous. Many of the threads in Kafka's short story could be read in the proximity of the tragedy of the Great War – the collision between unequal forces (father and son), the absurd violence inflicted upon the innocent, the disintegration of the traditionally scared unity of the family and the body itself.

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THE GRANTING OF ANGLO-FRENCH GUARANTEES TO ROMANIA ON APRIL 13TH, 1939

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Abstract: *This article aims to address an important moment in Romania's history, namely the granting of the Anglo-French guarantees to Romania on April 13th, 1939. The present study also highlights the events that led to the granting of the guarantees by the two powers in the international context generated by the signing of the Munich Agreement (September 29th-30th, 1939). Firstly, I presented the reaction of the political circles in Great Britain and France to the signing of the Munich agreement. Secondly, I highlighted the measures taken by Romanian diplomats in order to adapt the Romanian foreign policy to the new situation created by Germany's expansion in Central Europe. These measures culminated with the signing of the Romanian-German economic treaty on March 23rd, 1939. Thirdly, I described the reaction of Great Britain and France to the increase of German influence in Romania, by granting unilateral security guarantees to the Kingdom of Romania on April 13th, 1939. However, owing to the expansion of the German influence in Romania, the Anglo-French guarantees finally proved ineffective.*

Keywords: *Munich Conference, Third Reich, Great Britain, France, Romania, King Carol II, Grigore Gafencu, security guarantees*

The arrival of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of Germany on January 30th, 1933 led to the adoption of a revisionist policy by the Third Reich, which was trying to implement the "vital space theory" or "Lebensraum" (the territorial expansion of Germany on the grounds that the boundaries set by the Versailles Treaty of June 28th, 1919 impeded its development). This aggressive policy is reflected in the measures taken by Hitler right from the beginning of his dictatorship: October 14th, 1933 - Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations (a sign that the national-socialist regime adopted the path of the revisionist policy); March 16th, 1935 – the reintroduction of compulsory military service (violation of the provisions of the 1919 Peace Treaty); March 7th, 1936 – the occupation of the Rhineland demilitarized area; and finally, March 12th–13th, 1938 – the annexation of Austria („Anschluss").

In the context created by these acts of aggression, the two great Western powers – Great Britain and France – adopted the "diplomacy of appeasement" policy, satisfying Germany's claims in order to save peace at all costs.

The culmination of this policy was the Munich Conference of September 29th–30th, 1938, whereby Great Britain and France recognized the German annexation of the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia.

Returning to London, after attending the aforementioned conference, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain said:

> *"the settlement of the Czechoslovak problem that has just been achieved is, in my opinion, only the beginning of a larger settlement, where the whole Europe can find peace."* (Parker, 1993, 180-181)

Unlike the Prime Minister, Conservative Member of Parliament Anthony Eden (Foreign Secretary between 1935 and 1938) declared on October 3rd, 1938 in the House of Commons that the English government did not have to "engage in this new policy any further, because no European Council may be complete without the participation of all powers, large and small" (Dandara, 1985, 39), arguing that states of low importance "are almost always on the side of peace." (*Ibidem*) Referring to the same event, on October 5th, 1938, Winston Churchill presented the Munich Agreement as a defeat for English and French diplomacy:

> *"We suffered total and absolute defeat. We are in the midst of an unprecedented catastrophe! The road to the mouth of the Danube, the way to the Black Sea is open. One after another the Central European countries and those in the Danube valley will be trained in the vast system of Nazi policy.*

And do not think that's the end! It's just the beginning." (Ibidem)

Even within the British cabinet, important members of the cabinet pointed out that they did not agree with the "Munich compromise" and therefore called for a rearmament program to counter a possible German hegemony on the continent. Thus, Duff Cooper, First Lord of the Admiralty, resigned from the cabinet, voicing his disapproval of the concessions made at Munich, and Buck de la Warr (Education Secretary), Oliver Stanley (Commerce Secretary) and Walter Elliot (Secretary of Health) called for the intensification of the rearmament program. In the House of Commons, the Labour opposition, through the voice of MP Clement Atlee, criticised Chamberlain's and Foreign Secretary Lord Edward Halifax's policy towards Nazi Germany, arguing that the September Agreement could be considered a "great defeat by France and England", by which Hitler was given "more than he asked." (Dandara, 1985, 48)

On the other side of the English Channel, in France, politician Louis Marin highlighted his country's situation after the signing of the Munich Agreement:

> *"France weakened, disarmed, abandoned by Poland and Romania, that no longer believe in its power, insufficiently seconded by England, France, sacrificing Czechoslovakia, in order to avoid a war in which it feels incapable of waging it and winning it, has given the world its powerlessness."* (Dandara, 1985, 38)

In the French Parliament (convened on October 4th, 1938), the government of Edouard Daladier (Prime Minister of France in 1933, 1934 and between 1938 and 1940) benefited from the support of the French Socialist Party and that of the socialists of Léon Blum on the Czechoslovak issue (as opposed to the attitude of the Labour opposition in England), so that the confidence vote for the executive passed by 535 votes for to 75 votes against. Unlike these parties, the communist parliamentary group considered the Munich agreement a dictate.

In the case of Romania, it can be said that the reserved attitude of the two great Western powers in the conduct of the Munich Conference had negative consequences, with the prospect of leaving the country to fall into the sphere of German influence. As a result, the Romanian diplomacy sought to promote a rapprochement with Germany, while maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain and France.

On December 21st, 1938, King Carol II dismissed Foreign Affairs Minister Nicolae Petrescu-Comnen, replacing him with Grigore Gafencu, who manifested "a tendency towards Germany, the leitmotif being that it is preferable for Romania to maintain relations with the old allies and friends, which does not mean that new ones cannot be found" (Haynes, 2003, 75), according to the opinion of the United Kingdom's legation in Bucharest regarding the articles published in his newspaper, *Timpul*.

This fact was confirmed in the following months, when Romania's foreign policy under the ministry of Grigore Gafencu was characterized by the assertion of two main objectives: accelerating the rapprochement with Nazi Germany (in order to avoid an eventual backing, by Germany, of the revisionist claims of Hungary towards Romania) and the continuation of the "balance" (according to an affirmation made by Gafencu himself) between the Great Powers. Thus, in order to get closer to Germany, a series of measures were taken, such as the favouring of the German community in the Kingdom of Romania, the inclusion of Germany in the Danube European Commission (March 1939) and the intensification of the Romanian-German economic relations. This latter fact culminated in the signing on March 23rd, 1939 of the Treaty for the Promotion of Economic Relations between the Kingdom of Romania and the German Reich. According to its provisions, the country was committed to delivering oil and grain to Germany, the payment being made by Berlin in technology and arms.

However, some points of the treaty clearly favoured Germany, for example the creation of mixed enterprises in the oil field or the obligation to produce goods for Germany, the adaptation of agriculture and forestry to the needs of Berlin, the granting of free zones for Germany in Romanian ports and localities that were of strategic importance. In addition, the Romanian-German economic treaty was not accompanied by a guarantee of the Reich regarding the territorial integrity of Romania. The treaty favoured the massive penetration of German capital into the Romanian economy, playing a very important role in expanding German influence in the Romanian Kingdom and, implicitly, in South-East Europe.

However, some Romanian political and economic circles did not accept the situation. Thus, in a particularly tense international climate, especially after the annexation by Germany and Hungary of what remained of the Czechoslovak Republic following the signing of the Munich Agreement (March 15th, 1939), on March 16th, 1939, Viorel Virgil Tilea (Minister of Romania in

London) informed Sir Orme Sargent (Assistant Undersecretary of the British Foreign Ministry) that

> *"his government, from different sources, had reasons to believe that in the coming months the German government will turn Hungary into a vassal state and then it will dismember Romania."* (Haynes, 2003, 82)

The next day, at 6.00 AM, Tilea received an anonymous phone call from Paris, who told him that Hitler had sent Romania an economic and political ultimatum. This event prompted Tilea to ask Lord Halifax for an audience, which happened in the afternoon of the same day. The Romanian minister told Halifax about Germany's exaggerated claims to the government led by Armand Călinescu, asking him what action would be taken by England and France in the case of the invasion of Romania by the Reich.

Nevertheless, Tilea's allegations were denied by the Romanian government, Grigore Gafencu pointing out that the Romanian minister in London "...misinterpreted the situation." (Zamfir, Banciu, 2007, 141)

Although the issue is still very controversial, the "Tilea incident" (as this event would be called later) led to the emergence of Britain's and France's interest in Central and Eastern Europe and the abandonment of the conciliatory policy towards Germany, as King Carol II noted in his diary on March 20th, 1939: "The West begins to move, perhaps following our alarming cry." (Carol II, 2003, 41) According to the historian Sidney Astair, "the Tilea incident" is - as a causal link - the origin of the Second World War, for without it the United Kingdom and France would not have granted Poland's guarantees, which led the two countries to declare war on Germany (Constantiniu, 2022, 341).

In the first phase, both France and England signed economic agreements with Romania on March 31st and on May 11th, 1939. These actions were designed to diminish the influence of Germany on economic terms. Afterwards, the two Western powers set out a strategy in order to halt the expansion of German domination in the East, as the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain pointed out in the proposal addressed to France, Poland and the Soviet Union that they, together with the United Kingdom, were to "consult immediately with a view to a common resistance to any new German challenge." (Gafencu, 1992, 69)

In this respect, the English and French governments tried to implement an alliance that would include several Eastern European countries, especially Romania, Poland and the Soviet Union. However, Poland's and Romania's attitude towards Russia, stemming from the fact that the first two countries mentioned above were threatened by Soviet revisionism and Romania's desire to avoid being included in an alliance that would affect its relations with Germany, eventually led to the failure of the British initiative in the summer of 1939 to create an anti-German block in the region.

Among the other methods used by the United Kingdom and France to specifically counter German influence in Eastern Europe was the granting of guarantees on the security of the states in the region considered to be the most exposed to the danger represented by the Reich. Poland received these guarantees on March 31st, 1939. In the case of Romania, negotiations took place with the Romanian government, during which Gafencu rejected the Anglo-French demands that Romania should enter the war on the side of the Western powers if they were attacked by Germany, and the extension of the obligations of the Romanian-Polish alliance (directed against the Soviet Union) to resist any aggressive state (the *erga omnes* principle), with a special focus on Germany. Gafencu did not want to give Germany the impression that Romania wants to take part in its encirclement.

On April 13th, 1939, the United Kingdom and France announced the granting of unilateral guarantees to the Kingdom of Romania, the same day with the granting of guarantees to the Kingdom of Greece.

This unexpected decision can be explained in the following way. Initially, it was decided to produce a declaration of guarantees by Chamberlain in the House of Commons only in the case of Greece, given_the direct threat to British control in the Mediterranean constituted by the invasion of Albania by Italy on April 7th, 1939. The decision to guarantee the independence of Greece was taken by the British cabinet on April 10th, when it was decided to award a guarantee similar to that given to Poland, without asking Greece for a mutual guarantee. Also, the British government recognized that it would be of great importance that Chamberlain should emphasize in his declaration the participation of France to the guarantee offered to Greece, as well as Turkey's availability to extend its obligations towards Greece through the Balkan Pact in order to prevent a fascist aggression. However, the existence of the Anglo-Italian Agreement of 1938, considered by the Turkish government to carry a significant dose of appeasement, determined

Ankara to refuse the British proposal, but accepted the inclusion of a reference to the close relations between Turkey and Greece. In the case of Romania, when asked by the Romanian minister to Ankara what Turkey would do if Romania were to be attacked, the Turkish Foreign Minister Şükrü Saracoğlu replied that if Bulgaria were to attack Romania, Turkey would fulfill its obligations stemming from the Balkan Pact. Also, Saracoğlu stated that if Hungary were to attack Romania, Turkey would observe the position adopted by the governments in London and Paris. As a result, Daladier considered that the immediate granting of security guarantees to Romania would ease Turkey's decision to help Romania in case of attack (Document 66, vol. 5, 1947-1956, 115). On the morning of April 12th, 1939, the French government took the decision to give Romania the same assistance as in the case of Poland and therefore issued on April 13th a declaration supporting Romania. The British ambassador to Paris, Sir Eric Phipps, asked the French not to issue this declaration before he consulted the British government (Document 134, vol. 5, 1947-1956, 178). The French Prime Minister Daladier replied that he joined the British government in guaranteeing Greece immediately, even without informing the French cabinet, so he pleaded Chamberlain and Daladier to do the same in the case of Romania (Document 53, vol. 5, 1947-1956, 105). Moreover, Gafencu, as representative of the Romanian government, knowing about the British decision to guarantee Greece, asked that Romania should be included in Chamberlain's declaration (Document 54, vol. 5, 1947-1956, 105-106). As a consequence of these requests, the British government, convened on April 13th, 1939, decided to include the guarantees given to Romania in Chamberlain's declaration. This decision was based on the conclusions of the Foreign Policy Committee presented by the Foreign Affairs Secretary, Lord Halifax (*Cabinet Papers*, CAB 23/98 Original Reference CC 11 (39)-21 (39), 1939 15 Mar-19 Apr, 286). In the same meeting, Chamberlain noted that the British Government "could not afford to differ publicly from the French at this stage" and "proposed, therefore, that we should join with the French in giving the suggested declaration to Roumania" (*Cabinet Papers*, CAB 23/98 Original Reference CC 11 (39)-21 (39), 1939 15 Mar-19 Apr, 297).

This event was highlighted in the statements of the two countries' Prime Ministers:

1. Statement by Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Neville Chamberlain in the House of Commons on April 13th, 1939:

> *"I take this opportunity of saying on their behalf that His Majesty's Government attaches the greatest importance to the avoidance of disturbance by force or threats of force of the « status quo » in the Mediterranean and the Balkan Peninsula. Consequently they have come to the conclusion that, in the event of any action being taken which clearly threatened the independence of Greece and Romania, and which the Greek and Romanian Government respectively considered it vital to resist with their national forces, His Majesty's Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Greek and Romanian Government, as the case might be, all the support in their power. We are communicating this declaration to the Governments directly concerned, and to others, especially Turkey, whose close relations with the Greek Government are known. I understand that the French Government is making a similar declaration this afternoon." (*House of Commons Debates, vol. 346, cc5-140)

2. Statement by French Prime Minister Edouard Daladier:

> *"The French Government attaches the greatest importance to issuing a warning against all modification imposed by force or by threat of force to the status quo in the Mediterranean and on the Balkan Peninsula.*
>
> *Taking into consideration the special anxieties the events of the last week have aroused, the French Government has in consequence given ~~to~~ Romania and ~~to~~ Greece a special assurance that, in the event of any actions being undertaken which would clearly threaten the independence of Romania and of Greece and against which the Romanian Government and the Greek Government consider that it is in their vital interests to resist with their national forces, the French Government holds itself engaged to render immediately all assistance in its power."* (Toynbee, 1958, 111)

The granting of guarantees to Romania is also highlighted in the telegram sent by Viscount Halifax to the Minister of Great Britain in Bucharest, Sir Reginald Hoare, on April 13th, 1939: "Please inform the Romanian Government immediately that the Government of His Majesty has decided to grant him without delay a guarantee as proposed by the Romanian side, which was agreed with the French and Polish governments. This will be announced in Parliament today. The French Government will take similar action." (Document 61, vol. 5, 1947-1956, 109)

The echo of granting Anglo-French guarantees to Romania was perceived differently by several European states. In Great Britain, referring to the British statements on guaranteeing Romania and Greece, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Lord Halifax, explained in the House of Lords that the officials responsible for British diplomacy were aware of the gravity of the decision, taken after mature thought and balance, but were convinced that under the circumstances created, a perfect definition of the British Government's attitude towards certain events and trends will reduce the likelihood of new acts of aggression (Dandara, 1985, 197). At the same time, Winston Churchill wrote that "instead of being terrified by the fate of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Greece ... have manifested their will for independence." (Dandara, 1985, 198) Conversely, the same British politician stated that the Anglo-French guarantees "had military value only in the context of a general agreement with Russia." (Dandara, 1985, 198) However, even from the period preceding the granting of guarantees to Romania, there were different opinions. A good example in this respect is the British newspaper *Daily Mail*, which on April 5th, 1939, noted the following:

> *"England should avoid the guarantee of Romania's borders. The greatest political sense is needed when it comes to Central Europe. We cannot forget the peace talks of 1919 and 1920. If England would guarantee the borders of Romania, it would provoke the enmity of Hungary, and Hungary would be thrown into the arms of Germany. The Hungarians will implement all their means to claim the injustices of the Trianon Treaty, through which Transylvania was assigned to Romania. But Hungary's friendship is more important to England. It would be better to recognize the Hungarian requirements and to set up an independent commission to investigate border corrections with the approval of both countries concerned."* (Zamfir, Banciu, 2007, 148)

The widening of France's duty to assist Greece, as well as its two allies, Poland and Romania, was well received by the French public opinion that always hoped defiance gestures would keep the enemy away. In fact, after the publication of Daladier's announcement, the Paris Stock Exchange showed the first major improvement for the first time over several weeks (Toynbee, 1958, 111).

In Romania, the announcement of the granting of Anglo-French guarantees was received, as in Greece, with satisfaction by both the authorities and the population. On the evening of April 13th, 1939, a meeting was held at the Royal Palace in Bucharest, attended by King Carol II, Prime Minister Armand Călinescu, Grigore Gafencu and Ernest Urdăreanu (Minister of the Royal House). The discussions between the aforementioned were on the subject of the Anglo-French guarantees, which were interpreted differently. As Armand Călinescu noted, "some are pessimistic and unsatisfied" (Dandara, 1985, 197), fearing Germany's reaction. The Prime Minister also said on this occasion that:

> *"I am convinced that the Anglo-French will prevail. I want it, because with the Germans, even if we were allies, we would be economically and perhaps politically subdued. The King is completely in agreement with me." (Ibidem)*

The next day, at a press conference, Călinescu declared that:

> *"Romania learned with great satisfaction the statement by which the British Prime Minister assures our country, in case of need, the entire assistance of England. With the same satisfaction, Romania received the news that France, always ready to show us friendship, made such a statement." (Ibidem)*

On the same day, King Carol II, referring to the event, wrote:

> *"Very important and gratifying news. Today, both Chamberlain and Daladier have made statements guaranteeing our independence without reciprocity and promise our help if we can resist, thus abstracted from the first plan that subordinates this guarantee to an agreement with Poland. ... These statements today are a clarification of the situation, which will make many think."* (Carol II, 2003, 66-67)

Germany's reaction to the Anglo-French guarantees granted to Romania was highlighted during the visit of Grigore Gafencu to Berlin from April 18th to April 20th, 1939. During this period, the Romanian Foreign Minister had a series of conversations with several German officials, among them were Joachim von Ribbentrop (German Foreign Minister), Marshal Hermann Gőring (Air Minister) and Chancellor Adolf Hitler. Referring to the April 13th guarantees, Gőring asked:

> *"You called the English and French to help you. You want them to fight for you?"* (Gafencu, 1992, 72).

Gafencu responded as follows:

> *"For our independence and our borders, we are determined to fight for ourselves, marshal." (Ibidem) The German Minister's reply was: "You must, however, realize that this guarantee does not serve anything ... The aid promised by England is totally inoperative." (Ibidem)*

In turn, Hitler said that:

> *"Anglo-French guarantees will not serve you. But I will not formalize. I know your weakness for France. It would be my other attitude if you were to participate with the Soviets in the vast plan of encirclement of Germany that the government of London is preparing."* (Gafencu, 1992, 78)

In conclusion, in the second part of the 1930s, Romania's diplomacy tried to strike a balance between the Great Powers in the South-Eastern Europe, at the same time as the adoption of a policy of approaching Nazi Germany by granting particularly economic concessions (for example, the Romanian-German economic treaty of March 23rd, 1939) and by preventing Romania from engaging in an alliance against the Reich. This attitude was determined by the conciliation policy adopted by Britain and France towards Germany's aggressive actions (withdrawal from the League of Nations, reintroduction of compulsory military service, occupation of the Rhineland demilitarized area, annexation of Austria, the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, and subsequently Bohemia) and by the international context resulting from the signing of the Münich Agreement of September 29th-30th, 1938, which made the Third Reich the hegemonic power of Central and Eastern Europe. However, the interest of the Western powers towards the problems of this part of the continent was triggered by the "Tilea incident" (March 1939), whereby some Romanian political and economic circles tried to draw the attention of the West to the possible occupation and exploitation by Germany of the resources and economic potential of Eastern Europe (Romanian oil and grain, Yugoslavian iron ore, Czechoslovak armament factories).

The Anglo-French strategy designed to counteract the growing influence of Germany consisted of the intention to create an anti-German bloc composed of Eastern states such as Romania, Poland and the Soviet Union. This initiative failed in the summer of 1939 due to the refusal of the first two states mentioned to collaborate with the USSR. Also, Paris and London granted a series of security guarantees to Poland, Romania and Greece. In this respect, on April 13th, 1939 Romania (together with Greece) received unilateral guarantees, meaning that the country was not obliged to participate in any possible conflict on the side of France and the United Kingdom if they were to be attacked by Germany. However, in the context of the Reich's increasing influence in its relations with Romania, Anglo-French guarantees proved ineffective, as the head of British diplomacy, Lord Halifax, stated:

> *"...neither the Polish government nor the Romanian government had any illusions about the concrete measures of help from Britain if Hitler wanted war."* (Academia Română, 532)

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HERITAGE IN THE BAKING. RETHINKING "TRADITIONAL" RECIPES

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***Abstract**: The present paper uses field research as a pretext for an analysis of the manner in which the tradition is built. A project financed by European funds, a team made up of both specialists and students, a few deliverables - including a small volume of "traditional recipes" - seemed to be the main ingredients of the research. The field team conducted interviews, participatory and non-participatory observation, and photographic documentation in several villages near Faget. What is traditional today, in a certain place and time, for both the researcher and the subject? How and what do people present as their cultural heritage – involuntarily rather than through a process of reflection, but especially how tradition becomes an instrument and not the purpose of research – are but a few questions the article is trying to answer.*

***Keywords:** heritage, tradition, traditional, food*

Layer 1. Golden Age Menu – *On the Culture of Shortage*

The eighties represented a period of flamboyant fashion, excess, disco music and blue eye crayons for some, as well as shortage in electricity, heat, and food, for others. To state that the West and the East of Europe went in different directions is a truism; to analyze the relation between abundance and hunger, based on case studies, is never to be ignored. In communist Romania, during the period 1950 – 1989, the state was more interested in rising the production of steel (Tismăneanu, 2006, 420) than investing in the food industry – less than 5% of the industrial investment went to that sector. This situation led in 1981 to rationalizing bread, milk, sugar, meat and meat derivatives. Strangely enough and paradoxically, official reports after 1990 state that sugar production increased from a ration of 5 kg/ inhabitant to 30 kg/ inhabitant - / per year, while sugar was rationalized, and, while some villages in Romania specialized in planting and harvesting sugar beet (see the case of Lenauheim, for example, where the main plant the agricultural cooperative cultivated and grew was sugar beet, which was afterwards processed in Timișoara).

> *"[…] consumption of scarce consumer goods [can be analyzed] as a set of cultural practices rather than social relations."* (Chelcea, 2002)

During the late years of communism, rationalized food, coexisted alongside a parallel market, creating a social network of providers and helpers, and of influence and power.

> *"The objects of fascination (almost a perverted type of fascination) were coffee, oranges, bananas, chocolate, Cuban candies, chewing gum, Pepsi or Coca-Cola, good cigarettes, blue jeans, Adidas sportswear, spirits."* (Tismăneanu, 2006, 423)

Marcel Mauss' theory of the gift can be a useful instrument in deconstructing the process of exchange between "tribes" of merchants and consumers, a sort of *potlach* during which the merchants retain all power and the consumers try to gain benevolence from these demi-gods. As

explained by Mauss, *potlatch* is used by the Chinook tribe, and means "to feed, or to consume". The term includes both the feeder and the consumer, the giver and the receiver, implying that the act is bilateral, and that it is an act of communication and communion.

This could be seen as "prestations and counter-prestations", in his terms, exchanges which are not necessarily objects but:

> *"…what they exchange is not solely property and wealth, movable and immovable goods, and things economically useful. In particular, such exchanges are acts of politeness: banquets, rituals, military services, women, children, dances, festivals, and fairs, in which economic transaction is only one element, and in which the passing on of wealth is only one feature of a much more general and enduring contract."* (Mauss, 2002, 6-7)

Based on the policies of shortage, *exchange* during the 80s dealt more with the immaterial than the material, being excessive in rituals, symbols, and social connections. People would exchange *influence, thus power* rather than bread or salami. People would turn scarcity into a commodity.

> *"Lack of food, especially imported food, was felt more and more. Selling merchandise straight from deposits was gradually forbidden but all of a sudden deposits are under siege by The Ministry of Internal Affairs (security, militia, firefighters). Colonels such as Ion Baciu, Tudor Stănică, Gheorghe Florea, and others, higher of lower in rank. Some even pay – and thus – through Balașov, sometimes through Călina, Stavarache sends me money, and also the necessary approvals, to confirm; of course it was illegal and punishable by law but it was a system since its beginnings, and even if I would have gotten out, the past was the past. I thought it will be a temporary phenomena so I accepted; it the end it became a routine. Of course, it helped me to sell more than ever, more than expected."* (Florescu, 2008, 252)

Gheorghe Florescu, former barista in Bucharest, during the communist regime, was only one piece within the system which developed like a *boule de neige* and created an underground economy, a system which was created and directed by party officiates as well as high ranked officers.

A secret life of commodities was encouraged and sustained by the state, while on official level, the population was encouraged to avoid waste. An imbalanced relationship between state and citizen was created and sustained through abundance on one side and shortage on the other, which discouraged *prestations* and *counter-prestations* (see Mauss, idem). Instead of being bilateral, the relation became unilateral, obviously. There was no consumer, and no feeder, no giver and no receiver, on a state level, and communication was weakened, which degraded the relationship beyond repair. It was not about food as a means of survival, it was about food as means of communicating through exchange. But on the other hand, other researchers state that the situation was different:

> *"Berdahl points out several times that during socialism the process of acquiring connections was more important than money. This personalized nature of exchange seems to situate the scarce goods for which one needed connections at some distance from the ideal type of commodity. Not only was the exchange personalized, but also the identity of the participants was important. In order to acquire goods at least one person had to be a part of the estates of administration responsible for the appropriation and later redistribution of value created through labor. At the same time, the acquisition of goods was not gift exchange because it involved a financial transaction."* (see Chelcea, 2002, 20-21)

Paradox lays, in my opinion, in the juxtaposition (and not subordination) of communication and non-communication between people and state, and the imbalance which actually ensured the flow of goods and connections. Blue (Blue, 2017, 269-270) writes, referring to a different approach to the Frankfurt School:

> *Rather than being gained only through economic exchange, goods and services are acquired through symbolic exchange, through*

the communication and expression of self identity. Rather than being taken on as domesticating and alienating products of mass consumption, goods and services are appropriated through processes of decommodification, singularisation, and personalisation. And rather than being seen through a framework of "false needs," objects are appreciated through a symbolic framework of pleasure, satisfaction, hedonism, and meaning."

Communism does indeed personalise the exchange of goods, due to the fact that people use acquaintances rather than money in order to obtain something.

But communism also deconstructs the symbolic framework, taking *pleasure*, *satisfaction* and *hedonism* out of it. It creates imbalance, enriching the meaning itself with all of the above, creating semantics which enriches communication. A scarcity in food asociated with pleasure and basic needs ensure a growth in symbolism and meaning, I might add.

So, how does one survive in a sugar-free or chocolate-free world? Creating surogats or texts which stand for the object itself. But can people feed on texts?

Layer 2. Post Golden Age Projects – *On Finding Traditional Food*

Tradition is an invention of modernity and is opposed to custom, as contended by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger:

"...traditions which are actually invented, constructed and formally instituted [...] and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period – and establishing themselves with great rapidity." (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983, 1)

The two historians deconstructed a concept which was the basis of folklore and ethnology studies (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983). For Romanian folklorists (see Pop, Ruxăndoiu, 1991), *tradition* is a product and a connection to primitive, and/ or popular cultures;

"tradition is a created sign system, thus a code, a predetermined pattern and system of combining signs in the process of creation." (Pop, Ruxăndoiu, 1991, 60)

If we accept that traditions are created by modernity, and native/popular/peasant traditions (which are displayed nowadays to attract tourists) are used as currency, then the new *potlatch* is between *tourists and natives.* How is the *traditional* created?

Some observations here are based on a fieldresearch developed in 2014, in the area of Făget, Timiş county. The main purpose was to gather "traditional recipes" which, once collected, would be published and then offered to local restaurants within the area of Timiş county, in order to boost people's interest in traditional food. The project having the title "Living Heritage – An Unlimited Resource for Tourism Development" was implemented on IPA funds, having the West University of Timisoara as lead partner, alongside The Intercultural Institute of Timisoara, The Chamber of Commerce as well as the city hall from Kikinda. Activities developed both on the Romanian and Serbian part of the historical Banat, in several areas of interested which were pre-established. It used multi-sited research as a way of implementing its activities in a shorter period of time, in order for researchers to have time to analyze results which were to be used on different other activities, which included publishing recipes booklets, local legends collections or folkloric calendars. Having a classical approach based rather on collecting information, almost as the romantics did, the project had a modern twist by proposing groups of researches formed by different specialists, mainly ethnologists, geographers, and landscape architects. Divided into seven groups, which explored seven areas (Făget – which I will refer to, Herculane, Caransebeş, Dubova, Uzdin şi Kikinda), the teams included three categories of professionals as well as students in Cultural Studies, a specialization which, at that time, the Faculty of Letters, History and Theology in Timisoara offered. More than 170 persons were interviewed, within 44 localities, some of them being only documented on photographic level. Qualitative data was gathered through life-story narrations, semi-directed interviews, non-participant observation, family archives, photography, and mapping. Informants were

selected either from village cultural referees, administration, local teachers, and based on their recommendations or from people met in public places (the church, local fair, local bar) or acquaintances of some researchers. Their availability of narrating was the main criteria for starting an interview; people, mostly women, ages starting 25 – towards 85, were preferred especially for the topic of recipes (especially sweets), but the Serbian villages offered men as specialists in preparing meat and meat derivatives. I will refer for this discussion to mainly two informants, ladies, both around age 65, one living in the small town of Făget, the other in a small village five kilometers away (Răchita). One was a pensioner, and thus housewife, the other still in activity, was teaching in the local primary school. They were not recommended as the most recognized local specialists in baking but were and are persons who still prefer to bake rather than buy at the local supermarkets, and who, as many women, have a small notebook (sometimes inherited) containing handwritten recipes. They were told about the project and project objectives, and were willing to sit and talk to the team of researchers (all women, in these cases). Both informants were accompanied by relatives during the interviews: one, by the daughter, in her 30s, the other one by her granddaughter, in her 20s. Transmitting the information not only to me, as a researcher, but to their successors highly contributed to the process of *patrimonialisation* (making heritage) and reinforcement of the traditional dimension.

What did my informants consider to be *traditional,* when requested to explain traditional recipes? They presented me with their notebooks, and leaflets containing recipes they used in their youth or while learning to bake. As a general observation, several women from Făget or places nearby (Răchita, Curtea) owned transcribed recipes for cakes. People did not write down recipes for main courses because they circulated on an oral level among housewives; but doughs, cakes, pastries, desserts *needed to be recorded, being based on fixed quantities*. I contend to say that, while main courses were representative for what Hobsbawm defines as *custom* (and belonging to traditional societies), deserts are more connected to *tradition* (as products of modern societies), establishing a relation similar to the one between orality and writing. A main course was created using no-measure recipes, while baking requested scales and cups. The former is more improvised, while the latter is rigurous and needs attention and reflectiveness. But both can be marketed as *traditional* and authentic.

> *"'Native traditions' are disassembled and rearranged in order to recreate a marketable semblance of authenticity."* (AlSayyad, 2001, 5)

A tacit agreement between researcher and subject created the context for tradition to emerge. Other ingredients which contributed to the process of *creating* tradition might have been in this case: the European financing and the deliverables declared when the project was applied for. New dimensions appear in the process of *patrimonialization*, which ensure that aspects which would not be regarded as *traditional* are shaped as such.

Therefore, recipes with intriguing titles and only decades old were presented as traditional, or in the words of Guy di Meo (di Meo, 2007, 2):

> *"...thus, in theory, each object, each phenomenon has a dimension and reveals a potential for (being) heritage"*

Everything having the potential of becoming heritage means that one of the criteria (old) established by UNESCO is not necesarily fullfilled. Recent past becomes suddenly herigetable when faced with the problem researches rise: *do you know/ have traditional recipes*? sometimes disguised under the questions: *do you own a recipes notebook? Did your grandmother/mother left you one?* only to discover that most recipes (within 30 recipes, more than 70% were from the eighties) belonged to a certain period of time. True that the 80s were the years when the two ladies married and changed status, as well as became more active being caught in a social network of notebooks belonging to work colleagues. Therefore, following di Meo's steps, "tout est potentiellement patrimonial" (*Ibidem*, 3), which turns common recipes or baking techniques into tradition to be presented/ exposed/ *museified* and intangible.

The communist inheritance, with its shortage of sugar, eggs, and cocoa becomes, during research, immaterial cultural heritage. When faced with another question: *what did you cook or bake which was specific to this place/ what did your mother/ grandmother used to cook for you as a child?* my informants chose to

present their written recipes, and in some cases to offer explanations. Heritage was *fabricated* (to use a term established by N. Heinich) on spot in a research context, using actors such as interviewer and interviewee, and the interview as well as the notbooks as means of communication (again reinforcing the relationship between orality and writing). Daily life, habitual, non-ecceptional recipes converted/ or were converted into valuable pieces to be transmitted forward. Changing their function they changed their semantics, and became representative for their communities after they might have been representative for an epoch. Transcending their condition, humble recipes were converted into texts which added another layer to their structure: the herigetable one.

In this case, tradition becomes an instrument which surgically reshapes an era and transforms poverty, rationalization and shortage – as state policies – into cultural heritage. Is this a sign that traditional societies (for which, in Hobsbawm's terms, *custom* is representative) cease to exist and transform or are already transformed into modern societies (whose members are capable of fabricating the traditional)? What I should also mention is that, while speaking about recipes, one of my informants, Doina J., from Răchita, asked me if I was not interested in costumes, too, and offered to display them, allowing me and my team take photos. Over one hundred years old, the costumes were closer to the heritage dimension, unlike the recipes which needed support.

The traditional was reinforced by associating general pastry and dessert recipes with the national costume. Association, contamination but also *transfer of meaning* from prewar or interwar handmade Banat costumes towards recipes from communist era transformed the recipes from ordinary, every-day items into valuable traditional exhibits.

Layer 3. Mixed and Matched Ages – *On Names*

Apparently humble traces of what tradition might be, dessert recipes are the *insignifiant detail* which reveals a community. Clifford Geertz analyzes, while discussing the relationship between anthropology and history, the obscuratism and *nuancemanship* which characterize anthropological work:

> *"History is threatened (one hears it said) by the anthropological stress on the mundane, the ordinary, the everyday,which turns it away from the powers that really move the world: Kings, Thinkers, Ideologies, Prices, Classes, and Revolutions – andtoward bottom-up obsessions with charivaris, dowries, cat massacres,cock fights, and millers' tales that move only readers, and them to relativism."* (Geertz, 2000, 119)

So, what do several recipes communicate about people from or nearby Făget? Several names are rather common, stating what shape the cake has (*half-moon*, *trunk*, *nut*, *peach*), who created the recipe (Ștefania, Olga, Dan), but also reminiscing of local/ regional personalities (*Lepa Brena*). I would like to comment on this recipe, which is significant in Banat, where Lepa Brena was a sex-symbol of the eighties, both in the Romanian as well as in the Serbian parts of the region. To name a cake after her translates into a desirable object which would be attained only if the person making the cake would be able to procure the ingredients. Also, she was a famous singer of a certain genre of music, *turbo-folk*, a mixture of so-called traditional Serbian music with modern influences, rather a hybrid which claims authenticity. Her concert in Timișoara, in the 80s, was, apparently, the biggest in communist Romania. Much like the Romanian costumes presented to me in Răchita, which reinforced the idea of *traditional*, here, layering a type of music which reclaimed traditional influences over a generic recipe (eggs, flour, cocoa, butter – common ingredients) transformed the recipe into a *traditional* one. Also, an urban dimension was added to a rural recipe. Layering informations from a citadine

space (Lepa Brena live in Belgrade and Novi Sad) towards a rural space (the village of Răchita, Timiș county) was an infusion of modernity *tradition*, as a modern construct, feeds on.

As well as the famous Serbian singer, ingredients were only to be seen on national television, during broadcast time, and in written texts or in the Romanian part of Banat, on Serbian television which could be watched regularly, unlike in other parts of the country, which ensured some relationship with the Western world. Ingredients were unatainable in the eighties – ; eggs, sugar, and cocoa – necessary to make Lepa Brena – would have nedeed a lot of influence and connections to be obtained. The recipe also states that the process of making and baking is similar to another famous cake in Banat – Riga Ioanci (*Rigo Jancsi*), a subtle reference to a Hungarian / Austro-Hungarian heritage which could be found in the layers of a cake, rather than in the cultural layers. A form of refined disidence, and also a humourous note can be read between the lines. References to Yugoslavia – a space of abundance for Romanians in the eighties, as well as references to the former Empire, with its "decadent" and luxurious desserts stated that housewives had at least a laugh when reading a recipe they knew was unbakeable. In a time when eggs and butter were rationalized, to use eight (!) for the sponge cake and other four for the mousse, alongside several sticks of butter would be proper disidence and waste.

I stated before that communism meant not only shortage, but also surrogats. Oral history as well as studies on the late years of communism state the fact that in a time of scarcity people dealt with copies rather than originals, with *nechezol* rather than coffee. *Ersatz* was a means of existing and dealing with daily life. Two recipes, found out in Făget have the titles: *Peaches* and *Nuts*. Both types of cakes were famous, and sometimes, peaches can still be found in reclusive bakeries in semi-rural Romania. Extremely artificial looking and tasting, both recipes can be interpreted as a means of dealing with replacements. It became so ordinary to eat some dough that resembled a fruit that nobody seemed bothered by the ridiculousness of the situation. One might read into it as a type of recipe which requires a special type of art and craft on behold of the baker, an *artiste* more than a common cook. One might also read into it a degradation of the art of baking, which leads into a rather kitsch area, using artificial ingredients and colors in an attempt of adjusting to reality. Everything was *ersatz*, as well as everything is heritage.

Layer 4. Heritage Age – *What is heritageable nowadays*?

What can become heritage nowadays, invoking tradition, and authentichity, without causing an inflation? Anything can become heritage (see di Meo) in proper conditions with several actors and instruments involved. The researcher (the ethnologist/ anthropologist) is a *contributor* (more than a collector – which was the case in the 19th century, less than an absolute authority – maybe the case in the 20th century) but a vulnerable one. The informant/ subject decides what is representative and valuable for the community he/ she belongs to, which is a form of community-based research or participatory ethnology, and also a form of giving up power, or a type of renegociating and rebalancing power relations. In the case of traditional recipes, we are dealind with an on spot negociation between ethnologist and informant, which later was transformed into a booklet which sealed the deal. The booklet contained more than 60 recipes, which were selected from all the researched areas but most of them were from the Făget one. Initially intended to be a cookbook, the final deliverable was reshaped according to what the field researched offered.

Having the title "*Pocărăi și meșpaisuri: Dulciuri din Banat / Cakes and Cookies: Sweets from Banat*", the book plays on the card of regional identity and regional semantics. In dialect, the two different words in the beginning of the title refer to different types of *Viennoiseries*, and for people of Banat they are not uncommon. Fact is that none of the informants interviewed in the Făget area ever used these words when talking about recipes. Used more in the border area, and Herculane area, the two nouns are highly dialectal and were chosen by the research team in order to give flavor and *specificity* and local identity where informants did not feel the need to do so. *Invention of heritage*, as the invention of tradition can be attributed to the intellectual

elites, rather than to their informants. A selection of *words* and a selection of recipes and practices can create content which can be transmitted and/ or delivered as heritage. Dialectal words transform even a recent history reality into one which can be valued. Translated into English for the financier of the project, the title loses its heritage / traditional dimension, referring strictly to two types of bakery. But maybe English can be a screen which allows one to read into the process of *patrimonialisation*. Apparently vulnerable and willing to cooperate with the informant, the ethnologist actually had the last word before the publishing of the booklet. The one who had the power was the one belonging to the written culture, while orality, in the traditional form, lost content and lost power. The deliverable became *traditional* because was considered as such by a team of researchers. Strongly contextualized, the process of making heritage should, in my opinion, permanently be accompanied by a process of deconstruction and self-reflection on behalf of the actors involved. Question is, can the ethnologist play and negotiate on heritage, when we are talking about a source of (local) identity, relationship with the ancestors and a sense of belonging? Heritage is *metacultural*, states B. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, as well as a production. An *ongoing* process, I would add, which, more or less democratically, involves the researchers, local communities, projects financiers as well as different organizations.

> *"They are not only cultural carriers and transmitters but also agents in the heritage enterprises as well. Performers are carriers, transmitters, and bearers of tradition, terms which conote a passive medium, conduit or vessel, without volition, intention or subjectivity."* (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 2017, 58)

As I stated before, *tradition*, the main topic of research for ethnologists, becomes an instrument in the process of patrimonialization, rather than the purpose of the process, the final product being a manufactured good, which is commodified and becomes a resource for sustainable development.

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CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE NATIONAL COSTUME AS AN OBJECT OF THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA

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Abstract: *The author intends to elucidate the significance of the notion of national costume, given the shortcomings of approaching the phenomenon in the public environment. What does the notion of the national costume of the Soviet people include? When and under what circumstances was it launched in the public space? How did it become a visible symbol, an ideological cliché meant to represent the ethnocultural diversity in the Soviet Union, in the second half of the 20th century? The article is based on materials published and unpublished in the archives of The National Museum of Ethnography and Natural History (MNEIN) and of The National Library of the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Museum of Ethnography in Saint Petersburg.*

Keywords: *national costume, folk costume, Soviet culture, invented identity, Soviet Union.*

Introduction

The phenomenon known as the *national costume of the Moldavian SSR*, which throughout the Soviet period claimed to be authentic, was articulated through a set of characteristics that designated the difference in relation to its prototype – the traditional Moldovan costume. It functioned in its own space of action, being placed on an ideological rather than a cultural axis. A product of Soviet conceptions, well-grounded theoretically, the *national costume* managed in about half a century to expand its area of influence considerably and to initiate numerous image forgeries, recorded in periodical publications from this period, including numerous photographs and museum exhibits of the era. Studying these sources, together with the archival documents, makes it possible to submit the working hypothesis about the ideological component of the new type of *national costume*, meant to attribute to the people of the Soviet Union a *new national identity*. In this context, the notion of *national costume of the people of the Soviet empire* manifests itself as an ideological concept of maintaining an *invented identity* and is promoted as a symbol of ethnocultural diversity in the Soviet Union, in the second half of the 20th century. The affirmation of the notion of *national costume* is generated by the official discourse referring to the national values of the people included within the borders of the Soviet Union, a discourse oriented towards the construction of a *new type of culture*, specific to all the participating nations – the *Soviet culture*.

According to the message evoked by the periodic press from the Moldavian SSR, in the 1950s, when "the culture of the Moldovan people, national by form and socialist by flourishes content" (*Femeia Moldovei* 1951), the interpretation and formation were pursued an ideologically retouched reality and its configuration according to the political standards of the time. The change of content by preserving the national form had the purpose of transposing the socialist ideas into the visual communication tools mastered by it.

The new social relations bring with them a wide spectrum of *new customs and rituals*, and denouncing the authentic and accepting these interventions creates an ambiguous situation when the *national costume*, including in the case of the Moldavian SSR, is used as a *new cultural symbol*. The actions to represent the new national identity of Soviet invoice were oriented towards "the execution of the grand Stalinist plan of the development of culture and art" (*Femeia Moldovei* 1951) – an action of *identity engineering*, started by the constitution of the Moldavian SSR and the nation-building project regarding the *"Moldovan nation"*. With the application of the Stalinist plan, the substantial reduction of the value system of the traditional Moldovan costume takes place, the triggering of distortions and illustrating the articulation of a

new visual image and the way of *implementation of the new evaluation criteria*. The *national costume* promoted by the Soviet ideology was imposed in daily life and associated with the rigor of selecting and constructing new national values, to the detriment of the performances of the traditional authentic prototype. In fact, we find that it is about undermining the value and significance of the *folk costume*, which is too complex for the representation of the *new identity*, taking actions to simplify the tailoring, to replace the material, to stylize the ornament and to remove the local differences.

The popularization of the *national costume*, in the context of the new social engineering, is accompanied by the unification, in all the space controlled by the Soviet Union, of its production industry. It is significant to find an upward evolution of the elements included in this industry, elements that have become mechanisms for legitimizing political authority, indicators of *nationality* in the Soviet period and which have been found in endless varieties of stage costumes, products of the fashion houses, the production units, the associations and the artels, the craftsmen unions.

The *national costume* becomes indispensable for the ritual manifestations by which the Soviet power and their function are validated to legitimize the existing social and political order (Coman, 2008, 246). Anthropological approaches point to the potential of political rites, as tools for ensuring the social order and, implicitly, for imposing the domination and control mechanisms (Coman, 2008, 246). In this context, the *Moldovan folk costume* in the space of museums and dowry boxes will keep noticeable differences from the *national costume of Soviet-type*, which has focused the specific of the traditional port to orient it in the direction of creating the *manufactured identity*, established by the new political order.

The gift of the Romanian workers on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of I. V. Stalin

In the post-war period, the Romanian society also faced many challenges from Moscow, in the direction of being brought into the field of education in a *socialist* spirit. Significant for our research is the fact that, in 1949, the exhibition of gifts dedicated to Joseph Stalin was inaugurated in Moscow, coming from different regions of the Soviet Union and from the states of the socialist bloc, including the Romanian People's Republic. The collection of exhibits occupied more than one open space, in fact, an entire museum. Some of the objects of the "*Museum of Gifts for Stalin"*, in 1953, came in the patrimony of the Russian Museum of Ethnography in Saint Petersburg, which made it possible for us to research the funds of the respective institution. In this context, a document entitled "A gift from the Romanian workers on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of I. V. Stalin, 1949-1950"[75] was brought to our attention.

The document contains a description of all the components that are largely related to the phenomenon of *national costume*, clothing and accessories with a wide range of functions:

1. Moldovan women's *national costume/blouse* of tunic type made of handkerchief *(thin cotton fabric)*, delicate white, with long sleeves which at the lower end is left loose, without cuffs. The front, the collar and sleeves, are embroidered "in a cross" with black silk thread, "sewn" with beads and sequins. Size 138 X 50 cm. Moldovans.[76] [author translation]
2. Moldovan women's *national costume/vest,* chest-shaped suit on the front has a cut, made of handmade black cloth. The jacket as a whole is "sewn" with white silk fabric and beads. The collar and neckline sleeve are lined with crocheted lace in black silk thread. The front cut and the termination are lined with fringed metallic thread. Size 75 X 39 cm. Moldovans.[77] [author translation]
3. Moldovan women's *national costume*/*skirt* made of white cotton and cashmere fabric, embroidered on the edge "in a cross" with black silk thread, with metallic thread and sequins. Size 92 X 67 cm. Moldovans.[78] [author translation]
4. Moldovan women's *national costume*/*apron* for women in black cloth woven under home conditions, lined with black lace silk thread, "sewed", in full, with white silk fabric and beads. On the edge are lined with fringes of white and black spiral threads. Size 66 X 47 cm. But made by an anonymous donor from the Romanian People's Republic, 1949. Moldovans.[79] [author translation]

[75] Russian Museum of Ethnography in Saint Petersburg, Register / Moldovans / Romanians / 270-7297, file no. 6720.
[76] File no. 6720 – 35.
[77] File no. 6720 – 36.
[78] File no. 6720 – 37.
[79] File no. 6720 – 38/1-2.

5. Moldovan women's *national costume*/shawl made of white silk transparent fabric. Along the shawl, on both sides, three strips are woven with glossy thread. At the ends, woven with matte thread, are three other narrow strips. Above them is distributed an ornamental field delimited with floral motifs, embroidered with white and light-blue silk thread. Size 254 X 42 cm. Moldovans.[80] [author translation]
6. Moldovan women's *national costume* / blouse suit made of veil (fine and transparent cotton fabric), white, embroidered "in a cross" with black yarn and yellow metallic sequins, with long sleeves, straight, joined with a stripe the arm with "cheițe", the hem - processed with "găurica". The collar is tied to the front with a twist of "mouline" thread, at the ends with tassels. Embroidered with black thread, the ornamental collar system consists of small, stylized plant motifs and yellow "metallic" stripes. The front of the blouse has two ornamental striped fields in which are embroidered six floral motifs, stylized, worked in the same technique and color as on the collar. On the shoulders, on the sleeves – a double band of the same floral motifs. Sleeves – with a "pavă". All the parts of the blouse are joined by "cheițe". Sizes: length – 50 cm, neckline – 44 cm, width – 69 cm, sleeve length – 50 cm. Moldovans.[81] [author translation]
7. Moldovan women's *national costume*/*skirt* for women, made of white cotton fabric embroidered with gold and silver thread. The sides and the ends are decorated with an ornamental field consisting of a single geometric motif (rhombuses). The rest of the space is covered with rhomboid mesh embroidered with gold thread. The middle of each rhombus is embroidered, with silver thread, a floral motif with the center embroidered in pink and light-blue colors. Sizes: length – 90 cm., width – 136 cm. Moldovans.[82] [author translation]
8. Moldovan *national costume*/*belt*, white cotton yarn and white/silver thread. With the metallic thread (silver) the geometric ornament is woven. At one end the belt has fringes of the same yarn from which it is woven. Size: 237 X 3.5 cm. But from the peasants from Moldova, from the Romanian People's Republic. The year 1949. Moldovans.[83] [author translation]

In our view, the description of these specimens is relevant to how it was made in the early 1950s, taking into account the subjectivism of the vision of the person who made the description. Due to various technical considerations, we have not been able to visualize the stated objects, which reinforce our intention to continue the research, in order to critically assess and interpret the value of the described objects. We consider it important that the *national form*, in this particular case, was sacrificed in order to be *brought to the socialist ideological content*.

The political holiday, in this case, the *70th anniversary of I. V. Stalin* was intended to honor and publicly praise the personality of the Soviet leader. Moreover, the gesture with symbolic value – the *gift of the Romanian workers*, was placed in the middle of the national imaginary of Soviet society – "*the gift museum for Stalin"*. This example reveals the ability of political rites to fix in the consciousness of individuals' new symbols and values.

The 4th World Youth and Students Festival (Bucharest, 1953)

The 4th World Youth and Students Festival, which took place in Bucharest in 1953, was accompanied by intense activities of preparation and establishment of certain conduct protocols, which was to become a great *success*. Romania, in the context of this festival designed by the Moscow leadership, hosted about 30 000 young people who evolved for a week on the scenes in Bucharest. The events were intensely reflected in Chisinau times. We find numerous descriptions of the opening celebrations, as well as a series of stories and impressions from the spot. Some of these recordings were made in the format of the photographic reports, with the emphasis on the results of the stage laureates of the festival – the folk-dance ensemble of the Moldavian SSR (*Femeia Moldovei* 1953).

The stories about the activity of this ensemble of folk dances, which "not long ago toured, in connection with the cultural manifestations of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Month, which are organized in Romania every year" (*Femeia Moldovei* 1955), are conceived in an attempt to categorically delimit ethnic *diversity*: "After the Moldovan games Russian

[80] File no. 6720 – 44.
[81] File no. 6720 – 45.
[82] File no. 6720 – 46.
[83] File no. 6720 – 47.

dances followed, the Russian ones took the place of Romanian games" (*Femeia Moldovei* 1955) and "Ianina Levițcaia, who performed songs of Moldovan, Russian and Romanian" *(Femeia Moldovei* 1955).

The previous statements lead us to believe that most forms of popularization of the many variants of national costume are operated to properly organize and structure the discussions on ethnic diversity in the Soviet Union, also reflected in the speech of the *Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP (b) of Moldova, L. I. Brezhnev*, since 1951, with reference to some fundamental ideological concepts to find, among others, that the Moldovan RSS inhabitants have acquired "their national stature, have become equal members in the big family of brothers of the socialist [...] homeland" (*Femeia Moldovei* 1951). At a critical glance on the costumes of the dancers from the "Joc" Dance Ensemble of that time, as an example of tribute to the *socialist content* of the *national costume*, part of the *big brotherhood family*, we find an obvious link between the Ukrainian and the Moldavian costumes in the elaboration of the scenic outfits, beginning with from the period of the 1950s. Thus, the effort made by the Moldavian SSR leadership, in the key of the inflexible rules of the Kremlin speech, is manifested by transforming the Moldovan *national costume* into a hybrid symbol, easily recognizable in the Soviet Union and beyond. The new national costume, in different ornamental and chromatic versions, gets to be promoted insistently from the national, union and international scenes, through the performance of professional and amateur ensembles, affiliated with the district and city culture houses.

The central message of the celebration of *The 4th World Youth and Students Festival* is the celebration and anchoring in the collective memory of the *patriotic culture* and the model of *manufactured identity*, fundamental norms for the political order of the period.

The Activity of the Production Combinate of the Ministry of Culture in Chisinau

The research also included the activity of the *Production Combinate* of the Ministry of Culture of Chișinău, as an industrial unit of serial accomplishment, in the 1970s, of the Soviet *national costume*. The predominant stereotypes of the ethnicity, reflected in the national costumes produced at this Combined, were obtained by such characteristics of the clothing as the silhouette, the cut, the textile material, the color, the ornament. Similar to this approach is the *embroidered men's shirt*, made at the *Production Combinate* of the Ministry of Culture in Chișinău[84], identified by us in the funds of the National Museum of Ethnography and Natural History in Chisinau. It is a piece of clothing specific to the socialist *cultural framework* of the Moldavian SSR from the 1950s. Thus, we find that the Soviet reality was dominated *by national costumes* with very few successful copies, imposed and regulated by the ideological system since then.

In the Moldavian SSR, the inclination to design such costumes under the impact of the political initiatives, without taking into account the conceptions about the world and the beauty of the Moldovan Romanians, shaped the context when this artificial *imitation* reaches the theatres of the Soviet republic. Analyzing the role of the theatre in legitimizing the political regime, we argue that the opening of the theatrical doors offered the advantage of enhancing the ways of promoting the *new senses* in a *correctly* systemized repertoire. This was the case, for example, at the Moldovan State Musical-Dramatic Theatre in Chișinău, where „the musical comedy «The Happiness of Mărioara» by L. Corneanu and E. Gherchen is staged [...] in which the big changes in the life of our community are shown" (*Femeia Moldovei* 1952).

In this case, the connection between *new experiences* and a *new* type of clothing, in this case – the *national costume*, two related concepts of social reality from the Moldavian SSR is sought.

The Chișinău Republican Fashion House

During the Soviet period, the Fashion Houses were responsible for the widespread dissemination of *socialist concepts regarding clothing*. In the Moldavian SSR, the institution empowered with this right was the Republican Fashion House in Chisinau. The name of this institution has changed over the years, and in the periodical of 1955, we find the following material: "The fashion house was recently opened on the Lenin prospectus in Chișinău. Here are created the original models of clothing for men and women and for people of all ages from Moldova" (*Femeia Moldovei* 1955). The Fashion House (with this name we find it in the MNEIN funds) from the Moldavian SSR is only one element from the network of similar institutions, appeared almost

[84] MNEIN no. 12395, Men's shirt made at the Production Combinate of the Ministry of Culture in Chisinau, Moldovan RSS. Dating: 1970. The description is partially taken from the funds of the National Museum of Ethnography and Natural History (MNEIN).

simultaneously, in the capitals of the Soviet republics and in the big cities on the territory of Russia. All these organizations were subordinated to the Moscow Union Fashion House.

From the wide range of products elaborated by the Republican House of Fashion we will stop on a garment: a light *blouse* with long sleeves, collar and a button on the front. The chosen material is white crepe-de-chine fabric. At the edge, the blouse and the sleeves are wrinkled in folds, at the bottom, the sleeves are processed with a cuff of 3.5 cm wide, with closure system on two buttons covered with cloth. The front cut and collar are embroidered with decorative "lanțuri". The blouse is worked in a "cruciuliță", "găurică", "ajur". The decoration, in the form of a phytomorphic motif – the flower pot (bobocei – Romanian), is placed on the chest and on the sleeve. The pattern was sewn with the needle on the threads. The color of the embroidery is in shades of cream, violet, black, yellow, green, brown, pink.[85]

The main objective, extremely important for the *painters-modelers* of the given period, was to extract ideas, skills and techniques to work from the traditional clothing models (their mechanical reproduction was not approved), by their subsequent integration into modern framed clothing patterns, in the "*folk*" style, avoiding the loss of *socialist content*.

We find that the elements of the authentic inheritance of the Moldovan Romanians, as well as of other ethnic groups in the Soviet Union, are seen as a source of "*maintaining a high level of patriotism among the citizens"*. As a result, the traditional costume, the most important part of ethnic identity, is transformed into a source of aesthetic experience, into a *"showcase"* of national culture in the Soviet Union.

Preliminary conclusions

Based on the ones presented above, we find the manifestation of the *national costume* as an instrument of accentuation and popularization of the *new value system* and, as a result, of hiding the *traditional value system*. The *national costume* was promoted as a symbol of ethnocultural diversity in the Soviet Union, as a *new visual image* associated with the *new national identity*. The concept was articulated to the idea of "*the flowering of the national form and of the socialist content in the context of the Soviet reality"*.

The *national costume* phenomenon was based on identifying the specific features of the traditional version of the popular costume in order to resort to the deconstruction and, subsequently, to the reconstruction of the respective clothing systems by correlating the information on the national belonging of the individual, interpreting and forming the ideological realities retouched and configured according to the standard policies in force.

An indispensable component of the discussions in a *correct* key on ethnic diversity, the *national costume* was validated at the level of the state and party leadership and popularized by the media, and through cultural, political and protocol events. Their popularization was accompanied by the generalization, throughout the space controlled by the Soviet Union, of the *national costume* production industry.

The new terminology developed by the Soviet propaganda discourse maintained the isolation and fragmentation of the native population in the Moldavian SSR, according to the new territorial and cultural definitions of the Soviet Union. Beyond establishing the differences between the concepts of the *traditional costume*, *traditional clothing*, *authentic costume* and *national costume*, the latter is defined by a wide range of stage and theatre outfits, clothing products of associations, arts and product combinations, clothing in "*folk"* style of the fashion houses. The phenomenon cannot be summarized only by its physical presence in society; it emits ideological messages and models the perception of events within the society, maintaining cultural differences between the neighboring groups. The task delegated to the national costume of the Soviet content – to replace the old traditional port, served the project of manufacturing *a new identity* - the "*Moldovan nation"*.

[85] MNEIN no. 11667. Blouse made at the Chișinău Fashion House. Date of admission to the museum: 05.05.1968. The description is partially taken from the MNEIN funds.

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List of illustrations

Fig. 1. Laureates of the festival – "The folk-dance ensemble of the Moldavian SSR".
Fig. 2. Moldavian dance' suite "Joc".
Fig. 3. Men's shirt made at the *Production Combinate* of the Ministry of Culture in Chişinău, Moldavian SSR, 1970.
Fig. 4. Musical-Dramatic Moldovan State Theatre in Chişinău. Sequence from the musical comedy "The Happiness of Mărioara".
Fig. 5. Blouse made at the Chişinău Fashion House.

Fig. 1. Laureates of the festival – "The folk-dance ensemble of the Moldavian SSR"[86].

Fig. 2. Moldavian dance' suite "Joc"[87].

[86] „The feast of youth". In: *Femeia Moldovei*. Revista social-politică şi artistic-literară, no. 8 (1953). The image is taken from the article.

[87] "Mirror of the happiness of the people". In: *Femeia Moldovei*. Revista social-politică şi artistic-literară, no. 1 (1955). The image is taken from the article.

Fig. 3. Men's shirt made at the *Production Combinate* of the Ministry of Culture in Chişinău, Moldavian SSR, 1970[88].

Fig. 4. Musical-Dramatic Moldovan State Theatre in Chişinău. Sequence from the musical comedy "The Happiness of Mărioara"[89].

[88] The image is taken from the MNEIN funds.

Fig. 5. Blouse made at the Chișinău Fashion House[90].

[89] „The Happiness of Marioara" In: *Femeia Moldovei*. Revista social-politică și artistic-literară, no.1 (1952). The image is taken from the article.

[90] The image is taken from the MNEIN funds.

THE INVENTION OF TRADITIONS. THE REPRESENTATION OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY IN STUDIO GHIBLI'S ANIME WORKS

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Abstract: *The current paper deals with the relationship between real-life events and their representation in popular media, such as Japanese animation. At the center of the analysis are four major anime works – "My Neighbor Totoro" (1988, director: Miyazaki Hayao) and "Grave of the Fireflies" (1988, director: Takahata Isao), on the one hand, and "My Neighbors the Yamadas" (1999, director: Takahata Isao) and "Spirited Away" (2001, director: Miyazaki Hayao), on the other hand. These animations serve as practical examples for elucidating main artistic means employed by the two reputed directors to highlight the deep, strong dialectics between family and community, on an ideological level, such as the importance of the community during the gradual dissolution of the extended family and the friendship, when the social construct of "nuclear family" falls apart. The animations also reveal aspects on an aesthetic level, such as the colorful intricacies between Western and Japanese visual traditions and the efforts to confer credibility to the dynamic display of Japanese characters, locations and circumstances.*

Keywords: *Japanese animation, dialectics between family and community, social constructs, Ghibli Studio, Japanese tradition*

1. Introduction: animation between aesthetics and ideology

Since its foundation in 1985 with a stable location in Higashi-Koganei, in Western Tokyo, Studio Ghibli has turned over the decades into a symbolic institution of the Japanese entertainment industry. The name mostly associated with Studio Ghibli is Miyazaki Hayao (born in 1942), who has collected most of the recognition, but he is, in fact, solely a member of what might be called "the Ghibli Quartet", consisting of Miyazaki Hayao, Takahata Isao (1935-2018), Suzuki Toshio (born in 1948) and Hisaishi Joe (born in 1950, real name Fujisawa Mamoru). The "founding quartet" included Takahata Isao, Miyazaki Hayao, Suzuki Toshio and Tokuma Yasuyoshi (1921-2000), with the last two serving as producer and manager, respectively. The composer Hisaishi Joe joined the Ghibli enterprise later, after Takahata and Miyazaki discovered him when he presented the music proposal for the first official anime movie released by the newly founded Studio Ghibli in 1986 *Laputa: Castle in the Sky*. Nowadays, one can talk of the Studio Ghibli in terms of an expanding "Ghibli corporation", with a Ghibli Museum founded in 2001, and located in Mitaka, Tokyo (projected and built under the supervision of Miyazaki Gorô, Miyazaki Hayao's eldest son, born in 1967). One could also mention a real-life replica of Satsuki & Mei's House from the anime movie *My Neighbor Totoro* (1988), situated on the EXPO 2005's site in Nagakute, Aichi prefecture (by Miyazaki Gorô, as well), and a long-expected Ghibli theme park in Aichi prefecture, to be opened most probably in 2020.

The sudden death of Takahata Isao in April 2018, as well as its quiet echo in the domestic and international press, caused a reinvigoration of the rumors, according to which a long and increasingly bitter rivalry might have existed between the two major figures of the Ghibli phenomenon: the so-called duo Takahata-Miyazaki. As shown below, I would argue that in spite of being very different in their approach to life and arts, both shared a deep-going affection for the human being in its intrinsic need to love and be loved in return. This affection is visible along their entire anime production, and had a profound impact on the ideological and aesthetic construction of the animated worlds presented and represented in the anime works released by Studio Ghibli. The infamous rivalry suggested by tabloids or even media analysts might go back to the fundamentally distinctive ways in which Takahata and Miyazaki chose to handle the topics of their works. While the ideological background

referred mainly to such big themes as environmental pollution, war, social discrimination, the process of growing-up, historical responsibility, the significance and value of life, love as a complex emotional phenomenon, they drew their inspiration mainly on an aesthetic level from the centuries-long tradition of classical Japanese visual arts. They were inspired particularly by the *emaki-mono* (handscroll-paintings of the Heian period, 794-1185) and *ukiyo-e* (wood-block prints of the Tokugawa period, 1603-1868). This basic foundation was enhanced by strong influences from Walt Disney's representation of reality in movable images, specifically the early Disney works (ca. until the death of its creator in 1966), by Yuri Norstein's (born in 1941, Russian animator) innovative approach to animation as a bi-dimensional simulation of the reality, and by Jacques Prévert's (1900-1977, French poet and screenwriter) vision of a re-writing of myths and legends through the creative adaptation to the present world (including the long-standing cooperation with Paul Grimault and their masterwork *Le Roi et l'oiseau* / *The King and the mocking bird*, 1980, translated and analyzed in Japanese by Takahata in 2007). Moreover, the German expressionism (from mid-1910 until early 1930s, with its strong reaction against plain realism and the employment of extreme distortions to express inner emotional realities which differed greatly from what they seemed at the surface, with dark, moody, disturbing ways to communicate with audiences) influenced the Japanese Animation studio. It could also be said about the Italian neorealism (from mid-1940s until early 1950s, with its brutal depiction of poverty, injustice, despair among the working-class members), and the French New Wave (late 1950s until late 1960s, with its almost documentary exactitude of the displayed facts and their quest for an ambivalence between subjective and objective realism which leaves the questions and ambiguities of the artistic production open to the viewer and challenges his cathartic-driven expectations). This ideological-aesthetic conglo-merate emerges from a deeply positive quest for the universality of the human being, and brings into the world several animated works of art, which prove that, at the end of the day, we all long for love

In order to prove these statements in relation to the representation of family and community in the animation works released by Studio Ghibli, the current paper is divided into three parts:

1. The depiction of family in early works, such as *My Neighbor Totoro* and *The Grave of the Fireflies*[91]. They are characterized either by a strong feeling of warmth and comprehension, while describing childhood's anxieties and necessary rites of passages, or are brutally straightforward in the display of war as an unconditionally destructive force of everything which composes the "common world", as Hannah Arendt famously put it decades ago.
2. The analysis of the family and its ties in later anime works, such as *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors, the Yamadas* (1999, director: Takahata Isao) and *Sen and Chihiro's Sudden Disappearance* (*Spirited Away*, 2001, director: Miyazaki Hayao). Both productions reveal a rather disenchanted vision of family in late-modern Japan, with increasingly disoriented parents and entitled children (however, artistically treated with warm humor) or with incomprehensibly lazy, consumerist, selfish parents and children gradually forced to take over the functions and responsibilities of their own parents.
3. A historical comparison between early and later works, which highlights once again the creative handling of dismantled realities in a progressive way, carefully avoiding the elitist attitude of intellectual analysts. The thin line between artistic visions and plain conformism to audiences' expectations (more often than not, highly conservative) as well as the subtle balance between these two parameters of the entertainment industry seem to be two of the major elements in explaining the longevity of Studio Ghibli in the extremely competitive – and volatile – market of the Japanese world of cultural consumption.

As to be shown in a further paper on the representation of life and its intrinsic connection to nature (in *Back to the Roots: The representation of life and nature in Studio Ghibli's anime works*, forthcoming in 2018), displayed in the animation movies *Ponpoko: The Tanuki's Heisei War* (1994, Takahata Isao) and *Princess Mononoke* (1997, Miyazaki Hayao); *The Wind Rises* (2013, Miyazaki Hayao) and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* (2013, Takahata Isao), it is precisely this quest for an immersion into the deep

[91] Both were released in 1988, and directed by Miyazaki Hayao and Takahata Isao, respectively.

layers of reality beyond what we perceive with the five regular senses that turns specific works released by Studio Ghibli into masterworks of creative energy and lessons in empathy, in a world gradually distancing itself from compassion and authentic vulnerability.

2. Family, community, and the invincibility of deep emotions

The importance of family and the immediate community has been repeatedly highlighted in sociological and anthropological works, which refer to pre-modern lifestyles as orientation guideposts for the cold late modernity. However, in dealing with such sensitive topics, the anime works of Studio Ghibli would depict the reality of life as an ongoing process of learning rather than delving into nostalgic reproductions of a past, which, as such, never existed. In the forthcoming analysis, I shall underline this intrinsic dynamics between the confrontation of the tangible immediacy of existence with the human need for projection in the future while nurturing memories of the past (invented or not).

2.1. Siblings' love and the power of hope

The anime movie *My Neighbor Totoro* was released in 1988 by Studio Ghibli under Miyazaki Hayao's direction. Essentially, the plot deals with the incipient stages of the relocation process from city to the rural area of a small family of four: a sickly mother, the working father, Kusakabe Tatsuo, who is a university professor of archeology, and two daughters, Satsuki – eight years old, and Mei – four years old. They move to the countryside to be closer to the hospital in which the children's mother is recovering from tuberculosis. The action takes place in Japan at the turn of the 1960s, and the house the family moves into is a nostalgic combination of a run-down old mansion and a comfortable cottage, both in Japanese traditional style. Right from the beginning, this house plays a fundamental role in the gradual integration of the newcomers within the simultaneously familiar and fantastic environment of rural life, composed both of friendly, helpful neighbors and magical, kind creatures.

The release of *My Neighbor Totoro* marked the explosion of the so-called "Totoro-craze" in Japan. This "Totoro-craze" was visible in such socio-cultural phenomena as the enthusiastic re-consideration of nature with its – real or fictional – inhabitants, the re-visitation of "heritage trees" (protectors and providers), the seeking of the simplicity of life within nature as an escape from an over-sophisticated urban environment, the respect for frugal, rural life, the re-discovery of simple happiness and the re-authentication of myths, legends and folkloric beliefs. *My Neighbor Totoro* recreates a life-feeling and an existential mood of the late 1950s and early 1960s. These are the so-called "Showa thirties", which are the epitome of nostalgia in present-day Japan with its all-encompassing, alienating strive for efficiency and progress in late modernity. There are several reasons why exactly this period in time – the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s – represents a nostalgic climax. Firstly, it begins a couple of years after the cease of the American occupation (effective as of April 28, 1952). Secondly, it ends before the beginning of the so-called "golden decade", from the mid-1960s until the mid-1970s, which marked the international acknowledgment of Japan as an economic superpower (while still lacking any major political significance on the international level). Such events as the Tokyo Olympics (1964), Osaka EXPO/Osaka International Exhibition (1970) and the world premiere of *The Rose of Versailles* (1974, staged by the Takarazuka Revue Company) accompanied this ascension. On the other hand, negative occurrences, such as the "Minamoto disease" (in Kumamoto prefecture, official recognized on September 26, 1968) and the first "oil crisis" (October 1973, provoked by the OAPEC countries) played in the background as negative effects of worldwide economic development and its impact on political and social structures (see Hendry, 2000, 28).

Decades later, Miyazaki Gorô, the son of Miyazaki Hayao and the person deeply involved in expanding the Totoro brand beyond its anime-connected relevance, commented on the project of the life-size Satsuki-&-Mei-House in Aichi prefecture[92] (Miyazaki, 2012, 4).

What Miyazaki Gorô means that nature and the nature-surrounded family house was an escape space by means of nostalgic reproduction as a main catalyst within the environment: family and their lodging place appears as a space for encounters and initiation journeys, as experienced

[92] "When I sit in the twilight-bliss in the living-room of the freshly finished 'Satsuki & Mei's House', there is both the feeling of [directly] immerging into the movie, and the hallucination of being (again) in the house of my grand-parents, which has been demolished. Within the mysterious mood incorporating both nostalgia and freshness, I fantasize that, who knows, maybe the 'pitch-black assistants' [*makkuro-kurosuke*] are observing me from the darkness."

by Satsuki and Mei in the anime movie as well. It is a gate between universes, not only the human and the animal or verdant world, but also between reality and dream, the possible and the probable, necessity and desire. The broken bucket and the archaic water-well become tools enabling the rediscovery of one's childhood – more often than not experienced as merely the product of a merchandized interaction between what Julia Kristeva has called, "the imaginary chaos and the symbolical order preparing the self for the confrontation with the real" (Kristeva, 1974, 44-57, 73-79).

In a parallel anime work, *The Grave of the Fireflies* tells a different story about Japan roughly 15 years prior to *My Neighbor Totoro*'s temporality: Towards the end of the Pacific War, two orphan children, 14-year-old Seita and his younger sister, 4-year-old Setsuko, die as a result of malnutrition and social segregation. *The Grave of the Fireflies* represents their blunt death as an everyday tragedy in the light of individual battles for progress and historical assertiveness. From the beginning, the two children are given no chance of survival, which is displayed strongly and realistically through the abstractness of the animated medium (Takahata, 1991, 422)[93] On the one hand, there is the representation of war as a dehumanizing force – not a necessary evil, as cynical apologists try to describe it; on the other hand, there is the unexhausted attempt to reveal and celebrate the human essence beyond the death and in the eternity of acceptance (Takahata, 1991, 442). Personal decisions are at the forefront of historical events, which are not only questioned by individual failures, but lose their entire legitimacy. In the age of grand identity discourse, mere survival is not guaranteed to the weakest among the citizens, which fundamentally undermines the effect and validity of such legitimation mechanisms.

The Grave of the Fireflies is far more than a disenchanting movie transcending the boundaries of animation art: it is a tremendous work of art, which reports with almost documentary accuracy on the dehumanization of people in the age of world wars. The two children are struggling to survive: Seita and his younger sister Setsuko are left on their own device after their mother dies because of the brutal bombing of Kobe and while their father serves in the Japanese Navy. However, the two siblings have not heard from him for a long time, so the subtext is that he might have probably died already. At first, they move in with a distant relative; shortly afterward, the atmosphere is increasingly deteriorating because their aunt considers Seita lazy and ungrateful and Setsuko spoiled. Seita decides to leave the house of these relatives, accompanied by his sister. However, as they cannot get enough food from begging and stealing in bombed Japan just after the surrender, the two siblings starve to death.

The plot is largely based on the semi-autobiographical eponymous novel by Nosaka Akiyuki, whose own sister starved to death during the war. The author blamed himself for her death and wrote the story as a kind of reconciliation with his feelings of guilt (Drazen, 2003, 189). Takahata's animated version of *The Grave of Fireflies* represents an almost surreal calm, sepia-colored apocalypse that contains strong subliminal messages. The humanist vision of the director moves effectively into the background. He does not share pity or allegations. He limits himself to an almost documentary exactitude that challenges prevalent aesthetic standards. The artistic means employed to this avail reminisce of the simplicity of ideological mechanisms when they have lost their historical validation. The firebombs seem ridiculous at first: thin, stray tongues of fire against a fence and a barely swallowing house – however, Seita does not even try to fight them, instead he takes his sister on his back and simply runs away. From the distance, he sees his burnt house. There is no psychological commentary on it, solely the visual statement of the historical fact that houses are bombed during wars and innocent civilians die incessantly, as a consequence of those bombings.

Neither Nosaka's novel nor Takahata's anime movie are intended as explicit manifestos against the war or as a direct statement supporting the concept of family as an indestructible unit. If Nosaka's novel appears as a kind of reconciliation with his conscience and deep-seated feelings of guilt, Takahata's work constitutes the mere portrayal of an inevitable tragedy with means of artistic exploration (see Napier, 2005, 42): it shows two absolutely normal life-stories extinguished by the casualties of war. There are no heroes in the first line, no great speeches about human dignity and human rights, no history-challenging events: there are only two orphans who starve to death under the powerless gaze of the audiences, while desperately witnessing the awkward attempts of the elder brother to persuade his younger sister that everything will be all right eventually. The expressive power of the animation art delivers to the whole story a crucial atmosphere of glowing surrealism, so that

[93] This is a world that I could transform into images precisely because I dealt with animated images.

destruction and death seem unbelievably unreal and still close enough to be emotionally compelling (see Grăjdian, 2008, 106). Amid such a relentless tragedy, the animated medium remains an ideological salvation: the aesthetic dimension of the message takes over the mental control and guides the audience against their despair and disgust.

2.2. Family dramas and the value of life

It is crucial to learn to move with the flow of times and to experience life as an eternal celebration in spite of, or just because of its difficulties and disappointments. Thus, the anime movie *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors, the Yamadas* talks in a warm-hearted, gentle, and simultaneously serious manner about the importance of family, as a balanced set of aspirations and concerns, on the one hand, and fulfillments and pleasures, on the other. It is a cheerful family comedy, displayed like a video comic strip, arguably in itself quite unusual, compared to most of the other anime works released by Studio Ghibli, which are done in classic animation style. It was the first fully digital movie of Studio Ghibli. Despite positive reviews, *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors, the Yamadas* was a huge flop at the box-office – both domestic and international – and was followed by a long break in Takahata's creative activity until 2013, when his last anime movie, *The Tale of Princess Kaguya,* was released. This was not so much due to the topic it chooses to address, and much more due to the unusual characters and design style, as well as due to the somewhat unorthodox treatment of the subject with its numerous ironic and self-ironic elements and surprising twists. At the crossroads of the millennia, it seemed as if the audiences, deeply troubled by a lack of ideological and aesthetic orientation, sought indeed rather affirmative and straightforward works of art which could be taken as mental-emotional signposts, and less philosophical or critical inputs.

The plot of *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors, the Yamadas* is based on the manga work of Ishii Hisaichi from the 1980s. It describes the everyday life of a (typical or not, depending on the point of view) Japanese family with their quotidian endeavors. Takashi is an average employee in an anonymous company, Matsuko is an ordinary, not exceptionally hardworking, housewife, Yamano Shige (Matsuko's mother) is a retired old-lady as to be found everywhere in Japan: obtrusive, annoying, know-it-all, and yet somehow unfamiliar with her fascination with larvae instead of the flowers that they eat away. Noboru (the elder son) is a student at a minor university and does not understand the meaning of continuous goal-oriented study, and Nonoko (the younger daughter) embodies the archetype of the spoiled, cynical girl (Inoue, 2004b, 192).[94]

As in every work by Takahata, this anime movie expresses nostalgia and a particular human sensitivity beyond the precise art of representation. During the 144 minutes, with warm humor and empathetic irony, we accompany the Yamada family during various aspects of its everyday life, from domestic disagreements to work-related issues, in their narrative specificity. The audience begins soon either to identify with the apparently crazy, but in fact amazingly universal family, and begins to love and admire them in their natural affection and down-to-earth approach to everything.

Then, two years later, *Spirited Away* was released: Often quoted among the best movie for children, *Spirited Away* (2001) is the story of a jaded 10-year old girl, Chihiro Ogino, who is traveling with her parents to their new neighborhood, but underway they enter the magic world of the spirits. Her parents behave inappropriately by greedily eating food, which was not meant for them and are consequently transformed into pigs. Chihiro searches for work at the bathhouse of an old witch, Yubaba, in order to find a way to turn her parents back into the original form as humans, so that they can return together into their real world. Along her initiation trip in the liminal space of the bathhouse and beyond it, Chihiro gets to know several people, each one of them with his or her own story and matures in the process. She becomes gradually stronger and more empathetic, as she understands that there are less fortunate people than her, and learns to fulfill her duties with seriousness and diligence. Moreover, the sullen girl from the

[94] [Hôhokekyo:] *My Neighbors the Yamadas* was produced as a Studio Ghibli anime work after *Princess Mononoke.* In this work [Princess Mononoke], there is the serious statement "Live!" To the question how to do it best, the characters in [anime movie] Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors, the Yamadas, obviously react with the funny, lovely verdict: "However you might like it! " [...] In doing so, [Takahata] clearly shows that it is indeed possible to openly address the problems plaguing the environment and the family as well as the connections between them, to reflect upon those issues and to express various opinions, without demonizing the perpetrators as in [anime movie] *The Prince of Sun:* Horus' great adventure [1968] or to return to the fields and the physical work [implied by living in the countryside] as in [anime movie] *Memories like Raindrops* [1991].

beginning of the movie slowly evolves towards a deep, hardworking young lady, able to see beneath the surface of instant gratification and fake friends. Eventually, helped by trustworthy friends, she'll be able to rescue her parents, and they'll leave that mysterious space. However, Chihiro will forever remember the valuable lessons apprehended during those fantasy weeks.

Several themes crisscross the plot of *Spirited Away*: the imbalanced power relationships within Chihiro's family are suddenly challenged when the parents lose their human shape and the child lands in the position to save them. On the background of this "family crisis", with irresponsible parents and children forced to mature ahead of time, the subtle critique of capitalism and its market-driven consumerism (in the characters of Chihiro's parents), as well as the questioning vision on the over-Westernization of Japan at the expense of its millennial traditions and belief systems (in the structure of the bathhouse, with the luxurious life of Yubaba in brutal contrast with the strict, modest life of her employees, or the lavish lifestyle of the bathhouse guests, again, in blatant contradiction with the poverty and humiliating treatment of those serving them) emerge. The bleak ambivalence in Chihiro's new surroundings turns, ultimately, into a bright metaphor of her process towards maturity. Like in the old image of a lotus-blossom, which stems from muddy waters, (according to folk convictions, the muddier the waters, the more radiant the lotus-flower), Chihiro grows up into a sensitive, warm-hearted young girl, both profound in her compassionate way of approaching others and in her soft manner. Particularly No-Face, whom she treats with kindness and thus saves from his own-inflicted loneliness and greed, and Haku, the spirit of a river, which was destroyed and replaced with apartment buildings, deliver powerful metonymies for the alienation of humans from their natural habitat. Therefore, it has been repeatedly argued that is a story about environment and its systematic ruination by humans in their limitless strives for progress; the characters alluding natural phenomena are to be observed on the background of Chihiro's story and the impact they have on her evolution. In No-Face she discovers her need to nurture and comfort, without expecting anything in return. In Haku, she explores her ability to open up to friendships and emotional intimacy, while mentally managing her reactions, fears, doubts, her anger and her isolation. More than punctual symbols of nature constantly attacked by humans, the characters alluding to natural phenomena function as vivid reminders of the nature within each of us, of our innate need for closeness and companionship, which can only be acquired if it is given freely, in the first place.

Spirited Away aligns with similar coming-of-age narratives, such as Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Found There* (1871), Carlo Collodi's *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (1881-1882) and Frank Baum's *The Wizard of Oz* (1900): children who outgrow their age as a consequence of magic encounters and events, and proceed on a long and insidious path towards "returning home". On the way, the characters discover that their world would never be the same again, and simultaneously with their sadness, a fresh sense of self emerges, which enables them to see the others and themselves as empowered, liberated beings. The trajectory of their new development is complex and at times dangerous, but also rewarding and full of unexpected positive experiences.

Considered the most successful film in Japanese history, grossing over $289 million worldwide, *Spirited Away* overtook *Titanic* (at the time the top-grossing film worldwide) in the Japanese box office, to become the highest-grossing movie in Japanese history with a 30.4 JPY billion in total. It received critical universal acclaim, being frequently ranked among the greatest animated movies ever made, and won the Award for Best Animated Feature at the 75th Academy Awards, making it the only hand-drawn and non-English language animated movie to do so. A "dazzling fairy-tale" at the beginning of the new millennium, *Spirited Away* transcends the classic concepts of family and primary community into progressive all-too-fluid environments announcing the "liquid societies" of late modernity, and reminds its audience of our all-too-human need for love, warmth and acceptance.

2.3. From the simplicity of love to the incommensurability of affection

Historically speaking, the four Ghibli anime works, analyzed farther above, focus at the center of their plot on the representation of family and the immediate community as fundamental elements in crafting a sense of self and others in children. Children are regarded as messengers to the future, embodying the hope and the vision a society carries within itself for its meaning in the greater scheme of things. Not incidentally, in dealing with the family at the very core of any form of over-individual human grouping, both

Takahata and Miyazaki tend to adopt a rather reflexive attitude, mirroring the fast – and more often than not – negative changes occurring in late modernity. As shown previously, *My Neighbor Totoro* creates the family and the family house as an escape space by means of nostalgic reproduction, with nature as the main catalyst. In the absence of a full, deeply functional family, nature turns into a space of encounters, where initiation trips occur and open the vast scene of new experiences for Satsuki and Mei. The two sisters discover in the unexpected encounters and challenging adventures the inner strength to overcome fear and annoyance, and to move forward to accepting fresh emotions of belonging and protection. More than being a simple building in the anonymous countryside, the family house reveals itself gradually as a gate between universes – it connects and transcends them. The father, initially obviously overwhelmed by his function in balancing both work and an appropriate nurturing for his daughters, slowly, finds his position within the fantastic space in which his daughters immerse.

On the other hand, *The Grave of the Fireflies* breaks the tradition with serene, empathic representation of community and family at its core, and offers a brutal, painful insight into the cynical mechanisms of love and war. While the anime movie is neither an anti-war manifesto, nor a pro-war revisionist re-writing of history, it employs war as an uncomfortable reminder that quotidian realities we accept as inevitable – and war is one of them, whether we like to acknowledge it or not – have incalculable impact on innocent victims who cannot protect themselves against it. In spite of having the phenomenon of war as the main catalyst, *The Grave of the Fireflies* is not about war, but about human beings who live in times of war, and about their pains and losses. Family and any functional grown-ups are absent, and it is, again, in the desperate affection of the two siblings that we find a sense of relief and forgiveness. Beyond being a historical occurrence with apparently clearly-defined levels of "good" and "evil", war becomes, thus, a personal concern, deeply affecting individuals – both those directly involved and those marginally related – in their quest for love, happiness and existential fulfillment. Ironically, in the brutality of war and the meaningless death of the two siblings, we see, and feel, and find, the strength to believe in the future, and to appreciate the little things that we might otherwise take for granted, like food, peace and human togetherness.

Almost a decade later, the profound disenchantment of the "lost 1990s" finds an inverse expression in *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors, the Yamadas*: displayed in an unconventional, innovative drawing style and composed of several episodes describing the quotidian life of an average Japanese family in a humorous tone, it creates the emotional space for the audiences to increasingly identify with the Yamada members and their everyday struggles, dreams, fears, misunderstandings and (small) victories. As often with the anime works directed by Takahata, *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors the Yamadas* is a discrete masterpiece and a huge flop at the box-office. However, it remains a powerful reminder that true happiness resides in the small things, occurring on an everyday basis, which we tend to pass by without taking notice of the green grass on the side of the pedestrian way, the smiling "Good morning!" of an anonymous passerby, the ephemeral rainbow after the rain, the butterflies playing at the beginning of the summer, the twinkling stars in the night-sky. The soft, warm humanism which supports the directing act of this unobtrusive family-comedy is the foundation of that mental state in which we learn to accept those around us in their fundamental alterity, as Emmanuel Levinas famously put it decades ago, and to love them in spite – or precisely because – of their flaws and inconsistencies.

Eventually, the internationally acknowledged manifesto of childhood lost and regained, and of the unabashed observation that "family is in crisis", *Sen and Chihiro's Sudden Disappearance* (*Spirited Away*) depicts without any restraints the dissolution of the traditional Japanese family (ideal) as implemented by Meiji technocrats and heavily promoted by the postwar Japanese consumption society. Once again, we are confronted with the distressing truth that childhood is more often than not experienced as merely the product of a merchandized interaction between what Julia Kristeva has called in 1974 the imaginary chaos and the symbolical order, preparing the self for the confrontation with the real: children are not human beings, but numbers and products, precious assets to be taken care of in the capitalist logic of the neo-Marxist post-Adornist order of things, with education, holidays, entertainment and free-time strictly controlled and measured by ideologies of structural formations. *Spirited Away* rejects the conformist vision of politico-economic limitation of the infantile imagination via preconceived educational models, and offers credible lessons in hard work and humility as necessary rites of passage towards the creation and crystallization of a strong sense of

self, which leads, to a deep and organic acceptance of the others in their "radical alterity". Rumors of a definitive split between Takahata and Miyazaki emerged at the beginning of the 2000s, but *Spirited Away* is, like *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors, the Yamadas*, an epos of learning about oneself and discovering the others as others in the process, and of living life as it comes. The implosion of family – around the turn of the millennium, the Japanese society showed disturbing signs of suffering from agonizing ruptures within the structure of the nuclear family and a deep lack of affection and empathy between members belonging to the same household – is exposed without false hopes, while being represented as the ground for the individuals to recognize and explore their own, innate abilities to overcome the loneliness, (passive) aggressiveness and silence around them.

3. Conclusion: the notion of 'family' and the changing realities of late modernity

During the production process of anime TV series, such as *Heidi, the Girl of the Alps* (1974), *3.000 Miles in Search of Mother* (1976) or *Red-Haired Anne* (*The Red-Haired Anne*/*Anne of Green Gables*, 1979), Takahata as director and Miyazaki as key-animator acknowledged the fact that their ideal to create high-quality animation works, reflecting human existence with its joys and losses, would forever stay a mere dream within the limited framework of the television industry, both in terms of financial support and in terms of audience relevance and impact (Takahata, 1996, 578). The foundation of Studio Ghibli made their dream come true, so that they could regard every anime work as an entity in itself, according to Studio Ghibli's "3 Hs"; "High Cost, High Risk, High Return". Following the establishment of the studio, their task would ultimately be to keep the balance between commercial success and personal aesthetic-ideological values, according to the pragmatic translation of the "3Hs" philosophy, as expressed in the words of the producer Suzuki Toshio: "Make a movie; if it was successful at the box-office, make the next movie; if it fails, that's the end." (Grajdian, 2008, 82) The release of good anime works was the most important task, while the expansion of the anime business was solely a byproduct. Indeed, by developing high-value anime works with a general-human message, economic success became a natural side effect. Despite the fact that both Takahata and Miyazaki repeatedly highlighted the idea that Japanese audiences were their main target, with a specifically Japanese message to bring over to that very Japanese audience – even though several of their anime works were inspired by non-Japanese sources – in time, anime works released by Studio Ghibli became international blockbusters. This is related to the fact that today's anime audiences – both Japanese and worldwide – yearn for honesty and simplicity, which is largely provided by anime works released by Studio Ghibli. Japanese audiences grew up in Japan's postwar atmosphere saturated with manga and anime productions. A great part of the Japanese postwar population experienced anime and manga works as an omnipresent presence in their everyday life, so much so that they have been relating intrinsically to anime and manga representations of their quotidian endeavors – struggles and joys altogether –, and they identify with them and believe in them (Takahata, 1999a, 191). Furthermore, while the first postwar generation (the baby-boomers) no longer consumed anime or manga works as products exclusively meant for children, the next generation does it even less. In Takahata's and Miyazaki's art vision, the main task of a creator nowadays is to bring out and build up works that appeal directly to the audiences, which challenging them to think and to feel, and if necessary, to re-think and to re-feel their realities, and to stand up to the chance of elevating above the suffocating, alienating everyday life.

On the other hand, it would be a cheap generalization to regard Studio Ghibli as a cultural paradise living on the production of cultural assets. The last few works, particularly since *Howl's Moving Castle* (2004) illustrate the danger of high expectations and lurking artistic narcissism (combined with increasing tendencies of cultural nationalism). In its position as a further manifestation of late-modern mythologies (Condry, 2013, 24; Drazen, 2011, 98), Studio Ghibli flourished due to the efficiently working duo Takahata-Miyazaki, and in spite of their fundamentally different personalities. They infused the anime works with incessant passion, love and force, while respectfully observing the consumers' expectations without giving up on their own ideals, deeply reminiscent of late 1960s ideology. As outposts of the so-called "new globalization of Japanese animation" (Heinricy, 2010, 8), Studio Ghibli is sometimes still treated as an antithesis to Disney, in a senseless East-West dichotomy which oversees the fact that, unlike Disney, Japanese animation is by far not a monolithic entity, but a dynamic conglomerate which preserves its unpredictability due to its diversity and plurality – clearly reflecting the Japanese culture and society. The hybrid realities

of today's Japan – multiple boundaries transgressions and cross-national exchanges in the field of commerce, aesthetics, ideology and science – are assimilated within hegemonic discourses on cultural purity and homogeneousness, as well as in nostalgic references to pre-modernity. The most disturbing among these waves appears to be the attempt to culturally re-configure the fears of modernity through rationalizing technologies, individualizing practices and totalizing apparatuses. This reminds, at some level, of Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, which is based on the argument of radical otherness that cannot be acknowledged until a constructive alternative discourse emerges in the form of a liberating clash, to disrupt prevalent flows (see Kristeva, 1970, 23). This discursive dialogism – a permanent interaction of meanings, incipient at the level of the words, of the discourses, of the languages themselves or of the cultures they represent – is nevertheless subjected to a dialogical process as a parallel construction to the time of the relativization and liquefaction of those prevalent flows – which is vividly included within the continuous exchanges between producers and consumers of mass media works.

On a more general level, one might talk in the case of family and community representation in Studio Ghibli's anime works of a very particular type of enlightenment in which a warm humanism celebrates the human being in its singularity and unrepeatability: failures, joys, hopes, dreams and illusions included. Rather than banishing the animal in the human being and ruthlessly re-enforcing the rational, this type of humanism strives towards sublimating them peacefully. It is not a struggle between the two sides of the human, but their profound harmonization (Yôrô/Miyazaki, 2002, 11). Taking this vision as a foundation for their works, Takahata and Miyazaki design their characters in the spirit of acceptance, with worries, dreams, contradictions, optimistically delivering them to the world at large via the generous medium of the (Japanese) animation: despite difficulties, both family and life are to be enjoyed in their absolute fullness and uniqueness. It is an almost intrusive invitation to celebrate those around us as beautiful, lovely participants in the greater game of life, leading, inevitably, towards empowerment of the individual human being – be it in discrete family sagas or on the broader stage of social events. Thus, while *My Neighbor Totoro* is a family-oriented drama, reminding of the "little things" which count, *The Grave of the Fireflies* prepares the human spirit for a new type of compassion and acceptance; *Spirited Away* might indeed be seen as orchestrating a dramatic hymn to life and love as the most valuable assets to be ever possessed and the quiet, cheerful climax represented by *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbors, the Yamadas* encapsulates the soft message that humans go on dreaming of heroic missions to save the world from extinction and the horrid boredom of a never-changing quotidian life (Takahata, 1999, 21), even though this exists solely in their imagination. Herein, not only the Japanese youth in post-recession Japan, but also Western youths in super-saturated societies can find models for new, fresh life projects. Family values and inter-generational interdependence, social conformism and personal fulfillment, simple gestures of affection in the life of average social actors provide individual solutions to general constraints and obligations, and reveal new horizons of unlimited potential.

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C. REVIEWS

THE NEW ROMANIAN CINEMA
EDITED BY CHRISTINA STOJANOVA
WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF DANA DUMA (REVIEW)

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Several books in English have been published in recent years about the New Romanian Cinema (abbreviated as NRC) that emerged in the new millennium. Noteworthy contributions include Dominique Nasta's *Contemporary Romanian Cinema: The History of an Unexpected Miracle* (2013), Doru Pop's *Romanian New Wave Cinema: An Introduction* (2014), Monica Filimon's *Cristi Puiu* (2017) and László Strausz's *Hesitant Histories on the Romanian Screen* (2017). However, the recent collective volume edited by Christina Stojanova with the support of Dana Duma may well be the definitive work on the subject.

The book, published in 2019 by the prestigious British publishing house Edinburgh University Press in the "Traditions in World Cinema" series, is divided into six dense and stimulating parts, preceded by an introduction by Christina Stojanova, Associate Professor at the Department of Film at the University of Regina, Canada. The first part, "Modernism/Minimalism", contextualizes the NRC from the perspective of the cinematic language employed by its main representatives. To accomplish the task, Dominique Nasta, Irina Trocan and filmmaker/film scholar Ioana Uricaru resort to the two key concepts that make up this part's title.

The second part of the volume, "Intermediality/Intertextuality", comprises three texts by academics from universities in Cluj-Napoca (Ágnes Pethő, Katalin Sándor, and Melinda Blos-Jáni), as well as an article in which Liviu Lutas, Assistant Professor at Linnaeus University, Sweden, applies the concept of "remediation", utilised mainly in the field of new media studies, to the films of Cristi Puiu, a quintessential figure of the NRC.

The next part, "Ethics/New Aesthetics", opens with Stojanova's suggestively entitled, referencing Wittgenstein, study "Authenticity in New Romanian Cinema: 'Ethics and Aesthetics Are One'", developed from an article published in 2016 by the Romanian *Film* magazine. Making use of relevant examples, the author investigates NRC's handling of cinematic time as an ethical category, as well as its representation of the good vs evil duality. Uricaru explores the ethical dimension of the NRC by analysing Radu Muntean's *The Paper Will Be Blue* (2006), while Kalling Heck, representing the University of Redlands, USA, applies Mark Blyth's political economy theories to Cristian Mungiu's *Beyond the Hills* (2012).

The fourth part, "Gender/Genre", includes two substantial studies on controversial topics. Co-editor Dana Duma, Professor at the Bucharest University of Theatre and Film, analyses depictions of women in recent Romanian films directed by both men and women, and brings into discussion the Bechdel test, used ever more frequently in academic studies to assess the presence of female characters in films (however, as Duma points out, giving as a counterexample the films of Corneliu Porumboiu, the test results are not infallible). In the second text of the section, Andrea Virginás asserts the possibility of identifying a poetics of genres such as melodrama and crime film in the context of a small cinema.

"National/Place and Transnational/Space" is another intellectually challenging part. Mircea Deaca examines, from a cognitivist perspective, the function of the kitchen, as diegetic space, in Romanian films, Marian Țuțui and Raluca Iacob map out the geographical and identity profile of the NRC, while Doru Pop scrutinizes three films (directed by Radu Muntean, Călin Peter Netzer and Corneliu Porumboiu) which he considers relevant for the "transnational turn" in Romanian cinema.

The book concludes with Stojanova's "Historical Overview" of Romanian cinema, from its early years till the 1990s. The section, which could have been also the opening part of the volume, provides a necessary overview of the evolution of local cinema.

The book, richly illustrated with black and white images, includes also an extensive bibliography and two filmographies, one of the NRC and another one bringing together all the films referred to by the authors. Thus, researchers interested to go deeper into the study of Romanian

cinema can find here all the important landmarks. Overall, the collective volume combines in-depth analysis and comprehensive synthesis, and provides its readers all the key topics, directions, methods and perspectives that are essential for further understanding and studying the complex and dynamic New Romanian Cinema.

BUILDING A HOUSE IN RURAL ROMANIA BEFORE AND AFTER 1989 BY FLORICA (BOHÎLȚEA) MIHUȚ (REVIEW)

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One of the strengths of the book[95] is that it has been written by a historian who has also a qualification in ethnology. That aspect allowed the author to analyse profoundly the subject, which pertains to social and cultural anthropology, in a wider historical context. The Romanian rural household was never a simple issue of economics or social relations and the scientific literature on this subject during the last century was highly politicised. As Florica Bohîlțea Mihuț mentions in her introductory remarks, in the past decades the rural household was considered by scholars from different disciplines as proof of the continuity of habitation on present day Romanian territory. Here she alludes to a controversy older than two centuries. This controversy about the Romanian territory belonging to different ethnic groups began at the end of the 18th century, involving Austrian, German, Hungarian and Romanian scholars, and continues in different forms until today. The contested ethnic character of some of the lands occupied today by Romanians, led the Romanian scholars to use the ethnological argument in an effort to prove the continuity of habitation on the same places, by the same people, from Antiquity until today. The rural household was then seen as immutable, unaltered by technological or urban progress, the living proof of a distinct and superior ethnic character of the Romanian people.

These 19th and early 20th scholarly conceptions were maintained and enforced during the communist regime and especially during its national-communist phase under Nicolae Ceausescu. It was in that period that the superiority of peasant traditions over the urban, bourgeois ones was praised on a theoretical, ideological level. At the same time, beginning in the 1970s, Ceausescu established a policy of village destruction, under the name of "systematization", aiming to a greater social and economic control over the country.

This is the background delineated by the author, which has a high degree of originality, because the issue of the rural habitat was not extensively researched during the last communist decades, regarded as an undesirable subject for the academic world. Moreover, after the fall of the communist regime, the attention of the researchers was mainly focused on the recent phenomenon of Romanians from rural areas migrating to Western European countries in search of higher wages and coming back to build a "pride house" in the village of origin, in order to achieve social recognition. Florica Bohîlțea Mihuț intended to recover the diversity of tendencies of rural material culture and to offer a wider picture of the evolution of architecture in Romanian villages.

In order to achieve the proposed objectives, the author divides her material in three chapters. In the first one, she analyses the evolution of Romanian laws pertaining to house construction, giving a special attention to the changes introduced by Ceausescu at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. The communist regime tried to destroy the previous way of life, and architecture and house building were part of these policies. Under the ideology of offering affordable dwellings for working people, the Party-State intended to standardise everything. The houses in rural areas were very different one from another, according to the region and the local traditions or influences, but the Communist authorities imposed the so-called *type projects* that the villagers had to follow when building a house. Even if those projects used some vernacular architectural traditions, they were very few comparing with the great diversity of architectural dwelling-types that had existed before the Second World War. After 1974, under the pretext of making life in the village more similar to that in the towns, those who wanted to build a new house were forced to build a two-storey one or not build at all, which drastically limited the number of those who were able to have a new dwelling. The building regulations

[95] Florica (Bohîlțea) Mihuț, *Building a House in Rural Romania before and after 1989*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2019, 112 p.

had an appearance of modernity (taking into consideration the seismic risk, the creation of "modern rural roadways", placing houses at appropriate distance from the access ways) but in reality they were directed towards the destruction of the traditional way of life, expressed in the small, individual peasant house. The great earthquake of 4th of March 1977, which destroyed or seriously damaged about 32,900 houses, offered Nicolae Ceausescu further pretexts to carry out his projects of radically changing the face of Romania. The villages had to restrict the constructed surface in order to free more lands for agriculture, so the ancient houses had to be demolished and the new dwellings had to be multi-storey houses, similar to the blocks of flats in the towns. The essential difference was that the blocks of flats built in the villages under Ceausescu's indications had no running water, toilets or central heating.

The author presents the path towards a liberalisation and democratisation of house construction which occurred after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, sometimes in difficult and contrived ways. The former authoritarian measures that drastically limited the possibility of building an independent house in a rural area are today replaced by bureaucratic ones which make the process difficult, slow and expensive.

The second chapter analyses the stories told by some individuals who managed to build a house during the communist era or after 1989. The author uses data obtained from three rural communities during field research between 2014-2016. Using interviews, she asked her informants about their interactions with the authorities, while they were trying to obtain the legal documentation for the construction and the building materials. The interviews show that the building regulations were perceived as difficult to comply with, both before and after 1989. Some important changes occurred in the availability of building materials, as wood was almost impossible to get in the late years of the communist regime and it is affordable nowadays. Besides, the emergence of new materials, such as double gazed windows, is an interesting phenomenon, because some people don't have confidence in the insulation properties (blaming them for the mould inside the house), but such windows are still a powerful strategy of distinction in the Romanian villages.

The author analyses some of the main problems which occur today in the process of building a new house, the most important being the diminishing of the financial capabilities of many villagers and also the difficulty of obtaining reliable work-force. A new phenomenon which retained the author's attention was the construction of huge houses by individuals who went to work in Western Europe, especially in Spain and Italy. They usually came back with money and architectural ideas that had nothing to do with the local tradition. The author points out that the changes in architecture inspired by foreign fashion were so great that today it is almost impossible to establish geographic, regional patterns. The pride-houses often stay empty in the hope of the return of their owners to the village.

The final chapter analyses the social and cultural significance of the rural house, Florica Bohîlțea Mihuț choosing a historical and cultural perspective of analysis. "The building of the rural house has been influenced by the relationship of the owner with other inhabitants of the village and the image of the house from the perspective of those who live in it" (p. 64). The author highlights that most of those interviewed were convinced that the building of a new house was a way to a better living, even if the definition of this better living evolved in time. Having a running water supply was a rarity during the communist regime and it still remains unfortunately in many present day Romanian villages. Fewer people are willing to make the effort to install a water closet and bath in an area where there are not communal water supply and sewers, but almost everybody wants double-glazed windows, not really because of their insulating properties, but because they were associated with being wealthy and fashionable.

The *Conclusions* underline the importance of the research topic and show how the activity of building (or repairing, modernising) a house has been not only a material process, but also cultural means of constructing the owner's identity. Florica Bohîlțea Mihuț's research demonstrated that under apparent similarities (the emergence of "pride houses" and more recently "rustic houses" built usually as holiday residencies by town dwellers), there is a great variety in the ways in which a new house is built and expresses the identity of the owner and of his/her community.

The bibliography is impressive and witnesses the amount of historical and anthropological documentation used in writing the book. The interdisciplinary methodology and the quality of the analysis make *Building a House in Rural Romania before and after* 1989 an important contribution to understanding the Romanian recent past.

FREEDOM AND POPULISM. WOUNDED IDENTITIES IN CENTRAL-EAST EUROPE BY MÁTÉ-TÓTH ANDRÁS (REVIEW)

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Máté-Tóth András is one of the most well-known historians of religions and theologians of Hungary, founder of the department of Religious Studies in Szeged, author of more than 150 articles and 40 books. His research is focused on a great variety of topics within religious studies and contemporary theology, especially on contemporary theories on religious communication, religious changes in Central-East Europe (Máté-Tóth-Rosta, 2016) and the religious aspects of political changes in Hungary (Máté-Tóth-Sarnyai, 2015). Formed as a theologian in the influential school of the Austrian theologian Paul Zulehner. The present book[96] is a result of a Máté-Tóth long lasting research on religious and ideological changes in Central-East Europe, which methodologically combines the history of religions and the history of political ideas.

The book has three main chapters, which define also 3 major topics of the work: the definition and notion of *Ostmitteleuropa* (Central-East Europe), the notion of wounded identities and finally the role and facets of religious communication and forms of religion in the previous two topics.

The first chapter, dealing with the problematic notion of Central-East Europe – similarly to the recently discussed notion of *Mitteleuropa* (Brix-Busek, 2019) - presents shortly the history, reception, transformations and the possible end of *Mitteleuropa*, as notion. Máté-Tóth – citing the latest literature on Europe political and ideological mapping and the cultural notions of borders, borderlines and discontinuities – claims that finding a "middle way", a geographic and cultural *aurea mediocritas* is a modern, contemporary necessity in the syndrome of Europe definitions and problematic question on "what is Europe". This necessity was born especially in the age of empires, when this part of Europe became a borderline between Christian and Muslim, Western and Eastern. Later, this area was the ultimate buffer zone between the Soviet world and the Western democracy. Máté-Tóth cites briefly, without detailing, the probably long-forgotten, but certainly highly influential and provocative arguments of Jenő Szűcs on *Mitteleuropa* and the three major parts of Europe (Szűcs, 1983; Gyurgyák 2018, 43-45). The author enrols 8 major factors which he considers essential in the cultural-political definition of the region: the Jewish and German migration to this area, the parallel existence of Catholicism and Protestantism and the marginal presence of Orthodoxism and Islam, the early formation of cities and urbanism, the early emergence of free peasants, cultural and linguistic pluralism in the region, late apparition of industrialization. Máté-Tóth examines also the role of religion in the formation and characteristics of this modern notion, mainly following the thesis of Gert Pickel. Finally, the author argues that the contemporary discussions on political and cultural fluidities and varieties (mainly citing William James' work) contributed on the deconstruction of the concept of Central-East Europe, too.

The second major chapter analyses the problem of postcolonial world in Europe. Starting from the critique of historicism by Chakrabarty, Máté-Tóth discusses several problems of postcolonial Central-East Europe, from the notion of modernism, euro-scepticism, forms of secularization, critique of secularism in our region. The author presents in 1-2 pages large and very complex topics, each of them worth a length of a monograph. This makes these short subchapters very concise and sometimes hard to follow at least for non-specialist readers in political sciences and historians of ideologies. These monumental topics shortened reflect many of the author's important articles and studies. The book therefore can be considered as one of the milestones in his own academic endeavour.

In one of his subchapters, Máté-Tóth discusses in detail also the case of exorcism in Romanian Orthodox Church, based mostly on the

[96] Máté-Tóth András, *Freiheit und Populismus. Verwundete Identitäten in Ostmitteleuropa*, Springer, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2019, 314 p.

article of Daniel Iftene. In one of the most powerful subchapters, Máté-Tóth makes an important summary of the postcolonial secularism in Central-East Europe, reflecting also his major theoretical background, the influence of Hans Joas and Peter Berger.

The last chapter of the first part of the book applies Ernesto Laclau's notion of empty signifier to religion. This is one of the key notions of Máté-Tóth, through which he analyses the contemporary revival of religions in Central-East Europe and the de-secularisation process, too.

The second big chapter is dealing with the notion of wounded identities. Starting from the idea of J. Butler on the condition of the bodies and – indirectly – from the notion of embodiment, Máté-Tóth interprets identities as social and cultural constructs, which can be wounded as living entities and constructions as well. Máté-Tóth presents some particularities of a well-known and often used notion of vulnerability, especially following the ideas of Brian S. Turner. The author emphasized the importance of the collective vulnerability and wounded identities in Central-East Europe, as one of the key specificities of this region, which persists even today, although in Western Europe the collective identity-building is replaced by various forms of individualization processes. He also introduces a very interesting notion of collective wound-therapy, named also as ritual or symbolic-politics. This is the point where Central-East Europe as a cultural construct, wounded collective identities and contemporary religion meet: Máté-Tóth affirms after Adolf von Harnack and René Girard, that Christianity is a religion of healing.

In the last chapter, Máté-Tóth discusses the notion of populism, its manifestation in Central-East Europe and the facets of contemporary church, religion and theology. The notions enrolled in these subchapters are way too complex to present each of them separately; it reflects 30 years of the author's research in contemporary theology, popular religion and their possible role in reshaping this region of Europe. By analysing the wounded identities and histories of churches in Central-East Europe, the author emphasizes a new role of religions in this area of Europe: the healing and pro-active role in contemporary society, civic movements, revolutions and political changes. Religion appears here as a tool or even as an agent in macro-social transformations.

The book of András Máté-Tóth is not only a result of a 30-year academic carrier in religious studies and contemporary theology, but also a good example on interdisciplinarity and pluridisciplinarity between religious studies, theology and political sciences.

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ROMANIA AT ITS CENTENARY – 100 POEMS FROM THE GREAT WAR'S FRONT, TEXT SELECTION BY DELIA BĂLĂICAN AND SORIN MĂRGĂRIT (REVIEW)

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In this ambitious work, Delia Bălăican and Sorin Mărgărit[97] gather the poems written by Romanian soldiers in the Great War that were published in newspapers in 1916-1918. The authors chose to consider only the most important periodicals of the time, such as *Universul Literar, Drum Drept, Flacăra, Evenimentul, Unirea* and *Universul*. The content itself is revealing, the authors of the volume arranging the poems in chronological order, so that the reader follows a complete journey of the Romanian army's war effort from a lyrical point of view.

Originally published as a militant testimony of social solidarity, the poems had the role to support the morale of the population, maintaining at least a minimum level of optimism and trust. Today, one hundred years after the end of World War I, the events of that time are further away, but we cannot fail to notice that journalism was seen as another weapon by which the Romanian people were fighting the enemy, the journalists being seen as different kind of soldiers.

The present volume comprises a hundred poems, as an attempt of recovering the emotions, struggles and strength of the soldiers, through themes that tackle the experience of a simple man in the trenches. Starting from the moment of leaving the hearth, until the departure to Alba Iulia and the completion of the Great Union of Romania in 1918, these poems are fragments of soul of splendid expressivity. The anonymous heroes of these poems channel their thoughts towards family or acquaintances, expressing the satisfaction of fulfilling their duty and the pride to stand against the enemy.

The poems are silent witnesses of the tragic experiences that take place on the front and show the creative flair of some anonymous characters, who are caught in the whirl of the events unfolding in front of them, proving dedication and courage.

A hundred militant and patriotic poems, gathered from the "only literature of the time", the newspapers - as Nicolae Iorga said in 1917 - is what we call war literature today. These poems are unique in the Romanian space, and aim to illustrate the global experience of a soldier in the First World War. The poems are sources of historical and social research, written by simple soldiers, officers, people affiliated with the press, and sometimes even by personalities trapped in the war effort, such as Octavian Goga, Radu D. Rosetti, Demostene Botez or Nadejda B. Ştirbey. The most interesting thing is that despite the difficult historical context, these ordinary people became true craftsmen, who freed themselves by writing. Thus, they instilled national solidarity to those at home, through poems that can be framed in different lyrical genres such as ballad, hymn, elegy, sonnet and pastel.

At a brief review of this volume, our attention is drawn to the diverse selection of poems, with suggestive titles such as "Rays", "Attack", "The Prayer of the Soldier", "I miss my people", "More than all the dead", "Under cannons and hooves", "The hurt mother", "The Curse of the Mountains", "Earth and Heaven", "After the Battle", "You, Little Romania", "The Weapons", "Bones", "You Are Ours Forever, from Now on", "The ballad of the mutilated", "The Hero", "Love and Faith", "The Death of the Heroine from Gorj", "Ode", "Our Stashes", "The Prisoner!", "Mother epistle", "Sharks", "Prayer", "Poor home", "Six crosses", "Letter from the front to the mother" , "Sit terra levis", "Soul of the hero", "Up our hearts!" (The original titles for the poems are: „Raze", „Atacul", „Rugăciunea ostaşului", „Mi-e dor de ai mei", „Sub tunuri şi copite", „Mama îndurerată", „Blestemul munţilor", „Pământ şi cer", „După bătălie", „Tu, Românie mică", „La arme!", „Oasele", „Moartea viteazului", „Un erou", „Al nostru eşti pe veci de-acum", „Balada celor mutilaţi", „Eroul", „Iubire şi credinţă", „Moartea Eroinei din Gorj", „Odă", „Ostaşilor noştri", „Prizonierul!", „Rănitul!", „Răvaş mamei", „Rechinii", "Rugăciune", „Sărmana casă", "Şase cruci", „Scrisoare de pe

[97] Bălăican, Delia, Sorin Mărgărit, *Antologia „România la Centenar – 100 de poezii de pe frontul Marelui Război"*, Bucureşti, 2018, 100 p.

front mamei", „Sit terra levis", „Suflet de erou", "Sus inimile!"). It is redundant to specify the themes of these works, because the titles are more than suggestive, as the authors have skilfully chosen only the poems that outline the tremors and the emotional challenges experienced by the people who made history for Romania.

As a personal touch, they decided to keep the original illustrations from 1918, making the readers witnesses of what was unfolding in front of the soldier's eyes, transporting them into those events even more. As a tribute to the hundredth anniversary since the fulfilment of the national ideal (the Great Union of the Romanian historical regions), the authors of this volume decided to publish these works as proof of the personal sacrifice and the greatness of the characters involved in the unification process.

Delia Bălăican and Sorin Mărgărit were able to gather those poems that have resurrected at least on imaginary level, the psychological trail and the inner tumult of the generation that made the unification of a nation through blood and sacrifice. The authors managed to update the grammar, graphics and typographical errors, so that the present generation is able to understand the eloquent message that the ancestors managed to leave us. In my view, this work brings the reader face to face with the war heroes that they know nothing about, the heroes that left the poems as testimonies of their personal struggle and courage. Their historical research gathered real jewels of the Romanian poetry, which were forgotten and could only be found in periodicals that are inaccessible to the general public. Acts of artistic and historic recovery of such gems have immense importance for the history of the Romanian nation and spirit.

FROM THE MEMOIRS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. NOTES ON THE HEROINE FROM JIU: ECATERINA TEODOROIU BY NICOLAE DUMBRĂVESCU, MARIA ORZA AND IOANA ORZA (REVIEW)

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The year 2018, the year of the Romanian centenary celebration, was also the year in which the effort of writing studies, reviews or publishing books on the topic of World War I peaked as part of celebrating the historical moment. The large public became more and more interested in knowing more about Romanians and their role in World War I, as the celebratory moment of 1st December approached. We can clearly observe this if we take a look on Google Trends as the searches for World War I reached a high between November 25th and the 1st of December.

The book *From The Memoirs Of The First World War. Notes On Jiu's Heroine: Ecaterina Teodoroiu*[98] by Nicolae Dumbrăvescu, Maria Orza and Ioana Orza is one of the many books that were published in 2018, on the topic of World War I. It is bringing to the public's attention one of the most well-known Romanian female figures, Ecaterina Teodoroiu. It is worth mentioning some details about how Ecaterina Teodoroiu became a well-known historical figure. Ecaterina, also known as Cătălina, was a scout and a participant in the First World War, where she died at the end of the battle of Mărăşeşti fighting in front of an infantry platoon of the Romanian Army. She was celebrated as a national heroine after the end of the war, being considered the Romanian Joan of Arc, and her image was initially marginalized and then distorted by the communist regime.

Immediately after the First World War ended, the mythologization of Cătălina as the *virgin heroine from Jiu* began and it was perpetuated throughout the interwar period. Until the mid-1960s, the figure of Ecaterina Teodoroiu was missing from the pantheon of role models promoted by communists. After this interval, Ecaterina became an important figure in the communist propaganda, in the context of the nationalization of communism and the re-nationalization of the Romanian politics in which the myth of the fighting women appeared. The communist regime painted her as a brave young woman who served Romania in an important moment. At the same time, authorities avoided to make any reference to her connection to the royal family, and to mention the decoration given by the king.

The volume *From The Memoirs Of The First World War. Notes On Jiu's Heroine: Ecaterina Teodoroiu* is essentially an anthology that puts together texts, previously scattered in volumes or periodicals, written by Romanian intellectuals about Ecaterina Teodoroiu and her role on the front. Through this book the authors wanted to awake the interest of the public passionate about history and inspire new historical research regarding Ecaterina Teodoroiu.

First of all, it is worth noting that the book is very easy to read making it a great reading even for the non-advised public. The book has a short biography that also serves as an introductory study and has many annotations and complementary bibliographic references whose purpose is to facilitate reading and to highlight auxiliary sources that can clarify aspects treated briefly. In addition, the volume offers abstracts in languages of international circulation for readers from other cultural, linguistic and geographical areas, as well as a photographic annex and indices of names and places meant to help a reader in a hurry to find information quickly about a certain place or character. Also, for the specialized public and history enthusiasts the texts presented in the book can be great, valuable sources for studies or papers on this subject, especially if they aim to create a global perspective on the matter.

Second of all, when reading the argument it is clear that this book was prompted by the

[98] Nicolae Dumbrăvescu, Maria Orza, Ioana Orza, *Din memorialistica Primului Război Mondial. Însemnări despre eroina de la Jiu: Ecaterina Teodoroiu*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2018, 218 p.

authors' passion for this topic and for memoirs. Thus, the volume combines the two and presents to the public a perspective on Ecaterina's life and activity and how it was perceived by those who knew her in different stages of her life.

However, it is noticeable that the selection of texts follows the national-communist discourse about the *virgin heroine from Jiu*, meaning that the book presents an idealized and simplified Ecaterina. The texts show a selfless Ecaterina, ready to sacrifice for the greater good, incapable of wrongdoing, placing no emphasis on her struggles or personal life (for example her engagement to second lieutenant Gheorghe Mănoiu is not mentioned even if their collaboration on the front is touched on by the texts). That is why I mentioned that the book presents only a simplified perspective on Cătălina, the perspective introduced via the texts.

All in all, the book *From The Memoirs Of The First World War. Notes On Jiu's Heroine: Ecaterina Teodoroiu* by Nicolae Dumbrăvescu, Maria Orza and Ioana Orza through the texts offer the readers a valuable source for future studies on the matter and an interesting reading for history enthusiasts and novices in the field of history alike. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the anthology represents a point of view on the life and activity of Ecaterina Teodoroiu and it does not show all the facets and aspects of her personality and life.

ABOUT FULFILLING THE UNFULFILLED IN THE NĂSĂUD DISTRICT. ADMINISTRATIVE REGISTRIES FROM MĂGURA (1866-1868) AND ȘANȚ (1871) BY ADRIAN ONOFREIU, CLAUDIA SEPTIMIA SABĂU (EDS.) (REVIEW)

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Within an established research program, Adrian Onofreiu and Claudia Septimia Sabău continue to unearth and offer relevant parts of the archive funds about the Năsăud border. The book[99] is addressed to specialists and interested audience, focused on the reports of two village halls - Măgura and Șanț. The authors highlight the relationship between the local and district authority, offering chronicles of the daily life of the ’60-’70s of the 19th century, at the outskirts of the Rodna mountains.

The introductory study, written by both authors, points out peculiarities of the local administration, based on the legal system imposed by the imperial administration and exerted rigorously at the former military border. The elegant book, with a charming title, refers to unfulfilled duties of the communal judge. The authors highlight that the Romanian administration was efficient, served by well-educated and disciplined staff, with the experience from the period of the second Romanian Regiment on the border. Moreover, they explain the background of writing the reports from the two villages ascribed to Sângeorz *cerc* (administrative region of the period), within the autonomous Năsăud district.

The two chronicles reveal a wide range of aspects, from general ones, given by imperial authorities, to district and communal ones: establishing taxes and fees, recruiting soldiers and supporting the war effort of those years. Reports mention regularly the tax collection, which the inhabitants sought to postpone because of poverty and uncertainty. Authorities tried to force the defaulted debtors to cover the taxes by impounding and selling their goods. Thus, the report of 26.05.1866 states that people had several days to recover their goods until the sale in Năsăud. Besides, on 10.11.1866 it was stated that the goods were to be transported to Năsăud and Bistrița for sale, but, until the settled date, the judge, notary and tax collector should discuss with the debtors and determine them to pay.

As the book unveils, constant attention was given to reasonable exploitation and maintenance of the woods and land, as well as guiding the inhabitants to efficiently harness resources and production. Moreover, authorities pointed out the opportunities and constraints given by epidemics or regulations, signalling abuses as well. The report of March 16, 1867 emphasized that ”inhabitants of Maieru, Ilva Mare, Rodna, Șanț and Măgura do not refrain from cutting the woods of the aforementioned villages and, regardless of the law, cut from all the woods, without taking into account the ascribed cutting.” Therefore, the inhabitants are informed on Sundays, after the divine service about the necessity to respect the silvicultural laws. That request, mentioned in the document, confirms the habit registered constantly by local historiography and border tradition.

The reports highlight the community cohesion, the burden-sharing among the villages, the way of building and maintaining the roads, bridges and rafting. Those interested in the economic and cultural life of the region would also find information about the school attendance, families’ obligation to send children to school, hygienic and sanitary measures.

The texts also state urges to discipline, solidarity and legality, requiring citizens to respect the law and authorities, encouraging them to fulfil their duties. In a document of 8.11.1868 we read about the mandatory Saturday meetings for all notaries, as the meetings “are the soul of the political court.” The judge of Timoce expressed his gratitude for “all the support and obedience of the authorities and the entire people”, highlighting that it “was the only way to ensure good order and serve the people.” (Onofreiu, Sabău 2018, 103)

While in the Șanț folio the phrasing is scarce and prompt, the Măgura reports are

[99] Adrian Onofreiu, Claudia Septimia Sabău (ed.), *„Despre împlinirea celor neîmplinite” în districtul Năsăud. Condicile administrative de la Măgura (1866-1868) și Șanț (1874),* Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2018, 144 p.

detailed, ample and exciting. Despite the archaic language, explained by editors to facilitate the reading, the reports retain the original charm.

Numerous editors' notes ease the reading process and demonstrate a profound knowledge of history, events and administrative structures within the space of the former second Romanian Regiment. The book constitutes a true chronicle of events, attitudes and administrative reports issued, applied and exerted by authorities after establishing the Romanian District.

THE PAST AS TEXT: IDEAS, TENDENCIES, CONTROVERSIES BY ANDI MIHALACHE (REVIEW)

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Andi Mihalache's book[100] is situated in the less researched area in Romania of historiographical debates, more specifically, in the theory and reflection of history. The author's erudition is doubled by the clear expressivity and elegant style while voicing his interest in understanding the past and perceiving it in the Romanian cultural space. Spiritual values of humanity may be accessed by every individual and community only relating to the past and especially understanding it. That is why the past is regarded as a text. How do we approach it? Thus, Andi Mihalache opens an ideational path, guiding the reader through the theoretical approaches concerning the historical knowledge of Hans Georg Gadamer, Paul Ricoeur and Jörn Rüsen.

The book comprises three chapters. The first two chapters form the main corpus of the book, developing ideas and concepts, theories and debates in more subchapters. Major themes are addressed: *On Truth and Its Synonyms* and *The Idea of Historical Culture*. The closing chapter is entitled *Readings, Marks, Fictions*. The end of the book includes two abstracts – in English and French respectively. Footnotes offer quotations, explanations, contextualizations in order to support the basic text.

It is common knowledge that history reconstitutes and interprets events of the past. Philosophers of antiquity had pondered on the concept of the past; for some, the past is never returning, for others, it is a repetition of present events. Andi Mihalache presents the past in an artistic manner:

> *"The past is sullen and soft-spoken [...] Its story lives in so many other stories. [...] The moment it finds out that those from the future need it, the past gives them no clue about its whereabouts. It surrounds itself quickly with several old legends from its childhood. Hidden behind them, it is difficult to grasp and bring to book fairs."* (Mihalache, 2017, 10-11)

The author considers that what we designate as history is not only the recording of the past events, but the understanding of past given by the identification of ways of social reactions toward the events. The "fresh" present has a precedent, while the cultural border between past and present may be sensed by observing the disappearance of stereotypes, tastes and fashions.

The past as text is considered also by Antoine Prost, pointing out the researcher's coherence and argumentation that fortifies the text. Structuralism of the '60s limits the analysis within the text through a synchronic approach, de-contextualizing, detrimental to the diachronic or historicizing analysis. Thus, Roland Barthes considered that the historian finds himself in a great crisis, because his aim was the "understandable", ignoring the "real". The myriad of theories of philosophers and hermeneutists has known an attempt of reconciliation with the help of epistemic innovations.

John Langshaw Austin's book *How to Do Things with Words* brings a new debate in the science of linguistics, rejecting the idea of universal logic of language and bringing in the foreground a new pragmatic science oriented towards the study of language and its rhetorical uses. Thus, the role of words is not to label things, but to create things. This intellectual challenge was appropriated by historians, followed by a re-definition of structuralism that would reconcile it with the past: "Structuralism is nothing but vigilance prone to take into account the interdependence and interaction of the parties within the whole." (Mihalache, 2017, 20) Another epistemic innovation comes from the area of anthropology, where Clifford Geertz and his followers adopt the so-called archaeological curiosity toward the studied object at the expense of empathy that hinders the access to the senses and conscience of civilization. Historians take over the idea of autonomy of the cultural factor and language, being under the pressure of the economic and political factor. All these aspects contribute to the appearance of the book *The New Cultural History*, edited by Lynn Hunt in 1989. However, it was a methodological option preceded by Natalie Zemon Davies' book *Fiction in Archival Documents. Stories from*

[100] Andi Mihalache, *Trecutul ca text: idei, tendințe, controverse*, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iași, 2017, 296 p.

Requests of Amnesty and Their Tellers in France of the 16th Century, published in 1987. The cultural analysis of requests of amnesty highlight the transition from "pre-established certainties through memory, tradition and authority to discovered truths", underlined due to doubt, comparison and authentication (Mihalache, 2017, 25). Words are used to obtain effects, while existential banality and hazard may suggest major social definitions. Gradually, the historian focuses on himself, or on the wording in interpreting the document, given the fact that the historian is a constructor of history following the event (as object of study). In order to make it easier to understand the problem of the historical truth from the multitude of interpretations, Andi Mihalache proposes the summary of ideas and precepts of the German philosopher Hans Georg Gadamer.

In Gadamer's vision, tradition mediates a truth from our common experiences; it does not dictate it, but summarizes the codification of these experiences, while connection to tradition is not favouring the traditional. Gadamer's conception supports the idea that the significance of the text remains unchanged through re-adaptation of interpretations to new historical contexts where the text is required. The idea of continuity is transmitted by the approval of tradition, whereas its sense does not reside in the copy of what has been transmitted to us from the past; it "proves its reality providing other questions, continuing to influence us and to speak with us." (Mihalache, 2017, 40). In Gadamer's view, the opposition between Enlightenment and Romanticism gains pedagogical valences. Perfecting reason, exalted by thinkers of Enlightenment, had been transformed in Romanticism into perfection of mythical conscience that supposes reflecting the original state of thinking. The written tradition is not only the visible mark of a past civilization, but also the bearer of a minimal, constant meaning "from where existence may allow retrospective deductions that would form another existence." (Mihalache, 2017, 53) The German philosopher meditates on writing, considering it "speaking estranged from its own origins", and literature reveals the desire of the man to transmit feelings and experience. The truth, aimed by historians, remains uncovered from the scientific perspective, as the science takes into account only what makes sense through its discovery and verifying methods. Gadamer points out that in this way truths masked by reality may be ignored. The approved truth is strictly dependent on the possibility of control so that its basic criterion is not the truth, but its certainty. The axiom that the state of truth supposes data that satisfy the ideal of certainty becomes dominant in modern science.

Searching the meaning in the text of the past brings into Andi Mihalache's research Paul Ricoeur's vision on representations, symbols and myths incorporated into the dynamic of the past. As traditions resist after successive interpretations, P. Ricoeur searches the "time of meaning" in two temporalities – the one that transmits and the other that renews. The path from symbol to myth and then mythology is negative, emptied of meaning by regulation. "Any tradition loses its power mythologizing the symbol" (Mihalache, 2017, 156), whereas the renewal is possible only going backwards – from the present time to the original time. Symbols are the interpretation of our behaviour before being interpreted. Meanings of an event are beyond the social context where it is happening; thus, meanings could be reiterated in another socio-historical time. Ricoeur pleads for hermeneutics, as it aims at making sense of a text through the intention and revelation of the message that does not reveal temporal paradigms, but reveals the virtual centre of significances. The concept of plot designates the totality of combinations through which events become history; the plot mediates between the event and history, being the synthesis of different facts with no obvious meaning. "History, as Ricoeur shows, is related to fiction due to the fact that it configures plots which the documents suggest, but do not explicitly contain them." (Mihalache, 2017, 166) The primal function of memory contributes to the recovery of the recent past, as memory has a narrative function, too. Paul Ricoeur pleads for reconciliation between the two directions of French and American historians regarding the historiographical discourse: "historical characters are introduced in the plot with the history, whereas the narrative configuration shapes the length of the event and profile of its actors." (Mihalache, 2017, 171) To tell means to actualize verbally some facts and to forgive others for the sake of narrative coherence; thus, the heterogeneous facts are synthesized to confer unity. In this context, the analysed historical fact is not an event rendered by a witness, but a representation we make of it, because expressing in words is not the copy of reality. We are warned in this way that for historical research, probity is not settled by "true" or "false", but by "verified" or "unverified".

Jörn Rüsen is another representative name for the theory of historical knowledge, whose ideas are analysed by Andi Mihalache. The German historian attributes three features to historical narration: mobilizing historical facts for understanding the present and attaining the future; the idea of continuity to confer unity between the past, present and future; preservation of social identity for everyone – both authors and recipients.

Based on this, the historical conscience guides the daily life, while the historical conscience is linked to modality of integrating in duration rather than to history of historiography. It may be said that situations of crisis (around which society and identity is built) represent the basis of historical conscience. We have always had readings of the world and imagined, invented or constructed identity in the history of humankind. Historical identity is given by the retelling of some exemplary events. The accumulation of historical information, transmitted from generation to generation, contributes to delineating patterns of interpretation that define types of knowledge of the past. Time being an essential dimension of life, it may be followed through the cultural specificity of a given society. While conceptualizing time, there are three dimensions: past, present and future. Experiences of the past become matrices of significance that contribute to the dynamic of social activities, being identified in behaviour, gestures and meditations. Story aims at mediating the human past, selecting and ignoring, making sense and overlooking human flaws in representing it: "Narration is one of the ways of deceiving time, of negotiating conclusions to save the image of the self and our compatibility with the subsequent stories." (Mihalache, 2017, 185) The past gains historical valences when its limits go beyond our memory. In order to be believable, history needs precise data, contextualized events and a significant demarche. For the German researcher Jörn Rüsen narration is a manifestation of social relations, even a way to control life, a possibility of perpetuation through the others.

We point out the splendid interweaving of ideas and concepts in Andi Mihalache's book that surpasses simple summary of ideas of the aforementioned thinkers. The book is a theoretical debate in the field of philosophy, history and literature, based on rich bibliography and accompanied by quotations and reasonable explanations. The entire initiative contributes to creation of a profound image about the researcher's quest to revive time using scientific methods and intellectual subtlety.

The past is also analysed by Andi Mihalache through the lenses of patrimony, considering the passing of time and history disguised as artefacts, objects, buildings and ruins. These have their origin and evolution imprinted in observation of geographical position, material, form, context and duration. Their reception and story are under the influence of time, or way of thinking with which they are intertwined. The concept of museum is analysed as collector and preserver of objects and their histories, considered relics at the beginning or thesaurus goods, then identified, localized and considered "monuments". This facilitated the comparative descriptions, notes about similarities and differences favourable to historicization, distinguishing stages, evolutions and stories to tell.

An overview of the Romanian post-communist filmography points out the image as a new paradigm in historical narration. The Romanian New Wave in cinema does not establish a language that would render the essence of the totalitarian regime despite multiple opportunities to express the historical culture of post-communism. Andi Mihalache states: "The New Wave avoids meta-narrations and general perspective, preferring visual «punctures»; i.e. instituting an individual/family as a viewpoint to notice a small surface of the communist period." (Mihalache, 2017, 273) The author mentions that the recent past may be represented by cinema if the filmic productions highlight the historical culture, not only the civic culture.

Upon reading the theoretical reflections on the state and perception of the past nowadays, we acknowledge that recording of the past events is not an activity based on fixed laws, given the fact that the truths are not fixed. The multitude of truths is an expanding universe, whereas the historian's research has only one textbook – dynamic interrogation. The social interest for history is different than the hunt for conclusions, as there is a possibility for small details to uproot big truths. The public is sensitive to veracity and requires the "ecology of the historical past" that does not want the past to be abandoned to fiction. The past is the hero of this book, and, as the author remarks, everything that has remained alive and questionable within it. Such a hero cannot leave anybody indifferent!

THE EVERYDAY WAR: DAILY LIFE IN TRENCHES AND BEYOND THE FRONTLINE IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1919) BY BOGDAN POPA, RADU TUDORANCEA (COORD.) (REVIEW)

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The Centenary of the Great War and the triumphal moment of the Romanian modern history – the Unification of 1918 - registered numerous scientific events. From conferences, exhibitions and documentary projections to a myriad of editorial events, the Romanians commemorated those who sacrificed a hundred years ago and celebrated their most important historical moment. A critical glance over these manifestations offers less pleasant reflections, as notable accomplishments are rare since the books dedicated to war years are not always complying with the academic standards.

The book *The Everyday War: Daily Life in Trenches and Beyond the Frontline in the First World War (1914-1919)*[101] represents one of the pleasant surprises. It is the result of a well-managed project of a young team of historians – Bogdan Popa and Radu Tudorancea. The team of the Institute of History "Nicolae Iorga" of the Romanian Academy gathered specialists from various scientific fields within one conference, so the published studies represent an interdisciplinary perspective on the Romanian society in the difficult years after the war. Thus, we have got a complex view of the war from the perspective of cultural history. Getting rid of the old historiographical clichés, glorifying the Romanians' participation at war, the authors offer us a new type of history: history of the daily events, mentality, sensitivities and attitudes of those troubled years. Moreover, it is a history of cultural practices, an approach from the perspective of new directions of western historiography, using a wide range of sources.

Thus, the 23 articles cover themes that offer perspectives on the everyday life of Romanians in a difficult period that made possible the Great Unification. The editors divided the book in six categories in order to offer a clear vision on the particularities of each research, yet the studies are marvellously completing each other. Introductory aspects clarify the background of the book, whereas the first section of the book highlights facets of methodological and historiographical nature. *The Daily War. Research Directions* offers innovative research, given the work method and the novelty of the sources. Although studies of oral history were published in Romania over the last few years, professor Zoltán Rostás focuses his research on the interview with a witness of the "German occupation in Bucharest", taken in the 1980s. The rigour of this demarche consists of the usage of the oral source so that the result is an excellent description of the German occupation in Bucharest. The other three studies of this section approach a field for future research: German historiography and testimonies of the German soldiers about their life in the Romanian space during the war. We find out that the cultural life of Bucharest did not cease abruptly, after being occupied by the enemy; on the contrary, surprising cultural vitality characterizes the period. The mirroring analysis of two ways of cohabitation during the war – the real daily experience, on the one hand, and imagined projection on the Romanian society, on the other – represents a unique approach in Romanian historiography.

The section entitled *Diaries and War Memoirs* contains studies focused on fascinating sources. Personal writings about the war have attracted both researchers and readers by their unusual narrations. Despite their subjective character, diaries and war memoirs continue to be used in historiography, given their huge success during the Great War and immediately after its end. People of that period felt the urge to write about the special events they were part of, whereas for us those testimonies facilitate our understanding of their daily life. Dana Costin, Ionuț Butoi and Nicolae Mihai professionally interpret those writings, offering patterns of research that deserve to be extended, given the enormous number of diaries and war memoirs after the Great War.

[101] Bogdan Popa, Radu Tudorancea (coord.), *Războiul de fiecare zi: viața în tranșee și în spatele frontului în Primul Război Mondial (1914-1919)*, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2018, 466 p.

The third part of the book stirs curiosity due to its title: *Cultural Life during the War*. Reading the five studies we may conclude that each war has its culture, as the conflicts do not only mean an impressive number of victims and material losses. People manifested their cultural sensibilities, expressed through music, poetry, painting, architecture etc. The Great War coincides with a creative growth in literature (poetry, novels, memoirs, diaries), while daily life was enhanced by concerts and artistic events. All these represented an escape from the traumatizing reality, allowing people to deal better with war traumas. Writing, as well as other events of *loisir*, represents appreciated sources for researchers who try to render the daily life of soldiers, wounded and people beyond the front lines.

The fourth and the sixth sections present two categories of people who suffered the traumas of the war under extremely harsh circumstances, while they were struggling to survive. It is the case of war prisoners and refugees. The authors of these studies point out numerous hypostases of the vulnerable categories during the war. Life conditions in several prisoner camps, as well as refuge areas, are researched. Besides, letters, memoirs and other writings of exiled people are analysed – popular topics in western historiography. It is thus the authors' merit to bring to the readers' attention these sensitive issues, especially given the suffering that the prisoners and refugees went through.

The fifth section of the book – *War Propaganda* – offers some perspectives on the mechanisms that determined the events, attitudes and actions during the war. Propaganda represented one of the most important and used weapons during the Great War, and it is classified into two types: positive and negative propaganda. The first one refers to motivational discourse that ensures the moral and psychological support of the soldiers. Military specialists acknowledged the overwhelming importance of the morale during the fight – hence, the abundance of discourses, texts and images of propaganda for all countries involved in the war. On the other hand, negative propaganda focused on the demonization of the enemy in order to increase hatred and desire to win. Both writings and caricatures contributed to the efficiency of this type of propaganda among the soldiers.

The Everyday War: Daily Life in Trenches and Beyond the Frontline in the First World War (1914-1919) uses several representative photographs for the researched topics. Their value resides in the power of the war reality. As such, photography became an important source for historians in the recent years. The book is a useful and fascinating source for those who want to study the history of the First World War through the daily activities of that period.

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