Included and Excluded. The Identitary Issue during the Modern and Contemporary Times

Book · July 2013

1 author:

Telciu Summer Conferences

First edition, Telciu, July 20 to 21, 2012

**This volume was issued with the help of
the Townhall and the Local Council of Telciu,
the county of Bistriţa-Năsăud**

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Foreword

Here is a certainly courageous title, which simultaneously intrigues and provokes by adressing a historiographical problematic which, although has been an ever present one in contemporary historiographical debate, is still far from being capable to bring consensus among historians. Rather, the issue of identity has caused controversy and even disputes, and the moment when scholars will agree and the matter will be considered closed is not predictable.

It is even more commendable the courage of a young team of researchers who have assumed without inhibitions this sensitive issue in a symposium organized in a place unconventional in itself. I am talking about the first edition of the Summer Conferences of Telciu, a village in Năsăud County, located in a wonderful landscape, the valley of Sălăuţa, a conference which has taken place on July 22 – 23, 2012. This fact alone should also be welcomed, as well as the availability of local authorities, the mayor and the local council, which proved sensitive to cultural issues and innovative historiographical debates. The presented papers encouraged, for two days, intellectual debates and exchanges of ideas, now materialized in a volume that will, hopefully, open a series. This constitutes an additional argument for the claims that welcomed initiatives are no longer conducted only in large academic centers, but rather culture itself decentralizes, proving that interesting things can happen anywhere, without being limited only to cheap folklore and transient improvisations.

The issue of identity formation and deconstruction during modern times under its most consistent and obvious dimension, the national one, has raised and certainly will still raise debates in the future debate, each time more intricate and complex.

National identity represents but only one type – truly, the most powerful and coagulant for a community – but not just a single one. The ethno-linguistic dimension has been one of the earliest marker of identity in all pre-modern eras, but modernity itself made it to be one of the highest, durable and consistent forms of identity. At the dawn of modernity, the ethnic undergoes a complex alchemy that turns it into national; ethnic communities become nations with strong power structures capable of attraction and coagulation, which, then, turn themselves into nation states considered to be the most desirable forms of human organization. Modern nation offers individuals a secure place inside a community with which they share common ideals, solidarity, interests, and so on. In short, a common worldview specific to the nation in cause.

Despite its coagulating trends, integrating modern nations contain within themselves various distinctive communities not always willing to dissolve into the protective and sometimes dominating great nation. In a first step, their resistance to integration has been solved by brute force, but along with the progress of democratization, marginal groups have started to be treated more carefully, their integration stopping to mean dissolution or disappearance, but rather conservation and emancipation, and their specific culture valued. However, relations between majorities and minorities in modern states have started to be regulated by legal instruments to ensure the existence and conservation of all groups alike. As a society advances towards democracy, the inalienable rights of man, who now became citizen, extend even to marginal groups. It is also true that they sometimes continue to cause a sentiment of insecurity perceived, by some, to threaten the very existence and consistency of the majority. In turn, these groups sometimes demand in high tones and accented intensities, liberties and privileges deemed excessive by the majority.

The particular contents of the volume draw an exciting and complex archipelago of aspects, such as the complex and sometimes difficult relationship between inclusion and exclusion, testifying about works-in-progress, most of which, in fact, are subjects of doctoral dissertations or other post-doctoral projects. What are the markers of national identity, how did national identity developed and expressed itself in modern times through music and musical creations both elitist and popular, the role of holydays in coagulation and affirmation of national identity, national identity during the Great War, the condition of minority writers in Romania between the two World Wars, the religious otherness, the ideological anticommunist resistance identity between the partisans, political Islam as a cultural construction, and so on.

A seemingly diverse set of issues, but in fact we find here innovative methodological perspectives and appropriate scientific expertise which demonstrate courage and recommend mature researchers and their results, results which will surely turn into references to the still open file of modern and contemporary identities.

Cluj-Napoca, June 18, 2013

Toader Nicoară

THE REFERENCE POINTS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

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> Two organic entities need identity: the individual who refuses to be reduced to being a numbered pawn, the nation which refuses to be treated as herd or as amorphous mass.
>
> G. Delannoi, Sociologie de la nation.

In traditional societies the consciousness of identity manifested itself through an attachment for the place of birth, the local customs, particular holidays, expressing itself through isolation from the surrounding network, which, on many occasions, resulted in conflicts, rivalry and violence, which are readily visible in the case of cultural and racial differences! The question of the conditions that account for the shaping of national identities started many controversies, especially in the 19th century. In Britain, Disraeli (The Spirit of Wigghism, 1836) considered that nations were given birth "gradually, under the different influences of their original organization, of climate, soil, religion, events, extraordinary accidents and incidents of their history and because of the particular character of their illustrious citizens".[1] Half a century later, in France, Renan (Que est-ce qu-une nation?, 1882) was evidencing the diverse elements of national cohesion: race, language, religious affinity, geography, economic interests, military necessities, but also showed that these are not sufficient in order to create a nation, because its foundation is intellectual and affective: "a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle… it is the result of a lengthy past full of effort, sacrifice and devotion; sharing a common glory in the past and a common will in the present, accomplishing great things together, these are the essential conditions that make a nation."[2]

Depictions of the nation have different contents; a territory, an ethnic identity, a religion, etc. As for the Romanians, M. Eminescu wrote in an article, A monolithic self-awareness: maybe there is no nation, counting twelve million people, which has its components so less different from the

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[1] P.-C. Timbal, Nation, p. 6.
[2] Ibidem. Astrid von Busekist, Nation et nationalisms, XIX-e-XX-e siècle, Paris, Armand Colin, 1998, p. 5.

Romanian nation. The language has no dialect; religion, against all formal disagreement within the church, stayed the same.[3]

National belonging

Beyond its objective components, no nation can exist without showing a shared sense of belonging on the part of its members. We, sons of the countrywide nation, we are of the same birth, the same character, sharing a single language and culture and we feel the warmth of those same sacred traditions and of those same grand yearnings.[4] National belonging is powerfully impressed in the individual, it limits and conditions him, it frames him into a culture which he cannot escape, but this guardianship also offers protection at the same time. The need of a sense of belonging is timeless for the members of the nation![5] National belonging needs a plurality of nations to establish itself, because it involves a conscious differentiation from national otherness.

Self-awareness and awareness for the self (belonging – a Herderian concept) is at the same time necessary for the nation, but also for a self-awareness of a national nature (recognition – Hegelian concept). This recognition, of two or more national consciousnesses, at first opposed, is a mutual recognition, a simultaneous one. National belonging also implies a mutual recognition of those who belong to the same nation. In other words, nations build mankind; nations are the artifacts of conviction, devotion and collective solidarity.[6] To be recognized is a typical feature of modernity.[7]

The particularism of the nation has contents, of special dynamics and priority, such as geographical frontiers, a shared past, a commonality of territory, language and religion. Renan, for example indicated the insufficiency of race, language, religion in defining the nation, because there is no pure race: the noblest countries, Britain, France, Italy, are those where the blood is mixed. Language invites, it does not impose convergence on people. Religion is not a definite criterion, since being French, British, German etc. does not mean that one cannot be catholic, protestant, Muslim, Israeli etc.[8] The reality of national sense comes just from the multiplicity of dosage of these components, which can be understood only by examining each particular situation. Certainly this tension between distinct features, supplemented by the various aspirations from inside the communities or those

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[3] M. Eminescu, Publicist*ică,* p. 531.

[4] I. Maniu, *Noi privim în înfăptuirea unităţii naţionale un triumph al libertăţii omeneşti*, Discurs rostit la 1 decembeie 1918 la Alba Iula, în Oratori şi elocinţă românească,p. 114.

[5] National belonging is capable to resist to ideological abstractions. G. Delannoi, op. cit.,p. 134

[6] E. Gellner, *Naţiuni şi naţionalism*, p. 18.

[7] G. Delannoi, op. cit.,p. 166.

[8] D. Schnapper, op. cit., p.51-52.

that grow in between the communities, gives the best explanation to the malaise of the modern world.

Territory and frontiers; real and imagined

The life of the peoples, of local societies is connected to the space, even to the configuration and continuity in time of the space they inhabit! Territory is a symbolic component of the nation, because it represents the birthplace, the primordial cradle of the nation or, to some, it might turn into a "safe haven", a promised land!

The homeland of Antiquity was perceived as the land of the fathers, a meaning preserved in the Middle Ages too, when patria communis, that is Christendom, also gathers prestige.[9] Time flies, it is unstable, that is why space is the one which provides the stability of the community in the collective mentality! In order to define and justify themselves, communities store in their memory the image of their own space; because each community cuts out space in its own way, it establishes its lines, its borders and its specific «consistency»; in this frame, of both real and imagined geometry – being accessible to those who find themselves faithful to it, but banned for the others – shared facts, events, memories, traditions are «enclosed». The «span», the spiritual value of the space is connected to the memory of this space! Collective events, experiences, expectations, they all are connected to places that existed forever. They generate a sense of continuity and, in connection to this, a certain protective sense of security!

When it has political function, territory evokes mores, temperaments and the daily aesthetics of the people. As early as the 17th century, the unmistakable hallmark the mountains conferred to this small European nation is implied in the conception about the Swiss nation! Otherwise, the landscape is an interesting principle of differentiation which can become a significant symbol: the Norwegian landscape is the fiord, that of Hungary the pusta etc. Montesquieu tried to explain by means of a climatic theory a certain relativity of the mores and the laws, while the romantic historians considered that there is an influence territorial conditions, - sea, continental immensity, mountains, island etc. – and climatic conditions had on the soul of the peoples and nations.[10] David Hume, in his Essays, criticized the climatic theory concerning national features. Culture, mores, history are, in his opinion, more determining than climate. Nationhood follows political rather than

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[9] P.-C. Timbal, Nation, p.7.
[10]   A. M. Thiesse,   op. cit., p. 136-137._59. N. Bocşan,   op. cit., p. 25. From a more philosophical standpoint, Lucian Blaga defined the Romanian soul as the Mioritic Space (the stylistic matrix of the creative forces) in harmony with the geographic space, which is considered in his opinion as defining in what concerns national specificity.

geographical frontiers, D. Hume remarked. The most sensible corruption of these national features is caused by time rather than space. There are features that exist in a people for centuries, but many others change in accordance with time. Helvetius suggested that historical conditions, the role of education come first in shaping the spiritual profile of peoples.[11] Each nation has e predestined space, inherited throughout history from the founding fathers, from the old political organizations; it is evidenced by natural frontiers, which delimit, protect the nation, as symbolical walls. Seas, mountains and rivers are the most natural limits of the nations, said Herder.[12]

Nation is a unit (a totality) limited in both a real and an imaginary way, an enclosed organism, impenetrable by others. [13] A unitary history involves a unitary geography, while the most efficient configuration is the perfection of the circle surrounded by rivers! For V. Alecsandri the rivers of the Romanian Principalities, the Prut and the Milcov, unify rather than divide. The loss of territory equates with "sacrificing the ancestral land."[14] Even when these natural frontiers do not correspond to the political map of the moment, their nostalgia is kept in national imagination. Every nation has its "frontiers" enclosing her sons wherever they might be, inside or outside political borders. The territory claimed by national imagination appears in a more extended form than that displayed by the political maps! It is precisely this lack of agreement between imagined and real frontiers that maintains a latent crisis of identity in an almost permanent manner!

The fluidity of territorial configurations throughout history fueled permanent national frustrations, which, stimulated by the boldness of ideological nationalism, took claiming, revenging forms of which the two world wars are no strangers. The temptation to rebuild the mythical frontiers encouraged the resurgence of Great Germany, Great France, Great Hungary, and in Romania's case, Great Romania! The ideal territory of Romania is surrounded by waters: the Danube, the Dniester, the Tisa, but this project contradicts and superimposes those of the neighboring nations which value their own natural frontiers in the same mythical manner. The myths of ideal frontiers fuel with the same intensity their counter-myths, being legitimacy conflicts, coupled with irritation, protest, refuse, even violence.[15]

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[11] The territory, especially when it is primordial, is crucial for the Nation-State, which exercises an administrative and military monopoly on a certain territory. G. Delannoi, op. cit.,p. 58-59; 164.. D. Drăghicescu, op. cit., p. XIV.

[12] Apud L. Boia, Pour une histoire, p. 197 şi 203.

[13] B. Anderson, *L'Imaginaire national*,p. 20. N. Bocşan, op. cit., p. 31.

[14] In 1878 Dimitrie Ghica mentioned in a speech that Dobruja once belonged to Wallachia. Atanasie Iordache, *Sub zodia Strousberg,Viaţa politică din România între 1871*-1878, Buc., Ed. Globus, 1991, p. 34-35.

[15] L. Boia, op. cit., p. 198; 206-207.

Ethnicity, race, nation

European communities are a conglomerate of ethnicities differentiated from one another through history, traditions, mythologies and culture. The dimensions of ethnicity are a collective name; a shared myth of lineage; a partaken history; a distinct shared culture; and association with a specific territory; a sense of solidarity.[16] The idea of political unity, - otherwise very old in universal history! - derives mainly from the idea of ethnic unity.[17] What constitutes an ethny (nation) is a natural, ethical reality, but one that is positioned at "the joint of metaphysics with history", namely "a unity of fate, of destiny in time, a unity for which land, blood, past, laws, customs, traditions, thought, virtue, work, institutions, dress, misfortune, happiness and signs of cohabitation, dominance and oppression, build signs of recognition, *seals, reasons ... which allow people to understand and live together.*"[18] This hermeneutic manner of seeing the people offers an explanation to the genetic and spiritual unity between all generations linked together by blood, language, territory, laws, activities etc. The genetic unity translates the need for solidarity of all generations, from their mythic beginnings in a coherent world.

The unity of the people finds a correspondent not only in a genetic unity, but also in the "unity of the land" - which, in the case of Romanians, for example, is the extension of the idea of *moşie* (estate) – the one that establishes the link between the generations that inhabited them successively in history! Space/place and time/age are two fundamental reference points of the collective mentalities; specifically they are means of setting, situating a people in its particular coordinates. This space-time horizon, included in the world-view constellation inspires the integration and the involvement of the

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[16] Steliu Lambru, *Micronaţiunea şi erupţia identitară în Europa de sud*-est, in In memoriam Ale*xandru Duţu. Identităţi colective şi identitate naţională. Percepţii asupra identităţii în lumea medievală şi modernă*, p. 144.

[17] To us Romanians, for example, using the term Dacian as a generic name for all Romanians is significative in this sense; founded on the same consciousness of nationhood one now encounters a transfiguration of the terms (Transylvanian) Moldavian and Wallachian into Romanian, of the term people into nation, of Moldavia and Wallachia into Romania.Vlad Georgescu, *Ideile politice şi iluminismul în Principatele Române, 1750*-1831, Buc., Ed. Academiei RSR, 1972, p. 171.

[18] Mircea Vulcănescu, *Dimensiunea românească a existenţei,* Buc., Ed. Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 1991, p.15 and 133. The reflections on this mental horizon also went, for example, in this interesting direction: to the root of the Romanian conception of being, one finds that supremacy of the virtual over the actual, the idea of a bosom, carrier of all virtualities, the idea of a great mother. In this sense, Romanian thought meets theological and mythical-oriental thought and opposes those of the Occident, either positivist or anthropological.

people in history.[19] To the nation, acting as imaginary world, shared spiritual aspects, certain ancestral resonances add up. Ethnic "being" shows up with a specific profile, with peculiar mental articulations![20] The ethnic spirit (the soul) exists in a condensed form which is subdued to the historical influences. The character of the nation shows up as constant and eternal, as in the verses The way we were, that's how we'll stay (Mihai Eminescu, Glossă).[21] This image, one finds in the collective conscience was designated by the fans of scientific typologies as the "character", the "soul", the hallmark of the nation! Thus the soul of the people appears as a structural dimension, a perennial spiritual architecture modeled according to the cultural "temptations" (the influences) of history.[22] Whether the formulation of this kind of ethical "patterns" can or cannot be seen as dangerous, the important thing is that the discovery of these features and their transformation into guides, norms, normality tended to become, by agency of ideologies, a skillful strategy! National ideologies pretend that they exalt what is good and search a way to straighten what is bad in the psychological structure of the nation! The spiritual and moral portrait of the peoples and consequently of the nations, fuel the pedagogical conception of the nations. The existence of a system of political, religious, juridical, moral values, of a set of shared traditions maintained the conscience of an ethnic specificity, thus the will to live together on the same territory.

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[19] The behavior of the Romanians... hooked in eternity must be explained by the mythical dimension of the Romanian historical mentalities, while the critical or, on the contrary, the tender view granted to this aspect has ideological connotations! Being hooked in eternity, that is searching for this eternal embodiment of the ethnic being, the incapacity to find it might justify a certain state of resignation, of helplessness which, if accumulated and revealed, draw after themselves that condition when one "cannot bear anymore!" or that feeling of "bitterness", which boosts "action". These particularities were used in the speculations on Romanian fatalism and in the awakening in the times of revolutions, of the feeling of a severity of existence, which, voiced by those who announce the rebirth, call for "now or never". Contrary to the view of a fatal and atemporal reality, the revolutionaries of 1848 seem to wake up the people from their "death-like sleep", to reinsert them in history, meaning evolution, towards the making of a different fate! Ibidem, p.142-145.

[20] Attempts to outline a "Romanian dimension of existence", to capture "the preconceptions of the native ethos" were made as early as the 19th century, by the literate and by philosophers, being tackled differently from the perspective of certain political or ideological sensibilities. C. Drăghicescu attempted to capture The psychology of the Romanian people, C. Rădulescu-Motru analyzed The Romanianism, Vasile Pârvan refelcted on The thoughts on life and death among the Daco-romans from Left Pontus, Ovid Densuşianu dealt with The pastoral life in popular poetry, Lucian Blaga with The Mioritic Space, Ovidiu Papadima with The Romanian word-view etc. apud M. Vulcănescu, op cit., p. 90.

[21] Ibidem, p.101.

[22] Ibidem, p.97.

The sheltering and protective feeling of ethnical belonging was a priority and it marked the beliefs, sensibilities and collective ideals. Belonging to a community constituted and matured itself as a complex feeling of identification with the same historical origins in a certain territory, the same language and the same traditions. This is national consciousness or ethnical consciousness. The concept of ethny, to the medieval world, covers that human community prior to the modern nation, whose members have, or think they have, the same origin, culture, mentality (sensibility, will, behavior, attitudes) and (conception, aspirations, shared ideals). But, the attitudes of medieval ethnic solidarity were predominantly local. Local solidarities based on social hierarchy and vassalage – family, tribe, clan, community, the city, the province were the most powerful because they were the traditional frameworks of protection and hope of the people in the face of external dangers, epidemics and calamities.

Modern solidarities are more diverse, slotted in or combined: humanity, nation, rural, urban community, family etc. The modern nation is a metamorphosis of solidarities, a harmonious intermediary or an open gate, which reconciled the two fundamental forms of belonging: on one side, a local form, linked to human birth and transformation and, on the other side, a universal form, linked to mankind in its totality. Between the humanistic thought of the late 17th century and the program of the enlightened intellectuals from the beginning of 19th century, one can notice continuity and cultural evolution which expand on the great matters of solidarity.[23]

Nation can be race in a biological meaning, ethny in an ethnological meaning, or in general terms, being of the same blood. This bio-ethnical idea served, and may serve nationalistic myths.[24] In the 19th century anthropological research noticed certain typologies, which were speculated in nationalist ideological views. Under the fascination of physical anthropology: cultural problems remain secondary, derived from the physical qualities which distinguished races and human communities.[25] Racial complexes of superiority used biological criteria to justify natural inequity between peoples and nations. Gobineau's reflections in An Essay on the Inequality of Human Races (1853-1855), utter the claim of a white supremacy beside other races! German romanticism overestimated racial differences in favor of German superiority. After 1870 race became a constitutive component of the nation for some of the ideologies. But, in the same year, on October 27, 1870, Revue des deux mondes wrote: what distinguishes nations is nor race, nor language. People feel in their hearts that they belong to the same nation, that they form

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[23] Al. Duțu, *Histoire de al pensée et des mentalités politiques européennes*, p. 181.
[24] G. Delannoi, op. cit.,p. 81.
[25] L. Boia, *Două secole de mitologie națională*, p.63

a community of ideas, concerns, feelings, memories and hopes. However, the nationalisms of the last decades of the 19th century had the tendency to favor racial theories.[26]

Race difference is more pregnant than cultural difference, being insuperable and hostile. Moreover, it creates the temptation of human classification in superior or inferior races and it accentuates the desire of separation and the fear of mixture. In a world of national ideology, racist, segregationist views can take hold, but at the same time views that support equality in humanity, which consider that racial differences are in fact surmountable, may also rise. This is because, already at the beginning of the 19th century mythological, philological, historical research proved the common indo-european ancestry of European nations. The Slavs, the Germans, the Latin peoples discovered by means of comparative philology their respective kinship, while the Hungarians, in their desire to detach themselves from Austria, remained faithful to their Hun and Magyar descent of Asian origin. The strong attachment to racial roots explains why Hungarian and Czechs national movements, for instance, developed a desire for restoration, which situates them to the antipodes of that liberal and democratic idea elaborated by the French. What they were dealing with was precisely an arrogant exclusivism manifested against "indo-european" nations, perceived as different, thus rivals! Any plea for racial difference attracts an obvious separation of all aliens from the national body, even if they live in the national space, master the national idiom and are keen to participate to the fulfillment of national culture.[27]

Fustel de Coulanges addressed a serious critique, in the 1870's, to the German claim for the imposition of an ethnic and racial definition of the nation, which would have given a peculiar overtone to the word nationality! Renan considered that using the word race in politics is wrong and dangerous. He did not approve of race overestimation, but he noticed that these realities, race, ethny, nation, were always subtly mingling peacefully into history! The first national wars were born in an area of Europe where ethnies blended more than in other parts of the world![28]

The nation is a particular form of political unity; that is why it distinguishes itself from ethnical groups, which are not politically organized.[29] An ethny is a "group of belonging" –people take the feeling of belonging to an ethny for granted – not necessarily having a political expression. Ethnical identity is not of greater importance, nor more solid or durable than reality or

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[26] Dictionnaire du XIX-*e siècle* , p. 796. L. Boia, op. cit., p.63
[27] Dictionnaire du XIX-*e siècle* , p.795. A.M. Thiesse, *Crearea identităţilor*, p. 128 şi 130.
[28] G. Delannoi, op. cit.,p. 160-161.
[29] D. Schnapper, La c*ommunauté des citoyens*, p. 32-34.

national sense. The "objective" peculiarities that define the nation – language, race, religion, also define the ethny; from an emotional point of view, ethnic means internalization, passion, the will to participate to a mass founded on shared concerns and feelings. Ethnies are not "more natural than nations"![30] Ethny is frequently styled nation, the source of confusion being the usage of the term nation before the birth of the modern nation, more precisely as of the 13th century! The English or French "nation" designated their ethnic aggregate.[31] Ethnies, just like nations, are "historical constructs", human groups that define themselves through their historical and cultural specificity. The coincidence between political unity and cultural community was the political ideal of the nation.[32]

This why nations claim that they are the evidence of an ethny, bestowing upon themselves their innate roots, their cultural homogeneity, the specificity of their "race", their civilization, their moral, all these outlining national character! But ethnical and cultural homogeneity are not sufficient in order to build a nation! One other condition necessary to the existence of the nation is civic-mindedness, that sense that the citizens share an idea of a public domain independent from private interests. Thus, nation defines herself through its ambition to transcend private adherences (biological, historical, economical, social, religious, or cultural) by means of citizenship, by defining its citizen as an abstract individual. Its specificity is the integration of poly-ethnic populations in a community of citizens, whose legitimate existence acts from within and without the State.[33] When the citizen community is culturally heterogeneous, political loyalty for the nation mixes with diverse forms of attachment to the preexistent ethnies, which enjoy more or less political recognition. Ethines are not essences, they are the products of a political or social situation, in the broad sense of the word! Ehtnies can separate, regroup, reorganize, defining themselves into new social "frontiers". For instance let us remember the African ethnies, created by colonizing politics! Or another significant example, Tito's invention of a "muslin ethny" in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1968, regarded as an "entity" which shares the same religion, supplied with specific rights! Racial or militarist nationalisms, extremely

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[30] Ibidem, p. 30 şi 53..
[31] Ibidem, p. 28-29.
[32] Nations are frequently mistaken for political units or states. The term nations designates in this case political units whose sovereignty is recognized by the international order! The confusion between nation and political unit started after 1919, when the democratic nation is promoted as the universal model of political organization. A discipline named "the study of international relations", speaks of nations defined as political units. Ibidem., p. 32-34;43.
[33] Ibidem, p.49.

intolerant, frequently led to wars of extermination, backed by an irresponsible propaganda directed towards the stimulation of mass immorality.[34]

In social and political life, beginning with the 19th century, ethny (the scientific concept) is designated by the term people (political term), which grants, implicitly or explicitly, its right to claim political independence, its right to become a political nation-unity.[35] Like all "political unities" the nation defines itself through its sovereignty, which exercises itself in the interior, to integrate the populations (which it includes) and in the exterior, to state itself as a historical item in a world-order founded on the existence and the relations between political nation-unities. The claim for the recognition of ethnies as nations, in other words establishing a coincidence between the historical-cultural (or ethnical) community and political organization, as well as the will to power of those nations already constituted, in order to prevail others, are the roots of all virulent nationalisms! The conflicts that unroll presently in the Balkans, for example, "are not national, but ethnical or nationalist conflicts; they are the proof of the weakness of the national tradition of old Yugoslavia proper, which formed as nation in 1919, from Serb, Croat, Slovene, Bosniac, Hungarian, Albanian ethines etc."[36]

Conflicts revitalize the feelings that unite people facing common danger, which unite them in the ethnical or national community. Drawing blood on the battlefield unites the combatants! Thus, national feelings were consolidated in a Europe of rivalry and conflict. The nations of Central and Eastern Europe became "fully aware of themselves" under the pressure of always unsettling inter-ethnic conflicts.

National language

The linguistic Tower of Babel has always stood at the base of cultural diversity, this is why the temptation of great administrative unifications, since antiquity on, was accompanied by the imposition of a common language, regularly that of the dominant group! Medieval Latin was to unify the Europe of departments and universities. No language has brought, as Latin did, such a solid and long unity. After the 13th century in Europe the intellectuals contributed to the creation of the linguistic community, for instance, by translating the Bible or by writing their works in the language of the folk.[37] Printing houses and Reform stimulated the blossoming of vernacular

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[34] G. Delannoi, op. cit.,p. 162.

[35] D. Schnapper, op. cit., p. 37.

[36] Ernest Gellner (Nations and nationalism) appreciates that the recent Anglo-American political science treats nationalisms in the sense of claims to create nations, and not as manifestations of the nations proper. Ibidem, p. 37 şi 46.

[37] Ibidem, p. 43.

languages, which became national. If for France the revolutionary political factor encouraged the forming of the nation, the protestant peoples (English, German, etc.) evolved towards the nation through linguistic and cultural unification; in this sense translating and distributing the Bible played a fundamental role, which meant alphabetization for the different mental levels.

Language is one of the stabler elements, one of the mythical roots on which any national ideology forms. When a nationalism asserts a national language, that has to be invented, usually considering it the faithful successor of an ancient language! It is the case with Latinism, the beloved heredity of the Romanian language in Timotei Cipariu's opinion.[38] When Greece gained its independence in 1827 the creators of this new nation were tempted to establish a "pure" language, borrowed from classical Greek, eliminating all Turkish influences. Modern Greece was thus viewing itself as an extension of its glorious antiquity. But in Turkey too, a century later, not only that a language reform is set in motion, but also the alphabet is changing: Arab alphabet is replaced in 1928 with Latin characters in the desire to create a simplified and europeanized national language.[39]

A vivid language is a precious treasure for a nation, but there are nation-states which did not form around a language. In 1914 France there were 14 spoken languages, although linguistic unification was already institutionalized by the laws of the 3rd Republic.[40] Language obtains a powerful national identity, but the linguistic benchmark is open, supple, and it does not exclude diversity, which is always visible on a cultural level.[41] Language, just as religion, considered Renan, invites to reunion, to communion, because, in the case of the nation, unrestricted adherence is the reasonable criterion! Herder maintained that language expresses the way a nation thinks; language is national thought itself. But, in order to assure the spiritual, administrative, economical congeries of the nation, written language has precedence, undermining regional dialects and speech. National language removes useless archaisms without hesitation, pointless neologisms too![42]

The scientific or literary interest for the cultivation of the language was, especially in the 19th century, a celebration of it; la Grammaire *française* authored by Charles C. Letellier inspired, for instance, a Romanian grammar textbook published in 1828 by Heliade Rădulescu, who saw in the birth of grammar an awakening of the self-awareness of the nation. The

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[38] Apud *Oratori şi elocinţă românească*, p. 52.
[39] D. Schnapper, op. cit., p. 136-138.
[40] Ibidem, p. 138.
[41] G. Delannoi, op. cit., p.61 şi 65;154.
[42] Steliu Lambru, *Micronaţiunea şi erupţia identitară în Europa de sud*-est, în In memoriam *Alexandru Duţu*, p. 139-140. A.D. Xenopol, Scrieri filosofice, p. 385.

problems of Romanian orthography, the elaboration of a grammar and a dictionary became the task of the linguistic elite in the *Societatea Acedemică* (The Academic Society), founded on August 1/13, 1867, which became the Romanian Academy in 1879.[43] National languages, frequently formed out of the synthesis of some dialects and a literary tradition, were slowly strengthened by the elite!

The Church, a national bastion

Pre-modern times were dominated by the world-view of a God given universe, quasi-immobile, with a civilization transmitted without alteration from one generation to another. This collective view on life and society encouraged obedience and a temptation to preserve social structures consecrated by tradition. In the traditional mentality, the divinity set the material world and the destiny of man in order and this is why the main communal reference was of a religious nature.

Christian conscience represented a forma mentis that marked the sensibilities and the attitudes of man, influencing solidarities, both those of a universalistic Christian type, and those that fortified the individuality of medieval nations. Beginning with the protestant Reform of the 16th century the ties that linked Christianity to the "national" realities were not broken, but substantially transformed through the division of Christendom. Churches become national, because religious reference represents "a vehicle for the expression of national singularity and a component of its particular identity in the Concert of Europe."[44] The English example is, from this point of view, a telling example, that in this case national belonging arose not only from inside the parliamentary institution, but also within and through an indissolubly monarchic and national Church. English Protestantism, called Anglicanism, which featured a rational individualism, associated with the individualism of citizenship and stimulated the awareness of English national singularity.[45]

Counter-Reformation had comparable effects, because it encouraged the allegiance to the traditional faith and to the monarchy, the center of temporal authority. In the Old Regime, the state was confessional, the slogan of the French monarchy being "one faith, one king, one law", acceptable for

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[43]Apud I. Em. Petrescu, *Configuraţii*, p. 119. Mirela-Daniela Târnă, Sprijinirea culturii ro*mâneşti în viziunea Academiei Române. Donaţii şi premii,* în *In memoriam Alexandru Duţu*, p.187-188.

[44] R. Rémond, *Religion et Socété en Europe.*, p. 149. N. Bocşan, I. Lumperdean, I.-A Pop, *Etnie şi confesiune în Transilvania (secolele XIII-*XIX), Fundaţia Ce*le Trei Crişuri*, Oradea, 1994, p. 5.

[45] Beginning with Henry VIII the Anglican Church separated from Rome. The king of England remained the head of the Church, devoting in a specific manner the union between organized religion and nation. D. Schnapper, op. cit., p.124 .

other European rulers too. This mentality survived in the collective consciousness through memory and the imaginary! The conflict between Catholicism and Revolution, - the great revolution of 1789 that founded the Republic, single and indivisible, set the world off track! Different confessions were a source of discord. One law for everyone is more than enough! Democracy becomes synonymous with unity. The old slogan "one faith, one king, one law" is replaced by the unity of the sovereign nation, the only source of law.[46] Freedom of thought bursting out at the end of the 18th century, along with free choice of religion shook the rigorous endorsement of religious unity off its foundations. Calling for tolerance meant "dissociating between confession and citizenship, opening a new chapter in the history of the relationship between religion and society in Europe."[47] This founding initiative was brought by the 10th article of The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (August 26, 1789) which opened the way for secularization, but also to "the break of national consciousness", because the formal reference to God became a polemic issue. In the 19th century, despite the irritation of the republicans, supporters of laity, French Catholics claimed and obtained the solemn national consecration of Sacré Cœur in 1873.[48] Secularization affected national pedagogy, laicizing education by removing all religious reference from school curricula, adjusting the national calendar in a profound manner, offering predominance to national holidays. In France the fall of Bastille, July 14, was considered "provocative" in catholic milieu for a long period!49

Only in France national destiny is proclaimed separated from any religious reference, a confession not being, theoretically, of political unity or a criterion of national belonging. But, the intransigence of the political power towards religion was not the same with the fact that nation and religion represent two social facts with universal pretensions, which expect exclusive attachment and transcend the extent of individual existences. The time of profane existence is still that of the religious holidays, which have lost, more or less their original meaning. Religion as private manifestation still inspires shared conducts and values!

The universalism preached by the Christian faith was a generous idea, but too difficult to apply and maintain in political practice, as the homeland and the monarchy become sacred, and from a certain time corpus mysticum

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[46] R. Rémond, op. cit., p.162.
[47] Ibidem, p. 44-45 ;52; 151.
[48] Ibidem,, p.60-61; 78-79.
[49] R. Rémond, op. cit., p. 193.; 196.

patriae subsumes corpus mystiticum ecclesiae.[50] Otherwise, beginning with the 14th century, Western Europe, on account of the growth of economical values and of the development of technical knowledge, a new social class of urban origin took shape progressively, which forced the prevalence of a way of thinking in greater accord with its interests. Political or religious Renaissance dignitaries got contaminated by the new principles and ideas on world and society, they adopted Machiavellian social ethics, which prejudiced the traditional prestige of chivalry and Christian austerity.[51]

The modern nation appears as the image of a spiritual body, this is why the equality of souls is assumed as principle.[52] The Church is the moral force, the soul of a nation, but Nation would replace Church as a global society, self-sufficient, secularized.[53] European nations, all Christian, identified with Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Protestantism. The problem of unity, as unity of faith, this time political, reemerges with the help of the generally acknowledged idea that nations have an exclusively religious vocation; each nation invokes predestination and divine protection, the messianic call, the religious sentiment of belonging to a national community, to such an extent that between religion and national fact a union establishes itself, a union which assumes the relationship of the old alliance between religion and dynasty.

The rivalry between religion and nation to win adhesion and fervor of people's feelings is not a negligible aspect in analyzing modernity! Catholics in the European space, in their turn, opposed laicization and accused the liberalism, sprung from rationalism, of being guilty for making society atheist! The nationalist tendency to idolize the nation was considered as diverging from the Christian spirit! Nation became religion in its turn, a secularized religion.[54] The religion-nation competition fractured national consciousness, especially in the catholic-European space affected by revolutionary contagion in the 19th century. Confessional antagonism manifested itself in the German space, national unification being realized at

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[50]   N. Bocşan, I. Lumperdean, I.-A. Pop, op. cit., p. 5-6. Nicolae Iorga wrote about the Orthodox conscience which *was so powerful that "it prevented the stimulation of a distinct, pronounced national consciousness."*

[51]The new ethics proclaims itself on the notion of "human dignity" and on the cult of the efficiency of the preached values. An ethics of material and social promotion is stated, whose principles are: to have, to know, to be able to. Cl.-G. Dubois, Les modes de classification des mythes, p.32.

[52] G. Delannoi, op. cit.,p. 95.

[53] *Jărtfă pentru ţară..Iaşi, 1856, apud,* Al. Jinga, *Alteritate şi identitate naţional-confesională. Discursul unui cleric ortodox din România secolului XIX,* in *In memoriam Alexandru Duţu,* p. 119.

[54] R. Rémond, *Religion et Société en Europe. La sécularisation a*ux XIX-e et XX-*e siècles,* 1780-2000, p. 77; 152; 159-163; 221.

the initiative and around protestant Prussia, by excluding Catholic Austria and absorbing some of the small Catholic provinces in a Reich dominated by Reform. The conflict between patriotism and Catholicism had a specific tint in Italy, because in 1848, for example, the aspirations of national unity were promoted without the approval of the Catholic Church. New Italy took shape without the Catholics! The intransigence of the papacy perpetuated the conflict between patriotic feelings and faithfulness towards the Church up until 1915, while the integration of Catholics in the nation was only announced in 1919![55]

For European nations placed under foreign unchristian domination national religion maintained and favored the consciousness of national singularity. The church became an ark or a holy anchor of the homeland, a keeper of the national spirit.[56] The spiritual culture of the people until the middle of the 19th century, in the absence of formal education, was nourished by the instruction offered by breviaries, homilies, religious and superstitious writings. All Orthodox religious pedagogies encouraged "the deliverance of the soul" of the Christians, being less preoccupied by the practical life of the people.[57] As a result of the exceptional prestige that the collective mentality had, national Church was practically the only place of collective sociability, the political framework being absent, other learned notabilities who could have acted as spokesmen for the nation being also absent, the clergymen were the only cultivated elite.[58] It is the case with Transylvania prior to the revolution of 1848! The religious factor was not less determining in dislocating the Ottoman Empire, hurried by the emancipation movement of the Christian peoples in the Balkans – for independence and Orthodoxy – at the beginning of the 19th century: Romanians, Serbs and Bulgarians. In the new national states, constituted after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Orthodox Churches became independent and national.

The Orthodox Church became a national Church because of the value of its apostolic past, because of its fixedness in the habits of the people, because it cultivates the national language, it propagates religious and national feelings. Article 21 of the first Constitution of modern Romania set Orthodox religion as the dominant religion of the Romanian state.[59] "Nation is just like Church. Those who blame the church of the past blame the nation also, those

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[55] Ibidem, p. 161.

[56] S. Nicoară, Mitologiile, p. 155.

[57] C. Rădulescu-Motru, reflecting on Romanian Orthodoxy, appreciated that it lacked the ferment that should have prepared the Christian soul for a better life here on Earth! Apud D. Drăghicescu, op. cit., p. 292 şi 299.

[58] R. Rémond, op. cit., p. 154.

[59] Al. Jinga , op. cit., p. 106-107.

who praise the church, praise the nation. It's this strong the bond of church and nation in Orthodoxy.''[60]

The social consistency of Orthodoxy is rather juridical, it exigently involves the conformity of the believers to the preached dogma. Transformed into ''Romanian law'' the dogmatic formula of Orthodoxy melted into an ethnical expression, which normalizes collective existence on its own criteria.[61] Identifying Romanianism with Orthodoxy reflects the attitude towards those of a different religion, which are thus considered to be ''nonbelievers'', those with whom ''Our Church (i.e. Orthodox) can have no religious communication until they firstly convert (iconomia) to Christianity. The different elements of foreign nationality which crowd our country should blend into the Romanian nationality, should become genuine and accomplished sons of the Romanian nation. This might be achieved since they, becoming Romanians from a political point of view, will also become Romanian Orthodox Christians,'' a clergyman wrote in a report read at the Holy Synod in 1881.[62] The fact that the faithfulness of the Greek-Catholics was directed towards a foreign authority, led to doubts concerning their patriotism and national loyalty. ''We have our church and our religion, which we brought to Dacia from Christian Rome of the ancient times, truly apostolic, and not papist like that of our times. Today's Rome should use her propagandistic zeal on the non-Christian nations'' an Orthodox clergyman wrote in 1883.[63] The symbiosis between Romanianism and Orthodoxy lashed against Transylvania where the Greek-Catholics were regarded as having drifted away from the flock, as being those who kept their nationality only because they kept their Orthodox rite! Catholic propaganda was consistently considered an attempt to denationalize.

Religiously, the reluctance that both Orthodoxes and Catholics had for each other maintained a reciprocal state of intolerance, each considering the other schismatic, heretic, and adversary! The 16th century, a century of new schisms inside Christianity ignited a series of confessional, political, and national confrontations.[64] The feeling of religious discrimination generated complexes, resentments and national frustrations, as those in Transylvania in the 18th century where Orthodox was synonymous with Romanian, meaning

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[60] Citat din scierile lui Ştefan Melchisedec în 1885. Ibidem, p. 103.

[61] D. Barbu, *Bizanţ*, p. 97.

[62] Apud Al. Jinga, op. cit., p. 102.

[63] Ibidem, p. 103.

[64] In Transylvania, for instance, the political system based on granting the power to the three privileged nations – the Magyar gentry, the Saxons and the Székelys, is completed by a religious system of ''acknowledged religions''. The link between confession and nation becomes decisive: the Saxons are Lutheran, the Magyar are Calvin,, the Romanians are Orthodox. Ibidem, p. 43.

the opposite of nobleman, protestant or Catholic. On the other hand, the antithetical usage of the terms christiani-valachi in the documents and in the decisions of the governing body of Transylvania suggested not a separation, but an exclusion of Orthodoxes from the ranks of the Christian confessions! Considering the union with Rome as a gate opener for Romanian national emancipation, the adepts of Greek-Catholicism did not encourage any new national identities other than the Romanian one. Despite the confrontation and the hesitation, the two Romanian Churches committed to the national ideals, being stimulated by the secular intelligentsia for whom the conservation of the nationality, the consolidation of the moral and cultural unity of the nation took precedence.[65]

In Eastern Europe the common loyalty of the Romanians, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Serbs, the Russians, the Albanians for Orthodoxy was frequently a binding agent against foreigners. Resisting the Turks or facing the threat of the territorial annexation of Orthodox provinces to Catholic states made the church a symbol of national resistance. The new monarchs of Greece, Bulgaria, Romania converted to Orthodoxy, both as guaranty for their adhesion to their new homeland, and also to make sure that they get the loyalty of the people.[66]

Turkey after the fall of its empire took tremendous steps for secularization, because in Muslim tradition the State is God, He who governs the people; the law is Muslim law; only God has rights, man has only responsibilities. The secularization launched by Kemal in Turkey in the 1920's and the 1930's, did not mean that Turkish identity does not regain its link with Muslim religion! The conservation of Muslim enclaves in the Balkans was a permanent source of conflict and violence, of refusal to live inside the same political entity belonging to populations of different religions. The twofold intolerance led to the separation of the Orthodox Serbs from the Catholic Croats and of the Muslims from both religious communities.[67] In former Yugoslavia religious segregation represented a live demonstration!

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[65] Catholic proselytism generated serious reluctance when switching faith was involved. The Church United with Rome meant, for its followers, keeping the rites, the holidays, Orthodox customs and the grant of significant laic benefits, that is the granting of an official status, cultural gains etc. As consequence, this change which generates a new church... individualizes the Romanians in the Transylvanian space, but the distinction that came into view between the Romanians of different confessions did not diversify the options and hopes of national unity! The Unification with Rome is seen... in a larger perspective, that of Romanity... - a return to *"the roman community of the ancients"* - while Orthodoxy (represented) *"Romanian law or the* uninterrupted continuity of the Romanian people in its own space, as opposed to other ethnies, other con*fessions."* Ibidem, p. 50- 60; 79; 187.

[66] R. Rémond, op. cit., p. 77. N. Bocşan, I Lumperdean, I-A Pop, op. cit., p. 7.

[67] R. Rémond, op. cit., p.156. D. Schnapper, op. cit., p. 139;142. Building a democratic nation on Islamic land involves a reinterpretation of religious tradition, even secularization.

The will to be together

The modern nation, as imaginary personality, is of social value, in the chain of social, historical, juridical and ethical values. It is the vector of social values, a unity of will, a subordination of all partial purposes to a sole purpose! The modern nation is the image of a single and orderly will, which replaces the myriad of selfish and divergent wills of the social community. The fusing of the wills becomes the norm, breaking this norm is impunity! National will can be considered as the causa movens of the nation in an integrating way, offering "a secret dynamism, a sentiment of irresistible necessity" to the national community.[68]

The nation, one and indivisible, is the collective will to exist as a sovereign people. As the reference point of unity and solidarity, the nation establishes itself through purposeful adherence, through fidelity, but this will also establishes itself through calculations, interests, through the concerns of not staying out or not being left outside the boundaries of the community. The abbot Sieyès thought of the nation in 1789 as an ensemble of free individuals, who decide their own faith, who carry out a shared existence, share the same laws, being represented by the same legislator. It is also true that for him the nation included only the third estate, those who do not have any privileges and form a certain community of equals.[69]

In his speech What is the nation?, Renan confirmed the fact that the nation is projected as a soul, a spiritual principle, a moral conscience. This spiritual principle should be precisely that updated national consent, the wish to live together with the members of the same nation, to keep together that shared cultural heritage. This human assemblage, the will to live in a congeries cannot be conceived apart from the memory of the past, because it appears as a mythical will to exist together National history becomes a shared memory of the will to be together.[70] National spirit has a rich heritage of memories ascribed to it, memories which are kept in the collective memory.

The arguments of a shared culture, of a way of living, of feeling, of acting together were cultivated in press, literature and school. They are taken from the "reassembling of the past", of the events that have realized or seem to have had realized this unity. Mythical memory cultivated by national ideology fables a real history that created real solidarities, because the projects of national unity always include a system of historical representations that

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[68] R. Girardet, Mythes et mythologies politiques, Paris, Éd. du Seuil, 1986, p.142. E. Gellner, *Naţiuni şi naţionalism. Noi perspective asupra trecutului*, p. 87-88. *Naţiunea română. Geneză.* Afirmare, Orizont contemporan, p. 13-14.

[69] P.Andrei, Filosofia valorii, p. 235. G. Noriel, *État, nation et imigration*, p. 89.

[70] Ernest Renan, Qu'est-ce qu' une nation ?, Paris, Éd. Mille et une nuits, 1997, p. 34.

justify the will for unity. The Romanian territories, for example, have had a genuine shared history, but national ideology and pedagogy accentuates and cuts out the moments that might demonstrate this will for unity, extending the patterns of political expansion onto the patterns of collective political solidarity. Thus the nation emerges as a natural product of history. The nation, History reclaimed it! The national discourse of 1848, that of the unifying Principalities in 1859, that of 1918, they all share the same description of the common framework of that history of the will to be together the Romanians had in all Romanian provinces! That Dacia of ancient times, the almost concomitant rise of the Romanian medieval states and the legendary foundation experience, the unity carried out by Michael the Brave in 1600, the Slavonic-Romanian chronicles which mention the countries and their inhabitants were all used as arguments of this continual will to rejoin on the part of the Romanians, to build a unity characterized by national features! Gheorghe Şincai wrote in 1800 *Cronica românilor şi a mai multor neamuri,* a manner of approaching the past which was to be "precipitated towards a formula of national history." Romanians are called brothers in history, in order to be included in the being of a single people, a fascinating retrospective illusion of the past where former generations were conscientiously laying out the grand deeds of national unity![71]

Nation, as reality did not emerge as the expression of a random social community, but as a contractual association on the basis of a unifying principle which perpetuated itself historically, but also as cultural heritage. The nation is therefore the symbol of an identity which has to unify all those who identify themselves with it: while Rousseau heralded the contractual version, proper to French philosophy, Herder endorsed the cultural, ethnic and linguistic version preferred by the Germans. In other words, one comes into the world German, but chooses to be French. Nevertheless, either by birth or option, one has to belong to an nation. Nationality essentially consists not only in ethnic, linguistic or historic elements but mainly in the awareness of identity, that which makes it capable to model itself into consciousnesses and to manifest itself outwardly.[72] *A nation is national consciousness (...) the consciousness of being what one is and the firm determination to be (...) the* foremost strength of the people, said I.I.C. Brătianu in 1918.[73]

A person without Nation is like The Man with no Shadow, because he or she can be ignored, defied and even banished from the "city"! They are constantly considered to be a hybrid ethnical element, or sediments resulted from the ethnical mixture, dwarfs, with no traditions, no homeland, no

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[71] L. Boia, *Două secole de mitologie naţională*, p. 36
[72] Dictionnaire du XIX-*e siècle*, p.795.
[73] Apud Şt. Lemny, Orig*inea şi cristalizarea ideii de patrie*, p. 189.

nationality and who sneak amongst the members of the nation in order to master them: this was Eminescu's concern when writing that "the Romanian people feels instinctively that it is dominated by individuals who pretend to be Romanians, though they are not, and who have no compassion for the people, nor understanding for its genius."[74]

The creation of a nation is always linked to the resistance, to the hostility of a greater power, to which the nation has to show an astonishing vitality. The nation must support itself, it has to have faith in its material and moral forces. Acquiring self-awareness, bringing it to the forefront of the collective confidence is considered to be the instruments of national redemption in the face of the unfortunate events of history![75] The glorification of national sense is frequently nourished by suffering and sacrifice evidenced by the entire historical evolution. The nation is a victim, feels that it is atavistically suffering, it is always defensive (although, paradoxically the nation is the image of vitality itself, of a huge and seductive force). National ambitions are perceived as legitimate by their supporters and they answer to frustrations accumulated in time. Identity crises are always the reflex of some national frustrations induced by an adversary, frustrations anchored in the present and in the past! The feeling of fear and insecurity, also aggravated by real challenges lead to identity conflicts in which either side sees itself as a victim! The founding force of national identity, that is history, was at the heart of the identitary issues, which were frequently intransigent: the Hungarians and the Romanians had different and divergent views on the territory of Dacia and on roman colonization. In 19th century Transylvania the Romanians thought of themselves as a nation, having a living conscience of their territory as a space of identity and solidarity, of a shared history. On their part the Hungarians were influenced by the obsession of their millenarian kingdom, by the privilege of being a dominant nation. These mentalities found their expression mostly on an elite level, the level that transformed the identitary arguments into nationalist, competitive and rival, ideologies.[76]

The Russians and the Polish have had for centuries contrasting views concerning Lithuania, the disputed historical reference point being the period between the 10th and the 14th centuries, but similarly between the Germans and the Dutch, the duchy of Alba was for long a disputed and conflicting topic. The French-German dispute at the end of th 19th century concerning

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[74] Vezi M. Eminescu, Distinquendum est, 1881, *Publicistică,* p. 348. E. Gellner, *Naţiuni şi naţionalism*, p. 16-17.

[75] B. de Montferrant, op cit., p. 91 D. Drăghicescu, *Din psihologia popoprului român*., p. XX. (Studiu introductiv).

[76] Cf. E. Hobsbawn, Nations et nationalisme depuis 1780, p. 132. Vezi Bibo Istvan, *Misère des petits Etats de l' Europe de l'est,* Paris, Harmattan, 1986, p. 21 şi 25.

Alsace and Lorraine gave birth to irreconcilability and two divergent conceptions of nationality: one based on natural law, the other on historical righteousness. But it also underlaid German frustrations which erupted violently in the First World War.[77] Becoming one of the main reference points of the collective modern identity, the nation tends to act as the source of a "fundamentalism" which does not admit any critique, without qualifying it as heresy or blasphemy. The struggle to save the identity, or to exacerbate it in front of other groups, carried in the name of the nation reached sometimes a paroxysm of violence and hate. The last two centuries of nationalism single out as a bleak testimony!

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[77] Dictionnaire du XIX-*e siècle*, p. 706.

Unity in diversity: folk music's role in the cultural construction of the Romanian modern state

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Beginning with the 19th century, the interest for folk music grew all over Europe and, by the end of this century, the field of comparative musicology (later called ethnomusicology) was designed to study folk music with scientific methods. In Romania, the discovery of the folk music, dance and literature as a valuable cultural act was made by the generation of intellectuals of 1848. But the first more professional approaches to this kind of music were made by Bela Bartók in the beginning of the 20th century. He was the first folk music scholar who emphasized the diversity of the Romanian folk music, taking into account as his arguments the scale's structures, the rhythms and the final cadences. On the other hand, he stressed the impact of the language in modeling the structure of the folk songs verses. Thus, the two types of verses - with eight syllables and with six syllables – are a strong reason for the folk music's unity of the country. After Bartók's studies, no other attempts were made to study the particular characteristics and the structural differences between the musical idioms of different regional traditions. The nationalistic ideology that predominated in the interwar period had a profound influence on the way the Romanian ethnomusicologists conceived the multiplicity of the traditional music idioms. The stress was laid on the unity of this music as a significant feature of the nation's soul, rather on the regional diversity or the influence of the minorities on this kind of music. The nationalism continued its evolution – with a short break – in the communist period; it was in those times when the expression "unity in diversity" was first used in respect to Romanian folk music. With a contradictory sense, this oxymoronic construction tries to make reconciliation between the music's characteristics and the ideological demands, offering a metaphor instead of a scientific conclusion.

Our investigation over the musician's conceptions about the multiple facets of the Romanian folk music and the cultural unity of the nation state is divided into three main periods: the first one includes the second half of the 19th century, until the end of world war one and the unification of all Romanian regions, a mostly romantic period in the Romanian culture; the

second one is focused on the interwar period in which a major problem for the intellectuals was the cultural and political integration of the newly unified provinces; the last part is dedicated to the communist period and to the new perspectives that appeared in the relation between the diversity of folk music and the political requirement for historical and cultural unity.

1. The romantic period: folklore as an argument for historical continuity

The interest for folklore in this period had a propagandistic aspect: it was the traditional culture with which the intellectuals will demonstrate the continuity of the Romanian population in Transylvania after the Roman retreat. In doing this, they were following the direction initiated by the Enlightenment-influenced Transylvanian School, which, by the end of 18th century and the beginning of 19th century, were seeking for historical, cultural and linguistic arguments to sustain Romanian's continuity in Transylvania. Besides this propagandistic aspect, in which folk creations were endowed with a major cultural and aesthetic value, the folklore "discovery" had also a material dimension, one of intensive material collection[1]. As Philip Bohlman points out, "in the nineteenth century it became increasingly important for nations striving toward nationalism to have national folk-songs collections. The motivations for these nineteenth century collections, coming from the top down, were decidedly nationalist, even though the contents were supposed to be national."[2]

Intellectuals such as Eftimie Murgu or Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu were involved in polemics concerning the continuity topic, and they both used arguments provided by the Romanian traditional culture: Eftimie Murgu uses five Romanian folk songs and four Serbian folk songs to demonstrate the highly individualized character of Romanian folk music. In his argumentation, he seeks to portray the "national artistic taste" and "the national character"[3]. For Hașdeu, the lyrical folk song called doina is the main argument for continuity in his polemic with Eduard Robert Rösler.

The diversity in Romanian traditional culture was an important issue in 1860-1861 polemic regarding the standard national costume that Romanians from Transylvania should wear. The idea of a national costume came up as a cultural response to the Hungarian national costume, which was inspired by the traditional suits. But for the Romanians, to decide on a

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[1] Paul Cornea, Originile roman*tismului românesc*, Ed. Minerva, București, 1972, p. 505
[2] Philip V. Bohlman, Music, nationalism and the making of the New Europe, Routledge, 2011, p. 63
[3] Paul Cornea, op. cit, pp. 506-507

standard model costume seemed to be a difficult problem. Ioan Puşcariu suggested that such a costume should fulfill two requirements: firstly, it should emphasize as much as possible what differentiates the Romanian costume with respect to other nation's costumes and secondly, it should stress what is common to all the Romanians. In the last case, the author believes that the roman background constitutes the common element of the Romanian traditional suit from all the regions[4]. Another Romanian intellectual, Athanasie Marienescu, agrees with the hypothesis of the roman origin found in the peasant's suits and he mentions that this kind of suit was conserved in all the Romanian regions[5]. But later, when he tries to sketch up a unified model of such a costume, he mixes different elements from different regions into one ideal type. Of course, his attempt didn't persuade much of the public opinion, mainly because of its overlook of the regional characteristics. However, Athanasie Marienescu believes that his work should be a starting point to a systematic research of the traditional suits, a research who should also take into account the regional characteristics. Then, the ideal costume will be obtained by "civilizing" these models. The method of "civilizing" is applied by Marienescu also in editing his literary folk collections: from a large number of versions of a ballad, for example, he compounds a prototype, thinking that this is its original version[6].

A very lucid and pro-European contribution on the national suit polemic came from a priest, Vasile Pop from Satu Mare, who finds the requirement of a unified national costume to be impossible, due to the regional differences. Finally, he asks why should Romanians renounce their usual suit, who is neither Saxon, neither Hungarian, neither Serbian, but it's simply the wear of the civilized people, the European wear[7].

Although the problem of folk music's diversity is not yet discussed systematically in the second half of the 19th century, Romanian folklorists could conceive folk music only as a unitary form of art. They believed that this kind of music should represent the "spirit of the nation", the Volksgeist. If the nation should be only one, uniting all the Romanians within the same borders, the "spirit of the nation" is also a concept of unity, unity that should be reflected in the traditional folk music. In one of his essays about the folk researches in this romantic period, Romanian sociologist Henri H. Stahl argues that, in those times, the faith that the folklore is the direct expression of the nation's spirit was much outspread. It was considered enough to find a

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[4] George Em. Marica, *Studii de istoria şi sociologia culturii român*e ardelene din secolul al XIX-lea, Ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1977, vol. I, p. 251
[5] Ibidem, p. 249
[6] Ibidem, p. 256
[7] Ibidem, p. 259

fine specimen of folk creation; this would account for the rest of productions of the same type. Thus, the "ethnicity" of the nation is displayed incessantly and unaltered in each of the folkloric manifestations[8].

In this ideological quest, ethnomusicology it's not an independent discipline, with clear methods of investigation, but it's rather an instrument for national propaganda in which the idea of diversity was out of the question. The romantic approaches to folklore in the East European countries, countries with a contested legitimacy in that period, were "stressing the individual side, what was specific and irreducible"[9]. For the national ideology, the traditional culture is only an "evidence" for the nation's way of thinking. Thus, the Romanian folklore is rather canonized than analyzed[10].

2. The interwar period: the ethnic and national distinctiveness – an "intellectuals' obsession"

Assuming Victor Neumann's expression, the national specificity was an "obsession" for the intellectual elite in the interwar period. This obsession was grounded in the *Völkerpsychologie* paradigm which developed in Romania at the end of the 19th century through intellectuals such as Alexandru Dimitrie Xenopol, Dumitru Drăghicescu, Aurel C. Popovici or Constantin Rădulescu Motru[11]. For the supporters of *Völkerpsychologie*, the culture is what give sense to the national existence. In their arguments, they used both psychological and historical facts and, after 1918, the racist theories from that period. The folklore had once again a high stake because, for this kind of intellectuals, without culture there is no history[12], and the only important kind of culture at that time was the traditional culture. Emblematic for the way in which the traditional culture was considered in those years is the inscription laid on a marble column in the Romanian pavilion at the Universal Exhibition in New York, 1939: "Romania has over 20 million inhabitants altogether united through language, traditions and culture." This motto is a very accurate description of the national idea that dominated the Romanian politics and the Romanian society in the interwar period and it represents the ethnic nationalism's answer to ethnic and regional diversity[13].

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[8] Henri H. Stahl, Eseuri critice, Ed. Minerva, București, 1983, p. 232
[9] Paul Cornea, op. cit., p. 499
[10] Balázs Trencsényi, „Conceptualizarea caracterului național în tradiția intelectuală românească", în Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen, *Istoria României prin concepte*, Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2010, p. 345
[11] Ibidem, p. 347 și urm.
[12] Ibidem, p. 352
[13] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare*, Ed. Humanitas, București, 1998, pp. 11-12

The first truly scientific approach to Romanian folk music is made by the Hungarian composer and ethnomusicologist Béla Bartók. His research campaigns in Transylvania started in the first decade of the 20th century and they ended along with the Romanian unification in 1918, but the influence of his studies spread to a long period in the Romanian ethnomusicology. Excepting his folk songs collections, his first volume that collected his particular papers regarding the Romanian folk music were published in 1937 by his fellow ethnomusicologist Constantin Brăiloiu. When Bartók describes the traditional musical dialects in Transylvania he takes into account the lyrical song called doina. Thus, such melodies are very different if one compares the northern dialect (the Maramureş area) and the southern dialect (the Hunedoara area), so different that Bartók says that they could be considered as belonging to two different populations with no relationship[14]. Moreover, the southern dialect is also divided into three subcategories. One of Bartók's very important remarks is that of horizontal diversity of romanian folk music. In Slovakia, another region investigated by him, the villages' musical repertoires count up to 100-150 melodies; almost the same repertoire could be found in a long distance region (this is what he calls vertical diversity). In Romania, a common village musical repertoire contains no more than 30 or 40 melodies, but the next village may contain other musical exemples, so that the repertoire differs from an area to another.

In all his demonstrations, Bartók makes a detailed research on scales, melodic cadences, versification methods and rhytmic patterns. But this is not the case of some of the romanian musicians, who try to explain the regional differences through an emotional and pseudo-historical type of reasoning. Speaking about the doina, the romanian composer Tiberiu Brediceanu states that these melodies are reflecting, in the centre of Transylvania, the oppresion under which this population lived, while in northern Transylvania they also have a melancholic character, but in a lesser degree[15]. At the same conference, which took place in Bucharest, 1927, the same musician seems ready to accept the diversity of romanian folk music, arguing that romanian provinces were carring different political and cultural imfluences that reflected in the multitude of folk music styles[16]. The next year, at an international conference in Prague, Brediceanu mentions this diversity of folk music and compares it with the one of the traditional costumes, but stresses more its unity, alike the linguistical unity and homogeneity, due to an essential background. No matter

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[14] Béla Bartók, „Dialectul muzical al românilor din Hunedoara", în *Scrieri mărunte despre muzica populară românească*, ediţie îngrijită de Constantin Brăiloiu, Bucureşti, 1937, p. 6
[15] Tiberiu Brediceanu, „Motivul muzical în creaţia populară", în Tiberiu Brediceanu, Scrieri, Ed. Muzicală, Bucureşti, 1976, p.59
[16] Ibidem, p. 55

the region the music comes from, any Romanian will feel it and understand it as his music, and every music scholar will recognize in it its characteristics and its originality[17]. But Brediceanu's lecture is missing the most important things for an argumentation of this kind: the musicological analysis, in the absence of which no comparison can be done and no conclusion can be drawn. This kind of discourse, with emotional and pseudo-scientific arguments and inserted with national propaganda's topics, such as the unity myth or the continuity myth, will spread far in the 20th century, serving the interests of various regimes, either democratic or totalitarian.

After 1918, along with the unification, the Romanian state faced a very important task: the cohesion of its regions and its population. At this point, several problems raised: institutional and legislative homogeneity, the recruitment and development of a national elite, regionalism, the formation of a national conscience for the populations who lived under a foreign administration, an important number of minorities, of which the Jews and the Hungarians formed the urban elite in Moldavia and Transylvania[18]. From this perspective of a new formed national state, the cultural identity was intensely discussed. The principal instrument for cultural homogeneity, capable to accelerate the modernization of the nation, was the educational system, the schools and the universities, which were an important promoter of the nationalist ideology[19].

In the interwar period folk research, a very influential personage was the sociologist Dimitrie Gusti, professor at the University of Bucharest, around whom a so called sociological school formed. While Gusti believed in an ethnic construction of the nation inside of a unitary and centralized state, some of his followers were sliding towards a racist view, adhering to the extreme right ideology. For Gusti, the Romanian rural society is the equivalent of the Romanian nation and of the national state[20]. Such an importance given to the rural communities is explained by the Romanian historian Victor Neumann through their role in shaping the cultural and political identity. Neumann argues that the Enlightenment's ideas penetrated the Central-Eastern Europe area, but these directions towards political rationalism and individual responsibility were soon replaced by the romantic conception which substitutes the national with ethnicity. In this new

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[17] Tiberiu Brediceanu, „Istoricul şi atarea actuală a cercetărilor de muzică populară românească", în op. cit., p. 63
[18] Irina Livezeanu, op. cit., p. 30
[19] Antonio Momoc, Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice, Ed. Curtea Veche, Bucureşti, 2012, p. 320
[20] Ibidem, pp. 332-333

framework, the peasant is representing the ideal of purity for the nation. Such a conception is hence far from the notion of social and cultural diversity[21].

In this perspective, folk music, as a specimen of the traditional culture, had to serve the purposes of the national politics, such as centralization and cultural unity. Beside homogeneity, folk music should also represent the continuity and the originality of Romanian traditions. Romanian musicologist George Breazul, with his analyses on the pentatonic and oligochordic scales in Romanian folk music, tried to establish a direct link to the Thracian musical system. Although he admits the regional diversity and he stresses the need to compose a musical atlas which should contain a stylistical delimitation of the regions, he rejects the same conclusions of a German musicologist, Werner Danckert, who also remarked, in his 1939 book Das *europäische Volkslied*, the high degree in which the Romanian musical dialects are different. For George Breazul, such conceptions tended to impose the false conclusion that states the lack of unity in Romanian folk music[22].

For a better understanding of Romanian musicians' opinion about music and culture, it is useful to bring into discussion the notions of national and nationalist music, largely explained by Philip V. Bohlman is his book Music, nationalism and the making of the New Europe. Here, national music rescues history for the nation, and nationalist music rescues the nation for the history[23]. The definition of the national music seems more appropriate to the cultural situation in interwar Romania:

"Defined most simply, national music reflects the image of the nation so that those living in the nation recognize themselves in basic but crucial ways. It is music conceived in the image of the nation that is created through efforts to represent something quintessential about the nation. The quintessence of the nation exists prior to its imagination; hence, the task of music is to represent that preexisting entity through music […] National music therefore, frequently turns to folk music, laying claim to its authenticity."[24]

The idea of "something quintessential about the nation" is also present in the discourse of most Romanian musicians in the interwar period and also in the communist regime. They believed that music should express this

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[21] Victor Neumann, *Ideologie și fantasmagorie*, Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2001, p. 45
[22] George Breazul, Pagini *din istoria muzicii românești*, vol. V, Ed. Muzicală, București, 1981, pp. 152-154
[23] Philip V. Bohlman, Music, nationalism and the making of the New Europe, Routledge, 2011, pp. 59-60
[24] Ibidem, p. 60

quintessence, but they never realized to name it precisely. Although philosophers like Lucian Blaga transferred the discussion about cultural authenticity from the field of political ideology to the one of philosophy and created a complex system to determine the "stylistically matrix" from which the Romanian culture should evolve, the nation's quintessence floated somewhere above the Romanian villages. Nevertheless, musicians like George Breazul tries to set the directions of the Romanian compositional school on the folk music foundations, arguing that only the folk-inspired compositions "consecrates historically the musical being of our race."[25] In this short quote there is a part of the most influential ideas in that period: from Hegel's philosophy of history (Breazul studied two years at the University of Berlin) to the scientific racism which predominated in the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. Besides the national being, there is also a musical being, which should probably represent the most powerful and original characteristics of the Romanian music, as a quintessential predicate of an Aristotelian definition.

3. The communist period: the ethnomusicological analysis connected to the ideological requirements

In the interwar period, the Romanian ethnomusicology benefited by the works of Béla Bartók and other Romanian ethnomusicologists, especially Constantin Brăiloiu. Both scholars imposed new standards concerning the precision of the transcriptions, the folk music typologies and genres, the analyze of metrical and scalar systems and also about the methods of field research. With them, ethnomusicology gained a truly scientific basis, which was further developed during the communist regime. But, after 1947, the political ideology, either internationalist or national-communist strongly influenced the research in this field. The presence of this ideological dimension in the papers or books written in this period can be located in a higher or a lesser degree, and it's not the aim of this study to discover if their authors truly believed in those political ideas or they had to pay an ideological tribute.

This political pressure allowed the continuity of the romantic and interwar stereotypes about the traditional culture, even though new nuances were added. In the '70, the cultural trend called protochronism, which was focusing on the country's past and on the aboriginal values, flourished in Romania. In doing this, the Romanian protochronism developed a number of concepts such as the national genius, the specificity and the originality, the continuity, the glorious past, the organically culture or the aim for

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[25] George Breazu, „Concepțiile dominante în muzica românească de azi", în revista *Gândirea*, an XI, nr. 1, p. 35

universality[26]. This major trend in the Romanian culture permitted the perpetuation of the folk music's unity conception, of course, after the recognition of its regional diversity. It is in the communist period when the expression "unity in diversity" gained a large usage. A common practice in the description of the Romanian folk music geography is first to specify the general differences between the regions, and to stress immediately the background unity of Romanian folk and of course its continuity. It seems that in the communist period the folk music's diversity begun to represent a real problem for both the ethnomusicological and political interests. This can be easy to see in the ethnomusicological writings of that period, because every time the diversity aspect is discussed, the authors always conclude by stressing the unity. As far as I know, every time the problem of diversity is solved with the one of the unity, and I haven't found yet any study who takes into account only the diversity and who does not mention the folk's unity. Although the diversity could be a proof of a highly original culture, this aspect is neglected in favor of the unity, which could help the regime to impose a national consciousness.

A prominent Romanian ethnomusicologist, Gheorghe Ciobanu, also deals with this problem. He enumerates a number of aspects in which local variants of folk music are different even inside the same area: architectonical shape, cadences, ornaments, giusto or rubato as different manners of interpretation, different modal structures or different melodic and rhythmic formulas. But, above those local preferences, there is something that unites the Romanian folk music creations and this is, in Gh. Ciobanu's view, the melodic and rhythmic organization. This can be explained by the close relation with the versification system, based on the unity of the Romanian language[27]. His linguistic argument is only partially true, especially for the vocal music, but in the instrumental dance music, another agent of organization that is represented by choreography, and in this particular kind of music, the regional differences are most noticeable.

Also present in the communist period is the "obsession" of continuity and the arguments are the same like one hundred years ago, when Hașdeu tried to demonstrate the Romanians' continuity. From the comparative investigation of the lyrical vocal songs (doina), some authors conclude that doina is the "argument for unity in diversity" and it "indubitable testifies a

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[26] Alexandra Tomiță, *O istorie „glorioasă". Dosarul protocronismului românesc*, Ed. Cartea Românească, 2007, pp. 21-22

[27] Gheorghe Ciobanu, în prefața volumului George Breazu, Pagini din istoria muzicii r*omânești*, vol. V, Ed. Muzicală, București, 1981, p. 28

stylistically unity, seamless completed by a pregnant diversity."[28] In the same paper, we can find out that the stylistically diversity of the Romanian lyrical song is an evidence for its age of several millennia and for, of course, Romanians' ancient lineage[29]. The study from which these expressions belong contains no musical analysis, but it's the typical sort of discourse in which there can be found an argumentation based on ostentatious expressions, designed to serve the nationalist ideology of the communist party.

A very similar situation can be found in the work of folk literature's scholars. Ovidiu Bârlea, for example, argues that the diversity of the folk creations is due to the different regional ethnical kernels in the pre-history[30]. The most varied region is Transylvania, and this conclusion is not a surprising one, being also confirmed by linguist experts[31]. But, after this plead for diversity, the author states that the Romanian folk creation was a useful element for the national homogeneity, enlarging the group consciousness to an ethnical consciousness. Moreover, the crowd had a diffuse intuition of a national entity spread upon a space clearly defined[32]. As a proof for this unpremeditated eruption of the consciousness of belonging to a larger and unitary ethnical group, the author mentions the presence of toponyms in the epic ballads. For a better understanding of these facts, he cites a fragment from the Introduction to the New Testament written by metropolitan Simeon Ștefan in 1648, where the clergyman advises the reader that „the Romanians are not speaking the same way in all their provinces, and neither in the same province they don't speak all the same."[33] If for Ovidiu Bârlea this quote represents the proof for the anticipation of a unified nation, for me, this mid 17th century document shows clearly the linguistic and, we can suppose, the cultural diversity in the pre-modern era in Romanian provinces. The linguistically unity was a strong argument for the folklorists in their analyses of the folk traditions, but it was usually forgotten to mention that this linguistical unity was hardly achieved because of the institutional efforts beginning with the second half of the 19th century.

The last subject to analyze in this study is the university courses from the communist period for the discipline of ethnomusicology. The course from Bucharest doesn't take much into account the diversity problem. It simply states that the Romanian folk music has a unitary character, but in its vertical and horizontal evolution, some stylistical differences took shape. The

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[28] Virgil Medean, „Doina, argument al unității spirituale românești", în *Lucrări de muzicologie*, vol. XIX-XX, Cluj Napoca, 1986, p. 89
[29] Ibidem, p. 89
[30] Ovidiu Bârlea, *Folclor românesc*, vol. II, Ed. Minerva, București, 1983, p. 438
[31] Ibidem, p. 442
[32] Ibidem, p. 457
[33] Ibidem, p. 466

quantitative analysis can help us to distinguish the essential features, the national specific, the secondary features, which are the regional ones, and the features that belong to the universal heritage[34]. We can see that here, the national features are stressed out, while the regional particularities are of a secondary importance. In a further paragraph, the lyrical song is supposed to have its roots in an ancient unique style that evolved into different forms after the formation of the Romanian folk[35].

This idea of a homogeneous folk culture in the ancient times is also present in the Cluj-Napoca university course, but in a more radical way. Here, the regional differences are due not to the different paths of evolution or different kinds of influences, but they are considered to be the result of the different stages in which the folk music is in[36]. In spite of these regional differences, the national specificity provides a unity of content and shape, which corresponds to the ethno-psychical unity of the Romanian folk[37]. This perspective of a folk music which is essentially the same, but is in different stages of evolution in different regions, is completed by the assumption that Romanian folk music was, before the contact with other population's music and before the contact with the classical music, a unitary musical language, which later splits into different regional idioms[38]. This nostalgia of a lost paradise can be encountered, in the communist regime, as a propaganda instrument for subjects concerning Romanian history. This nostalgia was projected mostly in the ancient times, with which the regime was trying to establish a direct connection. Although the hypothesis of a unitary folk music style in illo tempore who splits once with the formation of the first Romanian state ethnomusicologists never bother to inquire about it, it is significant that such a statement is introduced in a university course, intended to prepare the future musicians of the communist Romania.

4. Conclusions

This view over the evolution of "unity in diversity" expression can also be considered as a review of the evolution of Romanian ethnomusicology. Some of the features that this discipline contains in the second half of the 19th century are still present in the interwar period and in the communist regime. Thus, its propagandistic role that should demonstrate Romanian's continuity and their cultural unity are still present in the entire 20th century. Moreover, the folk music should reflect the quintessence of the

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[34] Emilia Comișel, Folclor muzical, Ed. Didactică și Pedagogică, București, 1967, p. 53
[35] Ibidem, p. 269
[36] Ioan Nicola, Traian Mârza, Ilona Szenik, Curs de folclor muzical, Cluj-Napoca, 1969, p. 33
[37] Ibidem, p. 173
[38] Ibidem, p. 169

"Romanian spirit". This "useless wind chase"[39] (as Reinhardt Koselleck calls the search for the German identity) is also present in the 21st century Romanian ethnomusicological research. In a 2005 book we notice again the same discussion about the "national feature", which is "probably the most important one in the musical creation of every nation."[40]

These kinds of approaches could never advantage a really scientific and non-ideological debate on folk music's diversity. In this way, ethnomusicology was never a completely independent discipline, as it suffered constantly, in all of the periods mentioned above, from the intrusion of the national propaganda. In fact, the expression "unity in diversity" has ideological connotations as the stress falls over the first concept, the one of unity. This situation of folk music research in Romania is due to the ethno-nationalistic foundations on which the Romanian political and cultural elites had build up the modern nation state. For Victor Neumann, the ethno-nationalist ideology tends to fabricate "artificial delimitations between human groups, to overestimate the language and traditions' role and to prepare violent disruptions."[41] Also very concluding for the Romanian ethnomusicology in the last two centuries is Lucian Boia's opinion that it is not a certain history that constructs the nation, but it is the nation who is inventing the history which, apparently, had been established the nation; the same with language: once the nations is made up, it elaborates a standard language which is imposed to all its members[42]. The process of folk music research didn't follow the same direction of homogenization and standardization applied to the regional dialects of the language by the state's educational system. The richness and the multiplicity of the traditional music were too obvious and too precious for the image of the Romanian culture. But this diversity hadn't the same importance as the cultural unity and thus the problem was solved by subordinating the diversity to unity. This ideological ambiance did unfeasible a coherent analysis of regional musical idioms, their evolution and their interference with other musical traditions.

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[39] Reinhart Koselleck, *Conceptele și istoriile lor*, Ed. Art, 2009, p. 242
[40] Floricica Irena Rădulescu, *Folclorul muzical românesc din perspectivă diacronică și științifică*, Ed. Europolis, Constanța, 2005, p. 241
[41] Victor Neumann, *Neam, popor sau națiune?,* Ed. Curtea Veche, București, 2003, p. 61
[42] Lucian Boia, *Două secole de mitologie națională*, apud. Alexandra Tomiță, O istorie *„glorioasă". Dosarul protocronismului românesc*, Ed. Cartea românească, București, 2007, p. 108

The Romanian composer as intellectual in Transylvania during the interwar period. Representing the nation through musical culture

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The concept of intellectual was first associated with the famous process that was more than an episode of French internal politics, known as the Dreyfus affair, that involved the efforts to establish the innocence of a Jewish officer accused of espionage in the later 1890's.[1] Seeing how fanatical defending an injustice can be, French philosopher Julien Benda gave significant meanings, in his controversial La trahison des clercs (1927), to the concept of the then vaguely named intellectual. Developing his conceptions around the Dreyfus affair period which he himself experienced, Benda imagines his intellectuals as existing in a sort of universal space, bound neither by national boundaries nor by ethnic identity.[2]

American literate and musician Edward W. Said agrees with Benda that intellectuals - as public figures that can neither be defined nor associated to some slogan, orthodox party line, or fixed dogma - attempt to be ''the conscience of the mankind'', people who uphold eternal standards of truth and justice despite the individual intellectual's party affiliation, national background or primeval loyalties.[3] Abandoning the sacred duty by serving ''the national interest'' and satisfying the personal and professional interests, in Benda's combative rhetoric is a way of betrayal on the part of the intellectuals, blinded by the political ''passions'' not only of nation, but also of race and class.

About intelligentsia spoke Raymond Aron thirty years after Benda, considering intellectuals as ''the clerics of 20th century'', the experts or ''professionals of intelligence'', endowing them with features which appeared in connection with an emergent social class, ''the social category that is more

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[1] Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarism, A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Inc., pp.89-120.
[2] Julien Benda, *Trădarea cărturarilor*/ The Treason of the Intelectuals, trad. Gabriela Creția, pref. Andrei Pippidi, București, Ed. Humantias, 2007, p. 13.
[3] Edward W. Said, Representations of the Intellectual, Vintage Books, New-York, 1994, p. 5.

numerous, more free, famous and closer to the power''.[4] Pierre Bourdieu confirms that both intellectuals and artists (the intellectual as opposed to the literate and the artist as opposed to the artisan) occupy a dominant position in the field of power.[5]

As for who is eligible to serve an intellectual function, Raymond Aron accepts that artists, besides philosophers, live through and for the exercise of intelligence[6], and for E. Said the intellectual is ''the author of a language that attempts to speak the truth to power'', including someone able ''to represent, embody or articulate a message, a view, an attitude, a philosophy or opinion''.[7] Benda includes artists in his denunciation of intellectual treason, when artists pretend to be the expression of the national genius and invite the nation to admire itself in his work,[8] the kind of behaviour that Romanian composers had especially after War World I, while they were facing the problems of specificity and universalism of the recently created/united Romanian State. As long as the interwar Romanian composer followed the official political direction, as states' employees, we may assume that it fits the profile of an intellectual involved in political, cultural, even individual passions. This opinion may be sustained by the preferences that some of them had for different political parties and for the absence of a critical voice against the states' cultural politics. Their opinions differed only in what it concerned the way to achieve a national culture and not what that culture should be. The definition of the composer as an intellectual involves the features of a public figure that interacts with other artistic areas and their representatives and becomes a modern character whose voice gradually overtakes its specialisation and reaches echoes in the public debate.

The main idea in this study is that we may better understand the social and artistic behaviour of the Romanian composers during the interwar period, their motivations, and their artistic ideals within their context as intellectuals. This condition (i.e. the intellectual condition) develops in the context of the modern public life of the intellectual, or the young intellectual – as Turgenev, Flaubert or Joyce described it in the novels of the end of the 19th century, the beginning of the 20th – without serving as a material for a sociological monography. How to respond to the state's ideological projections through the music register and press apparitions was a question that Romanian composers faced in a time of demonstrating the national culture. My approach

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[4] Raymond Aron, *L'opium des intellectuels/ The Opium of the Intelectualls*, Ed. Calmann-Levy, 1955, p. 215.
[5] Pierre Bourdieu, Economia bunurilor simbolice/ The Economy of the Symbolic Goods, trad. Mihai Dinu Gheorghiu, Ed. Meridiane, 1986, p. 31.
[6] Raymond Aron, op. cit., p. 216.
[7] Edward W. Said, op. cit., p. 11.
[8] Julien Benda, Op. cit., p. 74.

in this case is relational and concerns the Transylvanian composers' dynamics in the public cultural space of united Romania, allowing us to comprehend the state's cultural dialogue with artist intellectuals.

Cultural and political spectrum in the Romanian interwar period

In between wars, Romania faced an expansion of the intellectual elite as a consequence of democratic progress, developing a larger political spectrum.[9] There were two decades of vitality and creativity, the younger generation having an important position, experimenting new ideas, from philosophy to art and politics, causing also disputes and divisions inside the political parties. Despite this dynamics, the place of ideologies in the process of political development was reduced and their function was made up by substituting the national tradition deficit that characterized the Romanian interwar period.[10]

The interwar period was defined between modernism and ethnicity, the values of ethno-nationalism that where activated in 19th century beginning with romanticism, continued to exist in the first decades of 20th century and competed with state constitutionalism and European constitutionalism.[11] The political parties of the Romanian interwar period shared a common landing: nationalist politics. Rationalists, modernists and Europeanists were losing ground towards their opponents who over esteemed the ethno-national myth.[12]

The dynamics between national tradition and modernity presented different transitory types of discourse. One of them was the poporanist[13] ideology that stressed the peasant as central to society's character, cultivating democracy and a critic attitude toward the rural reality.[14] The other ideological discourse used in the interwar period cultivated a supra-historical vision incarnated in the community as creator of destiny, representing the ''stylistic matrix'' of Lucian Blaga, a central figure of this authentic-

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[9] Lucian Boia, *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 şi 1950/ The Traps* of the History. Romanian Intelectuall Elite between 1930-1950, Ed. Humanitas, Bucharest, 2011.

[10] Stelu Şerban*, Elite, partide şi spectru politic in România interbelică/ Elites,* Parties and Political Spectrum in Interwar Romania, Ed. Paideia, 2006, p. 23.

[11] Victor Neumann, *Neam şi popor: noţiunile etnocentralismului românesc/ The Notions of the* Romanian Ethnocentralism: Nation and People, în *Istoria României prin concepte. Perspe*ctive alternative asupra limbajelor social-politice/ Romanian History through Concepts. Alternative Perspectives on Social-Political Languages , Ed. Polirom, 2010, p. 382.

[12] Victor Neumann, *Ideologie şi fantasmagorie. Perspective comparative asupra isto*riei *gândirii politice în Europa Est-Centrală/ Ideology and fantasmagory. Comparative* Perspectives on Historical Political Thought in Est-Central Europe, Polirom, 2001, p. 105.

[13] From the Romanian word ''popor'' which means people.

[14] See Zigu Ornea, Poporanismul, Bucuresti, Ed. Minerva, 1972.

philosophical perspective[15] who dominated the aesthetic view of most of the Romanian composers from Transylvania, and not only.

For consolidating the new territorial conquests after the 1918 union, a Romanian ethnic intellectual elite developed within the Romanian National State, substituted itself to the old elites of Hungarian, Austrian or Russian administrations who governed Transylvania, Bucovina and Basarabia in the past. The state was the nation's modern educator[16], as Gellner describes it, and this central role applies also to the national Romanian state's educational strategies.[17] This is the case of establishing educational institutions, like schools and universities in Romanian language and also cultural institutions like theatres and operas, besides the new wave of Romanian press that spread in different political directions.

The State's hegemony and musical culture: institutions and propaganda

In Transylvania, in the years following the unification - as in the rest of the country - a constant idea was that of cultural integration in the European space of values. The generation of Lucian Blaga and of those who followed him, maintained the obsession for the duty to legitimize the national state through spiritual creation activities.[18] The cultural and political itinerary in modern Romania was carried ''between a philosophy of being and a philosophy of nation'', the interwar generations having a critical vision towards modernity.[19]

After 1918 the Romanian intellectuals from Transylvania took initiative in changing the former Hungarian educational system with institutions based on the Romanian national programs. In one year (1918-1919), the Romanian administration nationalised the existing schools and created new ones with a Romanian professorial corpus trained in the Romanian national schools, a good number of them being brought from the Romania before the unification.[20] Schools of different levels and confessions had been reorganized, including the Hungarian University from Cluj which

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[15] See Marta Petreu, De la Junimea la Noica/ From Junimea to Noica; Zigu Ornea, *Tradiţionalism şi modernitate în deceniul al treilea/ Traditionalism and Modernity in the Third Decade.*

[16] Ernest Gellner, Natiuni si nationalism/ Nations and Nationalism.

[17] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultură şi naţionalism în România Mare 1918*-1930/ Culture and Nationalism in Romania 1918-1930, Ed. Humanitas, 1998, pp. 27-28.

[18] Marta Petreu, De la Junimea la Noica, Ed. Polirom, 2011, p. 181.

[19] Ion Calafeteanu, *Politică şi interes naţional în România interbelică/ Politics and National Interest in Interwar Romania*, Ed. Enciclopedică, Buc., 1997, p.115.

[20] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultură şi naţionalism în România Mare 198*-1930/ Culture and Nationalism in Great Romania 1918-1930, trad. Vlad Russo, Humanitas, Bucureşti, 1998., pp.187-188.

was overtook and transformed in 1919 into a promoter of pan-European spirit.[21] Because Cluj had a great majority of Hungarian intellectuals, this city became a centre of cultural interest for the Romanian intellectuality.

Among the participants in the process of establishing cultural institutions in Transylvania, there was the composer Tiberiu Brediceanu (1877-1968), one of the most visible figures of that time as a promoter of national music and organiser of different musical manifestations of ASTRA, the most famous Romanian cultural association in 19th century Transylvania. Hailed from an intellectual family from Lugoj and having a law diploma, he was one of the most important figures in the process of establishing in Cluj the National Theatre (1919), the Music Conservatoire (1920) and the National Opera (1920).[22] In the following years, musical conservatoires where founded also in Braşov, Timişoara, and even a small town such as Lugoj had a philharmonic and a folk conservatoire of music. Ideas of organising the Romanian composers in societies, had composer Ciprian Porumbescu (1853-1883) since middle nineteenth century, and also the need to gather them in a lexicon, like composer Guilem Şorban (1876-1923) had in the end of the century but neither fulfilled.[23] A branch opened in Cluj in 1930 of the Romanian Academy, the Folklore Archive institute of research, which is considered the oldest from Transylvania.[24]

Along with the national state's cultural institutions, there were also private initiatives, like in Bucharest, The Society of Romanian Composers founded in 1920 with composer George Enescu as president (until 1949) and ethnomusicologist Constantin Brăiloiu (1893-1958) as general secretary.[25] This society was privileged by the French connections that it had through a number of Romanian composers that studied in Paris and also for the financier and moral support given by King Carol the second in the 30s, during his kingship. A novelty in the interwar cultural life was that of establishing - alongside with the institutions – competitions of musical creation designed to encourage young composers to write music (The Romanian Academy, The Society of Romanian Composers and other societies granted awards).

Nationalism in Transylvania took shape in the form of utopian ideology based on orthodoxy and ethnicity, that where present in both

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[21] Marta Petreu, De la Junimea la Noica, Ed. Polirom, 2011, p.181.
[22] Tiberiu Brediceanu, Scrieri/ Writings, ediţie îngrijită de Brânduşa Nuţescu, Ed. Muzicală, Buc., 1976.
[23] Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Universul muzicii româneşti. Uniunea compozitorilor şi muzicologilor din România 1920-1995/ Romanian Musical Universe. The Romanian Composers' and Musicologists' Union from 1920 to 1995*, Ed. Muzicală, Bucureşti, 1995, p. 20.
[24] Information took from www.acad-cluj.ro/arhiva_folclor_academia_romana.php.
[25] Octavian Lazăr Cosma, Op.cit., p. 22-24.

political and cultural ideologies, forming a sort of spirituality in the process of the so called ''authentic and free individual search''.[26] These characteristics where used as national propaganda instruments in both the state's institutions and the press. The national-christian journals of Octavian Goga or Nichifor Crainic promoted intensively these values. During the interwar decades, in general, the Romanian composers' discourse about art, music and its function is dominated and obsessed by the generic-cultural dimension crystallised in tradition, national specificity and „Romanian spirit''.

The presence of the composer in the press

The national idea in music was one of the major concerns of Transylvanian intellectuals ever since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Composer Tiberiu Brediceanu expressed it at various times at different conferences and when he had the occasion, in the press. There is also a composer and priest, Timotei Popovici (1870-1950) from Lugoj who wrote in 1906 about the national principle in music.[27] At the beginning of the 20th century, composer Guilelm Şorban began to publish the biographies of the most important Romanian composers, in the journal *Luceafărul* from Sibiu; his historical-informational investigations were gathered in a larger material and published in 1915 in the *Românul* paper from Arad.[28] Beginning with the Great Union, the problem of national music began to be largely debated in Transylvanian press, and the composer switched his position from being the specialist involved only in his limited area, to the public intellectual figure with a constant presence in the cultural press circuit.

Tiberiu Brediceanu was the most prominent musical activist in Transylvanian press, sending materials also to the international one as a correspondent member of the French Society of Musicology of Paris (1929). He wrote in the literary journal Patria, in Octavian Goga's national-Christian journal *Luceafărul*, in Transilvania and other journals from Sibiu, Blaj or Brasov. In the 20s, these journals were still under the influence of traditionalist writers and poets like Coşbuc, Goga, Slavici, Agârbiceanu who owned most of the cultural press. Brediceanu wrote about the condition of Romanian composers even before the war, drawing attention on the low level of nationalism that Romanian music had.[29] One of his main concerns was that of saving and processing national folklore specificity, stressing it as an

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[26] Lucian Boia, Op. cit., Humanitas, 2011, p. 36.
[27] Timotei Popovici, *Principiul naţional în muzică/ The National Principle in Music*, in The Theological and Pedagogical Institute yearbook XXIII, Sibiu, 1906/7.
[28] Information took from http://arhivaromaneasca.wordpress.com/arhive/arhive-ignorate/mircea -popa-guilem-sorban-un-mare-compozitor-uitat/.
[29] Tiberiu Brediceanu, Scrieri/ Writings, ediţie îngrijită de Brânduşa Nuţescu, Bucureşti, Ed. Muzicală, 1976, (cuprinde: studii, cuvântări, comunicări).

imperative pursuit for the political and cultural cause.[30] Almost all the composers were folklorists in the interwar decades continuing a romantic obsession with folklorism that became part of a more explicitly nationalist discourse in order to serve a specific political agenda and in a great measure it followed the Germanic model of discourse (Hegel and Herder).

Composer Sabin Drăgoi (1894-1968) from Timișoara also made his appearance in press with his opinion about Romanian music, encouraging the national orientation in music, like the Russians, Czechs or Scandinavians did.[31] He insisted on the national specificity as a necessity in the Romanian musical culture, both in musical journals like Muzica, Revista de folclor or *Muzică și poezie*, as well as in cultural ones like *Luceafărul.* Most of these journals promoted the ''Sămănătorist'' movement - having the main concern on traditional culture and rural instruction – which was still being alive in the conscience of Transylvanian readers.[32]

There is also the musicologist George Breazul (1877-1961) from Bucharest, who had a permanent column in Nichifor Crainic's periodic of Rightist orientation, *Gândirea*[33], a journal that had a preponderantly traditionalist dimension but was based on idealised features of ethnicity that went so far that reached anti-modernist and anti-occidental nuances.[34] As a former Berlin student, Breazu had a more nationalist approach. He wrote about the music educational system, as a music professor and inspector which he was in the 20s, and also about the dominant concepts existing in Romanian music, identifying in the process of musical creation two different directions that overlap: the Universalist perspective and the authentic one. In his opinion the Universalist concept was abstract and independent of a specific environment, like Schoenberg's music. He believed that the folklore, as the source for an authentic art form, should be processed in a conscious state of

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[30] Tiberiu Brediceanu, *Păreri relativ la problema salvării și cultivării specificului nostru etnic/ Opinions Relatively on the Salvation and Development of Ower Specificity*, în Transilvania Review, nr.3/1937.

[31] Sabin V. Drăgoi, *Asupra muzicii românești/On Romanian Music*, în Muzica, București, nr. 12, 1921; *Contribuțiuni la cunoașterea și aprecierea adevărată a muzicii românești/ Contributions to Knowing and True Apreciation of the Romanian Music*, în *Luceafărul*, Timișoara, nr.9-10/1938.

[32] Nae Antonescu, *Reviste românești de cultură din România interbelică/ Cultural Romanian Journals from Interwar Romania*, vol.1., Presa Univ.Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p.12.

[33] Cezar Petrescu's journal *Gândirea* was one of the journals that where founded in the recently attached Cluj (1921) by the initiative of few Bucharest intellectuals along with the participation of Lucian Blaga. Few years after, the journal was taken over by Nichifor Crainic and moved to Bucharest.

[34] Zigu Ornea, *Tradiționalism și modernitate în deceniul al treilea*, Ed. Eminescu, 1980, pp.123-138.

creation through a rationalist approach.[35] As a professor, musicologist and ethnomusicologist, Breazu is the one who stressed the national idea in Romanian musicology of the 20th century.

The existing dialogue between artists and journalists, philosophers or other intellectuals reveals the position in society that composers or professional musicians had. Transylvanian professor and journalist Onisifor Ghibu had a close relation to music personalities from Transylvania of that time (one of the reasons being that his wife was a singer) among them composers like Tiberiu Brediceanu, George Dima, Sigismund Toduta, Tudor Ciortea, singers Dimitrie Popovici-Bayreuth (first director at Cluj National Opera) or musical journalists such as Ana Voileanu-Nicoara whom he met often at a musical-literary serrate.[36] It is known that Lucian Blaga had close relations with Brediceanu's family through his wife Cornelia, Tiberiu Brediceanu's sister, and spend time at their house in Lugoj.[37] Less known is that Transylvanian composer Augustin Bena's wife was the cousin of Lucian Blaga.[38]

One of the conditions that define an intellectual is that of a public figure and for the composers discussed here, the impact that they had on other intellectuals' opinions is worth mentioning. George Dima (1847-1925) was much celebrated during his life for artistic merits as one of the pioneer composers in Transylvania and also for his imprisonment during the First World War. Ion Agârbiceanu celebrated G. Dima (1919) in Patria, historians Vasile Bogrea and Al. Lapedatu commemorated him in Transylvania (Sibiu/1925) respectively in Viitorul (Bucuresti/1925) as many other journalists or musicians. Tudor Arghezi in Bilete de Papagal and Camil Petrescu in Universul signalled in 1928 the success of Sabin Dragoi with his opera *Năpasta* at Bucharest and Onisifor Ghibu saluted in Universul (Bucharest/1936) the apparition of Drăgoiu's carols collection. Petru Comarnescu interviewed Constantin Brăiloiu in journal Politica (1927) concerning specificity in Romanian art.[39] As historian Al. Zub observes, hundreds of pages have been dedicated to art and society in the interwar

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[35] George Breazul, în *Gândirea,* nr.1/1931.
[36] Lucia Hăngăuț-Vătăşan, Onisifor Ghibu despre George Dima/ Onisifor Ghibu about George Dima, în *Lucrări de muzicologie/ Musico*logy Papers, vol 15/1984, Cluj-Napoca.
[37] Tiberiu Brediceanu, Writings.
[38] Bianca Ţiplea Temeş, Augustin Bena-monografie/ Augustin Bena- Monography, Ed. Risoprint, Cluj-Napoca, 2004.
[39] Viorel Cosma, *Muzicieni din România, Lexicon bibliografic/ Musicians fro*m Romanian. Bibliographical Lexicon, vol.I, Ed. Muzicală, Bucureşti, 1989.

period even if studying art didn't appear to be a value within concern but a way to understand the problem of humanity in time and beyond it.[40]

Musical creations: reflecting modernity through ethno-nationalism

Composers faced the same questions as Romanian intellectuals in other fields, an important issue for them being how to respond to the state's ideological projections through the register of music. The idea of modernity was already blossoming in Europe through musical waves that exceeded the romantic national school, such as Debussy's impressionism or the expressionism of Schoenberg and Berg. Although new stylistic waves overlapped in the first decades of the 20th century, the folkloric inspiration was still used in Stravisnki's music (his Russian period) or in Bartok's, and it is considered a symptom of modernity (but in ways opposed to the romantic national aesthetic values).

Romanian musicologist Clemansa Liliana Firca listed two stages in the autochthon musical creation of the first half of the 20th century, a first one covering a period of technical accumulations (1900-1920), and a second one (1920-1940) that appears as a moderate modernism, is defined under the expression of crossing the ethnos into Euro-modernity. Interwar composers like George Enescu, Mihail Jora, Sabin Drăgoi, Marțian Negrea, Paul Constantinescu, influenced by Bartok's revolutionary theories concerning the folkloric material potential (presented also at Bucharest in 1934), began to realize that the impressionism's or expressionism's aesthetic values are in fact virtues of the folkloric material transformed in savant art. [41]

The problem of modernity of the Romanian composers is raised under the double pressure of an autochthon artistic movement (considering that most of them where traditionalists) and of a Europe seduced by every nation's archaic culture and specificity within and without European space. As Hannah Arendt observed, the creation of culture and literature in Europe became the way of expressing and legitimising the making and perpetuation of national states.[42]

It is necessary to draw some important lines between what national music is and what nationalist music is. According to American ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman, national music reflects the image of the nation so that those living in the nation recognize themselves in a basic but

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[40] Al. Zub, *Istorie şi istorici în România interbelică/ History and Historians in Interwar Romania*, Ed. Junimea, 1989, p. 307.
[41] Clemansa Liliana Firca, *Modernitate şi avangardă în m*uzica ante- *şi interbelică a secolelor* XX (1900-1940)/ Modernity and Avangarde in Interwar music(1900-1940), Cluj-Napoca, 1998.
[42] Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarism, A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Inc.

crucial way (evoking the natural landscape, a proto-national language, or a collective character that may be abstract yet historically and linguistically unified) and frequently turns to folk music laying claim to its authenticity.[43]

Interwar musical creation counts many works of folkloric inspiration but we will resume few of them that had big impact at that time and followed the national direction line. Tiberiu Brediceanu wrote a number of scenic musical illustrations and called them „Romanian icons", in fact opera scenes, which reflected real peasants and agrarian activities - *La Şezătoare* (1908), La *Seceriş* (1936). Very conscious about the necessity of saving the folklore, Brediceanu composed a musical ethnographical poem entitled Transilvania, *Banatul, Crişana şi Maramureşul în port, joc şi cântec* (1905) (premiered at Sibiu) that later amplified it with music from all Romanian regions –*România în port, joc şi cântec*- and presented it as a documentary film (embracing the technology of silent picture) at Rome in 1929.[44] As Julien Benda said in 1927, an element that intensifies political passions, but also applies for art creation, is the people's impulse of feeling as being the result of their past, sensing that their ambition drifts from their ancestors.[45] An echo in the interwar period had the symphonic divertissements of Sabin Dragoi, like Divertisment rustic (1929) awarded with the then recently established George Enescu prize. There are of course many other musical works based on folkloric source, but we enumerate some of the important ones.

After a national Opera had been opened in Cluj, Transylvanian composers had another reason to write operas, considering that since its opening, the season programme contained Wagnerian operas regarded as national German emblems.[46] "Political" art, as R. Taruskin refers to opera was the „high" art form produced for and serving the political and social elites interests.[47] Sabin V. Drăgoi had a major success in the late 20's, especially in the capital, with the dramatic opera *Năpasta* (1927) based on Caragiale's short story, introducing the peasant as a character (coming quite late in representing the peasant in an opera[48]). He wrote also a religious opera, Constantin

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[43] Philip V. Bohlman, Music, Nationalism, and the Making of New Europe, 2nd ed., Routledge, 2011, pp. 59-60.

[44] Tiberiu Brediceanu, Scrieri, ediţie îngrijită de Brânduşa Nuţescu, Bucureşti, Ed. Muzicală, 1976, p. 75.

[45] Julien Benda, Op.cit.., Humanitas, 2007, p. 46.

[46] A big promoter of Wagnerian operas in Romania was the singer Dimitrie Popovici-Bayreuth, first director of Cluj Opera, a former famous singer that had a major success abroad and frequently sang at Bayreuth theatre, borrowing his last name from that place.

[47] Richard Taruskin, Of Kings and Divas, in The Danger of Music and Other Anti-Utopian Essays, University of California Press, London, 2009, p. 219.

[48] Until nineteenth century, the peasant appeared on the scene as figuration, representing his condition or class and not his nation. Although Mozart, in *Die Zauber Flöte* (1790), cast the leading role to a peasant encrypting an universalist illuminist massage, the change produced in

Brâncoveanu (1929) and a comic-fantasy one, Kir Ianulea (1937). Composer Martian Negrea (1893-1973) wrote an opera of German expressionism influence, *Păcat boieresc* (1933), based on Sadoveanu's short story.

The folkloric orientation of Transylvanian composers was exploring the rural source, unlike the same generation of composers from Bucharest like George Enescu, Mihail Jora, Constantin C. Nottara or Dimitrie Cuclin that focused more on urban folklore (lăutăresc). On this idea, Tiberiu Brediceanu complained to the Romanian Radio, noting in the music of the „taraf" bands the presence of foreign musical elements considered to be modern jazz music representations that did not serve Romanian musical interests.[49] Besides the folkloric source, the next important material Romanian composers used, was byzantine melody, a material that echoed an oriental sound and aligned national music to the European search of the exotic and archaic.

If national music is conceived on these principles, we have to see how is defined the concept of nationalist music. The same Bolhman observes that nationalist music represents cultural boundaries that have political purpose and it differs from the national music when is used for serving a nation-state in its competition with other nation-states.[50] Thus, the difference between these two resides in the rhetorical perspective that the composers approached in music. The rhetoric of national music emphasizes the ''nation'' itself and its images, where the rhetoric of nationalist music underlines the ''state'' in the formulation of ''nation-state'' recognizing music in the service of the state. So, the nationalist music, excluding the patriotic music, can be any type of cult creation on which states' ideologies was projected. (Whereas a national music might reflect place through its representation of a geography defining the nation in symbolic ways, a nationalist music relies on the symbolism of structures defining the nation.)[51] Romanian composers were aware of the power of the national music as a propaganda instrument, for that music particularly contributes to the temporal dimension of the work and intersects with other arts to narrate the mythical national past.

For the musicologists who analysed the phenomenon of nationalism in music, like Carl Dahlhaus especially for the nineteenth century period, the Volkgeist hypothesis – as the powerful mode of expression and celebration of

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Germany, the place where the concept of Das Volk was born. The *Der Freischütz* opera (1821) of Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826) obtained the national emblem title, having an entire cast made of peasants and reflecting a romantic image of the nation. (in Richard Taruskin, Oxford History of Western Music, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 187-251)

[49] Tiberiu Brediceanu, Scrieri/ Writings, ediție îngrijită de Brândușa Nuțescu, București, Ed. Muzicală, 1976, p. 92.

[50] Philip V. Bohlman, Music, Nationalism, and the Making of New Europe, 2nd ed., Routledge, 2011, pp. 86-87.

[51] Ibidem.

national identity - also introduces a tension between individual expression and collective will (raising the problem of external influential factors such as nationalism). Also Dahlhaus agrees that all folk-music references, at least share a sense of archaism, and their exotic quality is one of temporality connected to nationalism.[52] Recent theories like that of American musicologist Richard Taruskin, defines nationalism as a condition or an attitude, considering that music has always exhibited local or national traits, stressing that it takes account of linguistic, geographical, political, cultural or religious boundaries and therefore is a secondary phenomenon to the creational process.[53]

Arguments and disputes on national musical culture

Located in the eastern corner of Europe, in a state of dependence on foreign models, the Romanians had a complex of inferiority since the 19th century and they tried to balance it by overcharging the authentic models.[54] In 1920, the musical magazine Muzica from Bucharest lanced an inquiry that questioned the composers of that time about the existence of an authentic Romanian music folklore that could be used in professional music.[55] The massive participation on this argument revealed passionate confronted opinions. The French oriented school of composers from Bucharest (Alfred Alessandrescu, Ion Nonna Otescu, Dimitrie Dinicu, Constantin Brailoiu, C. Nottara s.a.) took in consideration the diversity of oriental, Russian or Hungarian elements found in Romanian folklore, while the composers from Transylvania were not willing to accept so easily the foreign influences on Romanian folklore music.[56] This inquiry demonstrates the efforts of the Romanian musical school to define and express national identity. Tiberiu Brediceanu's report addressed to the Romanian Composers Society started many controversies because of the initiative to celebrate Belá Bartók – already member of the Society since 1924, added in the idea of spreading the connections with other music societies from abroad- and organising him a conference where the Hungarian composer had to speak about Transylvanian folklore which he had collected in the first years of the twenty century.[57]

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[52] Daniel Grimley, Grieg Music, Landscape and Norwegian identity, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2006, pp. 18-19.
[53] Richard Taruskin, Nationalism, in The Revised New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, XVII (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2001), 687–706.
[54] Lucian Boia, Op.cit., Humanitas, 2011, p. 32.
[55] Tiberiu Brediceanu, Scrieri, ediţie îngrijită de Brânduşa Nuţescu, Bucureşti, Ed. Muzicală, 1976, p. 58
[56] Ibidem
[57] I. Bârlea, *Bela Bartók şi legăturile sale cu Maramureşul/ Bela Bartók and His Conections with Maramureşul*, în Studii de muzicologie/ Musicology Studies, vol.6/1957.

Brediceanu's complain was toward a supposed tendency of Bartok to promote the Transylvanian folklore as Hungarian, not recognising the Romanian authenticity of it. Although he convinced some members of the Society evoking the allogenous elements absorbed in the historical process, the rest of the Romanian composers defended Bartok's image as a specialist who also studied the Romanian folklore.[58] Contrary opinions regarding the search of tradition and of the typical Romanian creative dimension have also emerged in the domain of painting.[59]

An overlap of ideas concerning the establishing of a folkloric archive happened in the late 20's as a consequence of ambition and excessive initiative but also of a lack of organisation, reflecting an often met situation in the interwar period where short time competes with big demands and exigencies.

In 1927, the musicologist George Breazul, who was working at that time at the Minister of Public Instruction, Arts and Cults, had the idea and the financial support of the minister to establish a Fonogramic Archive in Bucharest, having as model the one in Berlin, where he studied.[60] It was an action sustained by the recently formed National Peasants' Party that gathered in 1926 the members of the Peasants' Party intellectuality from Transylvania and the National Party from Bucharest. Along with Transylvanians Tiberiu Brediceanu, Sabin V. Drăgoi and Nicolae Oancea, George Breazu began to collect musical folklore and edit collections especially from Transylvania. From Brediceanu's correspondence with G. Breazul[61] it appears that they had at least a sympathy, for the National Peasants' Party (or an inside person that was sensitive to their initiative), since they had the most intense activity with their archive in the governing years of the party, deploring at the same time the bad synchronisation with the economic crisis of the 30s. Because of the fluctuant politics and of the instability caused by the economic crisis of 1929-1933, the Fonogramic Archive had a discontinued activity.

This was not the only institution in interwar period designed to collect Romanian folklore. A series of memoires and plans of organising and founding of a folklore archive have been presented to the Romanian Academy, like the motion of philologist Ovid Densusianu in 1920.[62] Having

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[58] Octavian Lazăr Cosma, Op.cit., Ed. Muzicală, Bucureşti, 1995, pp.78-81.

[59] Ruxandra Demetrescu, *Conceptul de stil naţional în istoriografia artistică/ The Concept of* National Style in Artistic Historiography, în Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen, *Istoria Românie*i prin concepte. Perspective alternative asupra limbajelor social-politice/ Romanian History through Concepts. Alternative Perspectives on Social-Political Languages, Polirom, 2010.

[60] George Breazul, *Scrisori şi documente/ Letters and Documents, vol.I*, Ed. Muzicală, Buc, 1984, p. 202;

[61] Ibidem

[62] Information took from the site www.academiaromana.ro/ief/ief_ist.htm

the support of the Romanian Academy and of the Royal Foundation Prince Carol, Constantin Brăiloiu founded in 1928 the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Composers Society from Bucharest which soon became one of the largest folk music archives of its time. (Later, in the beginning of the communist era the Fonogramic Archive and the Folklore Archive were united into the National Folklore Institute.)

Although the composers from Transylvania collaborated with both archives, their discourse about collecting folklore is relatively different. Constantin Brailoiu represented for George Breazu's team of the Fonogramic Archives a competitive, even a „negative pal" as Brediceanu calls him in a letter to Breazu.[63] Between the two leaders of the Archives there have been divergences on various occasions, for they were also members of various speciality comities in the educational system or even colleagues at the music conservatoire. The two of them represented different directions for the Transylvanian composers. While most of the Transylvanians had intense traditionalist convictions and national idealistic beliefs, there were few composers that shared Brailoiu's view, like the younger Martian Negrea. Constantin Brailoiu, who studied in Paris, had a sociological approach on music and folklore, developing his own methods of collecting folklore and participating in the sociological school activities coordinated by Dimitrie Gusti in the 30's. They had more liberal views, promoting a type of nationalism that did not excluded or oppressed the other ethnic minorities[64], considering that in their folklore research team comprised Jews, such as folklorist Harry Brauner and sociologist Henri Stahl.

The press media represented, and still does, the battlefield of different political and cultural ideologies, and in the interwar period this was the most powerful instrument of propaganda. For most of the interwar Romanian intellectuality, nationalism exceeded democracy and for counterbalancing this direction there were voices in the press to sustain it. Constantin Brailoiu signed also a permanent musical column in the right oriented journal Curentul beginning with 1929, where he took attitude along with philologist Ovid Densuşianu against idealistic ideologies like populism, nationalism or traditionalism that were promoted by the populist journal *Viaţa românească* or by the mystical-nationalist journal *Gândirea*[65], where G. Breazu had a permanent column. He also wrote in left oriented magazines such as *Adevărul*

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[63] Geoge Breazul, *Scrisori şi documente/ Letters and Documents, vol.I*, Ed. Muzicală, Buc, 1984, p. 194;

[64] Constantin Brăiloiu, Opere. vol 3-Cronici/ Operas. Vol.3-Cronicals, ediţie îngrijită de Emilia Comişel, Ed. Muzicală a Uniunii compozitorilor, Bucureşti, 1974.

[65] Emilia Comişel, Folclor muzical/ Musical Folklore, Ed. Didactică şi Pedagogică, Buc., 1967, pp. 43-44.

and *Dimineaţa*, confuting the right extremism and the nationalistic propaganda made through culture by state politics.[66] The fact that Brailoiu wrote in journals of a leftist orientation does not necessarily make him a communist, not even an enthusiast about it. As there were very few communists in the beginning of the third decade, there were fewer composers of a communist orientation. Although it is less known today, the musician Matei Socor, a former student of Brailoiu and the son of Emil Socor who managed the Adevărul and *Dimineaţa* tandem, enrolled in the 30s in the communist party.[67]

Conclusions

The cultural diversity of the Romanian regions united after 1918, faced the unexpected effects of a long time political separation that raised big problems for the national identity and for the cultural homogeneity. The political changes of a centralised state affected directly the Transylvanian musicians and composers that were grouped under the same umbrella of nationalist ideology in Romania between wars.

During the interwar period, composers where preoccupied with defining and expressing the national school of music, one that was concerned not only for legitimising the national state but one in searching of modernity too. The composing process, the composers' aesthetical views and discourses, are maintained under the two divergent directions that compose the interwar picture: aside aligning to the tradition of European musical techniques, of a major importance was the realisation of the national specificity through folklore. The interdependence between musical creation and national ideology program could be seen also in interwar Germany or France, where music was part of an ideological program, although in France this program was being implemented subtly and often through indirect means by the state, while in Germany, political and aesthetic ideologies were overlapped tightly, meaning that the ideological or political dynamic of the government could provoke transformations of the dominant aesthetic.[68]

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[66] Constantin Brailoiu, Opere vol III- cronici/ Operas vol III- Cronicals, ediţie îngrijită de Emilia Comişel, Ed. Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor , Buc., 1974, p. 283.

[67] Lucian Boia, Op.cit., Humanitas, 2011, Humanitas, p. 68. Due to his Comunist Party adherence, Matei Socor was privileged after the Second World War, becoming a prodigious composer of patriotic music, occupying important cultural positions. This privilege is also due to his connections with the top leaders of the 1940-1950 communists, as well as the act that his son married the famous communist activist Ana Pauker. His fame and importance lasted only during communism. After the fall of the regime he was completely forgotten.

[68] Jane F. Fulkner, The composer as intellectual. Music and ideology in France 1914-1940, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 320.

The option of seeing the composer as intellectual appears in the modern society where state empowered specialists of different domains and national ideology modify in the creator both the aesthetical and social views. The image of the composer as an intellectual is revealed from their public positions that some of them took in the press, concerning their social status as Romanian artists and their music as a national creation, and from the divergences caused by the political sympathies composers had and contested. This attitude renders a social conscience that composers/musicians began to have in the interwar period, as well as the message that they were able to communicate through music.

We might include music as an important ideological instrument of persuasion and mobilisation, as well as in the formation of images, helping to consolidate political dominance. In this way, music is part of the history not only for the political symbols but for the political behaviour that it posses through its disseminating power that transcend the discourse to „catch" public emotions and sentiments.

THE PRIEST AS "FOLKLORIST".
FROM "SUPERSTITION" OBJECTOR
TO FOLKLORE COLLECTOR.
THE CASE OF SIMION FLOREA MARIAN

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In the traditional world of Transylvanian Romanian peasants, the priest has profiled himself as a leader of most communities. His duties were not limited only to religious or spiritual life of the community, but have had an impact upon all spheres of human existence, be they social, economic or political[1]. Beyond his mission of leading the congregation of the faithful, his activity is placed, generally speaking, at the border between of licit and illicit, permitted and prohibited. At the same time, he is also a watchman, a guardian of community life, responsible for maintaining the equilibrium of society by punishing various types of misconduct.[2] In this respect occurs his traditional duty to fight magic-religious practices deemed as superstitious and non-Christian by the Church.

My contribution aims to present the development of Transylvanian priests' attitudes towards a series of magical practices and ancestral traditions - spells, charms, sales and spells - very common and popular in the traditional world of Transylvanian villages during the nineteenth century. Specifically, I briefly try to map the ways and means through which the construction of national identity and the preoccupation of intellectual elites to create a national, specific culture has helped a number of priests to start campaigns for collecting, recording and study Romanian folklore. In this context many popular customs and magic-religious practices, considered for centuries by the Church as religious transgressions, had begun to be perceived as expressions

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[1] In this respect, a vast body of literature has been produced, from which I only mention the following titles: Daniel Dumitran, Un timp al reformelor. Biserica Greco-*Catolică Din* Transilvaniea sub conducerea episcopului Ioan Bob (1782-1830), Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007; Keith Hitchins, *Ortodoxie şi naţionalitate. Andrei Şaguna şi românii din Transilvania* 1846-1873, Bucureşti: Univers Enciclopedic, 1995; Ioan Lupaş, *Istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni*, Sibiu, 1918.

[2] St. Gregory of Nazianzus, "*Cuvânt de apărare pentru fuga în Pont sau despre preoţie*", in *Despre Preoţie* translated by Dumitru Fecioru, Bucureşti: Sophia, 2004, p. 222; see also M. Foucault*, Securitate Teritoriu, Populaţie*, translated by Bogdan Ghiu, Idea Design&Print: Cluj-Napoca, 2009, pp. 111-113.

of the "national soul" and, at the same time, those who used to carry out such prohibited practices and rituals, had begun to be regarded with indulgence and curiosity.

For more clarity and precision, I have decided to focus my attention on the case of Simion Florea Marian, an Orthodox priest born in Bukovina and educated during the second half of the nineteenth century in Transylvania, at the Franz Joseph Higher Secondary School from Năsăud and graduate of the Faculty of Theology in Cernăuţi. He is currently seen by many scholars as one of the founding fathers of Romanian ethnography.[3]

The Church and Wizards' Practices

In the pre-modern history of Eastern Orthodox Church there were no systematic campaigns undertaken against "witchcraft" or unchristian habits, rituals and magic, as they occurred in Western and Central Europe during the same historical period. In what regards the religious life or Romanians living in the principality of Transylvania, there were a number of measures undertaken by the Church in the larger context of Reformation, but a more well-defined process of dislocation of pagan beliefs, rituals and practices has started only in the 18th century during the the establishment and consolidation of the new Greek-Catholic Church, and of the new, Illuminist policies carried out by the Habsburg administration.[4] Works such as "Transylvania at the Beginning of Modern Times (1680-1800). Rural Society and Collective Mentalities" written by Toader Nicoară and "The Religious Sentiment of Romanians. A Historical Perspective (17th-20th centuries)" by Doru Radosav, published during the last two decades, as well as older contributions like Nicolae Iorga's "Villages and Priests from Ardeal" or Ştefan Meteş's "The History of Church and Religious Life of Romanians from Transylvania" reveal a considerable gap between "official religion" and the realities situated "beyond priestly or monastic office, at grassroot level, [where] the major substance of any religion comes from folklore, and is called folklore"[5]. Thus, despite of the Church laws[6] or circulars issued by different Bishops, according to which those who engaged themselves into making spells or unchristian rituals should be sanctioned appropriately, one could righteous speak about a

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[3] I. Datcu and S.C. Stroescu, *Dicţionarul folcloriştilor. Folclorul literar românesc*, Bucureşti: Ed. Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1979, pp. 271-275.

[4] Daniel Dumitran, op.cit., pp. 86-89.

[5] M. M.-Bălaşa, Conceptul de relig*ie populară - oportunitate, aplicabilitate, adecvări,* în „Eshatologia Populară", editori: Avram Cristea şi Jan Nicolae, Editura Reîntregirea, Alba Iulia, 2010, p. 217.

[6] Artur Gorovei, *Descântecele românilor*, în vol „Folclor şi folcloristică", Ed. Hyperion, Chişinău, 1990, p. 110 apud Antoaneta Olteanu, *Ipostaze ale maleficului în medicina magică,* Ed. Paideia, Bucureşti, 1997, pp. 74-75.

genuine cohabitation between the village clergy and people with occupations that exceed the limits of prescribed religion – cohabitation which had often implied a competition and/or confrontation between "solutions" offered by priests and people of with magic powers or skills such as the very popular disenchantment. The first Transylvanian Church official who talks about a large number of customs and superstitions is Metropolitan Sava Brancovici. In 1675 he opposes against "priests" who "join in weddings as "vornic"- a person who entertain the atmosphere, showman -[…] charmers and buffoons, against the parishioners who make prayers on the animals, wizardry, participate to the diabolical and ancient hollydays on Tursday and"[7].

At the beginning of the 19th century, we find in the writings of Enlightenment scholars and clerics, afterwards tagged as the "Transylvanian School", numerous texts attacking old practices, so prevalent in the popular culture the lives of Romanians. The most striking example is represented by the work of Gheorghe Șincai, entitled "Normal Teaching towards Overthrowing Peoples' Superstitions". Equally, the circulars issued by the hierarchy and two Romanian Churches – Orthodox and Greek Catholic – heavily criticize these illicit practices, considering them "vain beliefs" or "barbarian superstitions". If until modern times in the writings of the Enlightenment hierarchs against unchristian magical practices, a canonical perspective and arguments has prevailed, the theological writings of the early nineteenth century gradually insert in their discourse rationalist attitudes and arguments accompanied by biblical and theological ones.[8]

Often, measures undertaken by hierarchs and secular authorities, popularized through clergy and designed to eliminate superstitious customs, had little influence at grassroots level. Although they were spreading a message received from their superiors designed to suppress certain practices considered illegal, in accordance to the Enlightenment vision, most of the clergy itself did not consent to it.[9] On the other hand, a quick look on the Molitfelnic[10], a key-book which includes all the necessary prayers a priest needs in his work, one can clearly see that until today it keeps a series of prayers and practices useful for countering the effects caused by spells and charms. At the level of a popular Christian faith, today is still alive today the

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[7] Ion Mușlea, *Practici magice și denumirea lor în circularele episcopești și protopopești,* in „*Cercetări etnografice și de folclor*", vol. II, Minerva, București, 1972, p. 11.
[8] *Școala Ardeleană*, vol. 1-3, edited by Florea Fugariu, Editura, Albatros, București, 1970; D. Popovici, Romantismul românesc, București, 1972, pp. 327-340; Ion Mușlea, Practici magice *și denumirea lor în circularele episcopești și protopopești,* in „*Cercetări etnografice și de* folclor", vol. II, Minerva, București, 1972, p. 403.
[9] Daniel Dumitran, op.cit., pp. 90-92; Ioan Lupaș, *Istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni,* Sibiu, 1918, p. 119.
[10]Efhologhion sau Molitfelnic, ediția a II-a, București, Tipografia „Cărților Bisercsci", 1896.

image of the priest as a specialist able to detect both human evils caused by charms and enchantments, and also those people who commit them.[11] This image of the priest facing and competing with magical work results in a major dimension of priestly activity in the peasant world. According to popular belief "witches and the wicked run away from the priest. It often happens that different women who know certain charm, run away from the priest in order not to be baptized, because then they no longer have any powers"[12]. Traditional peasants` culture considers witches and their deeds as serious and unforgivable sins, in conformity with the teaching of the Church. Therefore, the motive of symbolical killing of witches proves the force of religious discourse, and it persists even today in the repertoire of stories and legends from the Transylvanian area: "being convinced of the gravity of the sins committed, a witch confessions to a priest who gives her as punishment the task to go to a tree and anoint it with milk, than anoint herself with milk, and then to return to the priest to tell him what she has seen. From inside the tree there come out big serpents which devour her"[13].

The Beginnings of Romanian Folklore Studies. A Brief Historical Sketch

The concept of folklore has appeared in Europe during the 19th century. Originally, folklore defined or was linked to such notions as tradition, ancient beliefs, festivals through which there survived old songs and stories, impossible to be dated, archaic myths, legends, fables, proverbs, and so on. At the same time, folklore also involved "irrational" beliefs in ghosts, spirits and demons, or the use of amulets and talismans. From the perspective of urban educated people – those who developed the idea of folklore – these two major attributes (tradition and irrationality) were to be fitted only to peasant or primitive societies, so a third major quality emerged: agresticity. This triad has dominated the folklore concept for a long time, and sometimes is met even today.[14] At some point, a final major quality has been added to this triad, and this is commonality (or collectivism), which has become a central attribute.[15]

The first professional ethnographers had been driven by patriotic feelings. One should note that the emergence of this discipline has been

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[11] Pr. Argatu V. Ioan, *Răspunsuri duhovniceşti la întrebările credincioşilor, al Părintelui Arhimandrit Ilarion Argatu,* 2nd edition, Mila Creştină, Fălticeni, 2007, pp. 253-271.
[12] Gheorghe Pavelescu, *Valea Sebeşului. Folclor,* vol. II, Astra Museum, Sibiu, 2004, p. 69.
[13] Elena Florian, *Şarpele în credinţele şi practicile magice din Chioar,* in „Buletin ştiinţific al Societăţii studenţilor în etnografie şi folclor", vol. III, Baia Mare, 1982, pp. 35-36
[14] Dan Ben-Amos, The Ideea of Folklore, an essay, în „Folklore", vol. 1, „From definition to discipline", Edited by Alan Dundes, Routledge, London and New York, 2005, p. 10.
[15] Ibidem, p. 11.

generated by the pursuit of national policy – or the so-called "national idea" - in an age when folk tradition seemed to be the only record of people's unity in the struggle for self-determination and liberation from the domination of other nations. From the late eighteenth century onwards, the study, definition and uses of folklore has varied according to the specific political goals and needs of social change, becoming more and more academically towards the end of the nineteenth century.[16]

In the context of European Romanticism in the line of Herder and the Grimm brothers, which has emerged in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century – and which was imported by Romanian elites at the mid of the century – ancient habits specific for the peasant world have started to be regarded in a different, new key. Beyond their exoticism and their age, they appear to be carriers of an ancient wisdom with strong identity meanings. This is the moment when national identity is being discovered and starts to be cultivated, thus, a large amount of practices and customs which had governed traditional peasant culture are perceived and recovered as segments of a popular culture, national and unique in its fundamental characteristics. If Herder or Goethe sought in folklore the unity of genus humanum, Romanticism, and especially Romanticism of the small nations of Central and Eastern Europe has particularly emphasized the unique elements of popular culture, with its specific and irreducible characteristics. Oral and anonymous literature, ignored or despised by scholars, assumes an exponential function: to reveal the spiritual identity of peoples, to legitimize and justify the claim of self-determination of nations. Thus, folklore becomes an object for scholarly investigation but also a highly efficient means of proselytism.[17]

The first signs of such perceptions and recoveries, despite keeping a "scientific" distance in relation to them, appear in the writings of scholars belonging (according to retrospective cataloging operated by different historians) or successors of the "Transylvanian School" in the first half of the 19th century. I only mention here, as examples, contributions such as "Ancient Romanians" by Damaschin Bojincă (1832-1833), "On the Romanian folk customs for burial" by Vasile Popp (1817) or works written later by scholars like Timotei Cipariu, Augustin Bunea or George Bariţ.[18] Enlightenment-inspired intellectuals, despite all their sincere love for the people, have underestimated folk creation, but this should be seen as a natural tendency for

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[16] Linda Dégh, *Bartók as folklorist. His place in the history of research,* in „Folklore", volume II „The Founders of Folklore", Edited by Alan Dundes, Routledge, London and New York, 2005, p. 209.

[17] Paul Cornea, Orig*inile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mişcarea ideilor şi literatura între 1780-*1840, Minerva, Bucureşti, 1972, p. 499.

[18] In *Foaia literară* from 7 May 1838 Bariţiu argues on the necessity of folk collections. In Paul Cornea, op.cit., p. 508

some adherents of "lights", trained to judge things in terms of "truth" and "error"[19]. Materials gathered by scholars of this age were considered valuable because, in their view, they could prove the Latin ancestry of Romanians, and, hence, their nobility.[20]

During the second half of the 19th century an extensive campaign of collection of folk songs, stories, incantations and spells starts in Transylvania. However, as Romanian literary historian Paul Cornea has observed, the "first to raise the question of Romanian folklore are foreigners: in Volume II of Geschichte des transalpinischen Daziens (Vienna, 1781-1782), Sulzer publishes 10 songs from Transylvania and Wallachia; also, the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung of Leipzig, in 1814, contains a number of popular songs from Transylvania, and so on"[21]. These facts will later be viewed with suspicion, because the "scientific" approach to the study and collection of folklore was intimately connected with the problem of national identity.

In this context of interpretation of numerous folk festivals and in a national identity key[22], a number of ordinances pertaining to religious (and magic) life are used in order to cultivate national solidarity and national spirit. The newspapers of Transylvanian Romanians inaugurate special sections for folklore and popular traditions, and start to present various materials collected from the villages. There are even calls for their preservation, in order to keep them unaltered. Many literary societies establish literary magazines and journals, some of them in form of manuscripts, the most notable being "Filomela" – published by the Society of Graduate students from Blaj, where large sections had been devoted to folklore.[23] Periodicals such as "Romanian Telegraph" issued by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Sibiu, "Gazeta de Transilvania" and other magazines begin advocating the necessity of collecting folklore. At that moment, most collectors of folklore were priests and village school teachers.[24] A curious phenomenon now occurs: the priest suffers a metamorphosis; from the man who had the power to curse them and undo the evils made by witches, he becomes a man with attitudes and skills specific to folklorists. By collecting folklore he simultaneously serves his

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[19] Ibidem, p. 502.

[20] Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Istoria folcloristicii româneşti*, Editura enciclopedică română, Bucureşti, 1974, p. 34.

[21] Paul Cornea, op. cit., p. 504.

[22] Simona Nicoară, *Metamorfozele sărbătorii sub impactul sensibilităţilor moderne (secolele XVI-XIX)*, in „Caiete de Antropologie Istorică", anul IV, nr. 1 (7), 2005, Ed. Accent, Cluj-Napoca, p. 124.

[23] Virgiliu Florea, *Folclorişti ardeleni. Colecţii inedite de folclor,* Transilvania Press, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, pp. 66-72.

[24] Grigore Constantinescu, *Preoţi şi învăţători folclorişti şi contribuţia lor la dezvoltarea folcloristicii româneşti (rezumat teză de doctorat),* Bucureşti, 1998.

nation and seeks to develop its culture. He starts to look for old, "knowing" women, until recently considered the devil's tools, and persuade them to submit incantations and practices, something that shows that research based on ethnological character of Romanian culture is a concern for national identity[25]. This concern has imposed a certain scale of interpretation of material collected.

Simion Florea Marian. Folklore and National Identity

In this context priest Simion Florea Marian, author of numerous studies and collector of a rich and complex material, conducts his activities. He writes from the perspective of a priest who, like most clergy, believes in the power of charms, spells and incantations, but who is also largely marked by the specific rationalist spirit of modern times during which he has lived (1847 - 1907). Compared with the Enlightenment discourse of his predecessor George Şincai, or other scholars, Father Marian does not consider magic only imposture. For him, evil forces really exist and work, so one may say that he writes from a perspective closer to the popular belief system and values.

Simion Florea Marian`s activity spans between 1866 and 1907, but the stage which constitutes his scientific contribution in the field of folklore is comprised between the years 1880-1900.[26] He fully embodies the image of the "intellectual priest" living in the euphoric ambiance specific to the second half of the nineteenth century. He is also concerned with poetry, historical research in addition to folklore, facts which reveal a complex personality: the priest is more than a simply religious leader for his community.[27]

He collects folklore mainly through correspondence[28] engaging a number of partners, especially priests, like Father Vasile Turtureanu, priest in Patrauti close to Suceava, or Samuil Petrescu from Crasna, as we can see in the material published[29]. However, regarding the origins of published incantations and related material, most materials are personally collected by him. In the first volume of his work, about two-thirds of the inventory of incantations are collected directly. In the second, about one third. In total, more than half of the materials are collected personally[30].

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[25] Simion Florea Marian, *Vrăji, farmece şi desfaceri. Descântece poporane române adunate de S. Fl. Marian, Coresi, Bucureşti, 1996, p. 8.*
[26] I. C. Chiţimia, *S. Fl. Marian, folclorist şi etnograf,* in „Studii şi cercetări de istorie literară şi folclor", anul XII, nr. 1-2, 1963, p. 34.
[27] Ibidem, 35-40
[28] Ibidem, p. 40.
[29] In this case it is *Vrăji, farmece şi desfaceri. Descântece poporane române* adunate de S. Fl. Marian where there are ennumerated the ones who had sent materials.
[30] Ovidiu, Bîrlea, op.cit., p. 236.

Influenced in the first phase by poet Vasile Alecsandri, he corrects popular songs and poems collected, then, coming under the influence of Hașdeu, he starts publishing raw material[31]. He began to collect and publish charms and spells especially after he noticed the importance Hașdeu gave them in his studies. So he starts to pay attention to these aspects, especially after 1870[32]. In the preface to "Romanian Popular Chants", which represents the second part of the volume of "Spells, Charms and Chants. Chants compiled by S. Fl. Marian", Simion Florea Marian makes a plea for the collection of incantations, considering them part of popular literature, carrier or custodian of national wisdom and spirit[33]. He does not only criticize the Enlightenment discourse according to which they represent harmful superstitions largely responsible for cultural backwardness of the people, but makes a plea by counting a number of arguments sustaining them[34]. He also boasts a number of ancestors who had preoccupations related to folklore or who had published material; in this respect, he mentions his contemporary Bishop Melchisedec Ștefănescu, who has published a series of chants. Here, I am interested in his arguments of religious and national kind. Marian considers that

apart from spells, they do not oppose religion in order for their authors to be condemned (as the Church did during past times) but on the contrary, some of them, because of Christian influence, have transformed from pagan, as they were originally, into a form of Christian exorcisms. [...] a large part of what we today define as chants and are now spread among the people, have began as a kind of amulets designed not by pagans and not with pagan tendencies, but on the contrary, by Christian monks and priests and with Christian tendencies[35].

As one can note from the excerpt cited above, the author distinguishes between "heavy" spells that even in this context the Church does not tolerate, and "light" spells, sales, incantations or chants which, because they have integrated Christian references in their structure (ex.: replacing old pagan pantheon of deities with Christian intercessors) are not considered unchristian. In the present contribution, I will not discuss issues related to the validity of this cataloging operated by the author. For those interested, I recommend Antoaneta Olteanu's study which contains an analysis of how Marian Simion Florea cataloged different types of magical-religious practices. On the other

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[31] I. C. Chițimia, op. cit., p. 42.
[32] Ibidem, p. 49
[33] Simion Florea Marian, op. cit.,p. 96.
[34] Ibidem, pp. 98-99
[35] Ibidem, p. 99.

hand, the fact that the author states that many charms and incantatory formulas used in various rituals were composed and circulated by people sharing Christian religion confirms that most of the clergy has shared the popular, religious-magic belief system.

Viewed from the perspective of the significance the gathering of such ethnographic materials has, S.Fl. Marian says the following:

Now the question arises why from this category so far so little has been published while from the other branches of popular poetry and prose there have been published several collections [...] two cases are especially notable:

1. The indifference to popular literature in general, and especially the ignorance of the full significance and importance of this particular branch of popular poetry. The fight against it has been carried out not only by ignorants of all that is national, but also even by some of the most enlightened and distinguished of our men.

2. The suspicion felt by witches to uncover these chants to everyone because they fear that, if they uncover them, their gifts may disappear and also because of the potential inconveniences which public authorities and especially the Church may cause to them[36].

After criticizing his predecessors ignorance regarding folklore, noting the connection with the "national spirit", the author brings into question an important aspect. Although he notes an opening and an inclination towards the field of popular culture from intellectuals, from schools and from many clergymen imbued with national ideals, witches still have a reluctance to disclose their knowledge. This apprehension, fear, as it is defined in the text, persists due to the belief that the disclosure may cause the loosing of the "gift", but rather because of the inconvenience one might have from the authorities, especially ecclesiastical ones. It is the traditional opposition of the Church, ambivalent about many customs and practices at the edge of religious life. On one side they are collected as folk material, on the other hand the Church tries to deploy them and to extend its authority over the entire religious life of its followers.

Stressing the cultural importance of this material (folklore) Simion Florea Marian tries to appease traditional aversion towards these practices proscribed by the Church and to the people who practiced them (usually women). These people are simultaneously feared and respected. Simion Florea Marian, strongly marked by concerns for the issue of identity, recovers folklore with indulgence and curiosity. In this respect, the example below is relevant: gypsy Ilinca of Mielului Capra from Stupea[37] provides S.Fl. Marian

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[36] Ibidem, pp. 96-97.
[37] Ibidem, p. 69.

a series of incantations and charms "in love". She embodies the traditional view of the witch: gypsy, widow and/or old, a marginal person. By approaching the scholar-priest her marginality is tamed.

After observing that the fears regarding many such practices, "tamed" by the ethnographycal gaze, are unfounded, after noting the important role of traditional culture for the nation, the author draws a warning – the danger represented by foreigners eager to learn from "our" wealthy folklore. This fear becomes a recurrent issue, even an obsession, especially in the context of building a national culture. The fact that they are concerned with folklore of populations living in Transylvania is interpreted in a conspirational key:

Would it not be a shame for us when, as in many other respects, so in this one, the first to come and, without the knowledge and against our will, foreigners would reveal our treasures, and make them known to the world, and not as truth demands, but according to their own will – as some of them have already started? And what is still more damaging not only to our literature in general, but especially for the history of our language and origins in particular, is it good when some strangers, seeing us standing with our hands on our hips, make use of our carelessness and indolence, gather our popular literature, from various areas of songs and chants, various poems, different stories and other precious things, and translating them, take pride in saying they are their own, a legacy from their ancestors?[38] [he mentions the case of Saxon Josef Haltrich: *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus* dem *Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen. Dritte vermehrte Auflage*, Wien, 1882].

The issue of folklore collection is described as being intimately related to the issue of national identity, of the fundamental landmarks such as origins and language. Not only the collection of various creations of popular culture, even magical-religious in nature, helps in knowing the history, language, mythology and religion of the people and so on, but also, Marian argues, passivity and indifference can undermine national culture, the foreigner appearing again as a danger, as a factor of threat to national identity.

Conclusions

The relationship between the priest (in this study I took into consideration cases of priests who conducted ethnographycal/folklorist activities, by collecting materials from among their communities) and "witches" (old women who made charms, spells, tied and untied marriages, and so on) is conditioned during this period (the second half of the 19th century) by two major aspects. On one hand, specific priestly duties have forced the priest to take a critical stance vis-a-vis such practices and to the

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[38] Ibidem, pp. 100-101.

people who ran them. More specifically, they had to fight such practices, to enlighten the people and to punish the "evil" works committed by various characters that are contrary to Church teachings and are harmful to the life of every good Christian whose ultimate goal must be the salvation of the soul. Such figures should have been detected and punished. In this respect, one of the measures was not sharing the Holy Sacraments[39]. Moreover, the priest had a duty to counteract the evil practices made by witches, the Molitfelnic[40] putting them within reach some appropriate prayers and ordinances for various needs. Generally speaking, priests were constantly asked by parishioners for such works.

On the other hand, by assuming the role of "intellectual", of scholar whose work had patriotic overtones (in the sense that priests had to work for their people and for the prosperity of national culture), the priest is in the position of someone who has access to the cultural and spiritual heritage of the nation. In the effervescent atmosphere created by Romanticism and examples given by the Grimm brothers and others like them, the priest had a patriotic duty, as well as a "scientific" responsibility, in order not to let such "treasures" to perish. These issues influence both his vision and his work as a folklorist, but also his relationship with "witches". He reaches a compromise, drawing on many materials and practices "scientifically": as a folklorist he perceives them with indulgence. However, the priest cannot completely ignore the general context and the religious significance of such practices. So he proceeds to clarify them in a way that allows him to watch some of ordinances as not "satanic" in nature, but rather an expression of a popular piety, a peasant version of Christian belief.

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[39] See the 6th footnote.
[40] Efhologhion or Molitfelnic, 2nd edition, București, Typography „Cărţilor Bisercsci", 1896.

National communion on ASTRA's jubilees celebrations from Blaj

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In 1911 in Blaj, the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA), celebrated his semi-centenary existence. At the celebrations, which took place between 14 (27) and 17 (30) of August, attended a big number of Romanian people who came from all over Transylvania and beyond the Carpathians, among them were multiple leading figures of cultural life. The manifestations took place on the „Field of Freedom" which reminded everybody the revolutionary year of 1848. After six decades of educational work, the Romanian population presented herself as an important factor of cultural-political Transylvanian life, with its own prosperous national culture.[1]

From 1853 the Romanian Church United with Rome became an independent church, directly subordinated to the Holy See, therefore coming out the jurisdiction of the primate archbishop of Hungary. In that time, the Metropolis of Alba Iulia and Făgăraş was established in Blaj and the first metropolitan was Alexandru Şterca Şuluţiu.[2]

One of the peculiarities of proper religious ceremonies is that they should be celebrated in a consecrated ground.[3] The same thing happened in 1911 when, for celebrating fifty years since ASTRA started, was chosen as place of meeting the city of Blaj - symbolic center of struggle for the defense and affirmation of Romanian national identity, a place intended to keep alive the memory of revolutionary celebration. To the eternal memory of the glorious day 3/15 May 1848, the place of the Assembly was solemnly invested as „sacred" for the Romanians. [4]

ASTRA's leaders, always considered that the institution is a representation of the 1848 revolutionary program from Blaj. This was one of the reasons for which, in August 1911, the General Assembly jubilee took

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[1] Peter Binder, *Activitatea,, Astrei" oglindită în periodicele germane sibiene* în „Centenarul Revistei Transilvania", Sibiu, 1969, p.65

[2] http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biserica_Rom%C3%A2n%C4%83_Unit%C4%83_cu_Roma,_ Greco-Catolic%C4%83

[3] Émile Durkheim, *Formele elementare ale vieţii religioase*, Editura Polirom , Iaşi, 1995, p.348

[4] Simona Nicoară, *Mitologiile revoluţiei paşoptiste româneşti*, Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p.205

place in Blaj and it was also there, where the General Assembly from September 1936, at 75 years of existence, took place. Since 1920, „Astra" celebrated annually the Blaj revolutionary national assembly.[5] Festivities included, year after year, bishop´s church service, visiting Blaj historical places, teaching institutions - cultural and clerical - a pilgrimage to the tombs of revolutionary heroes from 1848, ethnographic and historical processions, parades, concerts, dances, exhibitions, etc.[6]

In my research efforts, of describing and analyzing a model of „Astra" celebration, I discovered that the Jubilee celebrations from Blaj in 1911, is one of the most authentic, well-represented and related models of festivism which „Astra" showed during its existence. Documents that describe or remember about this event are many. Some of them deserve to be mentioned: the article of memoirs written in „Calendarul Minervei" in 1912 by Ion Scurtu - journalist by profession and active participant of full development of festivities; as well as a big number of newspaper articles (a consistent reflection of Blaj festivities, can be found on ASTRA Cultural Society old magazine collection, created in 1868 with the name „Transilvania" and led by George Bariț) or in „Siebenburgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt". The last published a detailed report signed by T. R. Popescu on the program assembly, but it was inaccessible to me. For the cultural events from August 1911, the „Transilvania" magazine has dedicated a special issue, jubilee, very large (656 pages), which includes numerous stipends and articles about the Association's history, its objectives and important cultural achievements and education obtained during 50 years of impressive enculturation efforts within the masses. But, perhaps the most important document of the description of the „Astra" events from Blaj remains the volume Festivals from Blaj 1911, a page of our cultural history, published by the Association Despărțământul 11 Blaj in 1912, which includes the Catalogue of historical and cultural department, writen by Professor Ioan Rațiu and the media echoes. Notes about this Assembly will be found over the years in „ Astra's billet". In the article entitled *Luminoasa înfrățire a Arhiereilor români la „Astra"* was written, among others, the following: „In 1911 was celebrated the anniversary of 50 years of life of the Association, where both Metropolitans of the two churches, showed that Astra had united under its flag all the Romanian breath from the richest to the poorest: the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan of Blaj, Victor Mihaly; the Orthodox Metropolitan of Sibiu, Ioan Mețianu; the Orthodox Bishop of Caransebeș, Miron E. Cristea, the future Patriarch of Romania; the Orthodox Bishop of

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[5] Valer Moga, *„Astra" și Societatea 1918*-1930, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p.483
[6]Ibidem, p.484

Ardeal, Ioan I. Pap; the Greek- Catholic Bishop of Gherla, Vasile Hossu; the Greek- Catholic Bishop of Oradea, Demetriu Radu."[7]

From the guest list at „Astra"s jubilee festivities from Blaj, we can also notice the participation of those who had different ethnicity or religion, as a proof for the Romanian's friendly appearance, particularly towards the Hungarians. The four days of national festivity were also a good opportunity for the Romanians to express, towards their Hungarian fellows, their ethnic cohesion.

So far, a lot has been written about the greatness of the jubilee celebrations from Blaj, and with great enthusiasm. Nicolae Iorga, arrived on the third day of demonstrations, was strongly impressed by the Romanian gathering and shortly after the event, he wrote a pamphlet, printed in Vălenii de Munte, in which he expresses the mood that he had in Blaj: „The Jubilee Celebration was a happy occasion of a national manifestation. It will be a lasting memory of the big moment in which the town proved his ability in hosting thousands of Romanians, came from all around. Every one of them left the place with a big heart. (…) Beautiful speeches of union were enunciated there."[8]

The large number of publications referring to „Astra" s jubilee festivities, highlights the importance that these festive manifestations had, and also the impact created in the mentality of the participants.

The cultural festivities organized in the days of 14-17 (27-30) of August 1911, with the occasion of ASTRA´s 50 anniversary „were among the most beautiful that ever took place"- said Andrei Bârseanu on his speech to the jubilee celebrations held in Blaj on the first day of the meeting. „The city of Blaj, the old center of Romanian culture, on these four days was dressed in a rare feast coat. With this occasion, all Transylvanian intellectuals congregated for the first time: our chief priests, to whom were made warm ovations from the devoted."[9]

The festivities program, designed and prepared precludely, to express entirely the ideas of „Astra". People gathered at Blaj from 14 (27) August: „In the holy day of Sunday - says Ion Scurtu - thousands of Romanians started coming to Blaj. You would have thought that the great days from 1848 returned on today´s world. Trains, cars, carriages, carts, brought masses

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[7] Silvia Pop, De la rev*oluție la ASTRA* în „1848 Blajul și amintirea revoluției" , ASTRA Despărțământul "Timotei Cipariu", Blaj, 1998, p.49

[8] Ibidem, p. 48, apud Nicolae Iorga, *Serbările de la Blaj. Însemnătatea lor politică, culturală și literară*, Vălenii de Munte, Tipografia Neamului Românesc, 1911, p. 28-30

[9] Andrei Bârseanu, *Cuvântare la serbările jubiliare de la Blaj (1911) ale „Astrei"* în „Transilvania", Nr. 5-6, 1911, Septembrie- Decembrie, p. 744

ransacked from all corners of the Romanian lands." [10] „The next day, 15 (28) August, which is an important Orthodox holiday (Assumption of Mary) (**Appendix 1**), began with the Liturgy in   „The Trinity" Metropolitan Cathedral, where also took place the solemn meeting of „Astra".

At the Central committee table sat all the chief priests, in the center being the president Andrei Bârseanu, and all around the members of the committee. This picture was of a rare splendor which made a deep impression to the public.[11] The whole crowd gathered at the festivities, attended religious Greek Catholic services, held by the Metropolitan of the United Church, Victor Mihaly, with the close participation of the Orthodox clergy as a sign of religious union of the two sister churches. Under the influence of general enthusiasm, sacred ceremonies were mixed with secular activities.

Along the stirring speeches of Transylvanian intellectuals who came in Blaj, on the afternoon of the first day of festivities took place the ethnographic ensemble or the holiday of dance and Romanian peasant costume. So we find that „the world had not yet left the banquet, when the large square of Blaj, shaped by the great big eye of the wise Inocențiu Clain nearly two hundred years ago, started to clutter of lots of people. From above the <<vlădicului shed>> came an unusual noise, many and happy voices of screams and sounds of violins. Seemed like a distant roar of armies coming from the victory. Suddenly, the Printing House street filled with a great shout and a blue flag (symbol of faith) which is waving its folds over a river of heads, over a great crowd of our nippers, who come in robust rows, four abreast, with flowers on hats, singing after the violins carried by dragons with long necks. On the forehead, a white board with the name of the parish. (**Appendix 2**) In the middle, on cute rows, proud girls walk shy but with heart on musical clock, with bunches of flowers at the waist. Here and there, boys by twos, encompassed by their heads, remind the brotherhood of old times. Our surrounding villages are coming, bringing their flourishing health and their proud costumes from Târnave, Săcaș and down on Mureș, come to remind the past times, when Moții of Iancu, Murășenii of Axente, the plain of Moldovan and all the Romanian blowing dismounted for the first time in Blaj, on the year of terrible unrest that has enshrined our Blaj for all the times. Blaj´s square, where groups lumped in beautiful order, took a dome appearance. All around, scholars from across the land inhabited by Romanians. The earth was heavy of so many people. Such enthusiasm was never seen in Blaj since 1848. Everywhere, an entire village with its hora. The only things you could see, were marjoram feathers and geranium flowers

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[10] Ion Scurtu, *Serbările culturale de la Blaj* în „Calendarul Minervei",   Editura Minerva, București, 1912, p.131
[11] Andrei Bârseanu, art.cit., p. 744

bounding lively, and streamers corrugated by the twilight breeze. And shout and dance songs of girls dancing in hora."[12]

„After thousands of peasants surrounded the entire square, at a given signal they split on four great columns and turned their faces to the monastery. The national dances are starting: călușerul, bătuta, învârtita, haidăul and more likely dances, singing while your heart leapt, played and danced by each village separately, with their leader to the fore. The public, unable to resist to the wave of liveliness, broke any existing barrier and mixed with the dancers. Bishops gave good example, first, moving from group to group, admires, get a word in edgeways and read on their faces that their souls are mastered with the sacred fire of enthusiasm. Were admired especially the group of călușeri with their cudgels, which they twiddled beating the tact, while their limber feets designated the most jumpy moves in a beat of perfect harmony. (**Appendix 3**) I saw the young Bishop Miron Cristea increasing the boys courage to dance. In the evening, the players gathered in a garden near Blaj, to Veza, where they started a big hora - a true Romanian dance."[13]

Seeing this enchanting scene, Ales. Nicolescu, who describes the popular dance above, continues his narrations with eulogies, given once, by the Italian press to those folkloric manifestations: „It's an emulation of movements, a beautiful strife, as the Eleusian and Olympic games." [14] We see that the analogy made with ancient Roman and Greek games, reminds and confirms the eulogist conscience addressed to ancient origins, reflected by the continuity on Romanian popular dances.

From the description of the ethnographic ensemble, we find out how different elements combine in a real holiday of symbols: flags, traditional costumes, images, hymns, celebrating the reunion of the crowd with Transylvanian intellectuals, her attachment to the leaders and the ideas that they represent (nation, unity, freedom, and enlightenment of the masses). Each symbol is aimed at stirring up emotions, loading the atmosphere. It requires the participation of each single individual, whether he has to parade, dance, sing or cheer. These aspects are the conditions for actions. A crucial role in these folklore festivities consists, I believe, in the music that plunges the crowd into a hypnotic state of enthusiasm. This trance consists in connecting the individual who lives and associate his identity, to the group who recognizes him. Also, peasants in large number were present at the

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[12]Ibidem, p.752
[13]Despărțământul XI Blaj al „Asociațiunii", *Serbările de la Blaj-o pagină din istoria noastră culturală,* Tipogr. Semin. Teol. Gr. cat., Blaj, 1911 , pp.280, apud raportul „Foii Poporului" în nr. 34/1912.
[14] Ibidem, p.282

bishops' crossing to the church, sign of glorifying the religious tradition and allowance of both peccavis.

The masses' choreography, the course of the participating villages, demands the entry and the integration of the groups on the holiday's painting, each one with its own personality, with its distinctive and laudatory marks. The choreography of the crowd, with the music that welcomes the arrival of each village, follows an increasing bend culminated with the arrival of the most important personalities, the representatives of dominant cultural models of the age. Presence of intellectuals wreathes the festive ceremony, where the public, gathered in a huge number, is ready to cheer properly the ,,star'' for which he decided to attend the celebration. Is the essential moment in which the individual breaks all the ties with society outside and has no other society than the mass to which he belongs. They all share the same simple and powerful sentiments, being into a state of the kind so well described by Stendhal: ,,Was a Te Deum, waves of frankincense, extend batches of muskets and artillery; peasants were fuddled of happiness and piety. Such work day crumbles around hundred of Jacobin newspapers.''[15]

From ASTRA´s commemorative volume, we find out that ,,nothing disturbs the living picture of an artistic beauty that unfolded on those holidays to Blaj; you do not find any discordant note, all this great deportment group of people is dignified and respectful. Therefore, when the lonely groups are marching before all, the crowd of intellectuals receives them with rounds of applause and the eyes of all swims on tears of national pride. Ladies waving their handkerchiefs from windows of the terrace house monastery. And men cheering from all power of the voice. Sure that the deads from Blaj´s graves gave a start of rare blessing seeing the worthiness of their grandchildren, for whom they gave their lives.''[16]

The final impression of the jubilee celebrations from Blaj has morphed therefore into a felling of national community who woke up in the Romanian soul. Some of them, as we have seen from the above description, were impressed to tears by the size and grandeur of festive events that they took part. Notably, on foreigners and guests from the Romanian kingdom, the participants made an overwhelming impression and all newspapers noted with full appreciation the hospitality from Blaj. ,,Many peasants have marched on Blaj under the flag that in those days was permitted and waved free like in 1848, but peaceable and with more serene and enduring promises. Marched and sang <<Deşteaptă-te române!>>, and himself first-pretor, Joseph Szasz,

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[15] Serge Moscovici, Epoca maselor. Tratat istoric asupra psihologiei maselor, Institutul European, Iaşi, 2001, p. 142, apud Stendhal, Le Rouge et le Noir, Ed. Pleiade, t. I, p. 317.
[16] Despărţământul XI Blaj al ,,Asociaţiunii'', op.cit., p. 278

true Hungarian and not better than others, had to listen this song at the table. The reality of Romanian awakening stood in his eyes."[17]

All the details of the festive representations from Blaj, reinforces, once again, the idea that the event had a big importance on the participants' conscience. From a simple, general meeting, where were presented the program and the activity of „Astra" over 50 years, with long speeches and ceremonies that were meant to sensitize the crowd, the whole event turns, with the participation of an impressive number of Romanians and personalities of the time, into a true holiday, having cultural, national, folklore and religious implications.

„People have always lived with memories of the holidays and awaiting future ones, for their memories and desires, time of intense emotions and metamorphosis of their being." [18] From the example of the Jubilee celebrations of Blaj, we can see that this holiday was not only the occasion of a communion, but also of communities' emotional discharges. On those holy days, merged and coexisted briefly a mixture of states which have nothing in common with the state and behavior of the people on the ordinary days of their lives. As well as in the case of accepting guests of another ethnicity or religion to those festive events. If in the rest of the days, the Romanians were unsatisfied and often faced with the political, administrative, religious or school situation which existed at that time in Transylvania, on those days, in Blaj, Romanians seem to leave aside problems and hate, to enjoy the brotherly union which holiday made it possible. It was a good opportunity to show to the Hungarians invited to the festivities, the strong cultural, national, folkloric Romanian values.

According to Roger Chartier, holiday is one of the social forms in which we can see both the popular resistance to normative controls and also the crowd components remodeling, due to the dominant cultural patterns.[19] The use of the term holiday – it´s apparent univocity, send actually to a lot of differences, often designed through a series of oppositions: popular/ official, rural/ urban, religious/secular, participation/performance etc. Those divisions, far from allowing a clear typology of festive ceremonies, are themselves problematic, since it is almost always a mixture feast which concerns the conciliation of contraries. [20] In the case of practices, Durkheim believes that things are the same as for the beliefs. The state of effervescence in which the

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[17] Ibidem, p. 12
[18] Simona Nicoară, *Istoria şi miturile*, Editura Accent, 2009, Cluj-Napoca, p.67.
[19] Roger Chartier, *Lecturi şi cititori în Franţa vechiului regim*, Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti, 1997, p.35
[20]Ibidem.

faithful gathered together, necessarily translates out by exuberant movements, hard channeled toward some clearly defined purpose too.[21]

The religious ceremonies had an important implication on the celebrations in Blaj. Andrei Şaguna, considered religion as the main link of union between Romanians.[22] Nothing more truthful, we could tell, because religion requires a collective act that binds people to each other. „Religion, Durkheim said, is a eminently social fact, religious representations are collective representations which express collective realities." [23] Roger Caillois instead, believed that religion would not be what it is, if it would not leave some space for free combinations of thought and work, for dance, art, for all that recreates the spirit tired of too much quotidian work: the causes who determined its existence transform themselves into necessity. The idea of a religious ceremony of some significance awakens in a natural way the idea of celebration. Conversely, every holiday, even if by purely secular origin, has some of the characteristics of religious ceremony, because in any case, has the effect of driving them to individuals, to put masses into motion and to cause a state of effervescence, sometimes delirious, which is not unrelated to the state of religion. Men forget about themselves, and are stolen from usual occupations and concerns. Therefore we see in one case and in the other, the same symptoms: shouts, songs, music, dances, looking for some excitement that enhance the vital, etc. Simple joy, a profane act, has no seriously object, while the overall ritual ceremony is always a serious purpose. [24] Same ceremony purpose we could also see in the Greek-Catholic religious service example, which took place on Blaj cathedral, where dozens of participants felt the spirit of religious ceremonies who floated above the crowd.

Particularly, festive atmosphere of ASTRA´s jubilee is ensured by the presence of the Christian ritual. The fact that each day of festivities begins with divine service commission maintains and spread the enthusiasm and the motivation of the crowd. Divine service represents the framework of the traditional Christian holiday and was meant to cement solidarity among those present at the event. Participation in a large number at Mass, reflects the exterior manifestation of collective feelings of national community: „Participants lived special emotional states; priest chiefs of both churches prayed together. Around them, the high and broad church had the same faces as our national tradition; the same ancient rites gave movement to the sacramental service; the same were the words in the same language. An old

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[21] Émile Durkheim, op.cit., p.349
[22] Keith Hitchins, *Andrei Şaguna şi românii din Transilvania 1846*-1873, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, Bucureşti, 1995, p. 289
[23] Émile Durkheim, op.cit., p. 22
[24] Roger Caillois, *Omul şi sacrul*, Editura Nemira, Bucureşti, 1997, p.20

past of accomplished unity wraped them all with the charm of millennial advices."[25]

Any religious service ends, also in the case of ASTRA´s jubilee festivities, with a moment of perfect piety to the cemetery, where they held a memorial service and requiem to the Transylvania heroes. (**Appendix 4**) Thereby, takes place the celebration of past characters, reinvested as role models. The commemorative form of ASTRA´s festivities had the role to reactivate the feeling of Romanian collective consciousness. The resumption of Blaj revolutionary celebration model, was attempted to keep the generations bonded and to encourage the national movement until 1918. Usually, commemorative moments were completed by the unveiling of a monument-symbol of devotion and public pilgrimage.

Mass, commemorations, speeches of the personalities, are all signs of Christian ethics and collective piety of the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century in Transylvania. Also, symbolism of flags, confirms their role as an instrument of identity and a suggestion tool to the idea of unity.

The deployment of ASTRA´s jubilee celebrations from 1911 was a great example of highlighting the enthusiasm with which the Romanians from Transylvania perceived that event in Blaj. Because it was a national celebration of communion, there was no problem with included or excluded persons. Everyone could participate on the festivities from Blaj, regardless of membership ethnicity, political or religion, trying to make no differentiation based on these criterions. Exemplary is the presence on the celebrations of Romanian friend Jan Urban Jarnik. Professor at the University of Prague, Jan Urban Jarnik (1848-1923) was a Czech linguist, honorary member of the Romanian Academy. Also, an example of Romanians opening to Hungarians is the presence of the prefect Szacz - Monarch and the Hungarian government attorney at ,,Astra" s jubilee festivities or Mocsonász and Mocsonyi brothers. We notice that the appellations that Romanians use for Hungarian guests are:,,Romanian's friend" or ,,our brothers". On Alexandru Mocsonyi death in 1909, for example, in the ,,Transylvania" magazine was written at that time: ,,Passed away one of the most chosen men of our nation, which his entire life was a guiding star of our ideals".[26]

Another important aspect to mention about the foreign guests in the festivities from Blaj would be that they spoke almost a perfect Romanian language. Language is also one of the most stable elements, one of the

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[25] Nicolae Iorga, *Serbările de la Blaj, însemnătatea lor politică, culturală și literară*, Vălenii de Munte, Tipografia <<Neamul românesc>>, 1911, p. 6

[26] ,,Transilvania. Organul Asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român", Nr. II, Aprilie-Iunie, 1909, p.57

mythical roots on which was founded any national ideology. Language, like religion, reflects Renan, invites to meetings, fellowship, because in case of the nation, free membership is a reasonable criterion. Herder sustain that language expresses the mind of a nation, is the national thinking herself.[27]

On the occasion of the feast, under the guise of gestural language, distance and tension between participants can therefore defuse or even cancel: ,,gathered together, people become better, for they will be looking to please each other" [28], said Roger Chartier.

Speeches and prayers uttered by bishops and by prestigious scholars of Transylvania, toasts at banquets, the ethnographic duct with his dances and songs, the symbolic flight of Aurel Vlaicu (**Appendix 5**), the assembly telegram to Emperor-King, the presence of the actors from the Bucharest National Theatre, thousands of peasants and leaders of both Romanian churches, constituted new evidences of ,,the communion of the Romanian people and its confidence in the approaching day of Unification."[29] All this were aloud statements of faith on ourselves, on unity, on Romanian solidarity and on the value of our warrior culture. [30] National consciousness, solidarity, unity, were demonstrated by the Romanian people with the greatest enthusiasm possible: ,,Their shout: to live! addressed to <<the lords>>, included their devotion to their leaders and scholars."[31] Deployed under such auspices, ASTRA's jubilee festivities from Blaj, turned into an impressive and ominous gathering of the Romanians from all the Romanian provinces (predominantly from Transylvania), reaffirmation of forty-eighters ideals of freedom, justice and national unity, renewing up the vows since then - as Vasile Goldiş said -, and expressing again, more forcefully than ever, within the Association, ,,the decision to intensify the struggle for the defense and affirmation of the major interest of the Romanian nation." These celebrations were a way to imprint on the collective consciousness of all Romanians, the framing of all Romanian regions into one state. And this was about to happen seven years later by accomplishment of the so wanted unification.

ASTRA's festivities represented also a good example of the junction of secular holiday with religious holidays and how they tried to coexist on the second half of the nineteen century and the beginning of twentieth century in Transylvania. Starting from the double function of Andrei Şaguna (1808-1873), Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church and president of ASTRA Cultural Association, we see how the laic tried in the same time to legitimize

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[27] Serge Moscovici, op.cit, pp. 234-235
[28] Roger Chartier, op.cit., p.51
[29] Pamfil Matei, *Asociaţiunea în lumina doc*, Ed. Cit., p.93
[30] Nicolae Iorga, op.cit., p. 14
[31] Despărţământul XI Blaj al ,,Asociaţiunii, op.cit, p. 400

and promote his national ideals by calling the Church – important symbol of tradition.

In addition to the general effects described above, on which the model of ASTRA's festivities from Blaj was imprinted on participants' minds, perhaps the most important of their merit could be that it managed to raise up into the Romanians' souls the feeling of trust and respect, awakened in individual consciences by a great moral force that has dominated and supported them: the collective strength. Completely eliminating any ethnic, political or religious divisions, these holidays will remain the holy altar of national ideals and national solidarity[32] of the beginning of twentieth century in Transylvania.

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[32] *Congresul cultural al Asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român „Astra"* în „Transilvania", Anul 61, Nr. 1-6 (Ian.-Iunie) 1930, p.365

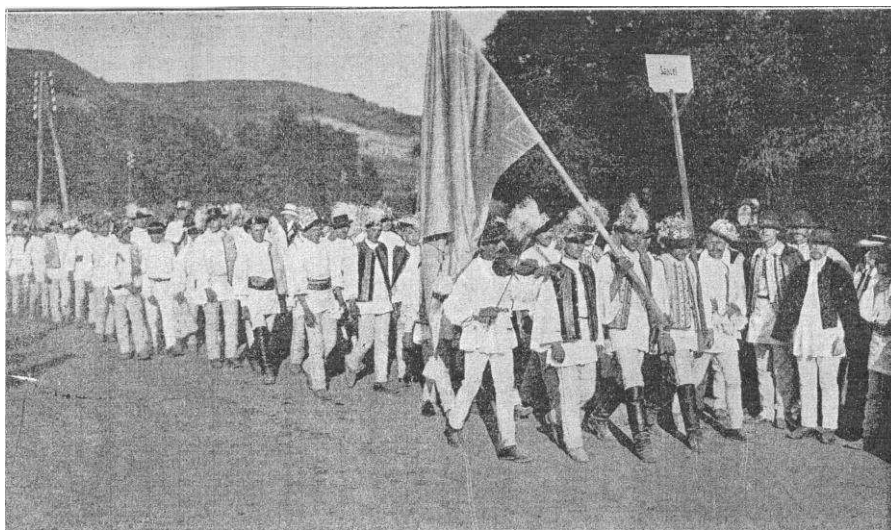**Appendix**:

Appendix 1

Inainte de sfânta liturghie.

Appendix 2

Conductul etnografic: Sosirea satelor.

Appendix 3

Conductul etnografic: Călușeri.

Conductul etnografic: Călușeri.

Appendix 4

Rentoarcerea dela cimiter.

Appendix 5

Vlaicu aterisează pe Câmpul Libertătii.

Excluded or Included. The Polish Unitarians of Transylvania

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In the investigation I propose to conduct the main question to which an answer is needed to be found can be put like this: Who are in fact Polish Unitarians? When and in what conditions do they appear on the scene of Transylvanian history?

Therefore an attempt to find an answer to these questions needs to clarify how and when does Unitarianism appear in Poland. It is known that the ideas of the Reformation, including those of antitrinitarian origin reached Poland around the middle of the 16th century.[1] In this period Poland was a multi-ethnic state having various religious options even before adopting the ideas of the Reformation. Besides Catholics and Orthodoxs there was a numerous Jewish community and there also lived some Muslim Tartars at the south-eastern borders of the Polish Kingdom.[2] The seeds of the Reformation were sown on these ethnical and religious foundations. In various regions, especially in towns having a German majority Lutheranism was accepted, but the Polish nobility preferred Calvinism insomuch that in 1554 at Slominiki the first synod of the Polish Calvinists took place.[3] The schism between Calvinists and Antitrinitarians took place at the synod of Piotrków in 1564.[4] In a short time, by Christmas of 1565 the Antitrinitarians organized their own synod at Wegrów in the presence of about 45 priests who adopted the new confession.[5]

And still, despite the success of the ideas of the Reformation in the Polish Kingdom the Catholic church remained an important power regardless of the strength of the Protestant ideas. Although it lost some of its positions by the middle of the 16th century, due to the Counter-Reformation it still succeeded in regaining its self-confidence and then it took action. As a result of the Counter-Reformation's wave of action, after the negotiations of 1595-

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[1] Diarmaid MacCulloch: Europe s House Divided. 1490-1700, Penguin Books, 2003.

[2] Szokolay Katalin: *Lengyelország története [The History of Poland]*, Balassi Kiadó, 1996, p. 49.

[3] Szokolay Katalin: *Lengyelország története [The History of Poland]*, Balassi Kiadó, 1996, p. 50.

[4] Apud Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

[5] Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

1596 the union of the Ruthenian Orthodoxs with Rome took place in the town of Brest.[6] Signing the solemn document of union at Brest on the occasion of the synod of the Ruthenian bishops of 22 June 1595 was the beginning of a long process in which the relations of this church united to the church of Rome were clarified.[7] This victory of the Catholic church in Poland and Lithuania was a preliminary of the constraints to be adopted against the Protestants of the Polish Kingdom.

In such a diverse and still tolerant world did the Polish Unitarians gain a place. Called also Socinians after the name of the Socinus brothers who wrote their catechism of Raków which contained the dogmatic foundations of their faith,[8] they had an institutionalized and functional church for more than a hundred years. At the middle of the 16th century the numerous Polish nobility had the decisional power, exercised through the Seim. On the occasion of the Polish diet of 28 January 1573 held in Warsaw (five years after the diet of Turda – Transylvania) religious freedom was declared[9] and Henry Valois, invited on the Polish throne accepted the conditions imposed by the Polish nation. Leilo and Faustus Socinus, the main promoters of the ideology of Polish Unitarianism[10] laid in 1569 the foundations of the academy of Raków where many young men of liberal views continued their studies. After a long and dangerous wandering through Europe the two personalities finally found their places in the radical religious world of Poland where they attempted to reduce the radicalism of the Polish Anabaptism and to introduce a rationalist theology in the thinking of Polish Unitarianism.[11] The times of glory of the Polish Brethren (Socinianism) was of a short duration beginning with 1585 and ending in 1638 when Raków also called by the contemporaries the

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[6] Aleksander Gieysztor, History of Poland, Polish Scientific Publishers, Warszawa, p. 183.

[7] For more details on this topic see: Ovidiu Ghitta: *Naşterea unei biserici [How a Church is Born]*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj- Napoca, 2001, p. 49- 63.

[8] Owen Chadwick: *A reformáció [The Reformation]*, Osiris, Bp.,1998, p. 192-193.

[9] Diarmaid MacCulloch: Europe s House Divided. 1490-1700, Penguin Books, 2003,
"we mutually promise for ourselves and our successors forever…. That we who differ with regard to religion will keep the peace with one another, and will not for a different faith or a change of churches shed blood nor punish one another by confiscation of proprerty, infamy, imprisonment or banishment and will not in any way assist any magistrate or officer in such an act." p. 343.;
The Polish having a dynastic crisis wished to solve the situation by inviting a monarh of the French royal house, Henry Valois, but frightened by the events which took place in France after Saint Bartholomew's night they wanted to make sure that the new monarch shall not jeopardise the relations in the country and therefore they declared religious freedom and imposed it also on the new monarch.

[10] Diarmaid MacCulloch: Europe s House Divided. 1490-1700, Penguin Books, 2003, p. 341.

[11] Balázs Mihály: *Földi és égi hitviták. Válogatás Jacobus Palaeologus munkáiról [Earthly and Heavenly Polemics. A Selection of the Works of Jacobus Palaeologus]*, Dunánál, Budapest, Qui one Quit, Kolozsvár, 2003, p. 16.

Sarmatian Athens was occupied.[12] The relationship of the Polish Socinians and the Unitarians of Transylvania was a permanent one since the foundation of the two churches. And this is not surprising at all if we consider the close kinship between the ruling families of the two states. Both the Polish royal and the Transylvanian princely court, very open to innovative ideas, hosted personalities with radical ideas who have been banned from the less tolerant Catholic and Protestant royal and princely courts.[13] A distinguished member of the two courts was doctor Giorgio Blandrata present both in Poland and in Hungary, being one of the escorts of Queen Isabela[14] and also an important promoter of the Antitrinitarian ideas. On the other hand Saxon Unitarians of Cluj frequently asked the Polish Antitrinitarians to send them German speaking Unitarian priests. Thus Valentin Radeczius originating from Gdansk served from 1662 as the priest of the Saxon Unitarians of Cluj[15] and moreover he became their bishop.[16] Then, between 1643 and 1655 Adam Francke[17] served the Saxon Unitarians of Cluj.

But the close relationship between the Polish and the Transylvanians in the early modern age was not reduced only to the Unitarians, but as we see, in the courts of the princes of Transylvania one could often meet influential persons coming from Poland. Thus John Sigismund had Stanislas Niezowski as one of his closest advisors.[18]

The evolution of political events in Poland at the end of the 16th century and especially the beginning of the 17th century were not very benefic

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[12] Apud Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

[13] Lech Szczucki: *Két XVI. századi eretnek gondolkodó [Two Hereti*cal Thinkers of the 16th Century], Ed. Akadémia, Bp., 1980,

[14] On Giorgio Blandrata-see in Balázs Mihály, From Servet to Paleologus, Early Transylvanian antitrinitarism (1566–1571), Baden-Baden–Bouxwiller, 1995.

[15] Kénosi Tőzsér János- Uzoni Fosztó István: A*z erdélyi unitárius egyház története/ Istori*a bisericii unitariene din Transilvania / The History of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, II, Cluj, 2009, p. 178-179.

[16] Kénosi Tőzsér János- Uzoni Fosztó István: *Az erdélyi unitárius egyház története/ Istori*a bisericii unitariene din Transilvania / The History of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, II, Cluj, 2009, p. 485- 496.

[17] Kénosi Tőzsér János- Uzoni Fosztó István: *Az erdélyi unitárius egyház története/ Istoria* bisericii unitariene din Transilvania / The History of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, II, Cluj, 2009, p. 182.

[18] Horn Ildikó: *János Zsigmond lengyel tanácsosa, Stanislas Niezowski [The Polish Advisor of* John Sigismund, Stanislas Niezowski], In: „ Nem sűlyed az emberiség". Album amicorum Szörényi László LX. születésnapjára, Ed. Jankovics József, Csésztvay Tünde, Csörsz Rumen István, Szabó G. Zoltán, MTA, Budapest, 2007, p. 1387-1392; Horn Ildikó: Hit és Hatalom. Az *erdélyi unitárius nemesség 16. századi története/ Credinţă şi Putere. Istoria* nobilimii unitariene din Transilvania secolului al 16.-lea /Faith and Power. The History of the Unitarian Noblemen of Transylvania in the 16th Century, Budapest, 2009, p. 192-197.

to the Antitrinitarian ideas seconded by the wave of Counter-Reformation.[19] The attacks against Protestants were greatly strengthened after the Jesuits were brought and step by step the entire Polish society started favoring Catholicism due to the propaganda of the Counter-Reformation. At first there is a tendency to marginalize the Protestants which later turns into banning the Socinians from Poland. The ascension of Catholicism starts first at the level of ideas and later these ideas turn into facts. Thus in a brochure of 1615 Jesuit priest Mateus Bembus considered that due to the religious freedom the articles of Henry Valois seem to be a contract with the Devil.[20] The formulation of this idea predicts later events. From this idea to drawing up a list of banned books was merely a step, and indeed Piasecki, the bishop of Cracow elaborates in 1617 a list of indexed works.[21] Then in 1621 the censorship on printing and selling certain books and introducing them into libraries was introduced and drastic punitive measures were enforced against Protestants and especially against Antitrinitarians.[22] After a provoked incident, in 1638 the Socinian school and printing press of Rákow were closed.[23] Pressure against Polish Unitarians was increasingly high up to the point when the Seim of 1658 decided to ban all Socinians from the Polish Kingdom and make them leave the country within two years.[24] Although a Socinian representative in the Seim used his right of liberum veto the other representatives disregarded his opinion contrary to Polish customary law which states that a decision becomes a law only if all representatives voted for it and declared the decision of the diet into a law. Representatives of the Polish nobility modified

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[19] After the short reign of Henry Valois, on the throne of Poland followed Anna Jagello with her husband Stephen Báthory until 1587. This was a tolerant period since Báthory recognized the religious diversity both in Transylvania and in Poland. But after his death Sigismund III Wassa took the throne and in his time serious impediments started to be put on Protestant Churches.

[20] Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57. „Pax non pax est seu rationes aliquod, quibus confoederationis evangelicorum cum catholicis pacem, nullo modo veram esse pacem, breviter ostenditur"- scrie Mateus Bembus.

[21] For more on this subject see: Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

[22] Apud Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

[23] Owen Chadwick: *A reformáció [The Reformation]*, Osiris, Bp.,1998, p. 194.

[24] Cronologia Polska, Warszawa, 1957, p.484; Aleksander Gieysztor, History of Poland, Polish Scientific Publishers, Warszawa, p. 225; Szokolay Katalin: *Lengyelország története [The History of Poland]*, Balassi Kiadó, 1996, p. 62, Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

somewhat their attitude towards the Socinians at the Seim of 1659 where they permitted them to remain in Poland under the condition to adhere to the Catholic religion until 10 July 1660.[25] After such an immovable decision of the diet many of the Socinians abandoned their religion and adhered to Catholicism, but most of them chose to leave hoping they could return to Poland as soon as the present atmosphere will change.

Thus Polish people who chose to stay Unitarians were excluded from their own country and had to find a new place where they could live freely and where they could live according to their religion. The Polish Unitarians who left the country established in Hungary, Prussia, Switzerland, Holland and England and a quite significant group headed out to Transylvania. In Poland there is no change in the antiprotestant atmosphere and the sixth decade of the 17th century continues with strict Counter-Reformation. In 1663 representatives of Mazovia in the Seim propose that statutes adopted at Warsaw in 1573 be banned[26] and the law adopted in 1668 stipulated that anyone who adheres from Catholicism to Protestantism should be punished by death.[27] These drastic measures condemned the Reformation, the Polish Protestant Churches and religious freedom to death and implicitly to oblivion.

Polish and Transylvanian Unitarians kept up a constant communication, a relationship, therefore it was no surprise that when the Polish Unitarians remaining faithful to their religion found themselves in a situation of crisis which threatened their religion a group of these headed out to Transylvania and found refuge there. There is also no wonder in the fact that most of the Polish people who came to Transylvania were established in Cluj, since the town of Cluj was even at that time an important center of Unitarianism.

After obtaining permission from the prince of Transylvania, János Kemény on 15 January 1661[28], the Polish settled in various settlements of Transylvania like Beclean or in villages on the Târnava river (e.g. Adămuş) and especially in Cluj. On their way to Transylvania the Polish community had been robbed several times, therefore the Unitarian synod of 15 March

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[25] Cronologia Polska, Warszawa, 1957, p. 484, Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

[26] Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

[27] Cronologia Polska, Warszawa, 1957, p. 485; Aleksander Gieysztor, History of Poland, Polish Scientific Publishers, Warszawa, p. 225, Marian Hillar: From the Polish Socinians to the American Constitution, In: Journal from the Radical Reformation. A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism, Vol. 4, nr. 3, 1994, pp. 22-57.

[28] Kénosi Tőzsér János- Uzoni Fosztó István: *Az erdélyi unitárius egyház története/ Istoria bisericii unitariene din Transilvania / The History of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania*, II, Cluj, 2009, p. 213.

1661 decided that each Unitarian church should contribute as it could to helping the Polish brothers having financial problems.[29] In places where Polish immigrants settled in great numbers they formed religious communities separate from the Hungarian or Saxon Unitarian communities. Only in 1696 did the Polish community of Adămuş integrate into the community of Hungarian Unitarians in the village. This state of facts is reflected in a decision of the general consistorium of Cluj which decided that the Polish brothers of Adămuş pay for the fees of the priest and the teacher of the village in the same way as do Hungarian church members.[30]

At the end of the 17th century there still existed significant Polish communities who did not form a religious community of their own, yet wished to live by the laws and customs brought from Poland and therefore constituting a separate form of organization within church life. However due to the increasingly evident and oppressive Counter-Reformation the leaders of the Unitarian church did not approve these petitions. The leaders of the church were reluctant to authorize the creation of separate Polish communities, since in the Polish liturgy there were some different elements whose acceptance could have been easily interpreted as an approval of new dogmatic elements, which was banned by effective legislation that prohibited any kind of dogmatic innovation. Therefore at the Unitarian synod of Berlin of 1 June 1698 it was decided to ban the formation of new church communities, which affected directly the Polish.[31] After this moment there are data on the functioning of separate Polish communities only in Beclean and Cluj. In Beclean the last priest to serve the Polish Unitarian community was Samuel Trochimowicz after whose death in 1788 the Polish community of Beclean disintegrated.[32] On this Polish community there are very few pieces of information and these mainly relate to the Polish community of Cluj. Thus, due to the lack of information the issue cannot be thoroughly investigated and discussed.

Arriving to Cluj the Polish Unitarians find a town which made genuine, but not very successful efforts to preserve the living conditions of the

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[29] Kénosi Tőzsér János- Uzoni Fosztó István: *Az er*délyi unitárius egyház története/ Istoria bisericii unitariene din Transilvania / The History of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, II, Cluj, 2009, p. 213.

[30] Kénosi Tőzsér János- Uzoni Fosztó István: *Az erdélyi unitárius egyház története/ Istoria* bisericii unitariene din Transilvania / The History of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, II, Cluj, 2009, p. 221.

[31] Kénosi Tőzsér János- Uzoni Fosztó István: *Az erdélyi unitárius egyház története/ Istoria* bisericii unitariene din Transilvania / The History of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, II, Cluj, 2009, p. 221.

[32] Kénosi Tőzsér János- Uzoni Fosztó István: *Az erdélyi unitárius egyház története/ Istoria* bisericii unitariene din Transilvania / The History of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, II, Cluj, 2009, p. 223.

old régime. In fact, in this period, after 1661 even the status of citizen of the town became uncertain.

The Polish settled here established a separate Unitarian community from the Hungarian and the Saxon one as they did in other settlements where they settled and they had their own priests brought from Poland and specific Polish liturgies. The Polish Unitarian community of Beclean is the first to disintegrate, then the one in the valley of the Târnava river. Until the constitution of the Unitarian church of 1782 the Polish Unitarian community of Cluj was a separate community with separate administration, separate house of prayer, which was voluntarily sold by the Polish to donate its price for the purposes of the Unitarian church to be built.[33] The Hungarian and German Unitarians did not have a church after they have been banned from Saint Michael's Church in 1716.

I followed in the town archive how Polish people appear registered in civil and fiscal registers and in the administrative documents of the town. Among sworn citizens of the town Polish people can be found only from 1674.[34] In this period the number of newly registered citizens varied between 50 and 70. In the civil register, besides the name of the person registered there usually was recorded also his nationality, his religion and his occupation, the date of registration and the names of the two witnesses to the registration who were willing to warrant for the registered person. Sometimes also the place of origin of the new citizen was mentioned.

It results from the town register that in the second half of the 17th century most of the persons requesting to be accepted and registered as citizens of the town of Cluj were Hungarians. In the registers Germans and Saxons were registered as separate nations. After Hungarians the most numerous group to be registered was that of the Saxons'. Then annually appear also persons originating from other nations: Seklers/schyti, Polish, Slavons, Croatians, Bohemians, Valachians, Greeks, Haidus[35], Italians, Belgians. Town authorities registered the nationality declared by the citizen to be. Still, there are some cases when people register under a different nationality than their own, like the case of a person of Greek origin registered

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[33] In the central archive of the Unitarian Church of Cluj the minutes of the Polish community are kept and the mail written by the leaders of the Polish Unitarian Church of Cluj and their brothers remaining in Poland or established in other parts of Europe and church manuscripts, obviously most of them written in Polish. The history of this community was written by Henryk Barycz: Obraz zycia religijnego polskiego zboru unitarianskiego w Koloszwarze w XVIII w. Protokoly posiedzen dyscypliny zborowej z lat 1722-1772. In: Reformacja w Polsce. Rocznik XI. 1948-52. Nr. 41-44. Warszawa, 1953. 66-114p.

[34] The National Archives – the Cluj-Napoca Branch, the Fund of the Mayor's Office of Cluj, Minutes of registration of citizens, 1638-1760.

[35] A military population originating mainly from Partium.

at the beginning of the 18th century in whose case it is mentioned that he belongs to the Greek nation, but wishes to be registered as a Saxon. In 1719 there is a Polish man, Johannes Lugjnier of Poland who is registered as a Hungarian although he was a Catholic.[36]

From the nearly thirty Polish who became citizens of Cluj only two were not Unitarians, so one could state that nearly all Polish settled in Cluj were Unitarians. They increased momentarily the number of the Unitarian population of the town stopping for a while the quick rising of the number of Reformed persons. Between 1674 and 1732 29 Polish people swore to abide by the laws of the town of Cluj.[37] They did not become citizens all at once, but one each year, while between 1681 and 1701 two each year. After 1732 a Polish Unitarian at every ten years is registered. In the case of eighteen persons also their occupation was registered. There were four Polish tailors, three shoemakers, three tanners – which could be identical to shoemaker –, two carpenters, a goldsmith, a wool processor, a cantor, a beekeeper, a skinner and a vine grower. Also the place of origin was registered for two persons: in 1638 a Martin Lengyel originating from Cracow[38] and in 1714 a Ladislau Mátyás originating from Warsaw.[39] But we will probably know more on the places of origin of the Polish if someone will publish or will process the minutes of the Polish Unitarian community.

Analyzing and following the civil registers the question naturally arises: why the Polish who came to Cluj in 1660 become citizens of the town only in 1674? The first argument would be that they hoped they could return home. Besides, if we come to think of it – one and a half decade from settlement to obtaining citizenship is not such a long time. The Polish arrived in a new country, in a new town where they started life afresh after being robbed on the road and being decimated by the epidemics in the town. And no matter how much the status of the town changed its dwellers insist on the observation of the rules proven to be practical in the past, among them the conditions to be fulfilled to become a citizen of the town: a recommendation of two honest and respected citizens of the town was needed and the citizen to be had to own real estate in the town and to be married. The easiest to fulfill for the Polish was probably the latter request, since they probably came to Cluj mainly with their families. But acquiring or building a home implicated

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[36] The National Archives – the Cluj-Napoca Branch, the Fund of the Mayor's Office of Cluj, Minutes of registration of citizens, 1638-1760, p. 107v.
[37] The National Archives – the Cluj-Napoca Branch, the Fund of the Mayor's Office of Cluj, Minutes of registration of citizens, 1638-1760, p. 596.
[38] The National Archives – the Cluj-Napoca Branch, the Fund of the Mayor's Office of Cluj, Minutes of registration of citizens, 1638-1760, p. 19v.
[39] The National Archives – the Cluj-Napoca Branch, the Fund of the Mayor's Office of Cluj, Minutes of registration of citizens, 1638-1760, p. 92v.

several things: they needed to have money to buy real estate and available real estate to be bought had to exist. And if they did not have enough money they needed to work hard in order to obtain some. Having in view the occupation of the Polish who became citizens of Cluj I wondered: what could have been the attitude of the guilds of the shoemakers and tailors regarding the newly come masters? Did they take into consideration their special circumstances and did they receive them into the guild before becoming citizens of the town? I believe an investigation of the documents and minutes of the guilds in this sense would be worthwhile. Naturally, in order to obtain a recommendation of the honorable citizens of the town, regardless of how they felt for them as fellow Unitarians, the Polish needed to cohabit a while with the other people in the town in order that they could form an opinion of them.

It is difficult to determine how many Polish Unitarians lived in Cluj. Approximately 225?[40] As a comparison I shall bring up the census of 1703 which states that in Cluj there were 1172 homeowners[41], while in 1714 in Cluj there were 1082 families, which could mean a reinvigoration of the demographics of the town.[42]

In the register of the council of one hundred persons of the town there begin to appear vaguely one or two Polish persons only from 1730. In 1670 there is a Polish Unitarian in the town council, but he became a member of the council as a member of the Saxon nation having received also several tasks from the leadership of the town. He is the son of Valentin Radeczius bearing the same name as his father.[43]

As a conclusion it can be stated that Polish Unitarians left their country in order to be able to abide by their religion, they left their birthplaces hoping that sometime in the future they will be able to come back, but in fact they have been excluded from their country and looked for another country who may receive them. A part of this ethnic and religious group came to Transylvania and lived as a separate ethnic and religious community for more than a century and they gave up their separate community only when the Unitarians of Cluj intended to build a church of their own. At that moment – as I found in the sources of this period – they voluntarily sold their house of prayer and became part of the Hungarian Unitarian community. Therefore the

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[40] Gaál György: *Kolozsvár kétezer esztendeje dátumokban [The Two Thousand Years of Cluj in Numbers]*, In: Kolozsvár 1000 éve, coord. Dáné Tibor Kálmán et alii, Kolozsvár, 2001, p. 324.

[41] Gaál György- considers that in Cluj there established 700 Polish Unitarians - Gaál György: *Kolozsvár kétezer esztendeje dátumokban [The Two Thousand Years of Cluj in Numbers],* In: Kolozsvár 1000 éve, coord. Dáné Tibor Kálmán et alii, Kolozsvár, 2001, p. 324.

[42] Gaál György: *Kolozsvár kétezer esztendeje dátumokban [The Two Thousand Years of Cluj in Numbers]*, In: Kolozsvár 1000 éve, coord. Dáné Tibor Kálmán et alii, Kolozsvár, 2001, p. 324.

[43] The National Archives – the Cluj-Napoca Branch, the Fund of the Mayor's Office of Cluj, Minutes of registration of citizens, 1638-1760, p. 269.

Polish Unitarians did keep their faith, stayed Antitrinitarians, but finally lost their specific Polish traits. When they left their country they hoped that the political atmosphere will calm down and they will have the chance of returning to Poland and live as Polish Unitarians. History did not offer them this chance. Their number was decreasing in Transylvania. In such a situation it can be concluded that for these people their faith was more important than their ethnicity.

People on the edge of society in Lugoj, seen through the "Răsunetul" periodical between 1922-1932

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The present study, dedicated to marginals in the interwar period in Lugoj, is part of a wider research program of the evolution of local society after the First World War. The forming of the National Romanian State through the political union of 1918 generated a new legislative framework, designed to ensure uniform development of the Romanian provinces. The process of administrative unification of Romania, hampered by social, economic and cultural differences between the regions, was a trigger for the modernization phenomenon of Romanian society in the interwar period. Locally, modernization was gradually achieved by penetrating innovative elements, combined with the ethnic and religious realities. Considering the multiple factors that have contributed to the metamorphosis of the Lugoj community, we intend to analyze the image of the marginal man depicted in the *Răsunetul* publication during its first decade of issue. The complex approach of such a topic is given by the relationship between society, local media and marginal groups. The periodical, initially being a product of society, tends to reflect stereotypical attitudes concerning marginal groups, and over time it becomes itself an opinion deviser which are bounced back within the community.

We chose to use *Răsunetul*[1] from the numerous local publications[2], due to its longevity of this Romanian newspaper (26 years), being a genuine

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[1] *Răsunetul* is the Romanian newspaper from Lugoj with the longest period of issue, starting with the first number in May 17 1922 until August 13 1948. The newspaper's title until January 71923 was „Rěsunetul –Gazetă naţională-independentă". The periodical appeared every Sunday. The old Romanian newspapers in Transylvania and Banat, used as instruments for political activism in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were forced to adapt themselves to the new cultural-political circumstances, which occurred after the Union. Before having this newspaper, the local intellectuals had founded several other Romanian publications, though all with an ephemeral existence: *Timişiana* (1919-1922), Gazeta Banatului (1921-1922), Gazeta Lugojului (1922-1923) etc.

[2] *Răsunetul* competed with three traditional minority newspapers: Banater Bote (1919-1940, follower of *Südungarische Bote*, founded in 1899) which represented the interests of the Jewish community, *Krassó-Szörény Lapok* (1881-1942) - the Hungarian community's newspaper, and Lugoscher Zeitung (1905-1934) - the gazette of Germans in Lugoj.

chronicle of the city in the studied period. The interval investigated spans over 10 years, since the release of the newspaper in 1922, until 1932, when the devastating effects of the Great Depression are felt in Romania as well. Using a journalistic source involves the process of filtering information and questions the views expressed by journalists; we have tried to confirm several opinions through the use of complementary documentary sources: censuses, district reports, studies on prostitution in Romania etc.

In the early '20s, Lugoj still reminded one of the typical provincial city, specific for the Central Europe through the semi-urban configuration, the multicultural inhabitants and various accepted religions. The city centre, shaped by the urban development prior to the First World War, seemed to be frozen in time: neat houses' facades in architectural styles which spread in the first decade of the twentieth century (Art Nouveau, eclectic), the three cafes (Bristol, Amigo and Corso), where the local bourgeoisie would gather, the shops with imposing wooden windows, all reminiscent of the "belle epoque" atmosphere, specific for the early 20th century in Europe. Being both the administrative capital of Caras-Severin county until 1926[3] and the regional economic centre, Lugoj represented significant attractions for the rural population. After the union, the local economy grew substantially through the growing number of industrial establishments and the development of product commerce in agriculture and livestock businesses[4].

The cultural identity of the city, formed over two centuries of harmonious coexistence of several ethnic groups, was strengthened in Banat by the Romanian community, that fought fervently for the Romanian national rights during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Within the local society, cultural dialogue spawned a spirit of tolerance based on understanding and acceptance of diversity, be it religious nature, ethnic, or linguistic. The multiethnic population of Lugoj, inherited from the dualism period, is

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[3] The administrative reform implemented in 1926 affected the local interests by dissolving the historic county of Caras-Severin, whose residence since 1881 was at Lugoj. The new organization structure provided two administrative units: Severin County, with Lugoj as chief town, respectively Caras county, based in Oraviţa. According to *Raportul asupra situaţiunei judeţului Severin pe anii 1925*-1926 ,Tipografia Ludovic Sziklai, Lugoj, 1928, p.7

[4] The Census conducted in December 29 1930 provides new data regarding the development of local industry and commerce in the first decade of the interwar period. Lugoj, a town with a population of 23.593 inhabitants, had a number of 533 industrial establishments, of which 250 were founded in the period 1919-1930, 70 did not state the the year of founding, the rest having been founded prior to the First World War. 335 commercial companies were listed, from which 182 were established in the first decade of the interwar period and 126 were registered before 1918; according to *Recensământul general al populaţiei României din 29 decembrie* 1930,Volumul X:*Intreprinderi industriale şi comerciale (*The general Romanian population census in 1930), Imprimeria naţională, Bucureşti 1938, published under the direction of dr. Sabin Manuilă, p.712

confirmed by the 1930 census, which indicates a number of 23.593 inhabitants divided into 15 ethnic groups[5]. Internal migration of the population due to the new social and political circumstances led to an increase of Romanians compared to the minorities. The ethnic tolerance in the community will be shaken by small conflicts whose political cause is obvious: fear of Hungarian nationalists that threaten the integrity of the state and the Jewish element, which, besides their affiliation to the Hungarians, continue to corner the Romanian market[6].

It becomes imperative for the Romanian national spirit to assert itself within the cultural realm, which stimulates the development of Romanian language press. The release of the *Răsu*netul newspaper in 1922 at the initiative of the printer Gheorghe Ţăranu[7], joined other numerous attempts, most resulting in failure, to establish a sustainable Romanian newspaper that would continue the cultural activity of the Drapelul newspaper, ceased in 1920. *Răsunetul*'s statement was published in the first issue on the 21st of May 1922, stating its independent policy, without affiliation to any political party, which strives to bring the Romanians closer together, despite "fierce battles between parties," and wanting "to expose all that which strikes deep in Romanian interests". The leading principles of the newspaper were constructive nationalism and genuine Christianity[8]. At the same time, the newspaper's durability was also due to the accessible language used, thus

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[5] In the third decade of the 20th century the city's population increased from 20.036 residents in 1920 to 23.593 in 1930. The Romanian inhabitants in Lugoj experienced the largest increase in numbers from 7.621 (1920) to 9.630 in 1930, followed by Hebrews and Hungarians. The ethnic mosaic of the city is revealed by the census carried out in 1930: Romanians (9.630), Hungarians (5.367), Germans (6.152), Hebrews (1.387), Gypsies (264), Russians (163), Bulgarians (59), Serbs, Croats and Slovenian (117), Ukrainians (27), Czechs and Slovaks (264), Poles (24), Turkish (26), Greeks (6) and others (77). See the general Romanian population census in 1930 - *Recensământul general al populaţiei României din 29 decemvrie 1930, vol.V, Profesiuni, Populaţia după situaţia în profesie, sex, grupe de vârstă,instrucţiune şi neam pe clase de profesiuni*, Bucureşti, 1938, published under the direction of dr. Sabin Manuilă, p. 323

[6] A conflict of this nature occurred in 1922 between the editor Gh.Ţăranu and the local rabbi E. Lenke, which suggested that Ţăranu is anti-semitic because of the booklets sold in his bookshop: "Library of Judas", "National Defense", "Facing the Jews" etc. The Rabbi also made a complaint to the court. One of the newspaper staff explained the publisher's action as purely commercial: "The books printed in Bucharest are selling very well and have nothing to do with the editor, which is not anti-semitic". For more information see *Răsunetul*, (I), no.24, October 29, 1922, p.3.

[7] Gh.Ţăranu was born on the 31st of July 1882 in Sibiu. Before coming to Lugoj he worked as chief technician at Tribuna Poporului newspaper in Arad and as typesetter at "Voicu" Typography in Bucharest. In 1912 he settles in Lugoj and opens a small bookshop and a typography, both named "Minerva", located în Str. Şaguna no.6. For more information see "The 20 years Jubilee of the newspaper Rasunetul" in *Răsunetul*, (XXI), no. 20, May 17, 1942, p.1.

[8] *Răsunetul*, (I), no. 1, May 2, 1922, p.1.

managing to reach to a wide audience: intellectuals, teachers, clerks, craftsmen. Without diminishing the role of the cultural component[9] of *Răsunetul*, we want to explore daily life in that period, including the shady characters and their hidden world.

The conservative attitude found in journalists' speech regarding the changes in society shows a traditional thinking system and people's reluctance to the new. The alteration of society knows different aspects here on the province, different from the centre, represented by Bucharest. *Răsunetul,* as an independent newspaper, thrillingly describes the revolution of habits that corrupt society. The most disturbing element is the adoption of new European trends in music and clothing. The newspaper indignantly reported in 1922 about the traditional butchers' party, organisedon a November Sunday, when "the dance did not start with a Lugojana, but a Boston"[10]. Other news follow in a fast pace. The frenzy provoked by the new dances on jazz music rhythm[11], opposed to traditional music, is suggestively described under the "Notes" column, on February 6, 1927: "The world is drunk with « hysteria », both young people and old indulge in so-called pleasures in dance halls and cabarets. Nothing is hidden anymore behind the curtain, everything is revealed publicly"[12]. These new trends, although assimilated, do not suddenly replace old manners, but share their existence.

Modernization is present in society through broad generalization and use of pre-war inventions, which grow in popularity among the masses: the radio[13], the automobile[14] and the cinema. Alongside the old cinema "Olimpia", in early 1923, with the support of the Ministry of Arts, cinema "Apollo" reopens. The pictures are vehemently criticized due to the subjects covered and the negative impact they have on young people: "The new cinema can only be but a new propagator of depravity that will follow the

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[9] The cultural character of *Răsunetul* is complemented by the numerous articles signed by personalities from Banat: Ioan Boros, a Greek-Catholic hierarch and local historian, Dr. Nicolae Brânzeu, priest, Dr. P. Nemoianu, prefect, Dr. Peteanu, director of the local high school , Filaret Barbu composer, Dănilă Pusa journalist etc.

[10] *Răsunetul*, (I), no. 28, November 26, 1922, p. 2.
   "Boston" - the English waltz, a slow version of the classic waltz, known as "Boston"

[11] *Răsunetul*, (III), no. 47, November 23, 1924, p.3.

[12] D. Asandi, "Notițe-Taxele plăcerilor", *Răsunetul*, (VI), no. 6 , February 6, 1927, p.1

[13] In the "Notes" heading there are mentioned the concerts from London and Paris, which can be heard in Lugoj on the radio. See *Răsunetul*, (V), no. 2, January 10, 1926, p. 3.
   *The first Romanian radio program was broadcast in 1925

[14] D. Asandi ,"Notițe.Țara lui Ford?...", *Răsunetul*, (VI), no. 18, May 1, 1927, p.1 : "American lifestyle overwhelmed us, it looks like we are in the land of Henry Ford. The oxcart disappears, the carriage drawn by belled horses disappears, and in their place the automobil makes its appearance everywhere, like a ghost, one moment it's here and five minutes later is at Costei for the local chuch's patron's feast...".

same course as other movie theaters interpreting immoral films... Movies marked with a red inscription « only for adults » will not cease to serve the public"[15]. It is a world whose change the newspaper has seldomly documented. We can only get a glimpse of how the individual manifested in public, on the street, at the cinema, or cafe.

The general perspective expressed in the *Răsunetul* newspaper over the interwar society is one of decadence, compared to the prewar period. The critique of contemporary society is built on the nostalgia of the idealized past of the Romanian community in Lugoj: "[...] how united was the past generation. The intellectual,craftsman and peasant, all formed a strong Romanian presence, whereas nowadays we are divided because we live in the era of the Unified Romania. [...] Our hardworking craftsmen, peasants and intellectuals, who wore simple clothes, were searching, young and old, for the church, whereas today the tuxedo stops them, because it is not in style. [...] The powder, rouge, mirror, cinema, Corso[16], all steal women's time, instead of searching God's house[...]. If our ancestors were to see Nana Uţa with Bubi copf[17], with her dress above her knees, riding the bicycle, they would go mad [...]. Instead of « Buna ziua » they say « Bonjour » and instead thank you they say « mersi »"[18].

Society, through newspapers whose manner of writing is oriented towards sensationalism, is beginning to realize the existence of a subculture of delinquency, formed of individuals who threaten moral values through their conduct and life-style: prostitutes, street beggars, gypsies, crooks etc.

The newspaper vehemently criticizes some groups stigmatized by common negative features, and more rarely, the individual. Sociology defines the marginal[19] according to his relationship with society, resulting in several general characteristics: rejection of the social norm, the establishment of alternative worlds where they live, lack of education which tends to justify

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[15] P. Mirenus,"Simple impresii", *Răsunetul*, (XI), no. 6, February 11, 1932, p. 2.

[16] Regele Ferdinand Street, which crosses the city from the train station toward Regina Maria Square, was known as "Corso". The term is synonymous with promenade.

[17] The "Bob" haircut was highly fashionable in the 20's; the regional version of the haircut's name originates from German - "Bubi Kopf"

[18] Lae din Banat, "Lugojul de altădată", *Răsunetul*, (VIII), no. 52, December 25, 1929, p. 3

[19] The concept of the "marginal man" was first developed at Chicago's School of Sociology, by prof. Robert Ezra Park (1864-1944), who was the first to describe the behavior of the individual marginal in relation to urbanization in the article "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", published in 1928.

The accommodation process of the individual that came from rural areas to the city is seen as a cultural conflict which generates marginalization. The concept was refined by Park's successors, who have separated the concept of the marginal personality from his marginal situation. For more information see Chad Alan Goldberg, "Robert Park's Marginal Man: The career of a concept in American sociology", Laboratorium, vol. 4 , no. 2, 2012, pp.199-2017

social and immoral failure and illegal activity. For our study, urban anthropology is of central importance, because it studies the change in human behavior when in contact with the city and its evolution. In this process, an important role is played by rural-urban migration and the encounter of the two worlds, in the middle of which lies the marginal man[20].

The postwar social scourge that has led to the increase of the lower class was poverty. Alongside the Romanian staff appointed in administration, marginal groups from different regions of the country appeared gradually, taking advantage of the juridical chaos. Existing industrial establishments in the city and the possibility of learning a trade prompted the exodus of rural inhabitants who were attracted by the possibility of finding a job that would provide them with a better life. Nevertheless, once in town, many of them would melt in the marginals mass, choosing the nightlife of Lugoj. A tenebrous world falls into public attention through the sensational news found in *Răsunetul*: cabaret performances, bar fights and scandals, establishments frequented by prostitutes and rogue alcoholics. The most notorious pubs in Lugoj were: "La Steaua Vânătă"[21], "Birtul lui Ambruş"[22], Dimitrie Petruca's tavern[23] "Bucureşti" or the pub held by Pavel Ursu in Cazarmei Street. In addition to these, there were also two hotels used by prostitutes: Hotel Imperial in the trainstation park and Hotel-Cafe Metropol[24], where "[...] so-called artists, which do not even undergo medical examination, twirl their poisoned bodies in seductive movements and Charleston dances"[25].

The pub, a promiscuous space, is the refuge where marginals can socialize with their own kind away from the watchful eye of the law. The public space signifies the place where the two antagonistic worlds collide. In the market next to the Greek-Catholic cathedral cathedral, during weekly fairs, thieves and beggars used to mingle with peasants and customers. One would commonly find in newspaper columns the warning about country fairs organized in Lugoj: "Beware of rogues!". Peasants were sure victims, both for pickpockets, and dubious individuals, such as "[...] Vuia Vasile playing at

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[20] Alexandru Majuru, Marginalul: un destin antropologic urban, www.bucurestiivechisinoi.ro, viewed on 20.12. 2012 < http://www.bucurestiivechisinoi.ro/2010/01/marginalul-un-destin-antropologic-urban/ >

[21] "O aventură în Lugoj", *Răsunetul*, (X), no. 4, January 25, 1931, p. 3

[22] Arthur Ambrus's pub serves also as a night shelter; it was located on Hunide Street, near Regina Maria Square. During the weekly fairs, the pub was full of peasants, rogues and prostitutes. The promiscuity of this place is well documented by the testimony of old men, confirming that the cutlery and aluminum vessels were attached to wooden tables, in order to prevent them from being stolen

[23] *Răsunetul*, (X), no. 46, November 15, 1931, p. 4

[24] The hotel was located at the intersection of Principele Carol street and Mihali

[25] D. Asandi, "Notiţe-Taxele plăcerilor", *Răsunetul,* (VI), no. 6, February 6, 1927, p.1

fairs and pubs with three playing cards « Iată popa, unde-i popa »[26]. These days two peasants fell victims of Vuia the crook, who wanted to flee to Caransebes with a prostitute but was caught"[27].

The main marginal groups mentioned in *Răsunetul* newspaper are guilty of vagrancy: beggars, prostitutes, Gypsies. Their classification is an arbitrary process, which simplifies the study of individuals, grouped according to moral faults or illegal activities of similar nature.

Beggars

The scene here is the city itself with its streets full of beggars. The general feeling about them is rather similar to the one in present day, as one could tell from the shallow description of D.Asanadi in1922: "You see them daily strolling through our city far and wide. Among them you could find healthy people, who instead of earning an honest meal, they prefer better to beg, a more profitable job that doesn't require too much labor either. [...] We know that begging is forbidden, the law says they should get off the streets and live in colonies[28]. Why one does not take immediate measures in our city as well, to save the population from this plague, and if the police would raid the pubs of St. John Market, they would find many of them drunk. One should gather the small children among them, and place them somewhere, otherwise they will all become homeless and dangerous in the future"[29]. This fear about the propagation of vagrants was well founded; A police raid in early May 1932, in the middle of the economic crisis, identified 30 people without residence in Lugoj, 2 of which were prostitutes. The measures taken were always the same, and unless mandates were released on their names, they were sent to their hometown, or given shelter at the workhouse in Lugoj[30].

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[26] A kind of "shell game"

[27] *Răsunetul*, (X), no. 10, March 8, 1931, p. 3

[28] Law no. 2908, from 4 July 1921 against vagrancy and begging, was published in Monitorul Oficial, no. 76 of July 9, 1921, http://www.monitoruljuridic.ro, viewed on 20.12. 2012, <http://www.monitoruljuridic.ro/act/lege-nr-2-908-din-4-iulie-1921-pentru-infranarea-vagabondajului-si-cersetoriei-si-pentru-protectiunea-copiilor-emitent-parlamentul-publicat-n-28172.html>

[29] D. Asandi, "Cerşetorii", *Răsunetul*, (I), no. 8, July 9, 1922, p. 2

[30] "Razie în Lugoj" , *Răsunetul*, (XI), no. 19, May 8, 1932, p. 3
    The report of Severin county for the period 1925-1927 gives us a clear statistical number of the people sheltered in Lugoj's county asylum. In 1925, 194 people have been cared for, out of which 111 were men, and 73 were women. In the next year (1926), the number of people dropped to 183 (110 men and 73 women) due to the heightened death rate. For more information see Rapor*t asupra situaţiunii judeţului Severin pe anii 1925*-1927, Tipografia Ludovic Sziklay, Lugoj, 1928, p.171

People's perception of the beggars rarely being was rarely sympathetic[31]. A case on which the newspaper provides more information due to the tragic story is the one of Eftimie Lugojanu. The man was driven away from home by his family, became ill, met his end in Ambrus's pub at 1 in the afternoon, on Tuesday, April 5, 1932[32].

Opposed to the typology of the maladjusted beggar, who lives on the streets, taking pity on the passers-by, is the type of the professional beggar, a delinquent, as in the case of the gypsy Stancu Trifu from Gătaia, who "[...] before the holidays traveled through the old kingdom, begging in cities and villages with two booklets, one showing a photograph with twelve family members. This gypsy, along with Ioan Milos Scodel from Lugoj, pretended to be very ill and shaking, simulating a neural condition, begging for people's mercy and collecting large amounts. The healthy gypsies were caught and sent to the Lugoj Courthouse"[33]. A more literary description of what these "criminals of mercy" represented to the city is given in the column "Inestetica tolerata", in 1929: "The legions of beggars and cripples who crawl at the city walls, portraying a miniature version of an oriental decor with boring lamentations and all sorts of tricks they use, [...] certainly painfully impresses, but at the same time has a touch of filthy and disgusting orientalism"[34]. In this case the aversion toward beggars is one of aesthetic nature, connected to an unsanitary image of Lugoj.

Prostitutes

The morality crisis in local society is centered around the fair sex. Opinions expressed in the paper about the conduct of women in public space reveals a persistence of traditional stereotypes regarding her place in society. Women, being in full process of emancipation, become aware of their sexuality, a fact noted by *Răsunetul*, which emphasizes shameless conduct women have in public[35]. The situation is rather hypocritical, since prostitution was tolerated in legal terms, but considered a tabu in smaller circles, where it is only mentioned discretely. The scourge of prostitution was not branded for the act itself, but for

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[31] The sad news about the death of Aron in 1927, a beggar from Lugoj who lived from sticking posters from time to time. The paper gives his full name and age: Aron Munteanu, 58 years old. See *Răsunetul*, (VI), no. 3, January 16, 1927, p.3

[32] "Mort din cauza sărăciei", *Răsunetul*, (XI), no. 15, April 10, 1932, p.3

[33] *Răsunetul*, (X), nr. 3, January 18, 1931, p. 4

[34] Theotracul,"Inestetica tolerată", *Răsunetul*, (VIII), nr. 17, April 21, 1929 , p. 2

[35] The paper reminds repeatedly about the shameless women visiting the public bath, who boat on the Timis river „[…]covering only the parts where Eve used to wear some leaves". This behaviour was scandalous, since the public bath was located near the local high school, the women being watched by teachers and students as well. See „Neruşinarea din Lugoj", *Răsunetul*, (I), no. 7, July 2, 1922, p. 3

the social danger represented by the spread of venereal diseases. Many newly arrived maids were also practicing prostitution as an alternative. Measures taken by the police are published in the *Răsunetul* issue of July 9, 1922: "Maids are forbidden to wander the streets after 9:00 in the evening. The ones that want to wander about must have a permit from their master. Those that will be caught after 9 pm without this permit will be arrested and punished. There have been already twelve maids fined with 100 lei each, some of them were found to be suffering from venereal diseases and sent to the hospital. In addition to that, maids also are forbidden to stroll on Sundays on the Main Street "[36]. Measures to combat illegal prostitution initiated by the local police also included the surveillance of hotels and pubs[37]. One raid performed on the 19th of August 1922 found nineteen people without identification documents and "[...] three sick prostituted who were sent to hospital"[38]. At the first offense, illegal prostitutes were given fines. Punishments were more severe for recidivists, as is mentioned in *Răsunetul*, in October 7, 1928 in the column regarding fines given by police, where one would also find "[...] eight clandestine prostitutes admitted to hospital with venereal disease and each punished with eight days of imprisonment"[39].

The conservative silence reigning over the community is shattered by the voice of the journalist who is not afraid to report about dubious practices behind closed doors. The article "Apogeul imoralității" from 1923 charmingly depicts the illegal rendez-vous place where prostitution was practiced. In order to maintain the secrecy of the sources and characters, the journalist imagines a fictional dialogue between himself and a one-eyed telegraph pole which uncomfortably watches over the V. Vlad Delamarina street: "My kingdom's street was until a few months ago quite tranquil in the evenings. I wouldn't hear anything but a tired cricket playing near the park, accompanied by the barking of some sleepwalking dog. But what a surprise; in a dark night I saw some creatures of the fair sex slowly approaching a house with five windows on my street. They knocked on the window and then an old lady (Lenca) opened the gate. They entered, followed by several gentlemen. That night the house mentioned waves of muffled pleasure through the chimneys. I knew who they were, but I won't betray them by fear you will put them in the paper and make me a traitor. Since then, many nights in a row I witnessed well-known discrete couples withdrawing in my kingdom's street"[40]. Many improvised brothels worked under the direction of

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[36] *Răsunetu*l, (I), no. 13, August 13, 1922, p. 2
[37] 134 public spaces were under police surveillance in 1928: 4 cafes, 7 restaurants, 4 hotels, 3 dance halls, one theater, two cinemas, 1 house of prostitution, 112 pubs. See Raport asupra *situațiunii județului Severin pe anul 1928*, Tip. Firma A.Auspitz Lugoj, 1929, p. 124
[38] *Răsu*netul, (I), no. 14, August 20, 1922, p. 3
[39] "Amendați", *Răsunetul*, (VII) , no. 41, October 7, 1928, p. 3
[40] D. Asandi, "Apogeul imoralității", *Răsunetul*, (II), no. 49, December 9, 1923, p. 3

matrons trying to cheat payment of income tax[41]. The only official brothel which operated in interwar Lugoj had in 1929 only nine prostitutes. Alongside these, six other women registered with the police as prostitutes operating individually[42]. Certainly the number of women practicing prostitution was much higher, when compared to the population of the city and the vicissitudes of the interwar period.

What irks the public opinion on easy women was the fact that they were most commonly found in the entourage of suspicious individuals, sometimes being accomplices to crimes. Many were the cases where prostitutes worked together with their pimp and the hotel or pub manager committing thefts and other crimes. For example, the incident in the night of December 15 to 16, 1928, when a citizen, Vasile Moldovan, went to the local pub on Cazărmi Street, where many notorious faces and prostitutes gather, carrying a vast sum of money; there he was seduced by the prostitutes Frisu Ana and Eva Lupulescu, which took him up to their room and stole the sum of 11,000 lei, which the man had earned with hard work during the summer at Baile Herculane. The money reached the pimp, Gheju Francis, who, after paying for his drinks at Ursu, the tavern keeper, left him a considerable gratification. In the end, the victim asked the two about his money, but his answer was a good slapping from Gheju, who denied and took offense in the accusations, and the tavern keeper denied everything. Police had partially recovered the money and sent the criminals to court[43].

The Sanitary Law of 1930 decided to eliminate brothels and[44], therefore, had the effect of increasing illegal prostitution. Practicing

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[41] Direct contribution Law, adopted in 1921, compelled prostitutes to pay 10% of their income to the state.

[42] Dr. Aurel Voina, *Prostituţia şi Boalele Venerice în România*, Bucureşti, Tipografia Curţii Regale F. Göbl Fii. S.A. 1930, pp.87-88. In 1919, Banat and Transylvania were given similar rules for prostitution, such as the special bulletin for prostitutes that would certify their occupation, age and residence. The bulletin was stamper regularly by the doctor, being proof of medical examination. Brothels in Transylvania and Banat were regarded as the cleanest in Romania. Prostitution was regulated in the Austro-Hungarian Empire since the second half of the 19th century by local regulations issued by city hall. Generally prostitution was allowed in brothels or as individual practice, with the obligation to comply with the hygiene guidelines. Registration of the establishment and female employees at the police office was compulsory. In the records of Lugoj city hall, protocol 98, at the Local Council Meeting dated August 14, 1882, a complaint made by the inhabitants of Lugoj is mentioned, regarding the brothels located in Postei Street. They demand their abolition, arguing that the distance between them and the church is very short. See D.J.A.N Timiş, "Primăria oraşului Lugoj", no. 363, "Registrul de procese verbale ale reprezentaţiei oraşului pe anul 1881-1883", protocol no. 98, inventary no. 6/1881, p. 95-96

[43] *Răsunetul*, (VII), no. 52, December 25, 1928, p. 5

[44] Article no. 305 of the Health Law, enacted on June 24, 1930, prohibited brothels, punishing exploitation of women. Prostitution was still tolerated. Brothels were legal in 1943, being banned by the communist regime in 1949

The act can be found on the website: http://www.legex.ro/Lege-236- 14.07.1930-38, viewed on 01.06. 2013

individual trade was not banned, but created a new problems of how prostitutes would select their clients and of not being able to control their activity. During the years 1931-1932 our newspaper keeps a record of prostitutes who work in public, being fined by the police for various offenses: Elena Stanca and Maria Surgu for disturbing public silence[45], Morărescu Ana and Lenhard Ecaterina for working on the streets at late hours and Sandor Gisela, accused of robbery at the Hotel Dacia[46].

The physical and moral integrity of these women far from questionable. Surveys conducted in the interwar period revealed the reasons that have pushed these women to the practice of this infamous occupations: poverty, lack of education and entourage[47]. Their unsanitary environment has sometimes led them to suicide: "On the night of 20 to 21 October (1931) at the Bucuresti restaurant in Lugoj, the prostitute Juliana Csaty died from strangulation"[48]. Occasionally, the newspaper mentions some case of women who suffer from mental conditions, like that of Galina Pavlovna "[...] kept at the public hospital, at the insane ward for almost a year. On top of the fact that she is ill, she is still practicing prostitution, playing the guitar in public spaces causing altercations. The last case mentioned happened at the restaurant of Mr. Sismits, where G.P. hit both the owner and his wife, on the basis that they did not allow her to practice her odious job"[49].

Gypsies

At the outskirts of society, in the extreme marginal category one finds the ethnic minority of "gypsies". The information in the paper describes the assembly of a strong gypsy community in Lugoj (colony) in the third decade of the twentieth century[50]. The areas where they have been consistently

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[45] *Răsunetul*, (X), no. 30, July 24, 1931, p. 3

[46] *Răsunetul,* (XI), no. 29, July 17, 1932, p. 3

[47] Dr. Aurel Voina, in his book *Prostituţia şi Boalele Venerice în România* (Prostitution and Venereal diseases în Romania), published in 1930, writes about the lifestyle of prostitutes, based on the survey conducted on a sample of 250 prostitutes in Bucharest, using forms they had completed for the medical examination.

[48] *Răsunetul*, (X), no. 43, October 25, 1931, p. 3

[49] ”Femeie bolnavă liberă“, *Răsunetul*, (XI), no. 26, June 26, 1932, p. 3

[50] The first Gypsies settled in the city's perimeter in the late 19th century. The Gypsies census conducted in 1893 recorded the existence of 105 Gypsies in Lugoj, out of which 74 were permanently settled (42 men and 32 women). Traian Rotariu (coordinator), Maria Semeniuc, Mezei Elemer, *Recensământul din 1890 si recensamantul tiganilor din 1893. Transilvania,* Presa Universitară Clujeana, 2009, pp. 466-467.

A clearer picture of the Gypsy community in Lugoj and the number of its members is reveald in the census carried out in 1930: out of a total population of 23.593 inhabitants 264 said they were gypsies. See E. Arpád, *Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája (1850-*1992), http://varga.adatbank.transindex.ro, viewed on 14.06.2011

settling were at the periphery of the city, on the right side of Fagetului Street, near the cattle market, on Aurel Vlaicu Street[51] and in the German part of Lugoj, between the streets Caransebeşului and Oloşagulu[52]i, where the country fairs were organised. This area is mentioned on the map of Lugoj, published in 1923 under the name "Ţigănie"[53].

The conflict between the crime world and police is a constant presence in the novelty page of *Răsu*netul. Villains, despite their special abilities to cheat the law, are caught by the police. The same journalistic cliché is found in the news of capturing "the dangerous pickpocketer Ganţă" and his gang, hiding in "ţigănie", in 1924: "Captain Murariu, delegated to arrest the crook, went to the colony accompanied by commander sergeant Anghel and another eight sergeants. Coming out of the city, the police surrounded the gypsy neighborhood. Ganta tried to flee, but did not succeed because of the sergeants strategically placed. In the following days, thanks to the tireless work of our police, five other gypsies have been arrested while operating in fairs and trains under the instruction of their leader Ganţă"[54].

The public's reaction to the gypsies peaks in 1929, when *Răsunetul* publishes a series of articles expressing very openly the general opinion toward them: "Gypsies, this plague in Romanian society, are everywhere and pose a constant danger for the citizens. Especially these vagrant gypsies who do not deal in their lives with anything else than murders, robberies and scams. Still, the gypsies settled in communes and towns aren't much different. They parasite everything, rejecting honest work and indulging in begging and robbing people's households"[55].

The general indignation generated by numerous incidents involving gypsies lead to a fight that involved the media as well, when *Răsunetul* launched a "public campaign against gypsies". The grounds for this lobby are related to the growing numbers of gypsies and their illegal behaviour: "In Lugoj gypsies have gathered and are still coming like crows on trash". Many gypsies moving from the southern part of the country demand land from the administration using false documents. Lugoj City Hall is acused of releasing much too easily "documents of morality" and "poverty certificates"[56]. The gypsy problem is increasing acutely. The city's peace is threatened by the scandals that shock the community. We only mention the gruesome fight in the colony just before Christmas in 1931, when two camps consisting of local

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[51] D. Asandi, "Notiţe", *Răsunetul*, (IV), no. 42, October 18, 1925, p. 1

[52] D. Asandi, "Notiţe - Manifestaţie", *Răsunetul*, (IV), no. 3, January 18, 1925, p. 3

[53] Nicolae Jugănaru, *Călăuza Lugojului-Carte de adrese şi noua numire a străzilor în Lugoj*, 1923

[54] "O bandă de pungaşi arestaţi", *Răsunetul,* (II), no. 8, February 24, 1924 , p. 3

[55] *Răsunetul*, (VIII), no. 16, April 14, 1929, p. 3

[56] *Răsunetul*, (VIII), no. 30, July 21, 1929, p. 3

gypsies and the ones coming from Yugoslavia plus others, fought eachother with axes, knives and clubs. Among those involved are mentioned Ciurariu Ştefan called Marmălade, Ştefan Ciurariu called Imbre and Cârpaci Eronim called Pisaros[57].

The city is invaded by gypsy children sent to beg. A solution suggested by the paper for the social integration of future generations of gypsies is education: "Is it good for young gypsies to roam through the city, begging at the market in Lugoj, and in a few years time we will have even more slackers and bums. Instead, they should be put in schools, where they will learn about humanity and religion, which is the only weapon we could use to turn these scums around"[58]. The exaggerated anti-gypsies aversion shown in the columns of *Răsunetul* is due to the state of insecurity confronted with the economic crisis and the authorities' inability to maintain public order.

One could depict different attitudes in the perception of the gypsies, that oscillates between disgust and fascination. The prototype of the rogue gypsy, poor and itinerant, who attracts attention with his life-style, and determining a certain sympathy from society, is exemplified in the person of Ştefan Ciurariu called "Marmălade", from Seciţia[59]: "Who does not know in Lugoj this "Gypsy, thin, small black eyes, European facial features, handsome, with an intelligent mug, desired until recently by local female gypsies. He came in Lugoj in 1928 «fleeing the police in Reşiţa, where he committed thefts and was condemned». He settled with the peaceful gypsies in Lugoj, was arrested hundreds of times by police for gambling, drunkenness, scandal, fights. Finally, Tuesday 19 January current year, Marmălade took his box and thimbles, with which he plays the shell game, got drunk and beat up his concubine, Zagra Persis. The police intervened and arrested him"[60].

The gypsies' criminal activity is only surpassed by their libertine behavior; they ignore the laws and, therefore, become a threat to the state: "The gypsy savagely loves freedom. He does not know borders, never knew boundaries. He does not honor private property, he deceives, steals, in one word he does not work but just lives"[61]. One distinguishes a stereotype of discrimination, vaguely phrased and attributed to his entire ethnic minority. The paper limited itself to only criticize the indifference with which the authorities regard the phenomenon of gypsy migration, without suggesting sustainable solutions for their integration. The collision that took place in Lugoj society can be expressed through antonymy terms: clean - dirty, old -

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[57] *Răsunetul*, (XI), no. 1, January 1, 1932, p. 3
[58] "Ţiganii şi şcoala", *Răsunetul*, (VIII), no. 39, September 22, 1929, p. 2
[59] *Răsune*tul, (X), no. 40, October 4, 1931, p. 3
[60] *Răsune*tul, (XI), no. 5, January 31, 1932, p. 3
[61] "Chestiunea ţiganilor", *Răsunetul*, (IX), no. 29, July 14, 1929, p. 2

new, civilized-nomad. Gypsies, over time, have been accepted by the authorities and tolerated by the people. Despite these social exceptions, they partially integrated, maintaining their nomadic spirit latent during the communist regime.

As a keen observer of events in public space, *Răsunetul* comments on the actions of the marginal groups. On the other hand, the paper misses to report on other groups, more subtle, such as ethnic minorities, sexual or religious sects. A single case of pedophilia shocks the entire community in 1924, when Emil Deutsch sexually assaulted a 13 years old girl, Luiza Antal, right inside the shop Regele Ferdinand Street[62].

Some of the journalists' speeches have an anti-semitic tendency, although they do not represent the official position of the paper, due to the moderate policy imposed by the editor Țăranu. The '30s start, on the basis of the Great Depression, with a high crime wave. In addition to petty crimes, *Răsunetul* mentions major robberies in Lugoj since 1930, done by organized criminal groups (gangs)[63]. The age and social condition can not be used as study criteria for typical individuals in these gangs. Incomplete information reported in the news section suggest they have urban origins, especially among small craftsmen. Although there are cases, such as the case of the street robbery in 1930, on the Buziaşului Street, when printer Joseph Ballo was killed, where the origin of the criminals is so obvious: "[...] two unknown individuals with military weapons, dressed as peasants.[64]"

The paper, through its collaborators, wants to be a promoter of the moral principles claimed by traditional society. The flaws of this type of documentary source are the subjective note of the reports and the use by journalists of different stereotypes rooted in society, applied to marginal groups. The authors of the articles sign under various pseudonyms, without assuming direct responsibility on the expressed opinions: D.Asandi, Alion, Theotracul, Lae din Banat, P.Mirenus etc. The marginals get blamed for illegal activities or for the caused moral outrage. The language used is mostly journalistic and show a contemptuous attitude toward the ones on the edge of society: "criminals of mercy" for beggars, "coconiţe", "marmanzele", "dudui" for prostitutes,"night fairies' nest "(place to recruit clients) etc. The language used suggests deep disgust for gypsies, shown by the words: "gypsies are

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[62] *Răsunetul*, (III), no. 3, January 20, 1924, p. 3

[63] In August 1930, *Răsunetul* has reported about successive burglaries made across Lugoj. The inquiries conducted by local police led to the arrest of several members of the gang who did more than 18 burglaries in several days. Some of them were minors and acted under the leadership of Anton Varga. Form more information see *Răsunetul*, (IX), no. 36, August 31,1930, p. 2

[64] *Răsunetul*, (IX), no. 50, December 7, 1930, p. 4

piling as crows on trash", "plague of the Romanian society," "these scums of society" etc.

The general picture that emerges from the interwar period according to *Răsunetul* newspaper is full of discrepancies, both in the speech of the political class and at a social level: demagogue politicians and the masses, Zionist gatherings and anti-semitism, people's naivety and newly enriched upstarts, the corrupt police officials and idealist journalists. In the end, we observe a gradual release of established behavioral patterns before the economic crisis. After the war, society's fear of the marginals slowly starts to diminish. They become a tangible reality in Romanian society, one that can not be cloaked or denied. Their acceptance is silent and often masked by seldom criticism in the media. The newspaper, through the information it provides, helps us breach an overlooked piece of world and better integrate past and present anthropological questions.

The Great War and the Issue of the Reintegration of the Proscribed in the Romanian Kingdom

Gheorghe Negustor

In the first years of World War I there was a social category of individuals with a particular statute. For them, the beginning of the war was a purifying event of both life and death. Besides the rhetoric of heroism, the statute of being a soldier in the Great War meant the occasion by which one could transcend from the statute of the proscribed to the statute of the „savior of the nation". The recently erupted conflict represented the only possibility for total rehabilitation of such marginal individuals as the convicted were considered to be. Their social status, to which the legal upholders of power condemned them for various reasons, and not only it, could be metamorphosed only by sacrifice made in the name of the nation.

„Your Excellency,
We are a class of people, which, either by insane mind or because that was our destiny and since we took the wrong term for the first time in our life, we were sent in preventive civil arrest, before the official call to arms, thrown to the hand of justice but not convicted yet in a definitive manner.
Regretting heartedly the injudicious deed, with sorrow in the heart, *we submit to Your Excellency's attention, that because of current events, we* travelled hundreds of miles, leaving behind, in indescribable yearning, parents*, wives, children and even our ancestor's lands*.
That is why we take the liberty with watery eyes to implore Mr. *Minister your Excellency's indulgence and respectfully ask you to be sent in* to the front-line of the battlefield, in order for us, with our own blood, with our own life, to be able to erase the ugly deed we committed and thus *contribute to defending our country and saving our families....*"[1]

The rows above are part of a letter signed by 15 convicted, found in preventive arrest at Vlaşca prison. They were imprisoned before Romania joined the war. Aware of the penalty they had to expiate, they sent this petition to the Minister of War, in the hope that they will be sent to fight, thus escaping years of detention. There are numerous such requests, convicted and

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[1] National Military Archives, Fond *Direcţia Justiţiei Militare*, Dossier 6, file 90.

preventively arrested see in the Great War the moment of freedom and social rehabilitation. For some of them this represented an opportunity to take without hesitation, while as for others, it was the chance to prove the fact that the guilt they were convicted for was only an unwanted accident; a momentary laps of the human being.

Just by throwing a glimpse on the history of Romanian law, we can see that the old clemency, that contained the good will of the withholders of power, be them rulers or local potent personalities[2], was judicially implemented by associating the unwritten law with the norms and laws regulating the conditions of amnesty and acquittal. The right to reprieve reserved to the rulers, represented one of the prerogatives of unlimited power they possessed. The way they were able to inflict capital punishment, the same way they could grace anyone.[3] Such royal pardon or clemency had its own reasons. If up until the beginning of Romanian Modern Age, the violence of punishment the rulers used to inflict, especially in cases of betrayal or conspiracy was more than horrible, the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries bring an important change in the sensitivity of punishment. The legislation of modernity put certain limits to the sovereign's rights. A new sensitiveness regarding the image of the delinquent was formed. The pressure of public opinion, exercised by internal and international press, as well as the political context of the Romanian Kingdoms, is the factor that changed the optics of royal justice. Clemency is now surrounded by the reasons of political pragmatism. Under the image of the ruler's benevolence the deeds of the guilty lords, punishable up until not ling ago with death, were pardoned and even reworded. Besides the extreme conditioning of the ruler's power, which we have mentioned above, there was also the reason of diplomacy. The ruler is no longer a despot. Clemency brings him the appreciation and the respect of the followers and the "allegiance" of the opponents.[4] This was actually a trade. The ruler grants clemency receiving in return obedience and allegiance even from the rebellious. But royal generosity bears faintly the mask of humanity.

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[2] In Romania the ruler was the one holding the power to reprieve punishment, to grant grace, but by tacit agreement, the „justice-governors" assumed also this right: Iancu Mândru, *Amnistia şi graţierea*, ALL EDUCAŢIONAL Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, p. 75, Mihai T. Oroveanu, *Istoria dreptului românesc şi evoluţia instituţiilor constituţionale*, Cerma Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 121-123.

[3] Mihai T. Oroveanu, opt. cit., p. 121.

[4] Cristian Ploscaru, *Cuvintele şi puterea. Despre originile discursului politic modern în Principatele Române*, în „Ideologii politice şi reprezentări ale puterii în Europa", coord. Alexandru-Florin Platon, Bogdan-Petru Maleon, Liviu Pilat, „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University Press, Iaşi, 2009, pp. 293-294 and Daniel Barbu, *Bizanţ contra Bizanţ. Explorări în cultura politică românească*, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, pp. 46-48.

Alexandru Ioan Cuza granted two amnesties, both political in nature. On the 19th of July 1864, by royal decree, the Romanian ruler granted a total amnesty for political transgressions. The main beneficiary was the group of conspirators, which, lead by the ex-prime minister Constantin Grigore Suțu, wanted to remove Cuza from reign. In 1865, while he was abroad, his opponents plotted a riot in Bucharest, in the purpose of removing him from the throne. The conspirators are quickly discovered and by royal decree, amnestied August 30th 1865. Among them we can mention: Ion C. Brătianu, C. A. Rosetti, Alexandru Golescu and Eugeniu Carada. These amnesties were wither a gesture of peace offering, in the hope of turning the opponents on his side, or forced by the foreign powers pressure.[5] During his long reign, Charles I granted 15 acts of amnesty. Florența-Simona Crețu found that in between 1866-1910 around 248 were annually were granted royal pardon. Such amnesties focused the group of press transgressions, but also the ones condemned for having brought offence to the King and plotted rebellions.[6] Although the legislation in force up to the Constitution of 1923 stated that the head of the state had the right to grant amnesty just for political felonies. By royal decree of 1902 and of 1906 were amnestied defectors and military insubordinates.[7] The same shall happen with the decrees of King Ferdinand, during World War I, which generated some negative reactions. Actually there was a confusion of terms between pardon granting and amnesty, sustained also by a certain ambiguity in the text of the law, which gave space to interpretation.[8]

Actually, royal pardon and amnesty are recurrent phenomena, found in all historical cultures. Although they differ in some aspects, from a juridical point of view but also from the perspective of the consequences they imply, they are also very similar when perceived from a political, historical, philosophical standpoint.[9] In order to clarify the situation of the pardon granting and of amnesties and not create confusion between these two phenomena, we shall consider them both together as a terminological couple, thus considering them one and the same phenomenon, the one of conditioned clemency. We shall treat them individually only when needed and when they differentiate by special traits. They appear all through history under two large

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[5] Constantin C. Angelescu, *Amnistia în dreptul constituțional român*, Alexandru A. Țerek Book-House, Iași, 1940, pp. 6-9.
[6] Florența-Simona Crețu, *Grațierea*, Universitatea Națională de Apărare „Carol I" University Press, Bucharest, 2010, p. 49.
[7] Ibidem.
[8] For details regarding the interpretation of King Ferdinand's law-decrees of 1916 and of 1920, see: Ioan Rădulescu, Curs de drept penal, 2nd Edition to Volume II, „Cultura Poporului" Publishing House, Bucharest 1939, pp. 249-252.
[9] Iancu Mândru, op.cit., p. 11.

forms of manifestation: as human generosity of some political or religious leader and as political pragmatism (as we shall see it is the case during the Great War). The first one bears the sign of personal authority of different leaders, and can be found in all ages of human history. It represents the act of good will of the leader, concretized in granting royal pardon or, in some cases, cancelling punishment of the condemned and granting them freedom by divine grace, which is the way in which the Pope or other political and religious leaders invoked when conceding clemency.[10]

Political pragmatism was an option largely used by political leaders against external or internal peril. We have seen above the case of Romanian rulers, especially that of Alexandru Ioan Cuza. World War I was the event during which such a political orientation was more than necessary, seen the huge human sacrifice made by the belligerent nations. The political and military leaders gave proof of share pragmatism when they realized the need of soldiers on the battlefield. Each human resource was a blessing for the destructive belligerent conflict. Thus a sort of „social contract" was closed among the state, represented by the ambassadors of power and a series of delinquents who were able to regain the statute held previous to the conviction by facts of bravery or by supreme sacrifice for the nation.[11]

This kind of social contract that the state inflicts on the convicted and which is accepted without a glimpse by them, sending even special requests, asking for the favor to benefit of it, imposes an extreme discipline on the battlefield. It is exactly what the modern state wanted and expected by the individuals, especially in the army. In this kind of discipline, the usefulness Foucault used to talk about comes naturally, by the one sacrifice made for the nation. This is what the great French thinker has to say about the moment in which the state realizes the necessity that army discipline should go hand in hand with usefulness.

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[10] A historical perspective on the phenomenon in: Cathleen Burnett, Justice Denied: Clemency Appeals in Death Penalty Cases, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2002; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Ficţiunea în documentele de arhivă. Istorisirile din cererile de graţiere şi povestitorii lor în Franţa secolului al XVI*-lea, Translation from English by Diana Cotrău, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest 2003; Grazia e giustizia: figure della clemenza fra tardo medioevo ed et*à contemporanea*, a cura di Karl Härter, Cecilia Nubolail Mulino, Bologna, 2011.

[11] Rousseau brilliantly depicts the relationship between the citizen and the sovereign, that social pact by which the later, in case the nation is in peril, is entitled to say „it is imperative for the state that you should die", but, at the same time, he was able to manifest its power by the right to grant pardon. See: Jean Jacques Rousseau, Despre contractul social sau Principiile Dreptului Politic/Of Social Contract or The Principles of Political Right, Traducere şi studiu introductiv N. Daşcovici, coord., afterward and notes by Alexandra Bârna, Mondero Publishing House, Bucharest 2007, pp. 49-50.

„The historical moment of the disciplines was the moment when an art of the human body was born, which was directed not only at the growth of its skills, nor at the intensification of its subjection, but at the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely."[12]

This agreement was quite fair though, both parties benefitting from it. The state had the unconditional devotion of the delinquents and gained consistent human material for the first line. In which regards the latter, they had the possibility not only to redeem themselves for the committed error and gain social recognition and rehabilitation, but courage and exemplary behavior on the battlefield could bring them glory, even if, most of the times, it came indeed posthumously. Despite this, the relatives and kin could enjoy not only the consolation to be able to see shame and negative image affecting the entire family disappear but they also were able to benefit of all the advantages provided by law. This contract, made public in Romania by the decrees and laws published in the Monitorul Oficial[13] allowed the sovereign power – the Romanian state – to condition the granting of rehabilitation to the behavior of the soldier on the battlefield. Nevertheless, it is clear that the entire process was much more complicated than that. The road to glory, to regaining the status of upright citizen and dignified son of nature, was paved with dangers. Death was omnipresent and heroism was supposed to be recognized by the superior ranks, testimonies to the fights. However, pragmatically speaking, we can affirm that those who benefitted from such advantage could consider themselves to be lucky fellows. They hardly had other options for escaping punishment, since should they have been free they would have been enrolled anyway.

The estimations of the political representatives were simple: the convicted and those who did not receive yet the final decision of punishment became cannon meet, thrown on the first line, while as the number of prison guards and adjacent personnel could be thus reduced. Besides the reasons related to bringing the imprisoned on the right road, the main reason of the compromise was given by their utility in this war, since they could cover part of the human necessity desperately required after Romania entered the war. This was the logic presented to King Ferdinand by the then Ministry of War in

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[12] Michel Foucault, *A supraveghea şi a pedepsi. Naşterea închisorii*, Translation from French, afterword and notes by Bogdan Ghiu, Paralela 45 Publishing House, Piteşti, 2005, p. 176; Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison, translated from French by Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books, Division of Random House, New York, 1995, pp.137-138.
[13] Monitorul Oficial, Nr. 115, Tuesday 23August/5 September 1916, p. 5689; Monitorul Oficial, Nr. 218, Tuesday, 20 December 1916/2 January 1917, pp. 7476-7477.

the report standing at the basis of the royal decree of Romania's first days of war. It contained the categories which would benefit of clemency should they show up in the nick of time in front of the authorities:

„Art. I. All defectors and insubordinates whose classes are in reserve or in militias, under arms or in activity, are to be amnestied.

Art. II. All the ones who bent the law and all the fraudulent to the law of enlistment, all the opponents to the regulation of calling to arms and all the ones who were prevented from committing the trespass of defection and disobedience, as well as all those who committed any kind of common law crime."[14]

According to this report, such categories contained a "considerable number" of individuals who could bring a significant change on the battlefield.

The general decrees that King Ferdinand I gave in 1916 and 1920 were significant moments of authority by which the sovereign power manifested in the benefit of the nation. These general amnesties brought a considerable increase in the number of first line combatants. By establishing the terms of the temporary suspension of punishment and then the conditions by which a person could eventually be completely rehabilitated, such decisions put into practice the old principles of the social contract. The beneficiaries of the amnesties shall profit from the fact that the nation was in danger and, hoping to be eventually completely exonerated, they shall bring a plus of energy, decisive in the battled from Mărăşeşti, Mărăşti or Oituz.

Another interesting case is the one of the riot of millions of French soldiers, the so called poilus who, after the assault lead by general Nivelle, in the region of Champagne, left the entrancements refusing to obey the orders of the superiors. All such malcontent was caused by physical and psychical strain, by the poor results of the assault, by the lack of food, as well as by the huge number of casualties. Nivelle was replaced by Pétain, who reestablished order, but only after he applied a strict discipline, which cost him the sentence to death of 629 soldiers, among which only 43 were executed.[15] Although the number of men involved in riots was considerable, as we can see, only a few of them were executed. This case is one of exemplum justice rather than a case of mass punishment. But in this case we can also speak of a kind of pardon granting, for the few thousand soldiers who escaped punishment, and by this execution itself. General Haig displeased statement: „Pétain should

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[14] Monitorul Oficial, Nr. 115, Tuesday 23August/5 September1916, p. 5689 (our translation).
[15] Vyvyen Brendon, *Primul război mondial 1914-1918*, BIC ALL Publishing House, translation by Daniela Mişcov, Bucharest, 2006, pp. 59-60.

have killed 2000 soldiers" [16] was not accidental. If in the last decades scholars speak more and more about the re-educational trait of punishment, during war it took an exemplum character, preventing by example future rebellions, defections, etc. This was the reason for which the ones who applied discipline in war required a larger number of convictions meanwhile for us the number of the executed is too big.

Such cases existed in all the armies involved in war, and only after it ended a lot of voices rose against the "barbarism" of the Martial Court. These voices, belonging either to ex-soldiers or to writers and newsmen, all denounced the fact that the neurosis all soldiers were affected by were overlooked, this causing the behavior generating the sentence.[17] Even if part of them were unfairly sentenced, the harshness of military discipline was in contradiction with the post-war individual sensitivity, or better said, as they seen it at that age, the lack of manliness characteristic to the modern soldier.[18] The individual, be it a convicted, a soldier or a teacher, had to be useful to society. How could an individual be more useful to the nation then when it was in peril and when the enemies were about to take it over?

In order to better understand the entire process of rehabilitation, we have to investigate which were the alternatives for the convicted. The perspective we propose and which seems to us more plausible and accessible is to mirror the advantage and disadvantage of the convicted and of the ones sent on the battlefield. Let's take for instance the case of Modija Dumitru, sub-lieutenant in Regiment 78 Infantry. On March 8 1917 he was trialed for „defection in times of war, in the presence of the enemy" and receives a sentence of 10 years in prison. Actually the sentence is presented in the following manner: „ ... 10 years of imprisonment and dismissal as well as loosing the right to a pension and any financial help or compensation from the state, district or village and any institution of public utility".[19] Was the punishment too harsh? In any army involved in the great conflagration, defection in front of the enemy was punished by death. This sub-lieutenant,

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[16] Ibidem, p. 60 (our translation).

[17] A mini-bibliography on the „shell-shock" phenomenon in: Gheorghe Negustor, *Lupta şi nebunia: nevrozele şi disciplina militară în timpul Marelui Război*, în „Caiete de Antropologie Istorică. Supliment – Disciplinarea socială şi modernitatea", Anul X, Iulie-Decembrie 2011, Editura Accent, Cluj-Napoca, pp. 265 – 280;

[18] George L. Mosse, „Shell-shock as a Social Disease", in Journal of Contemporary History, 2000 SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi, Vol 35 (I), 101-108; Ted Bogacz, „War Neurosis and Cultural Change in England 1914-1922: The Work of the War Office Committee of Enquiry into "Shell-Shock", in Journal of Contemporary History, 24, 2 (April 1989), pp. 231-232; Jay Winter, „Shell-shock and the Cultural History of the Great War", in Journal of Contemporary History, 35, 1 (January 2000), pp. 7-11; Annette Becker, „Guerre totale et troubles mentaux", in Annales HSS, janvier-février 2000, n° 1, pp. 136-137.

[19] National Archives from Iaşi, fond *Corpul IV de Armată*, Year 1917, Dossier 1, files 44-45.

just like many others in all the armies involved in the Great War, left his post on the battlefield. The reasons for which they resorted to such gesture were: horror, fear of death, neurosis and psychological trauma generically named shell-shock, lack of leaves of absence, bad food or even its absence, the longing for family and the dear ones, etc. we shall not insist upon these aspects. What interests us the most is the sentence Modija Dumitru received. The 10 years of imprisonment is a harsh punishment. To be deprived of freedom for so many years was for the culprit very difficult to bear, but also for his family. To this all other penalty sentence was added. Ejection and public revocation of rank were punishments dishonorable in nature. Public humiliation in front of regiment mates, friends amidst which one fought for so many days, and especially in front of the loved ones, created a psychical discomfort which was hard to bear. Hereafter you can find the description of such a moment which had a sound impact on the public opinion.

"*Yesterday at 10 o'clock in the morning, on the plateau of Cotroceni,* took place the revocation of rank of Colonel Victor Verzea. There were present troupes from all the units in the Capital. There was also a numerous public, anxious to see this kind of shows. *D. Paul Eşanu, actuary of the* Martial Court read the sentence of life conviction to forced labor of Colonel *Verzea, after which Major Criveanu stripped the traces off the convict's* uniform in the notes of a funeral march. Verzea was extremely pale and one could notice the effort it took him to keep his temper. After being dragged in front of the soldiers standing in the square, he was forced into an auto vehicle, locked there and transported under the guard of sentinels and prison *guards to Văcăreşti. The c*rowd, with its usual exuberance booed".[20]

This is a most clarifying example. You needed a strong character to face such a public process. The ancient torture of XVIIth and XVIIIth century Michel Foucault speaks so brilliantly about, to which numerous crowds assisted[21], were replaced by the show of military rank stripping. The manifestations od such crowds, though, are the same. Boos still appeared as they used to then. Only the show of the torture was different. The physical pain of the convict was also replaced by psychical pain. And it was not all over in prison. The loss is much bigger. First of all, all civil rights are stripped off, just like in the case of any ordinary criminal. To it we can add the material loss, resented not only by the culprit but also and especially by his family, which does not benefit anymore of any kind of financial help, being

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[20] Degradarea colonelului Victor Verzea, in <u>Adevărul</u>, Year XXXII, Nr. 10766, May 1919, p. 2.
[21] Michel Foucault, *A supraveghea şi a pedepsi. Naşterea închisorii*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997, p. 75.

no longer entitled to any pension or compensations. Actually the convict left his own family to the good will of fate and the other's pity. The family itself was subjected to humiliations of the acquaintances and neighbors, attributed to the cowardice of the convicted.

All of the above constitute, in our opinion, serious reasons for any convict to require to be resent on the battlefield, in order to benefit from the chance to redemption. We all know what it was to be expected from the battlefield. The horrors of war were the same: death omnipresent, mates shredded by the merciless modern armament, again back to lack of leaves and missing the dear ones etc. But this seemed a better choice than the humiliation and the time spent in prison. The sorrow of the fifteen people signing the letter from the beginning of the article motivated them in the will to return on the battlefield. The will to escape the shame of such a sentence, after they had time to think things over and seen how the others reacted to it, overrules over the fear of death. They were probably thinking that they still had the chance to escape all this hell alive, and thus they could have been able to return home with honor. This is another example of letter sent by the convicted asking to be sent back to the battlefield.

„By making ourselves culprits of different deeds such as reluctance to enroll, errantry during the campaign from the Unit to which we pertained etc. – ... your Excellency Minister, engulfed by remorse of conscience for the deeds we committed and trusting in you who are the father of the accursed by fate – *with watery eyes appeal to your Excellency's kindness hoping you will* dispose the suspension of the penalties we enumerate above and arrange our leave to the front according to the conditions published in Monitorul Oficial nr. 20 of April 25 a. c paragraph ii – assuring you that we shall avail ourselves of acts of bravery, defending our dear county and kin."[22]

That remorse of conscience derived from their stature of outlaws. Such condition was characteristic to any prisoner. And they were conscious of it. The thousands of requests stand testimony to this phenomenon. Maybe that "remorse of conscience" was not common to all, but making a simple calculus, they did not have another chance to escape prison, and from the battlefield they still had the chance to return home alive, with medals of heroism nevertheless. In the victorious fights of the Romanian Army from Mărăşti and Mărăşeşti, these captains were sent to the first lines. And they did their duty, of course, they didn't have a choice. This is the case of soldier Jega Ilie. He was sentenced to three years in prison, but then he gests sent to fight in Moldavia in 1917. He survives the fights and the captain of Regiment II

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[22] Military National Archives, Fond *Direcţia Justiţiei Militare*, Dossier 18, file 170.

Frontier Guard recommends him for rehabilitation. Below his eulogistic description:

„On July 31ˢᵗ, leading his group of soldiers, he threw himself above the enemy line, coming down on the enemy with downfall of bullets and grenade, he captured some prisoners and forcing the others, they left the trench."[23]

This soldier's bravery shall be rewarded by his rehabilitation, which shall bring him all the rights he had lost and some well-deserved incomes. Even if the description of the captain is quite exaggerated – it was quite hard to do that in such a short time, and much more, the armament of World War I did not allow the downfall of bullets – still, the bravery of the people cannot be put to question. Many of them died during these fights, but the relatives fought for posthumous rehabilitation.

We can certainly spread our debate regarding this phenomenon in many directions, but such shall be object of future more detailed analyses. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning a few brief conclusions. Firstly, it is clearly noticeable that modern states reached political maturity at the moment the first World Conflagration began. Modern constitutions bring equilibrium among the powers of the nations, thing which begins to be felt in the regulation of right to grant grace. At the same time, the situation of the convicted is significantly improved. But for the condemned in times of war, especially for the defection cases, especially flee in front of the enemy and self mutilation, the dishonor and shame with which they are considered is punishment at least as grave as the ones announced by the Martial Court. They did not only become outcasts, but their families were also covered in the shame of marginality. The rights and advantages they could have benefited from are excluded. For this reason, the will to gain rehabilitation by royal parson becomes a largely spread phenomenon during war. Still it required quite a sacrifice, but the convicts accept it happily. The state accepts this pact due to the huge human sacrifice required by such a bloody war. Some of these convicts shall gain their rehabilitation by acts of bravery on the battlefield. And this was a phenomenon which stressed the changes in the sensitivity of nations in which regards the type of government. The man who erred was given a second chance, but not like today, by social reintegration. Rehabilitation was gained by exemplary behavior on the battlefield and to the use of the nation. The nation is always the main focus during a conflict.

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[23] Idem, Dossier 110, file 7.

"Bandits" or resistance fighters in communist Romania? Teodor Şuşman's case

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The individuals that resorted to armed resistance in the first years of the communist regime in Romania are usually labeled as "resistance fighters", "partisans" or "bandits" in the texts concerning their activities. While the first two labels are alternatively used by historians or writers who elaborated their works in the years after the Revolution of 1989, the latter is almost exclusively used by the communist authorities, the main purpose of this usage being the debunking of the threat that these persons posed to the new establishment. Conversely, the first two designations also appear in textbooks that were edited by the Securitate[1] for internal use and designed for personnel training. The term "bandits" is also used today by historians and researchers of the resistance phenomenon, but its negative connotations are practically lost. Proper denomination is not at issue here, since "resistance fighters", "partisans" and "bandits" are nothing but labels imposing preset perspectives on the identities of these characters. What matters in fact, in the stories concerning these individuals, is how their biographies are elaborated in order to fit the above descriptions. In this paper, emphasis is placed on the ways that their outlaw-hero identity is fashioned by themselves, their supporters and post-communist historiography alike. A case study has been chosen as a general evocative example.

Partisans?

Before treating the subject matter intended in this article, a brief assessment of the alleged "resistance" that these individuals showed against communist rule is more than welcome. Their activities are somewhat difficult to register from this point of view. The term "partisan" might seem suitable since some of these individuals actually regarded themselves as such[2]. Its meaning does

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[1] *Despre războ*iul de partizani,Consiliul Securităţii Statului, Direcţia personal şi învăţământ, 1970 (for internal use only)

[2] Vasile Motrescu calls himself a partisan in a letter addressed to the Militia of the People's Republic of Romania cf. *Jurnale din rezistenţa anticomunistă. Vasile Motrescu, Mircea Dobre* 1952-1953, Liviu Ţăranu, Theodor Bărbulescu (eds.), Bucureşti, Editura Nemira, 2006, pp. 117-123

not actually go too far from the one assigned to that of "resistance fighter", being actually a close synonym, mostly used in Nazi occupied USSR and the Yugoslavia of the same era[3]. As for the resistance movements these fighters adhered to, their quality has been discussed at length in several articles[4]. Some of the main inconsistencies that fail to register the activities of these persons as an authentic resistance movement are: the lack of a central authority to coordinate the opposition, a limited control over certain territories, the lack of a unanimously accepted program or manifest, the absence of scope in the case of most of the "resistance" leaders, the lack of a consistent popular support (besides the help that the relatives and the acquaintances of these individuals offered most of the time). This is the reason why most of the actions of these self-titled "partisans" fall under the category of civic insubordination[5]. This manifested itself in resisting arrest, one of the more recurrent motives of flight in the case of most of these "partisans"[6]. Running away from the law, not only in communist Romania but in every other regime, automatically outlaws an individual[7]. Thus, from a legal standpoint, the labeling of these persons as "bandits" is only natural. But it's not only the legal status that points out to "banditry" in the case of the individuals who presumably took arms against the communists in Romania right after World War II. There are certain elements in their biographies and in their stories that actually concoct good bandit narratives in the vein of the traditional bandit tales one finds in folklore (but also in historical facts) all around the world.

The banditry of Teodor Şuşman and his gang

First of all, the meaning of the term "banditry" needs to be evaluated. Calling someone a bandit is one of the most powerful metaphors of all time, and proves to be an effective weapon if used against political enemies because

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[3]Liviu Marius Bejenaru, *Să lupţi pentru a muri: Mişcarea de rezistenţă armată anticomunistă din România. O încercare de analiză* in, *Mişcarea armată de rezistenţă anticomunistă din România: 1944*-1962, Editura Kullusys, Bucureşti 2003, p. 370

[4]Ibidem, pp. 367-399; Florian Banu, *Mişcarea de rezistenţă armată anticomunistă din România - între negare şi hiperbolizare* in, *Rezistenţa anticomunistă – cercetare ştiinţifică şi valorificare muzeală, vol. I*, eds. Cosmin Budeancă, Florentin Olteanu, Iulia Pop, Cluj- Napoca, Argonaut, 2006, pp. 299-314

[5]Liviu Marius Bejenaru, op. cit., pp. 378-379; see also Alina Ilinca, Liviu Marius Bejenaru, Grupul Pop-*Oniga: Rezistenţă armată anticomunistă sau nesupunere civică?,* in *Mişcarea armată de rezistenţă anticomunistă din România: 1944*-1962, Editura Kullusys, Bucureşti 2003, pp. 133-140.

[6]Florian Banu, op. cit., p. 307

[7]Outlawing persons in most modern societies became redundant after while. In communist societies such offenses did not fall under specific outlaw legislation, but under that of crimes against the state. Hidden behind this appellation though, outlawing was pretty much present; see Graham Seal, Outlaw Heroes in Myth and History, Anthem Press, London, New York, Delhi, 2011, pp. 4-6; For the outlawing of individuals in early medieval England see Timothy S. Jones, Outlawry in medieval literature, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2010 pp. 17-25

it automatically "outlaws" the persons targeted, making any actions against these persons justifiable. At the same time, there is a constant fascination for the bandit-type hero in all cultures and all eras, especially among the lower classes of any given society. This is because bandits usually rise up from the same low class environment that their admirers come from, establishing their personae above the current law, showing wit and defiance towards the local and central authority, setting a precedent for unpunished insubordination (at least for a period) and, most importantly, demonstrating to the members of the communities where they come from, that breaking the mold of socially predefined classes is in fact possible and that anyone can rise above their social condition. "They are peasant outlaws whom the lord and the state regard as criminals, but who remain within peasant society, and are considered by their people as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation, and in any case men to be admired, helped and supported." This is, at least, what Eric Hobsbawm has argued for the past decades in his influential works on bandits[8]. He came up with the model of the 'social bandit' which, although disputed by many, constitutes the basis of any study concerning banditry in the past 50 years. He has been rightfully accused that his model is far from being historically accurate[9], a fact that he somehow admitted later on in his career. His sources rarely go past folklore and popular ballads, a setback for any serious research on the matter, making his ideal outlaw rather a literary construct, than a historical character. For the present study though, his model of the 'social bandit' is actually better suited since the importance resides on how the portrait of the "partisan" builds up as a literary construct, not only in popular culture but also in historical works.

The case study on which I will graft the model of the social bandit concerns the history of a group of "partisans" formed by Teodor Şuşman in 1948 and finally annihilated by the authorities only ten years after, in 1958[10]. The number of its members varied for the entire period, some being caught at

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[8]Eric Hobsbawm, Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels. Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement
in the 19th and 20th Centuries, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1959, pp. 13-29; Eric Hobsbawm, Bandits, Pantheon Books, New York, 1981; the quote is from p. 17
[9]See some of the first critiques in Anton Blok, The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered , in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Sep., 1972), pp. 494-503
[10]For a general outline of the activities of this "partisan" group see Clara Cosmineanu, Eroi fără glorie, eroi anonimi. Grupul Teodor Şuşman (1948-1958), in Mişcarea armată de rezistenţă anticomunistă din România: 1944-1962, Editura Kullusys, Bucureşti 2003, pp. 85-98; C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, Grupul "Teodor Şuşman", in Rezistenţa anticomunistă din Apuseni. Grupurile: "Teodor Şuşman", "Capotă- Dejeu", "Cruce şi Spadă". Studii de istorie orală., Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, pp. 19-73

some point, others dying in the meantime, but it never surpassed ten. Their activity concentrated mainly in the mountainous area around the village of Răchiţele (where Teodor Şuşman was from) in the region of Huedin.

Just like in the traditional bandit tales, the individuals who joined Teodor Şuşman came from a rural background. Most of them were nothing but simple peasants. Şuşman himself and Ioan Popa (a.k.a Cioată) were wealthy above average, which made them the main targets of the new transformations the communist regime imposed. They both had been members of the National Peasants' Party, while Teodor Şuşman even was the mayor of the village of Răchiţele for several times, before and during the war. We might indulgently consider those two as members of the local elite, especially Şuşman, who besides being wealthy was also well read and enjoyed the respect of his community. The social position that these two occupied, though it was not significantly different from that of the other members of the same community, does not hinder their depiction as social bandits. Pintea Viteazul and Iancu Jianu, both haiduks and both Romanian national heroes, were among the elite in their specific communities[11].

As for the reasons that usually drive a person to banditry, they are quite similar to those that put the members of Şuşman's "gang" to flight. *"The noble robber begins his career of outlawry not by crime, but as the victim of injustice, or through being persecuted by the authorities for some act which they, but not the custom of his people, consider as criminal"*[12] Most of the times a minor incident is enough to trigger someone's flight in outlawry. In Teodor Şuşman's case, taking refuge in the mountains comes as a response to the imminent arrest that the authorities almost performed[13]. This is interpreted by Şuşman himself, but also by his fellow villagers, as an abuse, an injustice since there were no real reasons for his apprehension. Certainly, he was an open opposer making anti-communist propaganda in the village, convincing people not to collaborate with the new authorities, using his local prestige to invalidate them in the eyes of the community[14], but this was the general opinion not only in Răchiţele but also in many other places in the country. Communism was undoubtedly not the custom of his people. But there's more than these general assertions that one can actually fit in the context of any other "partisan" story in communist Romania. There seems to have been a

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[11]For the biographies of these two famous haiduks see Susana Andea, Avram Andea, Haiducul Pintea si lumea sa (1693-1703), Editura Supergraph, Cluj-Napoca, 2003; Paul-Emanoil Barbu, *Haiducul Iancu Jianu: adevăr şi legendă,* Editura Alma, Craiova 2010.
[12]Eric Hobsbawm, Bandits, Pantheon Books, New York, 1981, p. 42
[13]Clara Cosmineanu, op. cit., p. 88; C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit., p. 24
[14]According to the testimonies of many of the surviving witnesses; see *Rezistenţa armată anticomunistă din România. Grupul "Teodor Şuşşman" (1948-*1958) *– Mărturii –*, Denisa Bodeanu, Cosmin Budeancă (Eds.), Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2004

personal conflict between Şuşman and a certain Suciu Paşcu, who after the war managed to take the mayor's seat previously occupied by Şuşman, engaged strongly on the communists side and even agreed to something that looks like a mock robbery of Teodor Şuşman's convenience store[15]. It is not far fetched to believe that this feud, an argument with the local representative of the central authority, was to some degree the cause of Şuşman's flight.

The importance of this episode in the run of events is revealed by its conclusion. Suciu Paşcu is approached one night in his house by two militia officers who ask him to accompany them in the mountains. There they bring him in front of Teodor Şuşman who is apparently bound hand and foot. Suciu Paşcu expresses his joy at the apprehension of the "bandit" only to find out that everything he experienced that night was just a farce that got him in the hands of his enemies. A mock trial follows, Paşcu is found guilty of treason and executed according to his death sentence. His body is thrown in the same ravine where a previous "traitor", Petru Purcel, who tried to infiltrate the group on the authorities' side, found his "burial place"[16]. The episode seems quite uncertain to some historians, the only evidence pointing out to these details being the interrogatories taken by the Securitate in 1954 from captured members of the group. The authenticity of the event does not really matter in this discussion. The important thing is that these facts, whether real or not, add up to the bandit narrative that builds up around Teodor Şuşman and his "gang". There are several elements that are worth mentioning. The noble bandit "never kills but in self-defense or just revenge"[17]. Except for the military and the Securitate officers that got shot in the crossfire during capture operations, "partisans" only killed the so called "traitors", which most of the time were individuals that agreed to collaborate with the authorities to speed up the demise of these enemies of the state. In Teodor Şuşman's case the "traitor" episode looks familiarly close to the similar ones we find in bandit tales: the betrayer is fooled by the disguise of his captors, the tied-up bandit wittingly awaits the joyful reaction of his enemy at what appears to be his capture, the staging of a summary execution which is perceived as just by the members of the group. After all, says Eric Hobsbawm, the noble robber "rights wrongs"[18].

This disguise episode is even outmatched by the one that Teodor Şuşman's son of the same name arranged for himself. He had fashioned an authentic identity for himself as an icon painter, had a name for his character, traveled to the neighboring villages where he was less known, selling his

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[15]C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit., p. 22
[16]Clara Cosmineanu, op. cit., pp. 89-90; C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit., pp. 42-44
[17]Eric Hobsbawm, Bandits, Pantheon Books, New York, 1981, p. 42
[18]Ibidem, p. 42

icons, accepting orders from different persons, he actually even managed to have a drink at the local pub of one of these villages with what you might call the local sheriff[19]. Again, an act of defiance worthy of a traditional bandit tale.

Anyway, the Şuşman group can't be labeled as "bandit" unless its members indulged in robbery. There are 12 such acts recorded in the official documents of the Securitate[20], of which some are quite astonishing in their details. Judging by the inventory of the stolen goods the purpose of these robberies seems to have been invariably the provision of supplies[21]. These heists were carefully planned ahead and targeted state companies only, though there were several thefts here and there that didn't fit this description. The former are excused by the local community as desperate acts of the famished gang[22]. There are several commentators of these events (living witnesses, historians) who argue that these robberies where in a way a resistance form, some kind of sabotage of the official structures of the state[23]. Symbolically they are quite similar to the robberies that the haiduks in the Balkans are credited with. These robbers only attacked Greek merchants and ottoman convoys, the representatives of a foreign power which was strongly hated by the locals[24]. What the villagers of Răchiţele perceived as foreign in the years after World War II was precisely the ideology their authorities adopted: that is communism. There is another factual similarity between haiduks and partisans: they both left notes that exculpate the employees in the case of an investigation. It is a gentlemanly act characteristic to noble bandits everywhere, which serves to the build up of their identity as more than simple muggers. The same irreproachable morality is displayed by Ioan Popa, one of the oldest members of Şuşman's "gang", who, during the heist of a national wood exploitation unit, addressed the manager, telling him how much he appreciates the way he treats his workers[25]. It is in the nature of the noble bandit to make such remarks that actually prove his social consciousness.

Speaking of social consciousness, Şuşman and his fellow partisans couldn't have lasted so long if they wouldn't have been supported by the local community. This unconditioned help the villagers from Răchiţele and the neighboring villages offered cannot be explained otherwise but in Hobsbawm's words: "social bandits (...) are peasant outlaws whom the lord

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[19]C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit., pp. 67-69
[20]Clara Cosmineanu, op. cit., p. 86, footnote no. 2
[21]See the inventory of these robberies in C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit., p. 36, p. 44
[22]Ibidem, p. 37
[23]Ibidem, p. 37
[24]On haiduks see S. I. Gârleanu, *Haiducie şi* haiduci, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1969; Eric Hobsbawm, Bandits, Pantheon Books, New York, 1981, pp. 70-82; Dan Horia Mazilu, *Lege şi fărădelege în lumea românească veche,* Editura Polirom, Iaşi, 2006, pp. 322-
[25]C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit., p. 36

and the state regard as criminals, but who remain within peasant society, and are considered by their people as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation, and in any case men to be admired, helped and supported."[26] The "receivers" and the supporters of Şuşman's group are not only the next of kin, friends or acquaintances but almost anyone who considered communism as foreign and inappropriate for the communities they belonged to.

Not only did this popular sympathy got them through ten hard years of being hunted by the Securitate, but it also consolidated their myth. Just like the noble bandit, Şuşman's "gang" seemed invulnerable and invincible for a while. Many times the "partisans" went through some difficult situations, being one step away from being killed. Lucreţia Jurj, the only female member of this group, remembers one such moment[27]. In July 1952 the "gang" was surrounded by the military and at some point they almost got caught. When the military cordon tightened, the "partisans" hid in a small cave. A soldier was sent to investigate the place and after a superficial check he reported nothing suspicious to one of his superiors which was near him. As a precautionary measure the soldier is asked by the same superior to empty the magazine of his automatic rifle inside the cave. Miraculously, just like the haiduks who owned magical items that made them bullet-proof, nobody got hurt though they were crammed in the little space that the cave offered, and after a few more hours they actually managed to move away from the danger zone. This episode and others just like it, reflected in the many official documents that record the failure of the Securitate to apprehend the "bandits", were essential for their credibility as local heroes but they also helped build their now-legendary status.

This invulnerability ceases only when they are betrayed. This is also one of the central motifs in bandit narratives, the noble robber dying "only through treason, since no decent member of the community would help the *authorities against him.*"[28]. Besides Suciu Paşcu and Petru Purcel, which were to some degree recruited by the Securitate, there are other "traitors" who made their way into the story of this "partisan" group. Teodor Suciu is betrayed in 1950 by his host for the winter at Sibiu[29] and in 1954 three other members of the gang end up being caught with the complicity of one of their "receivers" with the authorities[30]. Few of them avoided execution. Otherwise

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[26]Eric Hobsbawm, Bandits, Pantheon Books, New York, 1981, p. 17
[27]See her testimony on this event in *Rezistenţa armată anticomunistă din România. Grupul "Teodor Şuşman" (1948-1958) – Mărturii –* , Denisa Bodeanu, Cosmin Budeancă (Eds.), Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 90
[28]Eric Hobsbawm, Bandits, Pantheon Books, New York, 1981, p. 43
[29]C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit., pp. 38-39
[30]Clara Cosmineanu, op. cit., pp. 94-95

the "partisans" die in the shootouts (Gheorghe Mihuţ, Ioan Popa) or are smoked to death, like Teodor Şuşman's sons in 1958, when the Securitate receives information that they hide in a barn in the village of Traniş, which they actually set on fire after seeing that the "bandits" wouldn't give up[31]. Şuşman himself dies a less heroic death, committing suicide in a moment of despair in 1951[32]. Nevertheless, the "bandits" demonstrate obstinacy, preferring any other death than the one reserved for them by the communists, which is something one might consider a final act of defiance.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we might say that the story of this "partisan" group isn't very much different from the traditional bandit narratives. There are multiple elements that contribute to the explanation of this. First of all the bandit identity is somehow purposely assumed by the partisans[33]. There were resistance groups in Romania in the 40's and the 50's that actually called themselves "Haiducii lui Avram Iancu"[34] or "Haiducii Muscelului"[35]. The haiduk is part of the folklore of any area in Romania, some of them are even considered national heroes, and were very popular in the last century not only in folklore but also in literature and cinema[36]. It's practically clear that for some "partisans", the haiduks constituted not only a model of behavior, but also of organization and survival. After all, assuming an outlaw identity is not all that peculiar. Graham Seal has identified several bandit figures (big names such as Pancho Villa, Lampião, Ned Kelly and others) who consciously "managed" their outlaw aura in order to faithfully recreate the Robin Hood myth[37]. In the end, when an arrest order was issued on the names of these individuals they didn't have too many options besides the flight in the mountains. This does not offer too many options either, besides outlawry,

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[31]C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit., pp. 70-72

[32]Ibidem, pp. 49-52

[33] See for example Precup Ţugui's statement where he admits joining a "gang of haiduks" (i.e. partisans) in *Rezistenţa armată din Bucovina 1940-1950*, vol. I, Adrian Brişcă and Radu Ciuceanu (Eds.), Institutul pentru studiul totalitarismului, Bucureşti, 1998, p. 153

[34]For this group see the documents in *Începurile mişcării de rezistenţă în românia, vol. I*, Radu Ciuceanu, Octavian Roske, Cristian Troncotă (Eds.), Institutul pentru studiul totalitarismului, Bucureşti, 1998

[35] For the history of this group see Aurora Liiceanu, *Rănile memoriei. Nucşoara şi rezistenţa din munţi,* Editura Polirom, 2003

[36]See note 24; for haiduk films in communist Romania see Mihaela Grancea, Mitologizarea *haiducului în filmul românesc, particularitate a discursului cultural din perioada regimului* comunist, in *Indentitate şi alteritate – Studii de istorie politică şi* culturală, no. 5, Constantin Bărbulescu et alii (Eds.) Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, pp. 333-338

[37]Graham Seal, op. cit., pp. 124-130

which only becomes the natural way after a while. They only acted accordingly.

Secondly, there's certainly something about frontiers that favors the emergence of this type of stories. Timothy S. Jones includes these outlaw narratives in what he calls the literature of borders[38]. His definition of these borders is much broader and it is not limited only to a geographical and political sense, although these two play an important role in many of the outlaw traditions all over the world. In Teodor Şuşman's case borders are clearly trespassed by communist authorities. From a social point of view he and his followers and supporters rather belong to the periphery as opposed to the center represented by communist authorities. Being a member of the peasantry, strongly tied to the traditional values, and having a powerful sense of land ownership, Şuşman is obviously a border person. When the markers of these frontiers are ignored by the newly established authorities, outlaw narratives are bound to happen in reality. Moreover, what Jones perceives as historical borders, complete the picture. He writes: "Rapid and revolutionary historical change can lead to strong feelings of displacement, as if one has unwittingly crossed a frontier into an unfamiliar country."[39]. These times of political turmoil generally produce outlaw narratives, (which is just the case of Romania immediately after the communists took over) that of Şuşman and his gang being just one of the many.

Equally important in the genesis of this bandit story is its treatment by historians. Their histories are drawn extensively from testimonies of living witnesses, taken some fifty years after the events actually took place. These accounts belong almost entirely to former "partisans", close relatives or supporters of the Şuşman gang. Their versions of the story are clearly biased by their direct involvement and the idealistic model they project onto the partisans. Because of this, but also because of a redeeming trait displayed by certain branches of the recent historiography[40], the events that are put together to form the story of these partisans are terribly similar to the "chapters" of a bandit-hero narrative. As Hayden White rightfully puts it *"Considered as potential elements of a story, historical events are value-neutral. Whether they find their place finally in a story that is tragic, comic, romantic, or ironic (...) depends upon the historian's to configure them according to the imperatives of one plot structure or mythos rather than another."*[41]. There are multiple

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[38]Timothy S. Jones, op. cit., pp. 51-87
[39]Timothy S. Jones, op. cit., p. 59
[40]See for example the different treatments offered by historians to the same events that make up Teodor Şuşman's story (especially of the so-called "traitor" episodes) in C. Jurju, C. Budeancă, op. cit. and Clara Cosmineanu, op. cit
[41]Hayden White, Tropics of Discourse – Essays in Cultural Criticism, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1978, p. 84

elements that are unnecessarily included in the history of Şuşman's gang. These seem unnecessary only if they are linked to the "resistance" version of the story. The miraculous escapes, treason, the disguise episodes or the socially conscious remarks of Ioan Popa have nothing to do with resistance of any kind. Şuşman's story, lacking the ingredients that make up resistance narratives (those enumerated above), supplies a different twist, one that develops into a traditional bandit tale.

Be that as it may, the need for this sort of stories, in a society which only recently has barely come to terms with its communist past, is not only understandable but actually needed. The sympathy that these "partisans"/ "resistance fighters"/"bandits" have enjoyed almost immediately in the years after the Revolution of 1989 ensures that their treatment as heroic outlaws will continue for a long time.

Mitrea Cocor, or becoming a new man.

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Leave your "superiority", writer, which is not based on anything; get out of your isolation! Enter the real world of your heroes and your faces, and only then, sit down at your desk ... you have the human and social broader reality at your grasp, the first important condition of all the arts - immerse yourself into the depths of it and judge[1].

1934. A reference year of the first half of the twentieth century, first for the USSR, and later for the eastern half of the European continent, for in the first Congress of Soviet Writers Union, held in August-September of the above mentioned year, would receive the baptism a new unique literary movement universally and eternally valid, i.e. the realistic socialism. Understood to be a synthesis between the Stalinist culture and the revolutionary one, the new art's role was not only to represent or evoke the hero and society of the future, but also, and most of all, to document the extraordinary deeds of the good citizens of the Soviet Union, holding a rich inner world, which was in a full and perfect compliance with the totality of the socialist age. It had the role of calling up the extraordinary inner capabilities that every citizen of the Soviet Union possessed, but of whose existence he was not aware, and which, from that moment on, would be brought to light, thus demonstrating each one the endless individual creative potential[2]. The emergence, development and maturation of the new artistic movement runs in parallel with the evolutionary stages of the new human type, namely its conquest, its reform, and then finally its indefeasible transformation into a hero of communism. We could say that a dependency relationship forms between socialist realism and the human subject, in terms of evolution and achieving the highest degree of their development, in the sense that the socialist realistic art grows proportionally with the rhythm imposed by the conquest of the individual's evolutionary stages. Literature, theater, film, music and, last but not least, art are imbued with the socialist

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[1] Gál Gabor, *Problemele scrisului şi ale scriitorului în democraţia populară română,* in "Viaţa românească", an I, nr. 1, iunie, 1948, pp. 126-127

[2] Jochen Hellbeck, Revolution of My Mind. Writing a Dirary Under Stalin, Harvard University Press, 2009, p. 29

realistic spirit, their productions being created following the coordinates set by it, providing archetypes guiding individuals in their becoming.

An official formula that allows you as the representative of the old regime to submit yourself to a process of exorcism, after which during your becoming you get rid of what Orlando Figes called the exotic relics of the past[3], does not exist[4], the new regime giving you only positive role models, your unique task being that of choosing the one that best suits the new identity that was meant to be a communist one. The interrogation about who I am and what I want disappears in front of the avalanche of identity models, the important thing being, from now on, just the desire to reconfigure the self. The shaping, the reshaping of the new communist identity was perceived by the communist regime as a constant struggle against secular customs and habits, and as trying to inoculate some higher, universal and everlasting ones. Everything had to be thought, felt and done within the canons drawn and given by the new ideology, out of it there could be nothing else. Any action or inner experience beyond the limits imposed by the new regime of popular democracy were regarded as crises of the reminiscences of the old self, and wanting to avoid such experiences taking place, a particular emphasis is placed on providing individuals, through the socialist realistic art, with answers and solutions considered as the most useful. Here we talk about the symbolic death and resurrection of the individual, of giving way to the rotten individual self of the old regime and adopting a collective self, bright, strong, virtuous, spontaneous and free.

The cyclic decomposition and recomposition of the human subject following the needs of the system based on the discipline and obedience of the individual was achieved, as Czelaw Milosz well observed, by a patient dosing (emphasis added) of the drug called ideology[5]. The ideal teacher role of the Party should never be questioned. It is the one that educates, coordinates, urges and organizes all the educational forms necessary for the reconfiguration of the individual self. We are talking about a brutal penetration of the protective shell of the individuality by linguistic and visual impacts, followed by the trammeling of the new construct by the ideology to the point where nothing can belong to the individual only, but it belongs to the community and society. The omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient Party, possessor of all human wisdom, gives incessantly, waiting to receive instead nothing else but obedience and docility. The light coming from the East had to overcome the darkness of the West, the fairytale communist world undergoing

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[3] Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers. Private Life in Stalin′s Russia,* Penguin Books, 2007, p. 68
[4] Ibidem, p. 8
[5] Celaw Milozs, *Gândirea captivă,* Ed. Humanitas, 2008, trad. Constantin Geambaşu, p. 118

a continuous improvement process, but being given to the individuals, had to be a substitute for the imperfect one of capitalism.

The new artistic language, quite different from that used so far, is full of clichés, repetitions, comparisons, hyperboles, marked by excessive brutality, becomes a universal one, encompassing the art forms in their entirety. The alphabetization or rather the realphabetization of the society ardently desired by the Party should be regarded as a sine qua non for the success of the reforming action of the individual, the new educational forms becoming total and totalizing. The cultural manufacturing[6] of some collective bearing identities[7] clearly opposed to a collective individualism of the West[8], the crusade turned against impurities and poisonous thoughts[9], transforms the subject in a socialist construction site[10], site where the main elements used for the reconstruction of the individual are symbols, images (visual, written or oral), the language, the rituals, the environment and also fantasy. The archetypal symbol they wanted the total identification of the individual with by the regime is the backbone of the new built socialist society. In the communist Romania, a first such identity symbol was Mitrea Cocor, the main character of the novel with the same title, which was born under the pen of the great writer Sadoveanu. The literature, the written text, is converted, at the request of the Party, into the perfect weapon of the transformation of its consumers into fully integrated citizens of the new communist world. It appears on the table a literature that ceases to be an elitist one, directed with predisposition towards the educated elements of human accumulations. From this moment on, we speak of a literature for all, easily readable and understandable, full of stereotypes and recognizable elements for subjects that are in formation. It is asked to picture a disciplined world, a perfect emotional framework of re-socialization, to facilitate the socialization prototypes identification for transmitting of information and stimulating mind to remain in the background[11]. Stimulus of the social and identity transformations, the new literature builds a primitive sentimentality, some identity matrices without substance, unable to provide society with long lasting human types.

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[6] Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margin′s,* Routledge, 1992, 17
[7] Stephen Kotkin, Magnetic Mountain, University of California Press, 1997, passim
[8] Orlando Figes, *Nathasa′s Dance. A Cultural History of Russia,* Metropolitan Books, 2002, p. 315
[9] Jochen Helbeck, idem, p. 22
[10] Golfo Alexopoulos, *Stalin′s Outcasts. Aliens, Citizens and the Soviet State,* Cornell University Press, 2003, p. 187
[11] Dan Lungu, Despre *condiția literaturii în socialismul real,* in "România literară", nr. 51-52, an 2000, http://romlit.ro/despre_condiția_literaturii_n_socialismul_real, visited today 01.08.2012

The pioneer in terms of new forms of Romanian socialist realistic literature is, as mentioned above, Sadoveanu, who, by publishing in 1949 the novel Mitrea Cocor, honors his official status of country's prime writer. Declared at the time an epochal novel[12], quickly becoming a masterpiece in the curriculum for the Romanian language and literature for the next decade, Mitrea Cocor is considered the first novel to truly serve people. Following the same praising note, Sadoveanu is considered as one who summarizes for the first time in the socialist realistic Romanian literature the main factors that influenced upon Mitrea Cocor, upon his conscience to turn him from a common outraged to a new individual, a communist[13]. In other words, Sadoveanu offers the new regime a first novel articulated around the saga of the individual struggle for self-becoming, of the loss of sense of reality, individuality and responsibility[14] and of winning a place in the pantheon of the universal communist identity prototypes.

Made of two parts, the novel tells the story of a poor and oppressed peasant that crosses the initiation road of the ideological clarification and revolutionary commitment[15], the contact with the Party's word in the second part of the literary work, representing the most expected moment throughout the unfolding of the plot[16]. In the first part of the novel we can distinguish the constant and accelerated accumulation of strong feelings of hatred and saturation that Mitrea compiles within or as a result of the subordination and exploitation that exists between him and his parents, his elder brother Ghiță and the squire Trei Nasuri, the owner of the Dropii estate, where there is gold and where noblemen heap up riches[17]. Despite the inhuman treatment which he is subjected to for the beginning by the mother: When hungry and returning at dusk, Agapia beat him and then put the food bowl under his nose ; then, after the death of their parents, from his elder brother: You should obey me, for I am your elder brother and your master; and not for last from the squire of the Dropiile estate: You should shut up when the master speaks, his childhood adventures bespoke a great future, by highlighting his fighter and survivor qualities in front of the hostile fate: He overcame suckling the pretzel chewed in the mouth, and poppies, and measles, and pox. He did not scald when he spilled the boiling water bucket. The pigs did not pick him to pieces

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[12] Lucian Boia, *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930*-1950, Ed. Humanitas, 2011, p. 321
[13] Mihail Sadoveanu, Opere, vol. 17, Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1959, p. 9
[14] Ed. Thomas Lahunsen, Evgheni Dobrenko, Socialist Realism Without Shores, Duke University P1477ess, 1997, pp. 29, 43
[15] Lucian Boia, op. cit., p. 321
[16] Vera Călin, Un succes al literaturii noastre, in ”Viața românească”, anul II, martie 1950, p. 311
[17] Mihail Sadoveanu, op. cit., p. 169

when they found him in the tub in the backyard shaking his little feet and hands and babbling like a bug to them. He did not die either because of the raw berries broth or because of the horse dung squeezed into his mouth by the old women in the village when he had whooping cough. He was obstinate about remaining in this sinful world[18]. The lack of education, mainly due to the opposition coming from his mother, who was depicted as the prototype of feminine ignorance and ugliness: short, thick and fanged[19], from the beginning of the communist glory period that will follow, she sees the school as a place for gadabouts[20], coupled with the knowledge of exploitation, injustice, humiliation, of the beatings of the policemen in the village in agreement with the landlord Trei Nasuri, representing the squires, contribute to strengthening the feelings of hatred against society taken as a whole. Gradually but constantly fostering in Mitrea the feelings of contempt, hatred, discontent, saturation and frustration transforms him on the one hand into the representative of the secularly oppressed masses and now at the end of the affordability, and on the other hand into the first hero of the socialist realistic Romanian literature that gradually let's himself embrace by the fire of the socialist justice. The Party requested and Sadoveanu offered: the first identity prototype, the first ideal hero of communism, watching him during its evolution from the beginning - unhappiness – and to his becoming - the bliss of the released individual.

Mitrea puts the basis for the self-construction of his new identity when living the Dropi estate for the enrollment in the army, a step which is identified as a first step towards getting out of his pain, as an exit from his troubled past and stepping into a future full of light and happiness: ...coming out of the gate, he shook his shoulders and then he threw the right leg and the left one, shaking the dust of years of slavery.[21] Despite the separation from all that was obscure in his early life, the bleak reality of his childhood and the misery experienced daily by the permanent return into the present will be two of the central elements of the new Mitrea remodeling. The permanent revisiting of the past dramas will be the stimulus of the desire to overcome his condition as a subject to the progress of history.

The first contact with the future is indirect, achieved with the blacksmith Corporal Florea Costea's help, who is also part of the regiment where Mitrea had enlisted, one of those people fighting for justice for the poor and the enlightenment of the ignorant[22], and who from the beginning sees in

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[18] Ibidem, pp. 172-173, 180-181, 206
[19] Mihail Sadoveanu, op. cit. p. 171
[20] Ibidem, p. 174
[21] Ibidem, pp. 214, 223
[22] Ibidem, p. 221

him the qualities a true communist must possess: Cocor Dumitru, what a misfortune. You are a **humble** and clever boy, but you are not educated. If you had had some education, I would have knocked you into shape[23]. Since Mitrea already has the first quality identified as an essential one for the subjects, the future new communist people, namely docility, the answer for second one - literacy, which would better open his understanding – is an easy one and also comes from the smith Costea, who buys him the book and slate[24]. Stepping on the way of literacy is seen as him positioning on the way of the correct understanding of how the oppressed people rose up, overthrew the empire, swept the domination of capitalists and established the ruling of the working class[25]. Opening the road to literacy symbolizes the first step towards gradual and calculated manipulation, which involves the gradual discovery of the wonderful future: I have no courage now to tell you everything[26], discovery conditioned by the way he understands to relate to what is being revealed to him. Each positive reaction come from Mitrea is rewarded by the blacksmith Costea by revealing new and valuable information on the working class Party ... Party that wants to do justice to the aggrieved[27]. Once the new and exciting things are revealed to him, Mitrea allows Costea the blacksmith to engage him in dichotomous discussions from which the positive communist component of the idea couples always stands victorious. He lets himself engage in a process of gradual decomposition of tangible reality based on a mere promise, namely that the uncounted army will break the tyrants' organization and those people condemned as fighters for the vulgus will get out of the black damnation to the sun of freedom[28]. Despite the fact that for the moment the brave new communist world is being revealed to him only through the stories told by the blacksmith Costea, at the respite time, Mitrea, dominated by impulses and motivations to continue his existence in the social, familial, and work zone, looks to leave out the stages needed to be crossed to complete his remodeling, to enter as a full-fledged individual into the communist paradise. Left without a teacher and enjoying a little help from Corporal Costea, Mitrea ...after difficult upswings... an evening by the snuff ... felt understanding flash. I hatched signs, he said cheerfully to the blacksmith, and words came out like breathing chicken, making me wonder[29]. We can talk on the one hand about highlighting the new regime's fight against illiteracy, the illiterates being

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[23] Ibidem, p. 216
[24] Ibidem, p. 221
[25] Ibidem, p. 222
[26] Ibidem, p. 229
[27] Ibidem, p. 228
[28] Ibidem, p. 231
[29] Ibidem, p. 232

considered an anomaly[30] in the frame of the new society, and on the other about emphasizing the individual's extraordinary desire to overcome his condition of inferiority, otherwise the only one he had known up until then, which determines his perfect adjustment to the identity patterns outlined by the communists. Solving the problem of the illiteracy of the subjects turns into an obsession and that because socialism cannot be built by people who are not able to read and write, because building socialism requires enlightened people and acquiring the necessary knowledge and fighting consciously and with enthusiasm for bringing the Party and Government's decisions into life[31]. Mitrea Cocor becomes the literates' precursor of the communist Romania, the first to meet the essential condition without which we cannot talk about politics (Lenin)[32]. Hitherto taboo, for our masters so far kept us in a certain limitation as regards politics ... urged us to deal with the future life and the spiritual goods hereafter, forever and ever amen[33], politics ceases to be a mystery for newly initiated into the mysteries of reading during captivity in a camp in the land of promises - the Soviet Union.

Held prisoner by the Russians, Mitrea has the opportunity to continue to deepen the knowledge about the country where servants rose and owners fell[34], with the help of two Soviet soldiers, who reveal to him the benefits of the collective farms, but especially the mysteries of the Russian language, the lingua franca of the communist camp. The talks between Mitrea Cocor and his new comrades are built by Sadoveanu of dichotomies, and symbols of light and darkness: the light that comes from the East and stores all the enslaved people force will come out victorious against the capitalist darkness, which without its source of sap, the bourgeois-landlords, will be more easily defeated. Thus, the virus of the capitalist world will be more easily replaced by the deadly infection of the communist spirit. The discussions about old and new, freedom and oppression, about loyalty to the cause and to the comrades, about the group superiority against individualism, all of that sow in Mitrea the strong sense of belonging to the collective aspiration to overthrow the old and rotten order known before. From now on, the individual self will be driven by the ongoing need for fusion with the collective one, the individual begins to be subjugated to the collective. Camaraderie and companionship, seen as new forms of interpersonal ties that connect those subjects committed to the

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[30] Evgeny Dobrenko, The Making of the State Reader. Social and Aesthetic Contexts of the Reception of Soviet Literature, Stanford University Press, trad. Jesse M. Savage, 1997, p. 1
[31] SJAN Maramureș, Comitetul Raional UTM-Sighet, dosar 5, an 1953, ff. 91, 99
[32] Peter Kenez, The Birth of the Propaganda State. Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 72
[33] Mihail Sadoveanu, op. cit., pp. 271-272
[34] Ibidem, p. 272

socialist idea - we are talking here about exclusivity and conditionality[35] - begin to wide open the door in front of Mitrea through the increasingly deeper fascination of the ideas promoted by socialism.

The short journey to the collective farm Ilicia Pamiati in the village of Tarasovka will be, as he says, his moment of definitive enlightenment, as, from now on, he sees, hears and understands[36] everything that had been revealed to him so far only through the stories of Corporal Costea. The impatience to implement the wisdom and inventions of science for assembling a new country for us too[37] begins to be the feeling that Mitrea guides himself after. The direct contact with the realities of Soviet socialism and the knowledge of all that is good in the socialist world[38] will play its dominant role in his formation as one of the first new people of the Romanian communist literature. The mobilizing effect of the direct contact with the only imagined realities will shape the development of a desire to become part of the roller that rushed from East to West. Dominant starts to be the feeling of revenge against all who burned me with hatred and despair, for without punishing those who were his executioners, perfection cannot be complete: I cannot lighten and will not be happy with her[39]. She is Nastasia, the sister of Mitrea's wife, the first female literary character in the short history of the socialist realistic literature, which outlines, in a very pale manner, the characteristics of the communist society creator's assistant. What unites the two is the feeling of saturation, hatred and contempt against their families due to the ill-treatment to which they subjected them, coupled with the need to overcome the condition of subject to the progress of history - it is about identifying by similarity[40] the two identity prototypes, the gender differences disappearing now. There are feelings of love prevailing in building and developing the relationship between the two, love being seen as an auxiliary element in building the relationships between individuals in the socialist realistic literature, but the feelings of friendship and the need to escape from the inferiority where they were. The woman subjected to a de-feminization process, followed by one of emphasized masculinization, is also considered a spiritual companion that contributes to easily getting to the socialist consciousness[41] by males. The discovery of the sufferings in the male world

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[35] Juliane Fürst, Stalin's Last Generation. Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 255

[36] Mihail Sadoveanu, op. cit., p. 272

[37] Ibidem, p. 282

[38] Ibidem, p. 277

[39] Ibidem, p. 273

[40] Lilya Kaganovsky, How the Soviet Man Was (Un)Made. Cultural Fantasy and Male Subjectivity under Stalin, University of Pittsburg Press, 2008, p.139

[41] Ibidem, pp. 74, 69

facilitates the penetration of the woman, her entrance, even to a limited extent, in the male universe means contributing to the onset of a process of its masculinization at its transformation into a new pillar of the male identity construction.

Education, the consciousness' discipline are urgently required to be coupled with that of the body. Only by accepting this double discipline, Mitrea can become a true archetype of the new individual, that is why Sadoveanu chooses to represent him as faces of the suffering caused by the wounds acquired in the battlefield. Like the hero Pavka Korchagin of the Soviet socialist realistic literature masterpiece, Kak zakalialas' Stal' (That's how steel hardened), written by the one who was considered to be the truly real and not fictional embodiment of the new communist individual, Nikolai Ostrovskii[42], Mitrea Cocor is forced to learn how to shape his body according to the actual needs of society. Injured in the battlefield, still poorly healed, but driven by impatience and effusion, Mitrea, despite the doctors' commands to stay longer, chooses to return to the front where he could be useful to his fellows. The effect of the communist ideology poison inoculation is obvious: first is called the survival of the group and not his as an individual. The senselessness and desire for affirmation come to endanger his life, for the place affected by shell splinters started to hurt and ...rankled. He gets back at the hospital where the doctors ... decided that he would not leave until completely healed [43], managing to remain alive despite the fact that through his village traveled the worst news, one of those contributing to their spread is his own brother, Ghiță, the miller: It may be that only his name will come back; ...he is at the hospital sick, he had surgery ... the doctors say he would have a gangrene, that is rotting flesh[44]. The physical sufferings endured in the battlefield, but especially how he intended to overcome them turned Mitrea from an anonymous among individuals into one of the first heroes of communism.

The wounds that Mitrea acquired in the battlefield are part of an extensive process of education and proper disciplining of the human body - his body is introduced unwittingly into a power machine, which initially disarticulates him for later recomposing him. We talk about an absolutely necessary step towards identifying his own body's resistance to pain. Discipline creates individuals[45], but if we speak of a new communist individual, we have the disciplining of the body coupled with the reshaping of

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[42]   Lilya Kagahosky, How the Soviet Man Was Un(Made), în "Slavic Review", vol. 63, no. 3 (Autumn, 2004), passim
[43]   Mihail Sadoveanu, op. cit.,, pp. 348- 349
[44] Ibidem, p. 351
[45]   Michel Foucault, *A supraveghea și a pedepsi,* Ed. Humanitas, București, 1997, pp. 206, 249

the self towards building the long desired human subject. It is on the one hand a reconfiguration of the inside, and on the other hand a shaping of the outside. Recasting all facets composing the human subject should be synchronized, the exterior becomes the expression of the interior. Education must be total and totalizing. Made in the spirit of the communist ideology, the human subjects' re-education takes place in the context of the need for the appearance, development and strengthening of the ties within the proletarian mass, ties, which once established will also contribute to their physical and mental discipline, to the easy acceptance of self-sacrifice and their commitment to the cause of communism[46].

Cured and ordained as a preacher of the new communist faith, once demobilized, Mitrea returns to his native village where he had first of all to fulfill a judgment and an arrangement and only after being even with the Dropi squire will embrace the child and wife. His coming back in Malul Surpat is known only by few of Mitrea's companions with whom he will commit a good deed[47], which is reminiscent of Lenin's return from exile. In front of the people got together, and with the power given to him Mitrea gives back to the people their land by the law for Party made justice. Land belongs to those who work...and the revolution must concern them. Giving the past away and getting out in a new age of the world will be achieved within the socialist state which will soon make available to the former slaves all the powers of science, so that where once were mud and shacks, roads and houses with electric light appear; where drought walked abroad, the joy of water come in channels: where man forcibly dug, the machines make work easier. The fate of those who up until then had cruelly oppressed the people is quickly decided, they are assimilated to those who until then had worked the land following their commands. Only after all this have been achieved, Mitrea focuses on Nastasia and their child to whom from now on the future belonged[48].

The embodiment of the new citizen voluntarily accepting the embrace of suffering and of a precarious existence for future promised benefits, Mitrea is thus the first representative of the new individual; of the socialist realistic literature. Based on this simple promise, we can understand the ease and determination with which Mitrea accepts the vicissitudes and battles on the domestic front which he had to face with, namely the one between Mitrea the exploited and resigned to a bleak future and Mitrea before whom opens a

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[46] David Priestland, Stalin as Bolshevick Romantic: Ideology and Mobilisation, 1917-1939, în ed. Sarah Davies, James Harris, Stalin. A New History, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 185

[47] Mihail Sadoveanu, op. cit.,, pp. 358-359

[48] Ibidem, pp. 362-365

horizon illuminated by the light coming from East. He thus becomes the first representative of those released from the odious past it is he who brings light. He gives voice to socialism through him can start the celebration of its victory over capitalism. However, despite becoming a party man, precise in judgments and assessments, Mitrea as the first prototype of the new socialist individual is not really a new individual, because the novelist did put his last stroke of brush on his portrait. His evolution is not complete. There is a willingness in his portrait, that future experience, Party work will achieve[49].

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[49] Vera Călin, op. cit., p, 312

Romania's crucifixion. Militant Atheism in Romanian Communism (1945-1959)

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> "*We do not insult the faithful (…) but we do pull down the big lie.
> Light will conquer the darkness of yesterday and decrepit society.*"
> (dr. Petru Groza, *Romania's Reconstruction*, 1946)

1. Marxist-Leninist Promises

The Marxist-Leninist ideological millenarianism, as practised in the Soviet Union since 1917, contested any Christian religious vision and proposed a new concept of man and the world. Karl Marx stated there was a definite incompatibility between Christianity and Socialism, also denouncing the confusion of Communism and communions, supporting the view that a Communist era must be entirely atheist, keep away from all mythic-religious expressions and not confine itself in dogmata. As early as his first writings, Marx was challenging God, naming him "the pygmy giant" and labelling religion as an archaic and decrepit "ideological" production, a powerful opiate masking class struggle and postponing the awakening of proletariat's redemptive conscience. Marx's revolutionary-blasphemous message spoke of Christianity as a defender of exploiters, while being hypocritical, cowardly and humiliating for the dregs of society; but the proletariat cannot accept being treated as dregs. The proletariat needs more than just food; they need courage, dignity, pride and independence. Marxist Atheism broke away from God, its materialistic view of the world being a perfect antidote to Christian faith and ethics. Humanity's progress was to be based solely on society's material foundations, on the means of producing and redistributing resources. The Socialist "redemption" meant and end to poverty and social inequities through an Atheist ethics. [1]

Echoes of the revolutionary Socialist-Atheist message were felt in Romania, as well. First in the pages of the journal Emanciparea in 1883, later

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[1] Al. Tănase, "Despre semnificaţia şi rolul reacţionar al învăţăturii evanghelice", in Caiete filozofice, year VI, no 6, 1959, p.257. see Pierrre Lorrain, L Evangile selon saint Marx, Paris, Ed. Belfond, 1982.

in the workers' magazine Munca (1890-1893), one could read that as far as the working classes were concerned, religion was a lie, a blindness, and the future belonged to a science-based Socialism able to "enlighten" the masses. A famous Socialist mentor, Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1855-1920) was rejoicing in the fact that masses were becoming more unreligious, a fact that should have been seen as gesture of emancipation. Socialist-Atheist newspapers, such as *România muncitoare,* published such articles as "The Church's Anathema" (1910) in order to launch the message of Socialist triumph in our country, by suggesting the workers' "army" should cast away all mind-fettering preconceptions. For Socialist, the eternity professed by Christianity was to be perceived as an empty illusion that could and would paralyse workers' prolific endeavours. All hope for Socialism lay in science, the religion of the future.[2]

After 1917, the Bolshevik-inspired Communist ideology offered the model of a "religion" without God, even against God, supported by the idea that the working classes needed to be secularized, freed from religious, cultural and political traditions, as one can see in the lyrics of The International: No saviour from on high delivers, No faith have we in prince or peer. V.I.Lenin clearly stated that all Communists need be materialists, and thus adversaries to religion.[3]

Using the proletariat's social and economical rise and the fight against Capitalism as screens, USSR's Bolshevik Communism was the proof of turning into ruin the pravoslavonic tradition, in the "shadow" of the Marxist-Leninist spirit. Such political and ideological teachings were fed by an increasing hostility towards the Bible and Church, making frequent mentions to the end of religions, but in fact, those teachings acted as a religious replacement. The Marxist-Leninist militant Atheism proved to be fanatical, vigilant, aggressive, intolerant and criminal. V.I.Lenin asked Molotov to use mercilessly the dramatic hunger in Russia in order to persecute and murder priests, so as to put a brutal end to religious rituals. In 1922, Lenin was demanding a more combative attitude, in the Atheist spirit, using a relentless propaganda with various means. Stalin went even further with the violence

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[2] Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Concepţia materialistă a istoriei*, Bucureşti, 1920, p.6,8. Raicu Ionescu-Rion, Religia, familia, proprietatea, Bucureşti, 1919, p. 12. Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Concepţia materialistă a istoriei*, Bucureşti, 1920, p.6,8. *Călăuza* ateistului, Bucureşti, Editura Politică, 1962, p.608, 610.
[3] Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, Sacrul, trad. M. Căluţ, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 2002, p.103.Eugen Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism, Proza,* Bucureşti, Ed. Fundaţiei PRO, 2003, p.23. Onisifor Ghibu, Chemarea la judecata istoriei, vol. I, Bucureşti, Editura Albatros, p.147. Oana Ilie, ''Sovietizarea României'', în *Comunismul în România, 1945*-1989, Bucureşti, 2007, p. 20-21.

against the all Churches and their priests, although officially Stalinist propaganda was supposed to guarantee religious freedom.[4]

The Marxist-Leninist ideological revolution, which all Christian denominations considered an emissary of the Antichrist and a deepening of "Mammonism", saw itself not only as the forerunner of a new social, economic, political, ideological and cultural system, but also as a forerunner of a new "religion", imposed by all means, political and cultural. In the interwar period, a series of Romanian intellectuals cautioned against the danger of such a doctrine that replaced traditional Christian faith, monarchy and patriotism with its proletarian and Atheist internationalism. Part of the country's elite was worried that the industrial development following the First World War coincided with an alienation of all classes (proletariat, industrialists, merchants, etc) from religious customs, and the familiarity of local parishes. The Romanian proletariat of the time was facing a real dilemma: a choice between the Communist ideology (promising a revolutionary change of the social and state order) and the Christian Churches (demanding that the legal and moral order be kept and professing work ethics as a source for life and redemption). [5]

Constructing Communism, following the Soviet model, was the supreme goal, the Marxist-Leninist profession for the Romanian Communist Party after August 23rd, 1944. In Romania, the Orthodox tradition, but mostly the existence of the Catholic and Greek-Catholic Churches (subordinated to the pontifical office) were considered problematic in the period 1945-1947, but it is only in 1948 that the Romanian Workers' Party asserted the so-called „party line" discouraging Churches and Christianity.

2. Dr. Petru Groza and the Bolshevik "Gospel".
His duplicity towards religion (1945-1947)

The obedience of Romanian Communists to Stalin and Moscow after August 1944 meant the change in religion gravitation towards Marxism-Leninism. The national Conference of the Party in October, 1945 expressly required knowing and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the Romanian political, economical and scientific realities. But before this, there

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[4] O.Ghibu, op.cit., p. 118-119. C. Dumitrescu-Iaşi, "Două morale (studiu de psihologie socială)", in *Revista de Filosofie şi Pedagogie*, Buc., 1906, p. 115-136.Nicole Valéry-Grossu, *Hegemonia violenţei. Comunism. Totalitarism. Ateism,* trad. I. Cantuniari, Bucureşti, 2000, p.14-15, 148-149.
[5] Gheorghe Comşa, *Datoriile preoţimii în faţa problemelor sociale,* Bucureşti, Tipografia Cărţilor bisericeşti, 1925, p.20,64-65.George Marinescu, *Tineretul român şi internaţionalismul ateu,* Bucureşti, Tipografia "Muscanu", 1933 (12p.), p. 5, 8-10.   N. Valéry-Grossu, op.cit., p.155-156. Cf.P.F.Alexandru, *Biserica şi comunismul,* Huşi, 1937, p. 21-36. Cf. Don Milano, *Église et marxisme, 19*40-1980, Ed. SOS. 1980.

was going to be a bitter struggle to combat and expose the bourgeois reactionarism as well as to spread Socialist ideas by a diversity of means (party education, party press, etc.).The missionaries of such ideas could only be the propaganda experts, "armed" with a "deep" knowledge of Marxist-Leninist ideology.[6]

In Romania, an important supporter for the debasement to Communist ideology was dr. Petru Groza, a "liege" of Sovietisation in 1945-1947. Although grandson and son of priests from Ardeal, dr. Groza, the head of a "largely" democratic government, was, in fact, a tendentious amateur in his understanding of Christianity, and in his speeches, he would pervert the "Democratic" part of Jesus Christ the Saviour to promote the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeois. Former leader of the Ploughers' Party (which he turned into a "mass organization"), he never hesitated in accomplishing his part in the destruction of the traditional foundation of faith. On August 15th 1946, Groza was issuing such messages in *Lumina creştină:* "we find ourselves in a era of revising and reforming the old life-concepts and struggling for imposing a more realistic conception (…) The new life-conception is a dialectical one… Dialectics is characterized by a more severe and objective realism (…) Among the new realities of life is religious faith, present organically in religious cults, religious societies and more exactly and fully in the Church…Dialectics is not against the Church (…) The Church cannot oppose the dialectic and objective course of life. It cannot be static and if it is, it cannot remain so."[7]

Groza made an appeal to all "democratic" priests to free the Church from the "ballast" that was slowing it down, making it unable to follow the times. The prime minister also reproached the Church with their "exaggerate" institutionalization, its rigid and ancient forms, which were making it static and isolated in reference to the process of building the new democracy. Although admitting the national importance of the Church, Groza insisted that "*the new forms of life"* (which were of the Soviet democratic type) indicated the realist "sense and character" of all revisions and reforms necessary within the Church. The head of government was thus requesting for a return to the people, to his class struggle. Dr. Petru Groza's speeches were consequently duplicitary, Groza showing himself on one hand sensitive towards the ancestral faith, and on the other hand an admirer of the Marxist-Leninist "grandeur". Some of the theologians of the age, such as priest Dumitru Stăniloaie and priest Liviu Stan, understood "the history-breaking grandeur" of Communism, but they disagreed with marginalizing Christianity in

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[6]Acad. Mihai Ralea, "15 ani de mari realizări ale poporului nostru, in *Cercetări filozofice*, year VI, no 4, 1959, p.25, 27.

[7] O.Ghibu, op.cit., p.141, 143.

comparison with dialectic materialism, such as was the desire of the new "democracy's" promoters, headed by Groza and the Communist Party.[8]

Petru Groza's alienation from the national and Christian line was considered a reflex for his characteristic opportunism. As was the case with many sympathizers and followers of the Communist regime, dr. Groza shared their opposing ideological views, adapting them to occasions and situations. In November 1946, when participating to the consecration of a church in Braşov, Groza declared himself enraptured by a "holy emotion" in the Altar. On that occasion, he underlined the significance of the Church as a national rampant: "we, the Romanians, have always found a fixed point in our Church. Grounded in this point, as in a strong citadel, we have conquered the difficulties of the past and we are now confidently stepping towards the future." In the same month, present at the celebration of the titular saint of a church in Suceava, in front of the relics of Saint Ioan cel Nou, Groza would remark that "the whole world knows that we, in our struggles for the new system, we do not draw back, but on the contrary, we approach with faith our ancestral Church." A year later, in 1947, during the National Church Congress, the same prime minister declared himself a "son of the Orthodox Church", a defender of the Church's spiritual positions. The head of government affirmed his understanding attitude towards the Church and religion, but also his admiration for the Soviet Union. Groza's governance was faithful to Sovietisation, the eradication of the traditional democratic pluralism because the historical national parties (the Peasants' Party and the Liberal Party) had always considered the Church, the Nation and the Monarchy as Romanian identity references.[9]

Imposing Marxism-Leninism in education, culture, politics meant a complete intolerance towards all religions, the immediate and radical extermination of denominations and religions, without the possibility of adjustments, revisions or reforms. The governmental policies were following the direction of destroying the Church and religion, although there was a rumour saying that Stalin had confidentially advised Groza as follows: "Stay away from imitations! You, Romanians, need to find your own way!"[10]

Professor Onisifor Ghibu, one of the forefathers of the Romanian University in Cluj, directly reproached Groza with this opportunistic attitude, highly detrimental to the country: "without publicly discarding your old national and Christian beliefs, and without openly declaring yourself a Communist, you composedly preside over all political formations, from the

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[8] Ibidem.
[9] *Telegraful român,* Sibiu, 19 noiembrie 1946. *Lumina creştină*, organul Uniunii Preoţilor democraţi din România, nr. 1-2, 1946. O.Ghibu, op.cit.,p.72-73, 81, 87, 89, 91, 140.147.
[10] Ibidem, p. 84-85, 201.

national ones to the extreme—leftists, achieving a record as a political acrobat and conjurer. (…) Yes, brother Petre, … the Christian ethics, which the Romanian people have been following since their birth, is replaced, following the Atheist Russian example of today, with the proletarian ethics. (…) Is it this "ethics" you want to introduce to us, Romanians to replace the Christian one? (…) What is your Romanian Communist Gospel?" Onisifor Ghibu described in the most remarkable way the era of transition to Communism 1945-1947, when "the democrats" were still afraid to be in open conflict with the sacred popular beliefs. Thus, they were content to put into practice the so-called "ostrich-policy, hiding their heads in the sand, instead of using all their heroic forces and a larger than life honesty to eliminate all the brakes and contrasts from that road which should have necessarily led to a clearing."[11]

During Groza's governance, in the period 1945-1947, alarming religious dislocations took place, with the Romanian Orthodox Church being drawn in a "spiritual" infeudation to Moscow. Practically, the Soviet Union was using the Orthodox Church itself in the war against religion through the efforts to dislocate Christianity and replace it with scientific Atheism. The Patriarchate in Moscow was forced to become an annex to the Soviet proletarian imperialism and its panslavonic ideas. This was visible in the Pan-Orthodox Conference in Moscow, in 1948, where delegates of the Romanian Orthodox Church were also present. The conclusion of this conference was a declaration, on behalf of the entire Orthodoxy, of hostility towards Catholicism and Anglicanism based on political and ideological reasons. Such a declaration could not long remain without alarming consequences. The main risk was the "derailment" of the Romanian Church from its natural Christian and national purpose, by transforming it into a political and ideological rampart.

3. Dej, the prophet of the working class
Christianity and the Christian Churches in danger (1948-1959)

The party propaganda and agitations, launched by the "prophet", the Party's chief, meant a class struggle against cultural and spiritual backwardness, but, mainly against economical and political backwardness. Social emancipation meant the disappearance of the reactionary bourgeoisie and land-owners, adversaries that would deny the leading role of the party in the process of scientifically forming a Socialist conscience. *Man's spiritual emancipation is a consequence of his social emancipation* was a slogan used by the founders of Socialism.[12] In the years of Stalinist Communism (1948-

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[11] Ibidem, p.84-85, 91, 108, 113, 115, 146,201.

[12] M. Ralea, op.cit., p. 19. K. Marx, F. Engels, *Despre religie*, Bucureşti, E.S.P.L.P., 1958, p. 38. *Documente din istoria Partidului Comunist din România*, Bucureţti, E.S.P.L.P., ed. A II-a,

1960), the "reactionary" part of gospel teachings represented an adaptation of the Marxist conception regarding the social principles of religions, especially those of Christianity. Although there were serious alteration in the period 1948-1960, Marx remained the guiding bench-mark in defining religion as "a need for illusions", "a valley of shadows" that obscures proletarian happiness and optimism.[13]

A conscientious imitator of Marxist-Leninist theories, Gheorghiu-Dej insisted in his speeches on the cultural and spiritual grandeur of Socialist goals. Until the final victory of Socialism, the traditional mentality, still majoritarian due to demographic reasons, had to be completely removed from the proletarian conscience. This meant disbanding small and medium peasants' properties, destroying and impoverishing the peasantry (a class that was most faithful to traditional national beliefs and rituals), perversely using the Orthodox Church by eliminating so-called rival cults, especially the Greek-Catholicism. In December 1948, using the pretext of rebuilding the religious unity of all Romanians, the Communist regime abolished Greek-Catholicism, thus sealing the fate of numerous priests and believers. Orthodoxy had no better fate, since its social role was drastically reduced. The persecution against priests reached a high of cruelty, especially after 1959. The former bourgeois regime was consistently defines as a social elemental, a darkness of barbarism; cultural backwardness, illiteracy, a large propaganda for mysticism were the preferred weapons of the former dominating classes in order to maintain the political and social oppression of the working classes.[14]

By coherently following the Marxist-Leninist policies to religion, the Socialist state did not desire to administratively "abolish" religious beliefs, and they permitted the freedom of conscience, including the liberty of religious cults, while also ensuring the wide spread of scientific knowledge about society and the world. Communist propaganda tendentiously equated dogmatic Christianity with popular Christianity, supporting the view that Marxist ideology had always insisted upon the poisonous part of religious beliefs and superstitions in "robbing" the working classes of their confidence in labour and their desire to completely and enthusiastically devote themselves to creative labour.

1953, p. 309. P. Beraru, "Popularizarea ştiinţei, ca mijloc de educaţie materialistă," in Caiete filozofice, year VI, no 6, 1959, p.278. Ion Aluaş, Gheorghe Toma, "Din lupta ideologiei marxist-leniniste împotriva iraţionalismului filozofic din România între cele două războaie mondiale, " in *Studia Universitatis Babeţ*-Bolyai, Series Philosophia et oeconomica, Cluj,1964, p.121133.
[13] André Reszler, Mythes politiques modernes, Paris,P.U.F., 1981, p.106. Marx, Engels, Opere, vol. I. Buc., Ed. Politică, 1960, p.387.
[14] Gh.Gheorghiu-Dej, *Un exemplu mărţ de construire a socialismului,* Bucureşti, Editura P.M.R., 1948, p.6,8,13-14.O.Ghibu, op.cit., p 98, 108. M. Ralea, op.cit., p.18.

The brilliant "teacher" and leader of the working people was the Communist Party, under the directives of the P.C.U.S. the Communist Party never hesitated in manipulating the Patriarch Justinian Marina as was the case with the promulgation of the Law of Cults by the Great National Assembly on August 4, 1948. The law in question stated some "generous2 principles that in fact only confirmed the increasing implication of the State in "religious affairs". Following the Stalinist spirit, the Communist propaganda laid down the freedom of conscience and cult, but, in reality, religious liberty was from starters in contradiction with the Socialist order and morality founded upon a new definition of labour, sacrifice, devotion. The substitution of Andrei Şaguna's name with that of V.I. Lenin on the frontispieces of schools or even the Theological Academy in Sibiu was a sign of the anti-Christian policy.[15]

Beginning in 1948, the entire Romanian cultural and religious tradition (which was a Latin, European and Christian inheritance) was officially abandoned and replaced with the Marxist-Leninist teachings and proletarian internationalism. The summer of 1948 also saw the dissolution of the old Romanian Academy, as well as the reforming of the entire education and culture. Theological schools were also reorganized, reduced because Christian education was considered a drawback to the human being's multilateral development, and such sympathetic humane and Socialist perspective was intended to stimulate popular beliefs so as to grow more conscious of the value of humanity. The educational reform of 1948 completely eliminated religious studies from all public schools. From 1948 onwards, the teaching of the Gospel regarding the love of thy neighbour could no longer be openly preached since Dej was called for a proletarian rage against all bourgeois values. Socialist ethics, with its truth and common good, sprung from the working classes' despise for exploiters. The politicization of ethics led to "the sacred hatred" that could justify a class struggle motivated by the obliteration of the bourgeois "beast".[16]

The Decree no. 37/ February 1949 presented the main responsibilities of the Ministry for Cults of the People's Republic of Romania (Minister Stanciu Stoian), a ministry defines as "a public service, through which the state manifests its right to supervise and control in order to guarantee the free use and exercise of the freedom of religion and conscience. The Ministry for

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[15] Cabriel Catalan, "Prigoana anticatolică în România între 1949-1953. Arestări şi procese ale unor clerici şi credincioşi" în *Arhiva Someşană*, 7, 1999, p.118-124. Georges Diener, L'autre communisme en Roumanie. Rrsistance populaire et manquis 1945-1965, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2001, p. 84-85.
[16]*Despre morala proletară. Conferinţă ţinută la 12 aprilie 1950 în sala ateneului R.P.R, în cadrul ciclului de conferinţe organizat de Societatea pentru răspândirea ştiinţei şi culturii,* Bucureşti, Editura Partidului Muncitoresc Român, 1950, p.8-11. O. Ghibu, op.cit., p.105-109, 111-113. .P. Beraru, op.cit., p. 279.

Cults invoked a "true" religious freedom, "guaranteed as a matter of fact", but in reality Greek-Catholicism had been abolished. In April 1949, Stanciu Stoian, the Minister for Cults, was citing Gheorghiu-Dej when declaring that state policies were based on realities and the Church was a reality, thus the Party was being guided by certain principles when it came to religious problems, and such principles "express the most advanced political view as well as the human feelings of the workers (…), the deep respect for any religious belief (…) and one of our policy's guiding principle in matters of religion is not only a circumstantial principle. The present regime and mostly its leading force – *the Workers' Party* – have nothing to hide in this matter and state their opinion clearly and plainly. The Marxist classics, the teachers *of all workers' parties, therefore P.M.R.'s as well, have also said it clearly* and plainly. Karl Marx has often been quoted partially and tendentiously. People usually quote one particular phrase regarding religion. But always this quote is taken out of context, which is crucial. Here we have such a fragment by Karl Marx: religion, he says, is the sob of the calamity-struck human being, the soul of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless era. (subl.n.) [17]

Stanciu also makes references to Lenin, who had been posing as tolerant when declaring that one should avoid making even the slightest injuries against religious beliefs. But the "humane conduct" promoted by Lenin and Stalin had nothing in common with Christian principles, but with those of materialist Atheism. In April 1949, the Minister for Cults, in a speech at the Patriarchate, justified the agrarian reform by declaring it was a centuries-old aspiration and the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Koran mentioned the fact that "the meek shall inherit the earth, not the wicked, not those that enjoy others' efforts, not those that live on exploiting others." Obviously, Comrade Stoian used a Marxist interpretation of the Bible since for him the meek and the gentle were not the Christian faithful, but those faithful to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Bible's verse Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth (Matthew 5:5), referring to the Saviour's word of the Sermon on the Mount, was changed into a slogan for class struggle. Stoian's persuasive attitude (he was a university professor of philosophy and pedagogy) reflected the new architecture of Communist thinking which disrupted tradition, while pretending to respect it. The most important representatives of the Church did not respond convincingly to such a blasphemous attitude. Officially, Patriarch Justinian, as the highest representative, did not show a martyr attitude, accepting the formal ritualization imposed by the Communist regime. The Church and the Nation were in mortal danger, as Prof. Onisifor Ghibu confessed, worried because of

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[17] Monitorul Oficial, partea I, nr. 30, 5 februarie 1949, p.1063. O.Ghibu, op.cit.,p.137-139.

the Orthodox Church's weakness and because the youngsters could no longer benefit from religious education.[18]

In 1950, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the head of the Party, discussing the life of religious communities in Romania, mentioned that reactionary propaganda should be stopped, since this propaganda was *"a deceitful and* ignorant form of propaganda, which has determined the public opinion that a regime lead by the working classes and their party has nothing better to do than declare open war against religious communities and *their members (...)* those trusting such opinions clearly have not been reading the words of *Lenin: "WE, said the great thinker and statesman, are completely against the slightest injury against religious beliefs. The Workers' Party follows the same* line. (subl.n.) According to O. Ghibu, the leaders of the country were apparently charitable towards the Church, but in reality the Marxist-Leninist doctrine was definitely anti-religious. The Romanian government only tolerated the Church from hand to mouth until they would be able to completely abolish it, without fear of useless social protests. The Church had to be abolished since it was a creation of the ancient societies, spiritually incompatible with the Socialist society on the rise.[19]

According to the Soviet legislation, the Church, the priest, the faithful lay at the mercy of the Party's representative for any form of religious manifestation in the '50s. in Romania, the Orthodox Church hierarchy used caution and compromise, but the majority of priests preferred courage and sacrifice. Ever since 1948, Romanian Communism was a totalitarian regime that sought to destroy all forms of religious beliefs and replace them with the militant Atheism of Marxism-Leninism. The empty place left by religion would be occupied, according to the Party's strategy, with the most forward conception of the working class: the historical and dialectic materialism. To this purpose, the Party initiated and developed a large Atheist and revolutionary propaganda so as to "improve the labourers' conscience to the heights of their Socialist duties, as drafted by the Marxist-Leninist party." The Socialist propaganda was used on a large scale in schools, institutes, press, radio, publications, conferences, etc. The success of the Marxist-Leninist propaganda was ensured through the use of the main "ideological handbooks": translation from the Marxist-Leninist classics, Romanian-language journals such as *Vaprosî filosofii*, *Lupta de clasă* (5th series 1948), *Cercetări filozofice (1954*, the first Marxist journal, turning into a periodical after no.3 in 1955). In addition, some other works were used: volumes meant to popularize the historical and dialectic materialism, study in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Party documents, resolutions and decisions of the

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[18] Ibidem, p.148-149.
[19] Ibidem, p.137, 181.

Communist Assemblies and plenaries, party works or speeches. Translations became a wide spread means of propaganda through such works as Legendele *evanghelice şi semnificaţia lo*r, Carte despre biblie (I.A.Krivelov), Originea *creştinismului* (I.A.Lentman), *Comunismul şi creştinismul* (H.N.Momdjean), *Probleme de istorie a religiei şi ateismului,* (a collection of Atheist and propaganda texts from 1959). A definite part was also played by the special journals dedicated to the problems of Atheism and combating religion and entitled Ş*tiinţă şi religie* and Ş*tiinţă şi Tehnică*.[20] All mass organizations and cultural and scientific institutions were used as levers in order to accomplish the cultural and educational function of the working classes. The Atheist propaganda had a content and a goal pertaining to the cultural revolution, with a view to continuously reducing the objective base generating religious beliefs. The objective character of this propaganda sprung from it's not being "independent and self-sustaining", but was part of "an entire process of Socialist education for the masses. For the Party, the divinity interposed between man and nature alienates man from understanding the laws of society, from identifying the real shortcomings of society, from naming the true solutions for a dignified and happy life. But, materialist Marxism (which transforms the new human being into a creative one) emphasizes consciousness, body and soul." The Marxist paradox between the world's materiality and man's spiritual existence is at the foundation of the spiritual crisis facing Soviet materialism, later faithfully imitated by Romanian Communism.[21]

Despite such a systematic propaganda, the fact that religious beliefs were still a part of most Romanians' lives was due not only to the mistakes and shortcomings of the Atheist and scientific propaganda, but also to the constant perpetuation of tradition, an element which is particularly hard to destroy. "Tradition, had Engels said, is a very powerful brake since it is the inertial force of history. But since it is only a passive force, it must be conquered." The "historical adjustment" meant erasing from the cultural discourse institutions like the Monarchy and Church. The Vice-President of the Great National Assembly, writer Mihail Sadoveanu, declared during a conference in Bucharest in autumn 1948 that "All connections with the past must be severed!" The cultural and spiritual revolution had to be violently adamant because the Party would claim there were powerful enemies, the so-

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[20] Ş*tiinţă şi Tehnică,* nr.6 şi 7 din 1958. The articles' titles (*Pe cine slujeşte?A fost vreodată progresistă religia?)* were meant to promote doubt, and full of scronful irony .E. Rodan, "10 ani de transformări revoluţionare în R.P.R. (1944-1954), în *Cercetări filozofice,* vol. 2, 1954, p. 7-33. Gheorghe Dumitriu, C. Rusnac, „Opoziţia ireductibilă dintre ştiinţă şi religie", în *Cercetări filozofice*, an VI, nr. 3, 1959, p.125-126. Al. Tănase, op.cit.,p. 252.N.Valéry-Grossu, op.cit.,p. 25-31.
[21] M. Ralea, op.cit., p.18-19, 24-25.

called contemporary reactionaries that attacked the Marxist-Leninist theories of class struggle and proposed the development of an autonomous culture oriented towards an abstract humanism of "moral accomplishments" (in a traditional sense) over any class differences. According to Communist propaganda, religious prejudices had served the cause of the capitalists and land-owners as a means to narcotise and deceive the working classes by inciting them to obedience and "brotherhood", to the renunciation for class struggle; even in the most proletarian dictatorship, such class enemies could sometimes find a proper field for action.[22]

Encouraged by the Stalinist discourse – referring to the progress of science, technique and technology in the cause of the working people – the Party launched the slogan of creating a new profile for the new Socialist human being. The most significant attributes for the new human being were a solid professional training and a high level of culture, attributes which would permit reaching the objectives of Socialist construction. The highest level for the new human being was the proletarian devoted to the Socialist cause, a trustworthy agitator and an activist for the Party's teachings. Ceremonies such as joining the Communist party or investing party leaders had a ritualistic form, like a sort of ordination that would allow these persons to become priests of the red cult, hierarchically organized and subjected to rules and norms (acting as precise canons). They would later form the retinue of agitators and enlighteners, the so-called draftsmen of proletarian ethics. To attract masses to their political and ideological strategies, they would use ritualistic behaviours (manifestations, parades, public speeches, slogans, etc.).[23]

The most controversial practice in Communism was leader-worship, which started with Stalin, also called the Daddy. Stalin's worship continued after his death in 1953, but in the years of de-Stalinization, through the exercises of critique and auto-critique, certain disavowals of personality worship came to light. The indicters emphasized that promoting the cult of personality had been done from top to bottom in our country, by certain "of our leaders, starting with Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Such a cult was possible because "these leaders indulged themselves in having their names praised or their person praised when they took to themselves what belonged to the party, the working class, and the people; and this is how the cult of Stalin came to be and was developed without any independence when it came to applying the Marxist-Leninist teachings. If Stalin was wrong, so were we.[24]

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[22] K.Marx, Fr. Engels, Despre religie, p. 281. O. Ghibu, op.cit., p.100, 104, 110-111.

[23] Ioana Boca , 1956-*Un an de ruptură*, Bucureşti, Editura Fundaţiei Academia Civică, 2001, p. 60-61.G. Diener, op.cit., p. 67-74, 84-86.

[24] I.Boca, op.cit., p.31-32.

Speaking about the incompatibility between religion and science in his speech at the 1959 National U.A.S.R Conference, Comrade Dej underlined the following: "In Socialism, we do not only oppose religious superstitions, but we also create the conditions for making such superstitions disappear. Once the social forces that hostilely oppose people disappear, people can begin to consciously build society, to conquer the roots of religion and superstitions. Exploitation-free people think of happiness not as an attribute of the paradise, but a tangible, real objective. The victories of our working people on our way to building Socialism, led by the Party, the ever-going *increase in the working masses' standards of living, both material and* spiritual, the indisputable proofs that there is no force in the world capable of destroying the (Socialist -nn) camp are essential elements for the disappearance of religious superstitions and the victory of scientific knowledge. In their struggle for Socialism and Communism, people build their happiness and defend their right to happiness. (subl.n.)[25]

By the end of the '50s, the Party leadership pronounced that the glorified work of building Socialism through class struggle against the exploiters and towards the victory of Socialist relations had disbanded the social and economical bases for religious superstitions.[26] Although in USSR, first Stalin himself and then Khrushchev had admitted the complete failure of Socialism, Dej out-Herod Herod by presenting militant Atheism and Socialist consciousness as the will of the working people.

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[25] Gh. Dumitriu, C. Rusnac, op.cit., p. 121-122, 126-128.
[26] *Cu privire la sarcinile propagandei de partid în condiţiile actuale, Hotărâre a Comitetului* Central al P.C.U.S, Editura pentru Literatură Politică, Moscova, 1960, p. 16. M. Ralea, op.cit., p. 22-23. O. Ghibu, op.cit., p. 100.

CREATIVE, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDENTITY IN MIKHAIL AFANASIEVICH BULGAKOV`S CORRESPONDENCE AND MEMOIRS

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Ukrainian-born Russian writer Mikhail Afanasievich Bulgakov appears to us in his occasional writings, in his correspondence from the period 1914-1922 respectively, in his own sporadic diarist notations grouped under the title Under the Heel[1] – written between 1922-1925 – and, as well, in other papers dating from the years 1925-1940, as a creator with a biography at least as interesting and surprising, full of tragic accents, as he and his epic and dramatic creations are. A careful interpretation of this corpus of documents reveals a number of important issues still underused or even sometimes ignored up until now, which may provide novel perspectives on the work of this author, especially if, in our research, we assume the generous perspective provided by Norbert Groeben, according to which the analysis of the biography of a writer can become an indirect analysis of his work or vice versa: the interpretation of an author's work may be, indirectly, an analysis of the writer's profile[2]. Taking into account the historical, political, social and economic context in which his epic and dramatic work has been created, our analysis will track the impact of these issues upon both the everyday existence of the writer and his writing. Bulgakov has lived, has written prose and drama, has directed plays and has even starred as actor during the tyrannical era of Stalinist communism, under the threat of censorship, of terrible material conditions and with a health increasingly weakened. The film of the writer's life, as it reveals itself not only from his biographical documents, but also from a number of literary creations (prose or plays where some of his existential tragic experiences had been either presented, or transformed, sublimated into fiction or having the quality of confession), and raw, unprocessed materials, proves to contain a nightmarish scenario that caused

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[1] Writer's diary, correspondence, and other autobiographical documents have been published in Romanian in the volume Mikhail Bulgakov, Correspondence. Diaries, translated, notes and index by Ana-Maria Brezuleanu, preface by Ion Vartic, Iaşi: Polirom, 2006.

[2] This perspective is amply discussed in Norbert Groeben`s The Psichology of Literature. The Science of Literature between Hermeneutics and Empiricism, translated by Gabriel Liiceanu and Suzana Mihăilescu, preface by Gabriel Liiceanu, Bucharest: Univers, 1978.

the strongest moments of neurosis, dominated by a go-around conscience, while feeling the closure of all horizons from which could arise some faint towards a better, long-awaited future, but never glimpsed.

Our biographical journey begins with Bulgakov's period as a student in medicine, which had begun in 1913 in Kiev, where he, newly married with Tatiana Nikolaevna Lappa, addicted to morphine ever since the Nikolskoe days, fights his addiction and is supported by his wife who no longer wants to allow him the drug. He writes in 1914, during Passover, to his sister Nadejda Afanasievna, married Zemskaia, who lived in Moscow, the following lines: "Precious Nadia, I congratulate you. I spend all the time with books. I passed some exams and in May, probably, I will enter the fourth year."(Bulgakov, 2006: 5). From this short notation dating from his studency we can easily deduce that the brilliant results which young Bulgakov had in university are due to his intense study and his interest in medicine. This fact will be further proven by the professionalism with which he will practice his job for another four years, always reading medical literature and taking care of patients, despite the unbearable atmosphere in the city of Veazma, where he worked at the local Hospital in the winter of 1917 - 1918. In a letter dated October 3, 1917, sent to the same sisters in Moscow, where she had come to licensing exams, Bulgakov asks her to buy him some books on clinical chemistry and venereal diseases, asking her to recover a gold necklace that belonged to Tasia, his wife, left as a mortgage, a sign that the two were not doing very well financially[3].

On historical, social and political grounds, at that moment in Russia had begun a series of events which culminated in the outbreak of the revolution of 1917, later transformed into civil war, and which later will gradually lead to the establishment of the Soviet Union. Autocratic power of tsar Nicholas II was replaced in February by a liberal democratic republic with a socialist orientation, and a provisional government headed by Aleksandr Kerensky. Initially the revolt broke out in Petrograd and was caused by both the food shortages and by the Russian involvement in the First World War. From February to October, the Bolsheviks tried to instigate popular riots, but failed any attempt to take power until October, when Lenin himself initiated and led the revolution, with its ideological foundation made up of Karl Marx's ideas. The democratic provisional government was replaced by a Bolshevik dictatorship. Although Bolsheviks lost the first free elections in Russian history, they did not recognized the results and did not comply, dissolving the Constitutional Assembly by force, under the leadership of Lenin, which led to the triggering of the civil war in early 1918.

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[3] Bulgakov Mihail, op. cit. pp. 6-8.

In these circumstances, the existence of Mikhail Bulgakov begins to take a dramatic turn. The barbaric nature and bloody character of the revolution left deep trauma to the young doctor, accents generating disgust and horror filling the pages of his correspondence. Thus, in a letter dated December 31, 1917 addressed to his sister Nadejda, we read the following description of horrifying historical events of that genuine "winter of discontent":

[...] The present is so bad, that I try to live without noticing it ... not to see, not to hear it! Recently, on a trip to Moscow and Saratov, I was given the chance to see with my own eyes and I do not need more.

"I saw the gray crowd, shouting and cursing dirty, broking windows in trains, I saw people getting killed. In Moscow we saw houses destroyed and burnt ... obtuse and cruel faces ... I saw gangs who assailed banks` locked entries, taken by force, hunger queues near shops, pathetic officers harassed, I saw the newspaper where it is written actually about the same thing: about prisons, about the blood that flows south and west and east. I saw it with my own eyes and I understand what happened." (Bulgakov, 2006: 10).

Scenes of vandalism, chaos and terror had become common feature in Russia; also, his terrible living conditions, capable of leading him to exasperation determine him to seek solace in isolation, meditation and reading of "ancient authors" which bring with them an irrepressible nostalgia for ancient times. Confessed conservative reading tastes define his aesthetic and intellectual level, as is proved by his literary creation. However, in 1920 he decides to give up medicine and to begin to write. On September 20, 1921 he arrives in Moscow with the thought of becoming a writer. The idea is actually older, and it seems to have occurred two years earlier, when Bulgakov left his native Kiev, moving first in Vladikavaz - currently Ordjonikidze, a small province town - where, according to his own confession, he proposed for the first time to the local newspaper a story written in train in a late autumn night. The newspaper has published it immediately. Yet his literary debut seem to have occurred more recent, because a notation made in 1921 reads: "in a drawer of my desk [from Kiev] I left two manuscripts. It's Diary of a young doctor and A disease (draft), and a third, entirely typed, titled First Flower."(Vîrsta, 1989: 9). These texts are the most appreciated by the author, who considers them "extremely important", unlike the three dramatic creations played by Vladikavaz theater, "The Muezzin Sons", "Brothers Turbin" and "Self-defense", which he believes were "hastily written and sloppy" although they had been played with great public success by the new Soviet theater. Bulgakov's self-criticism is justified not only by his dramatic intentions and aspirations, but also by the imperatives and needs of a renewed, groundbreaking conception of literature, reflecting new transformations,

situated closer to the spirit and skill of ordinary people[4]. Although being still in the exploratory period as a playwright, Bulgakov is seriously concerned about the psychological motivation of the actions of characters in his plays, feeling that the agitative component imposed by censorship deprives his writings of genuine aesthetic value. Vladikavaz becomes for him, in a short time, a sort of internal exile, which thwarts the desires of affirmation. Consequently, in 1921 he decides to move to the capital city of Russia, Moscow, a move which be perceived to give him the opportunity to confirm his talent. Before he get to Moscow, in February the same year, when he was still in Vladikavaz, he writes to his cousin and very close friend Konstantin Petrovich Bulgakov, telling him about his literary adventure in that place of exile, and also about his work published by several local newspapers, including Kavcaz, about stage success of Self-defense[5] and Brothers Turbin plays, and their categorical rejection in Moscow, which the writer considers to have been determined by the fact that they were "unfinished things" (Bulgakov, 2006: 11-12). In the same letter he asks Konstantin ("Kostea") to try to recover manuscripts submitted to and rejected by the "Teatralnîi Otdel" (Theatre Department), back when Meyerhold was director there, or from the "General Directorate of Theatres" (T.U.T., abbreviation), also announcing him that he had written a new comedy, "Newlyweds of Clay", which he has also sent to the capital and he did not even know if the play had been accepted or rejected. The conclusion reached by author about these early writings is that they cannot represent anything but a fake, a bad joke of destiny: remembering the scene from Vladikavaz success, which, in his view, was a hideous fulfillment of a dream by provincial achievement, while the "drama Aliosha Turbin", more carefully and painstakingly carved, lay discarded in a bottom drawer of the Theatre Section in Moscow, he plans to escape from this trap. Plans are almost ready, as he confesses his cousin in a letter, perhaps not

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[4] The emotional postrevolutionary incandescence has led to the necessity of realization of new artistic works able to reflect the perceptions of reality by the popular masses. The life of the theater has been full of efervescence. In the country there have appeared a large network of artistic clubs. It was hard to find a town, more or less significant, where there were opened not at least a few literary circles, etc. The newspapers from that time were full of news about the organization of theatrical teams, even in the most remote regions of Russia. The acute and ever growing need of all these teams to develop their own repertoires could not be satisfied by the then-existing plays... – writes L. Tamashin, cited in his own translation by researcher Izolda Vîrsta in Mikhail Bulgakov, Bucharest: Univers, 1989, p. 10. Directors, actors and even the public did not agree the agitatoric themes imposed by the proletcultistic creations, prefering the rigors of realistic art. A large segment of Russian intellectuals, among them Bulgakov himself, were trying to satisfy the tastes of popular masses, responding to the aestethic and philosophical demands of the epoch, and not to political demands.
[5] In the letter cited above the play appears under the title Self-defense, but in the book of Izolda Vîrsta it is translated as The Civil Defense.

necessarily in Moscow, but even across the borders[6]. In February and April of the same year, Bulgakov is still concerned about the fate of a historical drama in 3 acts, "The Paris Communards", which he knew nothing about, and the three manuscripts left behind in Kiev, asking the same Kosta and sister Nadia in two letters to recover and burn them, together with his rejected plays of Moscow, if they will find them.

After all these tribulations, during which he seeks creations lost or forgotten in the Moscow offices of the drawers of his native Kiev, Bulgakov arrives in May 1921 in Tiflis, Batumi, the current Tbilisi in Georgia, trying to justify his wanderings from the perspective of a man who understands he is only a toy of fate, as in ancient tragedies: "do not marvel at my wanderings - he writes Nadia – it cannot be otherwise. This is fate! Fate!"(Bulgakov, 2006: 24). Towards the end of September the writer will reach Moscow, completely drained of power, hungry, having no money and, moreover, terrified beyond measure by the gloom of winter approaching. Both his mental and physical condition was poor, feeling that he had lost the best years practicing medicine, having an obsession to define himself as "a delayed writer" and with "no work", who has scattered himself over magazines and "thin sheets" without being able yet to see a single printed book by himself. All these aspects coincide with his interior revelation which will push him forward on this painful and tragic Calvary, terminated by a spiritual culmination of his work near the moment of his death. His writer vocation becomes a certainty now, and it is even more painful for him to see himself torn between the desire to write literature as he wants and struggle to survive, juggling the front pages of newspapers and glasses of literature officials, of editorial prying in the middle of an unbearable aggressive Bolshevik mediocrity, all like a nightmare from which you feel you cannot wake up because you are imprisoned there forever. In all of this one can see even now the sad and solitary figure of Yeshua Ha Nozri from the masters` book about Pilate, subject of self-burning, and then saved by Woland in The Master and Margarita novel, or the profile of the "lonely rider with a gold lance" exiled in Yerushalaim, far from Rome, or the Master of the "house of Pain", three phases of loneliness in a world of muteness and deafness, brutalized and entered into twilight.

After a month and a half of "crazy fight for existence" in Moscow, on November 17, 1921 Bulgakov will send a letter to his mother V.M. Voskresenskaya in Kiev, in which he will tell her about the entire adventure with his wife Tasia in search of a home and a job. This newly found job is at the LITOGPP (an abbreviation for Literature Department of the General

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[6] In a footnote from this letter, the translator Ana-Maria Brezuleanu states that after the paragraph…. "I aspire far away…" There are a few deleted rows, a fact which may lead to the conclusion that Bulgakov was thinking about leaving Russia (Bulgakov, 2006: 15).

Political and Cultural Direction), an institution which was already in a process of restructuring, so, later that month the writer will lose even that job once the direction was closed. Moscow, being in a full inflation phenomenon, is in a generalized chaos and, as a consequence, subsistence and finding other jobs, especially in the private sector, is extremely difficult to provide. As well, bids are yet ambiguous[7]. At the same time, although he claims that he wants to collect material for a new drama, (which, unfortunately, he will never write) the writer complains mostly the almost total lack of time for writing. Dwellings available in Moscow will displease him deeply, putting him always in search of a home which, in fact, he will dream of all his life.

Between 1922-1923 Bulgakov finally manages to publish his Marks on the Cuffs, followed shortly by his first short stories and novels which, in 1925, had been grouped in a volume entitled Diavoliada. Russian association of proletarian writers will vehemently reject both this volume and the prose The Fatal Eggs - although, in fact, the public reading in front of the representatives of Moscow literary life made a good impression - viewed as slander, untrue and against "the working class." During the same year, the writer begins to publish his novel White Guard which will make Bulgakov famous and appreciated by both readers and a significant part of his literary peers. But 1926 coincides with the beginning of a retaliatory actions, for the moment only against his prose writings, because, for that time, Bulgakov stops writing plays and prefers to view as a spectator his premieres on Moscow scenes. He begins to have a negative fame as a writer, being labeled as counterrevolutionary and reactionary, triggering fierce hatred and envy manifested by the so-called realist-socialist or proletarian writers. In his diary from the period 1924-1925, confiscated by the OGPU (secret police) during a search, he calls them with disgust "a bunch of worthless".

However, the most important event that will definitely make its mark on Bulgakov's life is the surprising invitation made by the most prestigious Russian theater, the Moscow Academic Art Theater (abbreviated MHAT), to Bulgakov, when he was requested to dramatize his recent novel White Guard. This happens in the middle of the third decade of the 20th century, amid fierce polemics between tradition and innovation and between proletarian criticism

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[7] Beyond the apparent energetic and hopeful tone, the last words of the mentioned letter reveals Bulgakov`s disappointment: "I am trying to enter a flax factory. Apart from this, yesterday I have received an offer, for the moment not very clear, to collaborate with a newspaper dedicated to industrial issues which is establishing right now. It is a pure commercial affair, and they take me to test. Yesterday and today, as one may say, I had been examined. […] So, the flax, the newspaper, and the work to private people (when it happens), this is what expects me. […] In another specialization one cannot work. This would mean, in the best scenario, hunger." (Bulgakov, 2006 : 29). Despite his personal connections with the theater world, with the press or even with businessmen, the writer and his wife are still traped into a financial crisis.

and academic theaters. The careful assimilation in theater of theater heroic revolutionary themes, resorting to events more abroad than Russian has been caused by anxieties to describe the emergence of specific social and political conditions of characters in play, which may justify their actions. Bulgakov's proposal came from the literary secretary of MHAT, V. Versikov in April 1925 and led him to dramatize the novel, turning it into The Days of Turbins, a play which, on one hand, had had a success out of common and, on the other, incurred violent criticism of publications in the field. The implications of this drama, forbidden and resumed on stage until nearly a thousand performances during the life of the author, followed by others, led to important changes in Russian theater. Staging rehearsals for The Days of Turbins led by director I. Sudakov were held with the participation of Bulgakov himself and Konstantin Sergeyevich Stanislavski, the latter as art director, so he will come to notice the obvious additional talent as director and actor of the author. In a letter from 1930 sent to M. Heintz, his collaborator, Stanislavski tells him the story about the rehearsals he had witnessed, and he says that Bulgakov appears to him as a providential man, able to provoke a new lease of life in contemporary Soviet theater.

Bulgakov's first comedy entitled Zoika`s House[8], completed in late 1925, was inspired by an article from Vecernaia Moskva[9], about an underground tripot opened by a clandestine group of "nepmen"[10] and run by a woman named Zoe Buialskaia. This "tragic buffoonery", as the writer himself characterized the play, with bizarre characters who have only one goal, to escape Communist Moscow and go to Paris, stood on stage in Moscow and other cities until 1928, when it was forbidden by the censorship.

In 1929, his play The Run, a mix of comedy, satire and a strong underlying note of tragedy, difficult to precisely define as a genre[11], somehow resembling to The Days of Turbins, has been prohibited, this fact leaving severe psychological and social consequences for Bulgakov. He gains the fame of a reactionary, antisocial writer: he is even searched and interrogated by the OGPU[12] and, according to his own confession made in the letter addressed to Stalin in July 1929, the secret police seizes his diary and the only

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[8] In Izolda Virsta`s monography, the play is mentioned under the title "Zoika's flat".

[9] Evening Moscow, a communist soviet newspaper.

[10] The term is created in 1920 in USSR and designates a group of small private entrepreneurs who have opened a kind of underground "black market", tolerated in the USSR by V.I. Lenin, but definitely forbidden by Stalin.

[11] The second title of the play, Eight Dreams. Play in 4 Acts, suggests, as the content itself, a modern dramatic scenario, into which the writer would introduce, among others, the "dream" as a symbol of loneliness, utilized also by F.M. Dostoevsky.

[12] Abbreviation for „Ovedinennoe Gosudarsvennoe Politiceskoe Uravlenie", Political Police, later incorporated into NKVD and KGB.

copy of the novel Heart of a Dog. His plays The Days of Turbins, Zoika`s House and The Run are removed from the theaters repertory and banned, so the writer, after repeated efforts to recover his manuscripts and publish in various magazines, denied everywhere, will write a desperate memorandum addressed to Stalin, in which he presents him the situation and asks to be deported along with the second wife, Liubova Evghenievna Bulgakova (born Belozerskaia), outside the USSR, with the thought of refuge in France. In a letter dated September 3rd, 1929 addressed to Maxim Gorky himself, Bulgakov asks him to take steps for approval[13]. This year proves to be a "disaster year", in which the writer`s destruction was completed. He receives no response to his letters, and, moreover, his play about Molière, The Bigots` Kabbalah, is also prohibited on March 18, 1930.

This acute feeling of a total disaster of his life will determine him once again to write to te government of the USSR, and to Stalin indirectly, the famous letter from March 28, 1930 in which he will define, bold and full sincerity, his own artistic, social and political profile, hence the absence of any guilt that he might have it or somebody could have attributed to him. Instead, the comprehensive letter of Bulgakov lists all the slanders and insults against him and his work spreaded by the Soviet Communist press, which distorts and deforms him and his work with unimaginable violence and hate. At the same time, his portrait as a writer with a thought and aesthetics free from any ideological implications and highly personalized is revealed. He points out that, at that time, of 301 reviews about his work, only 3 are favorable and 298 are defamatory and full of insults, placing him in the category of "literary lackeys" and "neo-burgeoise offspring"[14]. Bulgakov opposes this defamatory portrait his own, developed with "the most complete good faith", into which he will define himself as a writer who does not understand and does not support any kind of censorship, an author of "mystic" orientation because of the truths revealed about countless deformities of his society, a "satirical" writer with no future in a time when satire had been inconceivable in the USSR. From this position of independence, criticized and denigrated, banned everywhere with hatred and envy, Bulgakov asked to be allowed to emigrate with the second wife, Liubov Evghenievna outside the borders of the Soviet Union, arguing that his position at the time was that of a "writer who cannot help his country" and "unable to write is equivalent to

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[13] In a few words, the writer resumes his dramatic situations as follows: "Please, Aleksei Maximovici, help me in this step. I had the intention to describe, in a detailed letter, all that is happening with me, but my extenuation and despair are endless. I cannot write anything. All is forbidden for me, I am interdicted, ruined, poisoned, I am in a total loneliness. Why keep a writer in a country where his works cannot exist? Please, take a human decision – let me go." (Bulgakov, 2006 : 174).
[14] Mikhail Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 187.

alive burying"[15]. Dissidence was outspoken against the "great social revolution" which he prophetically saw in bankruptcy since 1919 and instead of which he preferred a "Great Evolution". This will bring him in 1930 to the status of a pariah, without a penny in his pocket and even without a job prospect. Therefore, in the final letter to Stalin and the government, the writer, sensing that he will not be allowed to leave, asks to be given a job as assistant director of the Moscow Art Theater, Stanislavski at that time worked.

On April 18, the day after the funeral of the poet Mayakovsky, who committed suicide in order to manifest his rebellion against the Bolshevik tyranny, dictator Stalin, in order to prevent a similar gesture from Bulgakov, has phoned to his home, promising the writer a future discussion, and the next day Bulgakov has been hired to MHAT as assistant director. Despite this phone call, his books have remained unprinted, his plays banned on the Moscow scenes and the utopian discussion promised by Stalin will not happen again. Everything which Bulgakov will henceforth write - The Master and Margarita novel, the Batum play about Stalin's youth, and the drama Don Quixote - until 1940 are compensation and revenge fictions, revealing the grim specter of dictatorial censorship that has accompanied him most of his life. Starting from that moment, he turned his face to death and to "silence" which, tired and with his nerves shattered, Bulgakov ends up to identify himself with the brilliant hidalgo of Cervantes.

Initially, as noted by Ion Vartic, one of the most competent Romanian critics of Bulgakovs` works, the writer, known for his histrionics, "believes to be himself the victim of a hoax"[16] regarding the conversation with Stalin, and after he finally he was convinced that indeed he discussed with the dictator, his mind will gradually be captivated with the obsession to fulfill the promise of that confidential meeting, which, however, will not happen ever, although the effects caused by the phone call had been visible even the following day. The position into which Bulgakov will utopistically place Stalin, that of the "first reader" of his works, amplifies the writers` fantasy that it would be possible for the dictator to understand that his works (as a "satirical writer") are not against Soviet Russia but, by contrast, they are intended to have therapeutic effects for moral recovery of everyday life.

The beginning of the fourth decade of the twentieth century represents a turning point for the writer's life, and a particularly tense one when, on the one hand, he sees himself distancing from the literary and artistic life and, on the other, begins to consolidate his own artistic creed. In a letter dated June

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[15] Idem, p. 193.
[16] Ion Vartic, *Bulgakov şi secretul lui Koroviev. Interpretare figurală la „Maestrul şi Margareta*, 2nd edition, Iaşi: Polirom, 2007, pp. 17-18.

29, 1931, addressed to Vikenti Vikentevici Veresaev[17], Bulgakov testifies: "But I hope you believe me if I tell you that theater has completely engulfed me. I no longer exist. <<Dead souls>> especially have finished me. Apart from adapting the text, whose partitioning, presumably, will have no end, there is also the direction, in addition to acting (from autumn I will enter into the Actors` Association, by the way, what do you think of that?) MHAT went to Leningrad, and I work here on the edge (a little dramatization in a small theater).

All of these had serious consequences: I got sick, Vikenti Vikentevici. I will not get to enumerate symptoms, I'll just say that I ceased to respond to business letters. And a poisoned thought follows me: what if I really ended my orbit? Scientifically, it is called neurasthenia, if I'm not in a mistake." (Bulgakov, 2006 : 208-209).

We understand from this confession that the writer worked in the spring of 1930 until the late autumn, adapting to stage Gogol's masterpiece, directing it and, simultaneously, preparing to enter the "Actors` Association" after his acting talent has been noticed by Konstantin Stanislavski himself. References to neurasthenia, ie the neurosis, which Bulgakov has himself alone diagnosed after in 1930, following a paper received from Glavrepertkom noticing him the interdiction to stage the play Bigots` Kabbalah, which for the writer was tantamount to "bury alive" and a cancel of all his literary past, present and future, will gradually becomes a leitmotif, or an obsession of his notations as diarist. To the same Veresaev he will complain in letters of subsequent years of violent headaches, which will also mark his later years of life.

A whole avalanche of letters, calls and memos sent either to Stalin, or Gorky, or other persons with decision-making power in the communist hell, unanswered, along with the permanent work of restoration of plays like The Run or Kabbalah Bigots (renamed *Molière*) and writing of new plays banned in Moscow theater program, brings Bulgakov, in 1932, to the belief that Stalin was only a histrion playing, with a demonic satisfaction, with his life and then, hating to death all dramatizations of works written by others[18] - as he

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[17] The literary name of Vikenti Vikentevici Smidovici – a Russian writer born in 1867 in Tula and who died in 1945 in Moscow. His works, especially the ones written after the October Revolution (Puşkin's Life, 1926; Puşkin's Friends, 1934; Gogol's Life, 1933; and the novels The Dark Alley, 1922 and The Sisters, 1933) describe russian intelighentsia. His writings had been admired by Bulgakov, and their relations were very warm.

[18] "And at the end of my career as a writer I had been obliged to make dramatizations. What a shining end, isn't it? I look at the book shelves and I am horrified: who is going to be the next one who I would dramatize? Turghenev, Leskov, Bockhaus-Efron? Ostrovski?" (Bulgakov, 2006 : 243).

confesses to P.S. Popov[19] – together with all the endless rewrites imposed to him by censorship, the writer uses, as a last resort, to immerse himself in a secret life from which will develop the „compensation fiction"[20] of a terrible novel – The Master and Margarita. The substance of Woland character seems to have molded the writer's inner self, beyond the compensating power of fiction, from that imagined biography of that facet of a dictator who, as in the case of *Molière*, seems to be the protector of his work, removing all censorship attempts made by the "poputciki ", the attacks of the Bolshevik press and generally all kinds of lawlessness. All this titanic work makes him always complain in letters to his brother Nikolai, or to Veresaev, Stanislavski or even to Stalin, of a fatigue which has reached unbearable levels. Here, for example, he describes his situation in a letter to Veresaev, sent the year before, on July 22, 1931: "That is right: why do we meet so rarely? In that dark year when I was crushed[21] and from my book came out one and the same thing - to put a bullet in my head, you came and you cheered. The wisest comfort for a writer! And not only that. Our meetings, conversations, your own person, all, Vikenti Vikentievici, interest me and they are so nice! Thank you for taking the burden of financial embarrassment from my back. The cause lays is in my existence. Lack of time has different faces. Mine is unnatural. It consists of the darkest unrest, in dispel with nonsense that I should take care of, in despair, the anxiety of nervous and helpless attempts. I'm a man with broken wings." (Bulgakov, 2006: 211). The last sentence of the above passage is a characterization of his tragic destiny as an artist, doomed to live in an age when creative freedom is suppressed savagely by Stalinist censorship or attacked in press by pseudo-writers on ideological grounds. With the scandal provoked by the premiere of *Molière* on February 6, 1936, the play was removed from theaters` repertory after only seven performances, and the prohibitions nightmare returns with even greater force: Bulgakov is now removed as a playwright in the repertoire of all Soviet theaters where his plays were being mounted, so he is forced to become librettist at the Bolshoi Teatr. In correspondence of this period, the writer invoked more often the dismantling of his literary activity, and still thinks "to invent" something at all costs, regardless of the sacrifices that his gesture would require. All has remained enigmatic until 1938, when he finished his masterpiece, the Master and Margarita. Bulgakov himself has called it "my

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[19] Pavel Stepanovich Popov (1892-1964), philosopher, logician and literary figure, the first biographer of Bulgakov deported by the Bolsheviks to Leningrad because of his "bourgeoisie" origins. The paragraph cited in the above note is from the fourth letter sent to him by Bulgakov on May 7th, 1932.
[20] Ion Vartic, op. cit., p. 56.
[21] The writer is referring to 1929.

novel of twilight" and plans a dramatization of Miguel de Cervantes` Don Quixote, working directly on the original Spanish text, in order to create a genuine work (like *Molière*), not just a mere dramatization. Four years before his death on March 10, 1940, in 1936, Bulgakov started the writing of Batum, his last literary work, a play about Stalin's youth, which the writer has finished only in august 1939, almost blind. His play is read, but, like the others, it has the same fate to be banned by orders came "from above". This will cause the writer to tell Elena Sergheevna, his third wife, that: "He (Stalin) has signed my death sentence." Bulgakov is admitted to the sanatorium Barviha by Stalin's intervention, this time again playing the role of a "savior", after making a visit in the fall of 1939 to the MHAT when, as a height of cynicism, he has showed appreciation for the writer's work, even for the banned play Batum.

BEING A JEWISH WRITER IN 1937-1944 ROMANIA. NARRATIVE IDENTITY DEVELOPED AROUND EMIL DORIAN'S DIARY

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Commenting upon life as topic, the personal diary is a "histoire de la vie" of its author[1]. It becomes an optimal source in studying the identity of a diarist. Once experienced, events are written in the intimate notebook, so that the story is fashioned while being lived. These pages exemplify the concept of narrative identity by analyzing the diary of Jewish writer Emil Dorian in the period of 1937-1944. Adopting the idea of "life as narration", we will try to interpret not only the explicit identitary discourse of the diarist (that practically says who he is, how he is), but also the diverse related events, frequent topics, obsessions, concerns which talk about the identity of the character and, implicitly[2], of the author.

Emil Dorian (1891, Bucharest - 1956, Bucharest) is a poet, prose writer, translator and physician. The foreword of his diary, signed by Z. Ornea, relates some major events in this diarist's creative life, opening with the metaphorical and slightly abrupt specification: the author "was unfortunately not a muse privileged writer".[3] Although not an inspired writer, his diaries written between 1938 and 1956[4] are comforting readings and valuable documents, making up for his doubtful creative works. The not so generous foreword, also offers some biographical details from this writer's life. Graduating from the university of medicine, he fights the battle of Mărăşeşti as a medic-officer. Coming back from the war, he devotes to writing (among others) and frequents E. Lovinescu's literary circle

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[1] On „histoire de vie" and a few other theoretical reflections on it, see Pierre Bourdieu, „L'illusion biographique " In: Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales. Vol. 62-63, juin 1986. p. 69-72.

[2] I say implicitly, because we deal in this diary with a first person narrative, which implies an identity between author, narrator and character..

[3] See Z. Ornea, „Prefaţa" to Emil Dorian, „Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană. 1937-1944", edited by Marguerite Dorian, with a foreword by Z. Ornea, Editura Hasefer, Bucureşti, 1996, p. 5-6.

[4] Emil Dorian, „Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană. 1937-1944", edited by Marguerite Dorian, with a foreword by Z. Ornea, Editura Hasefer, Bucureşti, 1996. Emil Dorian, „Cărţile au rămas neterminate. Jurnal 1945-1948", Editura Compania, Bucureşti, 2006. Emil Dorian, „Cu fir negru de arnici. Jurnal 1949-1956", Editura Compania, Bucureşti, 2012.

"Sburătorul", where he reads some of his creations. Thus, being encouraged, in 1922, his poetry book appears, " Cântece pentru Lelioara", containing sentimental verses addressed to his first-born daughter, Lelia. Although he writes fiction, he does not lose contact with medicine and he devotes his time elaborating articles and studies in medicine specialized periodicals. The book "Misterele şi tehnica sexualităţii" is published under the name dr. M. Punk. One should mention for the readers that the subject of this book will not make him a nonconformist diarist who displays his private life on the sheets of his private note-book. On the contrary, the diary is discreet when treating the private life of its author.

Emil Dorian also publishes in the Jewish press, in magazines such as "Adam", "Puntea de fildeş", "Înfrăţirea" etc. He constantly translates from Yiddish to Romanian and he finalizes a Yiddish anthology of poetry translated to Romanian as he is writing in his diary; the volume will be published only posthumously in 1966.[5] His first diary is withdrawn with great difficulties from the country in the commmunist era[6] and is published for the first time in the United States, in 1982, bearing the title "The Quality of Witness". A year later the volume is awarded by The National Jewish Award[7]. The diary will be published in Romania in 1996, the same year that Mihail Sebastian's diary is printed.[8]

Before approaching Emil Dorian's discourse on his life, we should center on some concepts that we are going to use in the following pages. At the core of our study there is the "identity" which is going to be used with two of its meanings, presented in a recent article, "Cultural Identity and Personal Identity. Phiolosophical Reflections on the Identity of Social Psychology", penned by Thomas Wren. The author counters the meaning offered to personal identity by Erik Erikson; the latter considers that the definition must answer the question "Who am I?" through fixed traits, unchanging, stable.[9] As a conseguence, Thomas Wren gives another definition:"Personal Identity is that aspect of one's subjectivity that endures through time, or at least seems to endure. Like Heraclitus' river, its permanence may well be a permanence of form rather than content, but what is important to identify theorists like

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[5]See Z. Ornea, „Prefaţa" to Emil Dorian, „Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană. 1937-1944", E edited by Marguerite Dorian, with a foreword by Z. Ornea, Editura Hasefer, Bucureşti, 1996, p. 5-6.
[6]There's useful information in the foreword of the second volume, signed by the daughter of the diarist, Margareta Dorian. (Emil Dorian, „Cărţile au rămas neterminate. Jurnal 1945-1948", Editura Compania, Bucureşti, 2006, p. 8-9.)
[7]Emil Dorian, „Cărţile au rămas neterminate. Jurnal 1945-1948", op. cit. p. 9.
[8]Mihail Sebastian, „Jurnal 1935-1944", Editura Humanitas, Bucureşti, 1996.
[9]This style of defining and looking at things is characterized by Pierre Bourdieu as being "substantialist". (see Pierre Bourdieu, „Raţiuni practice. O teorie a acţiunii", Translated from French by Cristina and Costin Popescu, Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti, 1999, p. 11)

Erikson as well as ordinary people who ask the «Who am I?» question is the reassuring perception of sameness from one moment of their lived experience to the next. (Similarly, people like to think of themselves as having a cultural identity because they believe, rightly or wrongly, that certain features of their common life have remained the same)."[10]   From a psycho-dynamic perspective, identity is characterized by subjectivity, which permits the acceptance of a dynamics of the traits of identity of a person. For many of the theoreticians of personal identity, the unity of analysis is an objective one, the stable personality draws a single pattern through which a person thinks of himself (also named "self-concept"). At the same time it also is the requisite of the many individuals that question their own individualities, wanting to find precise answers, stable traits of their identity.[11] We will assume both definitions of identity, considering it in its main two components: mobile, dynamic and stable, unique. Paul Ricoeur describes narrative identity, in his turn, as having two dual components: ipseité (idem) and mêmeté (même), where the former designates permanence in time and the latter designates what is identical, unchanged.[12] The concept of "narrative identity" will be kept in mind since we are going to resume to it in the following lines.

Another concept incorporated in this study is "narrativity". Sociological sciences define it as a way of representing social and historical knowledge; it is constituted of related parts, that are determined in time and space, influenced by a causal emplotment. Narrativity does not give meaning to an isolated event, but professes that we discern the meaning of a single event just by its temporal and spatial relationship with other events. This way, we might deduce four features of narrativity: 1.„relationality of different parts", 2. „causal emplotment", 3. „selective appropriation", 4. „temporality, sequence and place".[13] Looking at Emil Dorian's text from the point of view of its narrativity, we analyze the fragments strictly in relationship with the context of their being written and in connection with other fragments of the diary. Narrativity forces us to regard the random accounts of the daily chaos as a story of many episodes.

Bringing the two concepts together, we will try to explain what "narrative identity" means, the way Paul Ricoeur defines in "   Soi-même comme un autre". Identities are narrative, because they take shape when man

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[10]Thomas Wren, „Cultural Identity and Personal Identity. Phiolosophical Reflections on the Identity of Social Psychology" in „Personal and Moral Identity", edited by Albert W. Musschenga, Wounter Van Haaften, Ben Spiecker and Marc Slors, Kluwer Academic Publisher, Dordrecht/Boston/London, 2002, p. 236-237.

[11]Ibidem. p. 237.

[12]Ibidem, p. 12-13.

[13]Margaret R. Somers, „The narrative constitute of identity. A relational and network approach" in "Theory and Society 23", Kluwer Academics Publisher, Netherlands, 1994, p. 616.

speaks of himself or of others, when man narrates (and, automatically, he recounts himself). Just as other narratives, identities are "vested" into discourses. These "histoires de vie" borrow from the narrative models – plots – from history proper or from fiction (novels, dramas). They borrow from history and fiction, making the history of a life into a fictive history or, if you would like, a historical fiction, intermingling the historical style of biographies with the novelistic style of imagined autobiographies. Thus narrative identity, be it one of a person or a community, should be the spot where history and fiction meet.[14] The study of the narrative identity of a character is a provoking study perspective, because it offers clues on the context in which the narrative was written (the time and space of elaboration), but also allows breaking into the depths of the story-teller's mind, of his writing, of his way of expression.. The complexity such a perspective offers is similar to the complexity of life. The diary comments upon life, the narrator narrates himself, the writer writes about himself.

In the following pages, emphasis will be directed towards the character of "Jurnal în anii de prigoană 1937-1944". Because in a diary narration is in first person, in the form of a confession, the author is the same as the narrator and the character of the story. The author of the diary, Emil Dorian, is Emil Dorian the narrator, whose story features Emil Dorian the protagonist. These overlapping identities facilitate and support Paul Ricoeur's remarks on the importance of character identity in the study of narrative identity.. The character is the one who builds the action. The category of "character" is therefore, a narrative category, while his role in the story reveals the same narrative importance as the plot itself.[15] „Le récit construit l'identité du personnage, qu'on peut appeler son identité narrative, en construisant celle de l'histoire racontée. C'est l'identité de l'histoire qui fait l'identité du personnage."[16] The story is important because it speaks about the character (without having the character speaking himself). This is why attention is going to be paid not only to the confessions – i.e. what the diarist says explicitly about himself, how he defines himself – but also to what the character tells, how he tells.

The approach of our source material was first drawn by mentioning its author and some biographical details. The next step which nears our research to the text is the reading of its title: "Jurnal în anii de prigoană 1937-1944" (freely translated as "A diary from the years of persecution 1937-138"). Although it doesn't ask the question of Jewish identity, the title gives rise to a question of an identitary character: who sees those years as years of

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[14]Paul Ricoeur. „Soi-même comme un autre", Éditions de Seuil, Paris, 1990, p. 138.
[15]Ibidem. p. 170.
[16]Ibidem. p. 175.

persecution? Beyond the keyword "who", the title brings to front the historical context which becomes fundamental in discovering the identity of he who confesses.[17] The narration of this life coincides with the Goga-Cuza government (December 1937- February 1938), the legionary governmant (September 14, 1940 – January 23, 1941), Antonescu's government (1940 - August 1944). All of these moments are marked by antisemitic measures, initiatives meant to "romanianize" the Romanian culture not Romanian enough (in fact the scope of these actions was nationwide in all its aspects)[18]. Indirectly, it is suggested that the diary belongs to a Jewish person going through "years of persecution" in this interval.

A detail which makes the context more important in the analysis of these stories is the fact that its first entry (December 30, 1937) is dated in the first days of Goga's government (December 28, 1937). The first phrase of the diary is a brief forecast of abundant snowfall. Equally abundant is the wave of rumors that circulate as soon as the Goga-Cuza government is installed. Ury Benador, an acquaintance of the diarist, wants to address a memo to Octavian Goga, from writer to writer[19]. The idea of literary dimension which surpasses political and ideological problems must be noted down; it will take its place constantly in the discourse of this diarist. Following this, comes the voice of the character which maintains that the minorities' problem must be clarified, as the prime-minister himself declared, among which the Jews have a status of no status: "But what are we? Not Romanians, not a minority."[20] The fact that the identitary issue mentioned in the context of the new Goga government shows up in the first lines of this personal notebook implies its importance and, maybe, one of the reasons for beginning to write a diary.

The usage of first person discourse in the above question needs to be underlined. The character problematizes the rejected national identity of the Jews in Romania and their possibility to have only an ethnic Jewish identity.[21]

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[17]„To make something understandable in the context of a narrative is to give it historicity and relationality." (Margaret R. Somers, articol „The narrative constitute of identity. A relational and network approach" in "Theory and Society 23", Kluwer Academics Publisher, Netherlands, 1994, p. 616.)

[18]A thorough study concerning the period is provided by Jean Ancel, „The History of the Holocaust in Romania", translated by Yaffah Murciano, edited by Leon Volovici, with the assistance of Miriam Caloianu, published by University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, and Yad Vashem, Jelusalem, 2011.

[19]Prior to being a politician Octavian Goga was mainly known for his writings.

[20]Emil Dorian, „Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană. 1937-1944", Ediție de Marguerite Dorian, cu o prefață de Z. Ornea, Editura Hasefer, București, 1996, p. 21.

[21]„The Jewish were forced to declare their ethnic identity; they were barred from any attempt to renounce their Jewishness by eighter converting to Christianity or entering a mixed marriage." (Lya Benjamin, „Anti-Semitism as Reflected in the Records of the Council of Ministers, 1940-1944: An Analytical Overview", in „The Distruction of Romanian and Ukrain

Without stating this thing, the diarist expresses himself as an integral part of the Jewish community; as a Jew, in a moment when the "national restoration" plan was underway (as Octavian Goga states[22]), Emil Dorian starts writing a diary. Without being programmatic, this personal notebook tries to answer to the question on its first page, envisaging not only the personal dimension of the identity issue, but also that of the community of which he is part, as well as the political events in the country that influence the status of the Jews (mainly the discriminatory decrees against the Jews).

In conclusion, the first page is especially important because it outlines the directions of the diary that is to be written following what the author experiences. The developing character speaks in the name of its author, who, on his turn, acts as Jew and writer. Even if there is no explicit self-portrait in any sense, the subject of the diary and the interpretations pertaining to the narrative discourse of the character, result in the two identities. As we proceed with this research we are going to look forward to verifying this statement and to detach other identitary features.

First of all we are going to cut to the elements that strengthen the Jewish image of the diarist. The diary lets us rebuild the main events in the political history of Romania, but also those of Europe during World War II. The times are so conflictual that the great events on the political and cultural scene are of first importance, overshadowing private life. Different episodes that confirm the antisemitism of the others is noted conscientiously and in alarm. The reproaches are addressed not only to the Romanian politicians and writers, but also the those Jews who accept without protesting the discriminatory destiny.[23]

The character is involved or, rather directly affected by numerous political events in the country. Among the first "effects" of these laws there's the resignation of the author, somewhat naturally expected: "What I've been expecting for some days now just happened: I was discharged from the office I held in Social Security, because I am a Jew. The journals are publishing today the list of my colleagues dismissed on the same basis. The streets are overwhelmed by the loud announcements of newspaper sellers: The dismissal of Jewish physicians working in the Social Security area! Victory is won, nationalism satisfied..."[24] If the first phrase concerns directly its author in his Jewish quality, the other completes and speaks in the name of Jewish medical community ("the list of colleagues"). The cleansing of Social Security is

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Jews During the Antonescu Era", Edited by Radolph L. Braham, Socail Science Monographs, Boulder, Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1997, p. 8.)
[22]Emil Dorian, op. cit., p. 23.
[23]Ibidem, p. 26.
[24]Ibidem, p. 25.

officially heralded, triumphantly, in the newspapers of the day. The diarist purposely mentions the press articles because these represent another source that confirms the information provided by the narrator. As it is clearly seen, the decision of the authorities troubles profoundly the diarist, a thing of which he is conscious and which is brought before his readers in good intention. The conciliatory tone will accompany numerous statements from now on. "I am conscious enough not to fall prey to sentimental exaggerations and wise enough not to associate the entire Romanian people with all the injustices that are committed these dark days."[25] The character outlined in this situation shows lucidity and intelligence, his statement having a moralizing and exemplary nature.

Emil Dorian captures intuitively in his diary the Goga-Cuza government. In 1935, the National-Christian Defense League led by A. C. Cuza fusions with the National Agrarian Party led by O. Goga, forming an extremist right wing – the National Christian Party. The two were brought toghether by Nichifor Crainic, who becomes the vice-president of the party. Both O. Goga and A. C. Cuza had had discussions with Hitler, and Alfred Rosenberg becomes their spiritual, political and financial patron.[26] Cuza was the first politician to bring commendation to Hitler in the Romanian parliament, three years before the National Socialist party won the elections.[27]

Emil Dorian is rightfully worried about Goga's govenrment and begins to write a diary, to note all that is about to happen. The intuition and the rumors tell him that "years of persecution" will follow. He questions identity (what are the Jews in Romania?) because of the context – the political situation brings to forefront the existence of the minorities and, particularly, the Jewish problem. Whether he asked this question to himself or to his community, now he is determined by the circumstances to interrogate himself. The platform of National Christian Party distinguished three types of minority groups:

1. Minority groups loyal the Romanian state (the germans). The members of this group could hold public offices, according to the proportional basis.

2. Minority groups belonging to the revisionist states (the Bulgarians and Hungarians mainly). They could hold some of the public offices, work in commerce, industry, liberal professions, according to the same proportional basis.

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[25]Ibidem, p. 25.

[26]Volovici, Leon. „Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism. The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s", translated from Romanian by Charles Kormos, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1991, p. 158.

[27]„Problema jidănească şi Adolf Hitler. Discurs din 12 dec. 1930" in A. C. Cuza, „Îndrumări de politică externă. Discursuri parlamentare rostite în anii 1920-1936", Bucureşti, 1941.

3. The new-coming Jews were still under the foreign influence of those Jews in their native country. They were, from an official standpoint, an element discouraging the prograss of the country. They were "Numerus Nullus" in the public services and probably their working rights were limited. Their rural and urban proprieties were also under nationalization.[28]

As proof that Jewish identity is both a pursuit led by the diarist and one led by the character of the narrative, as the diary proceeds[29], we encounter on many occasions several notations on the juridical circumscription of the Jews[30]. The diary will record, just as a chronicle of its times, the antisemitic measures: banning Jews from having housemaids under 40 in their employment according to th law published in "Monitorul Oficial"[31]; railway travel permits were not allowed for Jewish journalists anymore[32]; Jewish lawyers were radiated[33]; Jewish publications are banned[34]; Jewish merchants have a restricted daily schedule[35]; compulsory community service in cleaning the snow off the streets[36]; specific tax-paying for Christians and Jews[37]; specific rents for Jews[38]; mandatory relocation: Jews to the periphery, Romanians to the center[39].

Not only the events of World War II were evidenced (the war breaking – Hitler attacking Poland,[40] the Germans entering Paris,[41] etc.) but

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[28]Jean Ancel, „The History of the Holocaust in Romania", translated by Yaffah Murciano, edited by Leon Volovici, with the assistance of Miriam Caloianu, published by University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, and Yad Vashem, Jelusalem, 2011, p. 22-23.

[29]In fact it is also a pursuit for the authorities, since there are decrees that regulate the situation of the Jews from time to time.

[30]Emil Dorian, op. cit. p. 119-120, p. 121.

[31]Ibidem, p. 26.

[32]Ibidem, p. 32.

[33]Ibidem, p. 124.

[34]Ibidem, p. 134.

[35]Ibidem, p. 184.

[36]Ibidem, p. 203.

[37]Ibidem, p. 209.

[38]Ibidem, p. 211.

[39]Ibidem, p. 231. (To verify the decrees and decisions noted by Emil Dorian, see „Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944. Vol I, Legislaţia antievreiască", Prefaţă Şef Rabin dr. Moses Rosen, Volum alcătuit de Lya Benjamin, Coordonator Ştiinţific Sergiu Stanciu, Editura Hasefer, Bucureşti, 1993. „Evreii din Romania între anii 1940-1944, Vol. III, 1940-1942. Perioada unei mari restrişti", Coordonator ştiinţific prof. dr. Ion Şerbănescu, Editura Hasefer, Bucureşti,1997. Matatias Carp, „Cartea neagră, Vol. 1-3. Ediţia a II-a", Editura Diogene, Bucureşti, 1996.)

[40]Ibidem, p. 82.

[41]Ibidem, p. 107.

also those in the country (Armand Calinescu's assassination[42], the abdication of king Carol II[43], the German army entering Bucharest[44]).

In this roll of events, personal problems – such as his identity – are no longer a priority. This is not the time for introspection. The most meaningful or commented information in the diary is that adjacent to the grand events, such as street scenes. Our character strolls on the narrow sidewalks of Lucaci neighborhood in a cold December day in 1941. A little girl cuts in front of him to enter a patio. There, two little boys acted as kings of the hill, one of them, about six years old, shouting at the little girl: "Goddamn Jew! I'm going put you in a concentration camp!"[45] The scene is troubling enough for the diarist as well as for present-day readers. Hate towards Jews materializes in the streets, among children, penetrating their imagination and their language. The insulting term "Jew" and the idea that the boy has the power to send her to a "concentration camp" confirm the existence of an active antisemitism among the Romanian population. Our character worries when an antisemitic decree is issued, but such an event as that just witnessed – once it is noted in his diary – gains the same importance. There are more other scenes involving children influenced by the antisemitic behavior of the adults.[46]

Mihail Sebastian too, mentions in his diary similar incidents he witnessed in the streets, in children and adults alike. Two 11-12 year olds, apparently in their first high-school years, pass him by. One of them is dressed in military fashion, the other blond and wearing something of French styling, socks, shorts, a jacket and a tie. The soldier asks his companion if he wears a swastika in school, but the innocent does not know what the other is talking about, having not heard of swastikas until then; the soldier carefully explains to him what the swastika while they carry on to their promising way.[47]

These scenes do not discourage the diarist, he captures clearer days also, days full of hope (a hope which will be, as we shall see, in vain). On November 12, 1940, an earthquake of great proportions destroys a considerable part of Bucharest, but also provincial towns such as Panciu, Bârlad, Galaţi, Focşani. "In the midst of a general nervous breakdown, four

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[42]Ibidem, p. 84.
[43]Ibidem, p. 126.
[44]Ibidem, p. 133.
[45]Ibidem. p. 192.
[46]After healing, a girl treated by Emil Dorian, tells her father that she wants to see the bodies on the sidewalk in reward for her getting well. It is precisely the moment when I. G. Duca's assassination is revenged on December 29, 1933, and the murderers were displayed for the people to see. (Emil Dorian, op. cit. p. 85)
[47]Mihail Sebastian, „Jurnal 1935-1944", with a preface and notes by Leon Volovici, Editura Humanitas, Bucureşti, 2002, p. 52.

hours after the disaster, the legionary did not hesitate to announce new interdictions for the Jews, in spite of the fact that people seemed calm and fraternized against wretchedness, which strikes people not on a racial basis."[48]

If the tone of many of the accounts is full of indulgence accompanied by disappointment, some situations are recounted in the manner of newspaper articles, in a concise style, without emotional involvement, no subjective commentaries added, probably in order to point the exaggerations, the absurdity of the facts. Such an example is the one from the Filaret hospital for the consumptive, where only a single Jewish person was hospitalized. The Romanian patients do not lose their sense of reason and prove to be not only rational, but also united. They address a memo to the administration asking that the Jewish patient is thrown out. The diarist writes that for now no action has been taken.[49] Jewish illness does not leave the hospital for the days to come. It's no wonder that, just two days after, the diarist feels again the need to note down in his diary, intoxicated by the many ill-fated experiences. "I find no thoughts of respite, no dream images for these pages, on which I use to note echoes of another world, different of that of the horrible mundaneness. I remember there were once beautiful poetry books (…) which we all opened and absorbed, many individuals (…). Apparently, this was some other life."[50] Possible lives, past lives, imagined lives appear in daily notations, in the dimension of probabilities and utopias. Jewish identity guides the topics of the stories, influenced by the historical and political situation. The concern for literature, reading, creation are part of a universe incompatible with the dominant political universe.

If the author does not explicitly talk about himself, the authorities establish themselves who Emil Dorian is employing a label. When he goes to the infantry regiment, he observes that he is characterized as an "Uncertain Jew" in his file. Asking the major about the meaning of this designation gets him nowhere since he does not know what to answer. The tone of the account becomes increasingly bothersome once he remembers participating in the war, serving the country. "Uncertain! That's an humiliation I cannot endure. When are they going to be certain about me? When I'll die... Only then will I effectively belong to this land..."[51] The line is one of the more scathing lines in the diary, triggered by direct involvement. The image of death projects itself almost naturally in Jewish imagination when discriminatory events occur.

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[48]Ibidem, p. 136-137.
[49]Ibidem, p. 26.
[50]Ibidem, p. 27.
[51]Ibidem, p. 34.

From time to time, a different identity comes into view through the themes of some fragments. In other words, a writer's voice comes into play and tells about the days of his life and others in his entourage. In the following lines we will try to show that some of the narrative patterns are developed from and in a writer's manner. This identity "surfaces" not just because our diarist is also a writer and, consequently he speaks about his artistic plans, and not just because (as writer) his diary plays its part in his writing exercises, but also because this identity offers an alternative to the antisemitic situation in the country; being a writer can be a refuge or an alternative. Let us not forget, our character is optimistic, he has hope. Let us remember that memo in the first page, addressed to Goga, the poet, from other poets; and in this equation race had no importance.

The "Romanianization" measures targeted at the cultural milieu of the country also affected writers of Jewish origin who wrote in Romanian (some of them did not even know Yiddish in order to write in another language). Not only that they were prevented from activating in press but also all Jewish printing was banned[52], but the big blow came when publishing was banned altogether. In November 1941, the Ministry of Propaganda issues a decision to destroy all the metallic matrices of gramophone recordings of Jewish composers and interpreters. A list, titled «Jewish writers banned from selling their works or sheltering them in school and public libraries, institutions, associations and units that edit and sell such publications» was displayed in public institutions in November 1942. On a closer look, one can determine that not all Jewish writers were identified. That is why, the newspaper «Curentul» on November 5, 1942 makes an appeal to all those who know the real name and the pen name of Jewish writers not included in the list and to communicate them immediately to the Propaganda." [53] In the list the names of Emil Dorian, Mihail Sebastian, Maria Banuş, Felix Aderca (etc.) appeared all together. Affected directly by this law, the diarist notes it in his diary, adding the fact that it was pretty vague, not mentioning how are the books and the authors going to be removed, whether the Jewish readers are going to have access, whether all books are going to be collected in a single place, or whether specific storage will be assigned to them. The news are regarded in irony, to point its absurdity: "After one year and a half, the regime figured that it isn't enough to definitely ban the presence of Jewish writers in Romanian press and literature, to avoid great national danger. Eradication must be

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[52]Ibidem, p. 134.
[53]Lya Benjamin, „Situaţia creatorilor de artă şi literatură în anii Holocaustului" in „Realitatea evreiască", nr- 237 (1037), 16-30 septembrie 2005, p. 8.

radical. And there you have it, the decision to withdraw Jewish works from public and private libraries has finally come."[54]

Mihail Sebastian writes a diary in the same period and, after seeing his name on a list of banned authors in the window of a bookstore he notes the incident in his personal notebook. In contrast to Emil Dorian, he seems more affected and writes an ample commentary: "An order issued by the Ministry of Propaganda decides the removal of books penned by Jewish authors from bookstores and libraries. I have seen today at «Hachette» two giant pictures printed in large characters: Jewish writers. Of course, I am listed there just like a delinquent, like a criminal: the name of my parents, the date and the year of birth, the list of published works. Only the particular signs were missing. At first I laughed (especially because the whole table was largely inaccurate), but then I thought that this list doesn't do us no good. I'm afraid that it will draw attention on us and who knows what will come out of this? It is two years now since I went to the theater, to a restaurant, since I've been avoiding strolling downtown, seeing nobody, looking for no one, trying to keep away from anything, as lonely and as forgotten as possible – and now my name appears in all the bookstores."[55] Just like Emil Dorian, Mihail Sebastian tends to take the antisemitic news humorously. However, his tone shows how the diarist goes through multiple states of mind, from detachment, to concern.

In this climate of interdictions, of exclusions and broken communications between Romanian culture and Jews, Emil Dorian has a constant activity in the years he is writing his diary (1937-1944), he translates from Yiddish to Romanian, preparing, among other things, an anthology of Yiddish poetry in Romanian. The diarist creates bridges between the two cultures, while the Romanian authorities destroy other bridges. His translator identity is somewhat an ironic hypostasis in the context of the antisemitic laws and repressions, in this context of exclusion of Jewish individuals from the political, cultural, economical life of Romania. We find again the confidence of our author in a world able to surpass the racial divergences, through cultural exchange. His vision betrays his identity as both writer and translator, as manipulator of worlds, for whom race is not a criterion to judge by. The translations he handles are the virtual space where cultures meet, separated by the ill-fated context, a spaceof negotiation. The diarist senses the aura of this space and its privileged nature, but also the menaces from the outside, the ideological intoxications: "I've just finished a translation, but everything seems to have a musty taste that sticks to your throat like the anticipation of

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[54]Emil Dorian, op. cit., p. 252.
[55]Mihail Sebastian, op. cit. p. 480-481.

death."[56] Consumed, literature tastes like the perished food that brings death. We might on our turn, translate the words of the diarist – to be a Jewish writer is a risk in these times; persecutions, deportations, death lurk on every corner. The thought of death in the case of Jews living in these years is also mentioned in the diary of Maria Banuş, the (Jewish) poetess; she recounts how a friend, Hari, wrote his literary will, since he was thinking he might die any moment then.[57]

Emil Dorian's project to bring together Romanians and Jews by way of culture[58] is debated on many occasions in meetings organized by some of the Jewish writers. "I've nevertheless engaged in this initiative to organize a Cultural Foundation of the Jews of Romania, where action should be taken towards getting nearer, socially and culturally, to the Romanian people, through the collaboration of all Jewish writers, artists and publicists."[59] Unfortunately, we never find many details pertaining to this kind of meetings. One should pay attention to the adverb "nevertheless" which is contrary to this diarist's credo, but at the same time suggests his moments of despair. Probably after having some discussions, some acquaintances convinced him to be part of this project, or maybe he had a moment of despair when he didn't believe anymore in this sort of projects. "Nevertheless" he again involves himself in this fight between two sides he wants to bring to peace. Whether he wants it or not, he is on the Jewish side.

But what happens when the two identitary coordinates meet? What was it like to be a writer of Jewish origin in those days is something of which the author was aware of and a question he answered himself: "In any regime that is or will be, the writer and the artist are always going to be treated as alien species, against whom a fight for entrapment or even elimination is always going to unfold systematically and unanimously."[60] This hypostasis concerns him so much that he wants to write a lengthy satire on the situation of the Jewish writer in these times. [61] In his opinion, there are no novels on the condition of being Jewish written in this period in Romanian literature.[62] In

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[56]Emil Dorian, op. cit. p. 175.

[57]   Maria Banuş, „Sub camuflaj. Jurnal 1943-1944", Editura Cartea Românească, Bucureşti, 1978, p. 145.

[58] "One should pursuit the strengthening of the links everybody has with anybody in the perspective of a cultural and social mission, a work of bringing together the Romanians and the Jews, through reciprocal knowledge on a cultural level" (Emil Dorian, op. cit. p. 29.)

[59]Ibidem, p. 34.

[60]Ibidem, p. 31.

[61]Ibidem, p. 67.

[62]In his book on the interwar reportage, Radu Cobotea inventories the novels written by Jewish writers in this   period, underlining the fact that they tackle topics such as the suburbs of Bucharest and the provincial towns, with their merchants, prostitutes, salesmen in the works of

"Calea Văcăreşti", I. Peltz talks about topics that are not specifically Jewish, such as cancer and death, the alcoholic waiter. "De două mii de ani" by Mihail Sebastian tells the story of an acculturated Jew in a context of antisemitism. His novel "Profeţi şi paieţe", published in 1931 speaks about the bourgeoisie of Bucharest[63]. The author keeps his word and, in 1947, publishes a novel on Jewish life, "Otrava". [64]

Even if the narrator of these stories does not speak explicitly about himself, we can outline some identitary features in the style of his writing and in the preferred topics. For example, humor (as style) and anecdotes (as topic) showcase a character with a sense of humor. On many occasions, anti-Semitic episodes, the issuing of decrees are told in ironic and humorous fashion. Moreover, in moments of tension and conflict, he reproduces the anecdotes afloat, "joking on misfortune's spite".

In May 1941, a decree is issued "which bans Jews from using radioreception devices"[65] Emil Dorian has to hand over his radio to the authorities, as stipulated by these "national actions" how he calls them (in the same subtle ironic manner). The diarist notes the incident and his intention to write the following verses on the package of his radio:

"This radio device
The authorities took from me
From now on it shall be
A device… of authority"[66]

The intelligent wordplay transforms the radio device into a state device of strategic importance in the official fight for nationalization. Through the interdictions and the approaches of Romanianization, we could deduce, as suggested by our diarist, what is considered typically Romanian. The things the Jews are banned from are consequently Romanian. It's the case with food products that are purchased on the basis of a ration book, in different quantities. August 2, 1942. "From tomorrow on corn is distributed only on the basis of a ration book: a kilo and a half per week. Jews do not get anything. It for the first time that the Jews are banned from obtaining fundamental nourishment (…). One can clearly see that polenta is considered a national course and, in this case, the impediment is strictly ethical."[67]

I. Peltz, Ury Benador, Ion Călugăru, I. Ludo. (Radu Ciobotea din „Reportajul interbelic românesc. Senzaţionalism, aventură şi extremism politic", Editura Polirom, Iaşi, 2006, p. 204.)
[63]Ibidem, p. 71.
[64]Emil Dorian, „Otrava", Editura Forum, Bucureşti, 1947.
[65]„Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944. Vol I, Legislaţia antievreiască", Prefaced by Şef Rabin dr. Moses Rosen, Volum alcătuit de Lya Benjamin, Coordonator Ştiinţific Sergiu Stanciu, Editura Hasefer, Bucureşti, 1993, p. 148-149.
[66]Emil Drian, op. cit. p. 166.
[67]Ibidem, p. 225.

Another style approached in the diary is of an aphoristic nature. The diarist processes phrases with a synthesizing power, extremely concentrated, inducing an esthetical and intellectual pleasure to the reading of the diary: "Narcosis: flirting with eternity"[68]; "Smiling is the punctuation of sadness"[69]; "One has to keep oneself spiritually fit, in order to write and one must write, in order to keep spiritually fit"[70] These memorable lines are fashioned as writing exercises (the diary is a place where the author exercises his writing). But this feature also occurs involuntarily, out of the memorable and documentary nature of his diary. One can sketch out of this, a wise character, a moralizing spirit.

The diarist borrows episodes recounted by others, adding, as may be, some comments just like in the following sequence. Somebody reads him a newspaper article published in "Universul" signed by a superior officer who argued the benefic effects that bombardments have on racial purge. The author reproduces the text of the newspaper: "The explosion of a thousand bombs and the great numbers of deaths will make many persons loose their sanity, because individuals with a weak nervous system will not endure these bombardments. Thanks to the aerial bombardments, neuropaths may be identified and removed from social life. Immediately after their identification, they should be sterilized so that the race is cleaned of ill elements."[71] The newspaper article is accompanied by a single phrase of the author which synthesizes his opinion: "The officer/author wanders free and unsterilized!"[72] From the perspective of the diarist, these sorts of episodes do not deserve ample commenting, because he considers them to be absurd. A sharp comment sanctions briefly the deviation of a "free" officer. The exclamation mark accounts for a bundle of feelings the author avoids to bring out, being aware of the fact that he lives in a world which justifies bombardments, considering them to be quite useful.

Some anecdotes which are afloat in Jewish circles belong to the same section of "bitter humor". In 1938, a joke described how a Jewish person prays: "God, for five thousand years we are your chosen people. It's enough, choose another!"[73] The short story of the two flies teaches us that optimism and pessimism are a matter of interpretation; the pessimist version must be avoided, because everything is a matter of survival.[74] One wordplay is

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[68]Ibidem, p. 50.
[69]Ibidem, p. 81.
[70]Ibidem, p. 212.
[71]Ibidem, p. 41.
[72]Ibidem, p. 41.
[73]Ibidem, p. 41.
[74]Ibidem, p. 66.

constantly used imitating the politic imagery of the Germans: Filderman[75] is called "our führer".[76]

Although the pages of this personal notebook are crammed with examples of Romanian antisemitic expression, the character wanders free through these narrations and he does not manifest his hatred towards those who hate him, rarely showing his anger. He arms himself with irony, using a concise language, a sharp one, in the brief comments accompanying his stories.

When a writer writes, questioning his own identity is implied before starting to write, along with the configuration of his own identity through his writings, because the writing process reflects both the identity of the writer and that of the character. „It is also my view that identity is constructed via social and communicative processes and that for writers, the process of writing is the central avenue to identity."[77] Therefore, we followed some episodes in the history of one Jewish writer's life who approached the events of his time with irony, humor and hope.

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[75]The leader of the Union of Jewish Communities (it mainly brought together the Jews of Moldavia and Muntenia; it was founded before 1919) of Romania and the leader of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania (it included the Jews of Transylvania, Basarabia and Bucovina). (Jean Ancel, „The History of the Holocaust in Romania", translated by Yaffah Murciano, edited by Leon Volovici, with the assistance of Miriam Caloianu, published by University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, and Yad Vashem, Jelusalem, 2011, p. 167)

[76]Emil Dorian, op. cit. p. 168.

[77]Hope Hertzog, Hillary. „«Veinna is Different». Jewish writers in Austria from the Fin de Siècle to the Present", Berghahn Books, New York, Oxford, 2011, p. 8.

"Us vs. Them": Political Islam as a Contemporary Cultural Construct

Felician Velimirovici

Perspectives:

a) "We need to make a distinction between the claim that the world is out there and the claim that truth is out there. To say that the world is out there, that it is not our creation, is to say, with common sense, that most things in space and time are the effects of causes which do not include human mental states. To say that truth is not out there is simply to say that where there are no sentences there is no truth… truth cannot be out there - cannot exist independently of the human mind - because sentences cannot so exist or be out there. The world is out there, but descriptions of the world are not. Only descriptions of the world can be true or false... the world can, once we have programmed ourselves with a language, cause us to hold beliefs. But it cannot propose a language [or beliefs] for us to speak"
(Richard Rorty, Contingency, Irony and Solidarity (Cambridge University Press, 1989)

b) "Postmodernists no longer require an "objective" world to guarantee-like some sort of bank for inter-subjective transactions, the relations between one consciousness and another, or to guarantee an identity between illusions. There is only subjectivity. There are only illusions. And every illusion, because it has no permanently objectifying frame, constitutes reality and hence is totally "objective" for its duration."
(Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, Sequel to History, Princeton University Press, 1992)

c) "By initially identifying terror as the enemy to be targeted by war, President Bush and his advisers sought to avoid any possible amalgamation of hundreds or thousands of "bad" Muslims with the many millions of "good" ones. The very notion of "terrorist" was supposed to identify those comparative few who were to be eliminated. But the borders of the group tagged as terrorists quickly became politically subjective. From Washington's perspective, "terrorism" was represented first and foremost by Al Qaeda and its Taliban host in Afghanistan, but the definition quickly expanded to include not just Saddam Hussein and his Iranian enemy to the east but also Hezbollah

in Lebanon and Hamas in Palestine – two organizations with a significant popular base, vast support and sympathy beyond the borders of their countries, and victories in democratic elections – the kind of elections in whose name the war on terror was being fought."

(Gilles Kepel, Beyond Terror and Martyrdom. The Future of the Middle East, Harvard University Press, 2008)

d) "Bin Laden for instance is a religious man, he has a religious structure. But what he is doing has never existed before. I do not claim now that this is not Islam. Nor that it is. I argue that Islam, with Bin Laden and others like him, has fundamentally changed. It was not like this before, but now it is, because Muslims now believe to be so. It becomes Islam, whether we like it or not. Islamic groups of assassins, from whom the name has transmitted in a number of languages, have not existed before in Islam. But if all Muslims have started to believe that this should be modern Islam, we cannot do anything. We cannot say that Islamic texts are rational texts, nor are they moderate or peaceful ones. Of course, there are rational texts, but who knows them nowadays? Nobody. So, I believe that religious revival, for instance in forms we name fundamentalist, is a complex phenomenon, which responds in its own way to a multitude of issues raised by secularization, global capitalism and many other non-homogenous historical elements, which pull religion into all sorts of directions, be they positive or negative."

(Moshe Idel, *Ceea ce ne uneşte*, Polirom, 2006)

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During a public lecture held in 1996 at Columbia University from New York, professor Edward Saïd has drawn the attention of his public upon the improper character of using, in academic discourse, of such a general term like "Islam", or "Islamic World", because it may generate a whole bunch of harmful misinterpretations and confusions. The formula "Islamic World" alone has, as a corresponding reality, an infinitely more complex and diverse signified (Derrida), which should not be interpreted in an easy and relaxed way: between 1.3 and 1.5 billion Muslims live on five continents and constitute the major population of 23 states. 9 of them are Islamic states, that is, they have adopted the *Shari'ah* as their fundamental law system which regulates political, judicial and religious issues of their peoples. For another 14 countries Islam represents the state religion.

From the whole number of Muslim believers, 80% are living in Asia, and only 20% in the geographic region we call "Middle East". Between countries like Tunisia, Yemen, The Kingdom of Jordan, The Kingdom of

Saudi Arabia, Egypt or Malaysia, professor Saïd has shown that diffecences are enormous, by trying to highlight their specific internal dynamics and pluralities which still exist inside these very complex statal entities.

    According to Saïd, terms such as "Islam" or "Islamic World" signify, suggest or denote, of course, only in our Western culture which has produced and invested them with sense, a much more larger problem, namely, an authentic paradigm of knowledge, of reporting and interpretation of Oriental civilizations – summarized in the formula "The West vs. the Rest" – which has been established in its essential shapes and forms during the second half of the 19th century during the French and British colonial administration of the territories in question. In fact, this paradigm has remained virtually unchanged until after September 11, 2001, when in fact it began to dominate both public and academic discourse[1]. In essence, this paradigm assumes racist theories developed during the 19th century by French philosophers such as Gobineau and Renan, who, by stressing the cultural and civilizational inferiority of non-Europeans, supported the need of their dominance. Also, by proclaiming a basic incompatibility between the fundamental values of European culture and the shared views of the "Islamic World"[2], they have justified it to be morally positive. The logic of the difference "them and us", or "us vs. them" derives precisely and directly from these common mental representations based upon hostile prejudices difficult to dislodge. More, the author notices such ideas expressed in the discourse of a number of prestigious contemporary American academics, such as Bernard Lewis (who believes that a "blame game" practiced by "Muslims" will continue indefinitely, at least until their feelings of frustration caused by their obvious lagging behind in comparison with the Westerners will be sweetened[3], and therefore advises the "Muslim world" not to provoke "us" into an irrational conflict) or Samuel Huntington (who advises "the West" to incorporate Eastern cultures and Latin American or to exploit the conflicts among Confucian and Islamic states "in order to strengthen international institutions that reflect and legitimate Western interests and values"[4]). The idea inspired by Renan, according to which the Semitic world of the Middle East (and especially the Muslim one) is inferior to the West or, in any case, too "poor" to be able to produce major cultural achievements, has long been (and, to a large extent, it still is) deeply rooted in the collective mentality of Westerners:

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[1] Edward Saïd, „The Clash of Ignorance" in The Nation, October 21st, 2001, stable URL: http://www.thenation.com/article/clash-ignorance.
[2] Edward Saïd, Orientalism, Amarcord, Timişoara, 2001, p. 19.
[3] Bernard Lewis, What Went Wrong. Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, p. 159.
[4] Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, Ed. Simon & Schuster, New York, 1995, p. 25.

not only it is represented caricatured in Western popular culture but also, although it may seem hard to believe, strongly asserted by some European and American academics both before and after the 1973 oil crisis[5]; of course, after September 11th it has reached new hights.

Moreover, some prominent specialists from the field of contemporary oriental and regional studies, and here it worths mentioning primarily the names of Bernard Lewis or Benjamin Barber, pose a subtle sign of equality between wide concepts such as "Islam", "Djihad" and "Islamic fundamentalism". The latter one Barber understoods as a set of fundamental values common to most of the Muslim populations, eager at any price to start a war in the present in order to ensure a future as similar as it can be to their golden past. For Barber, "Islam" is fundamentally an antinomical set of values towards liberal democracy, therefore it tends to embrace and apply undemocratic, violent and even terrorist principles and tactics in their confrontation with the modern West. This "Islam" perceives Western civilization as the greatest enemy of its traditional and patriarchal way of life – expressed by the example of the Golden Age of the first four caliphs – which its leaders want to restore, thus becoming, for the West, one of "our" dangerous enemies, an enemy both old and new of "our Judeo-Christian heritage"[6]. Accordingly, Bernard Lewis shows that it should be extremely important for us "not to be provoked into a conflict as irrational, but also as historic as our rival"[7]. According to Said, such statements constitute evident examples of specific classic, 19th century Orientalism.

According to Said, this Western dominant logic ("us" vs. "them") is as exclusive and intolerant as the one rejected, but it is advantaged and reinforced by a favorable international climate which has resulted after the fall of the USSR in 1991. At that moment, the main enemy of the United States has disappeared from the geopolitical map of the world, and the USA has become the greatest power willing to take the role of the former French and British "imperial traditions". The US imperial tendencies, however, are detectable in Said's view, even since the early years following the conclusion of the Second World War[8], but they became more visible especially evident after the end of the Cold War in 1989/1991.

Consequently, the strongly ideologized discourse about "Orient", produced by analysts such as Huntington, Lewis, Barber et alii, covers an area

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[5] Edward Saïd, op. cit., pp. 296-298.

[6] Beverley Milton-Edwards, Islam and Violence in the Modern Era, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2006, p. 56.

[7] Bernard Lewis, „The Roots of Muslim Rage" în The Atlantic (sept. 1990), p. 6, stable URL: http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/4643/6/.

[8] Edward Saïd, op. cit., p. 303.

of highly sensitive knowledge, generally linked to the foreign policy of the United States of America. Thus, it cannot be an absolute "scientific", "objective" and "truthful" one, situated above political and ideological partisanships, and disconnected from the one(s) who produce(s) it. Moreover, this kind of discourse basically supports (and seeks to mitigate) the alleged inter-civilizational conflict, arguing once again the primacy of the West, the universality of its values and the need to strengthen "our" available military capabilities in order to meet the challenges coming from an overly generalized and largely hostile "Islamic civilization", defined primarily by religion. Symptomatically, for Huntington, the 8th possible civilization, the African one, does not quite represent a civilization according to the meaning desired by the author, because it does not have a unitary religious system. The "Islamic civilization" constitutes, however, according to the same author, a separate entity just because of "Islam", regardless of its distinctive ethnic and religious groups which makes it up[9].

After September 11th, the dichotomy "Islam vs. West" (or the "West vs. the rest") has tended to gain more ground inside the debate held within Western culture. Essentially, this dichotomy has supported the premodern character of the "Islamic civilization", located on a lower stage of historical development – in some sort of a Middle Ages, where public actions and individual behaviors are shaped mostly by religious criteria – and its destructive tendencies manifested in this part of the world especially against the other, modern, advanced, secular, creative and tolerant one.

In fact, the phenomenon to which we refer through the term "Islam" is not a monolithic religious entity and a distinctive civilization, hostile against all other except the Confucian one – as suggested by Huntington in his famous essay published in Foreign Affairs in 1993 – just as the Western civilization, constructed upon Judeo-Christian values, is not a singular (or unitary "Christian" one). As systems designated or willing to explain "the world out there", all religions tend, or, at least, they have tried to do so in the past, to take seriously their civilizing "mission" of humanity by believing strongly in the idea that only they have the necessarily monopoly over a "truth" which has to be exposed and spread everywhere. Both Al Quaeda and the United States are doing so, as Gilles Kepel has recently observed[10].

Starting with the beginning of the secularization of Western cultures, some academics argue, a mutation of the original power-knowledge (Foucault) occurs: the messianic vocation, understood as a civilizing and

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[9] Jonathan Fox & Shmuel Sandler, Bringing Religion into International Relations, Palgrave Macmillan, Londra, 2004, pp. 116-117.
[10] Gilles Kepel, Beyond Terror and Martyrdom. The Future of the Middle East, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., London, 2008, pp. 4-7.

enlightening mission transfers itself over (or exceeds) the initial strictly religious sphere, by moving itself towards polity. The so-called "manifest destiny" of the USA is constructed upon, in this sense, a purely religious (or "moral") nature[11], just like the moral justifications of colonial rule in the East held by the British and the French during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The antithesis suggested by the above author between "the good vs. the bad Muslim", an antithesis which presumably exists within the so-called "Islamic civilization", is still one operational and capable of contributing to the understanding of the existing differences between levels of politicization of Islamic religion which some states have willingly done. Equally, it is useful in understanding certain groups made up of non-state political actors (or entities which do not have a primarily fixed territorial base), such as Al-Quaeda. Very briefly stated, a "good Muslim" is a Muslim who rejects radical forms of interpretation of Islam`s sacred writings and who, although remaining attached to the original values of this religion, is still a person open to dialogue, moderate, and so on. On the other hand, a "bad Muslim" is one that embraces some radical interpretations of the same script, and converts them into a religious & political ideology, therefore becoming "fundamentalist"[12]. According to professor Yehuda Bauer of the Institute "Yad Vashem" in Jerusalem, the first Islamic movements with ideological character were formed around the same time with European fascist, national-socialist and communist ones, after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. All these movements are basically the same, in Bauer`s view, although at first glance we might be tempted not to think so: all of them are anti-Semitic, anti-liberal, anti-capitalist, anti-democratic, dogmatic, intolerant, with a totalizing and universalistic messianic voation, exclusivist and hostile to all those who are not alike. In fact, the logic assumed by Professor Bauer (constructed upon the same dichotomy "us vs. them"), is based upon a positional superiority of "us" against "them" which is brilliantly analyzed by E. Saïd. The alarm and prescriptive tone of Bauer`s article proves a degree of intolerance relatively similar to the one that he seeks to disqualify.

On the other hand, it is equally true that at the present moment, a growing segment of populations who share the Islamic faith tend to "return to religion", a phenomenon designated in literature as "Islamic Revival"[13]. They still are not "bad Muslims". Among this segment, a relative minority assumes and identifies itself with a radical interpretation (one of the many possible) of

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[11] Mahmood Mamdani, „Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism" in American Anthropologist, Vol. 104, no.3 (sept. 2002), p. 768.
[12] Yehuda Bauer, Some Thoughts on Radical Islam, stable URL: http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/insights/podcast/bauer_radical_islam.asp.
[13] Sayed Kathab, Democracy in Islam, Routledge, New York, 2007, pp. 199-200.

the Qu'ran. This set of interpretations are usually hostile to modernity in general and the West in particular, and bear the generic name of "Islamism", "Political Islam" or, in Arabic, "Islamic fundamentalism"[14] (Al-usuliyya alislamiyya). Among this Islamist minority of believers, some members adopt violent means, start to undertake terrorist acts against the "West", primarily against the United States of America and its allies (particulary the state of Israel). They are supported by the broader Islamist community which they seem to represent and on whose behalf they act. Only these Muslims become "bad Muslims".

Religious fundamentalism as a modern phenomenon is in fact linked not to Islam, but to the Protestant and neo-Protestant communities of North America from the early 20th century, and does not constitute a specificity of the religion revealed to the Prophet Muhammad nearly fourteen centuries ago. Still, although after 1990, three prime-ministers had been assassinated by Hebrew, Sikh and Hindu fundamentalists, while Israeli fundamentalists (ultra-Orthodox groups generically known as Haredim) and their leaders (Isroel Rabbi Dovid Weiss) do not recognize the existence of the state of Israel. Still, currently, fundamentalism seems to maintain a closer relationship with Islam than with any other religion in the world[15].

The hostility shared by a part of the "Islamic world" in relation to the more prosperous West represents a very recent phenomenon, at least as recent, for example, as the title of Ayatollah. Initially, during the 17th century and the most of the 18th, the admiration and desire to imitate Westerners felt by Orientals has characterized the way they were reporting to the West, due to a feeling of inferiority which they have originally felt on the battlefield, and then in more and more sectors of their lives. In order to recover their lagging behind and to reconquest their past significance, they have initially thought that following the example of Western countries (especially of their economic development and institution building) would ensure their success. But modernization which was carried out during the Franco-British colonial administration of the territories from the East aimed in the first place at maximizing the colonial powers` profits, and not necessarily the modernization of societies which they were administering[16]. In parallel, in Western culture there has developed a particular perception of "the Orient", a phenomenon excellently reviewed by E. Saïd in his works "Orientalism", "Covering Islam" and "Culture and Imperialism".

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[14] Peter R. Demant, Islam vs. Islamism. The Dilemma of a Muslim World, Praeger, Londra, 2006, pp. 89-90.
[15] Malise Ruthven, Fundamentalism. A Very Short Introduction, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, pp. 5-7.
[16]Peter Demant, op. cit., p. 91.

After the withdrawal of colonial administrations, following the failure of application of several alleged recovery solutions (pan-Arabic nationalism, socialism, and so on), finally fundamentalist ideologies (understood in a Protestant way, as a return to the fundamentals of faith), anti-modern, anti-secular and anti-Western in their nature, have finally begun to meet an unprecedented development in the context of a global phenomenon of religious resurgeance, not only specific to "Islamic world", but also to the United States of America or Australia[17]. In the West, most American academics (B. Lewis` study "The Roots of Muslim Rage" constitutes, in this respect, a classic example), have tried to identify the sources of ideologies that politicize Islamic religion (or the political meanings that charge religion with policy in a number of certain countries) in: the frustrations and resentments of a population that is obviously lagging behind, and which modernization has bypassed it, in the dogmatic, intolerant, aggressive and expansive character of Islamic religion itself, in the Qu'ran's teachings which presumably underlie the impossibility of separation between political and spiritual spheres in Islam, in the fact that Mohammed was not only a spiritual leader but also political and military one, and so on. A number of issues (or, rather facts) that contradict both the classic orientalist discourse, as well as the more recent neo-orientalist one, can and should not be bypassed.

During its nearly 1400 years of history, in the territories "conquered" by Islam, attempts to implement the *Shari'ah* in order to build theocracies similar to modern ones were very few in number, almost insignificant, and in any case they had been unsuccessful initiatives. This phenomenon is a modern one par excellence, and totally innovative in relation to classic Islamic tradition. In addition, the Qu'ran's suras expressly prohibit bot the establishment of distinctive sects, groups or currents within Islam and violent means of action, because Allah abhorres bloodshed. Moreover, Mohammed as God's Prophet, sent to people by him to spread his teachings, must constitute firstly a uswa hasana, (an excellent and great example), that must be followed as faithfully, in as many ways as possible by his believers. Thus the Prophet's life should be a pattern of behavior for all Muslims, wherever they live, at all times. The image of the Prophet as consecrated by Islamic tradition, described not only by the Qu'ran, but especially by Hadith, is one in almost every aspect opposed to the image of contemporary Muslim clerics: from the entire history of Islam, Mohammed is certainly the most moderate character, the most compassionate, tolerant, flexible, clement, peaceful and forgiving, because his desire to live a life according to a sui-generis form of imitatio Dei[18]. After the

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[17] Ibid., pp. 94-95.
[18] Ze'ev Maghen, „Islam from Flexibility to Ferocity", în Frisch Hillel, Inbar Efraim (coord.), Radical Islam and International Security, Routledge, New York, 2008, pp. 38-41.

ascension of the Prophet, the developers of *Shari'ah* have always bared in their minds this image of Mohammed. Hadith is replete with examples of military confrontations with populations sharing other faiths than Islamic, when the military leader, according to the precepts of the Qu'ran, gave his adversaries the possibility to choose between conversion to Islam and war (or death).

The experience of European modernity, an experience that was built and driven by progress in science and technology, by economic growth, industrial revolutions, by secularization and separation of church and state and by urbanization, with having behind the tradition of rational enlightenment and being rooted into Renaissance and Greek philosophy, entered into a direct and prolonged contact with the "Islamic world", as I have already noted, during the 18th and 19th centuries, when European great powers have established their colonial governments in Orient. From the very beginning, they have placed the societies they encountered onto a lower position in terms of social, political, economical and military development. The result is not hard to imagine, and is realistically presented by Bernard Lewis. Brought into this situation, countries once strong, independent and used to drive (not to be driven), had to accept colonial rule and reflect upon the causes of their defeat, in order to identify possible solutions capable of restoring their lost power and influence. After decolonization, "Modernists" supported the ridding off of tradition and a swift adoption of the cultural, economic and institutional Western model, considering it the only one capable of modernizing their societies. At the same time, "traditionalists", coming into contact with Western ideas, sought answers in their own particular culture and religion, and have argued an unswerving return to their tradition while at the same time rejecting Western models which they considered to be dangerous. They are the ones who have "politicized" the religion of Islam. Following the politicization of religion (or, better said, of the religionization of polity) there has resulted a completely new phenomenon, a political ideology with the specificities and peculiarities of Islam, namely Islamism. This became the foundation of ideological Islamism or political Islam, and later, of Islamic fundamentalism[19].

An essential feature of Islamic political movements of fundamentalistic type is represented by their transnational character. Among experts, there is almost a consensus about the identification of the first such movement: the Society of Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Cairo (Egypt) in 1928 by school teacher Hassan al-Bana, author of one of the basic texts of

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[19] Bassam Tibi, „Religious Extremism or Religionization of Politics? The Ideological Foundations of Political Islam" în Frisch Hillel, Inbar Efraim (coord.), op. cit., pp. 12-13.

Sunni Islamist ideology, a central text even at present moment – "Essay on Jihad" (Risala al-Djihad).

Stronger and more influential than the writings of al-Bana turned out to be a number of catechisms and pamphlets written by one of his disciples, named Sayyd Qutb, especially after the assassination of al-Bana which has occurred in 1949 back when Qutb was finishing his studies in California. The central idea developed by this ideologue was the concept of jihad, understood as a global and permanent Islamic revolution, which should be carried out until the moment when the global establishment of the "law of God" (Hakimiyyat Allah) would be accomplished. For Qutb, the new world order should be constructed upon an Islamized polity, opposed to the cllasical Westphaliene one, having a legal system based upon the *Shari'ah*. The Society of Muslim Brotherhood initially experienced a major success in Egypt, and later even across its borders. The success of this movement can not be analyzed independently of the circumstances in which it has been formed.

Egypt, a country situated in the center of the Middle East had a population constituted in overwhelmingly majority by Muslim Arabs. It was then an extremely poor country, independent de jure since 1936 (in fact, it was not independent until 1956) but assisted by the United Kingdom (under a treaty signed in 1936) with a relatively high rate of population growth. It had extremely large sectors of poor population, who shared in a percentage of almost 90% the Sunni version of the Muslim faith. The ideas promoted by these two men had found in those socially disadvantaged groups (especially the young urban poor) an ideal environment for reception[20]. The noisy Pan-Arab nationalism, anti-monarchical and anti-British promoted by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser has found some initial support in the Muslim Brotherhood, but later, in the year when Colonel Nasser has assumed full power (1954) the Brotherhood was outlawed due to its attempt to kill the new Egyptian leader. Its most prominent members had been either executed or imprisoned. Qutb has had both experiences, being executed in 1966, but not before contributing massively to the assertion of radical Islamist ideology. After the 1967 war when Egypt has been defeated by Israel for the third time (and therefore had lost again the Sinai Peninsula), the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood has tipped the scales decisively toward Islamism from pan-Arab nationalism, and has started to be perceived by Egyptian theological circles and public opinion more and more increasingly as an alternative worthy of being followed[21].

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[20] see Gilles Kepel, Jihad. The Trail of Political Islam, I.B Tauris & Co. Ltd., London & New York, 2002.
[21] Peter R. Demant, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

In time, Sayyd Qutb became the most influential theorist of Islamism. It worths mentioning here the fact that he had been indelibly marked by the writings of Pakistani journalist, theologian and philosopher Abu al-Ala al-Mawdudi, founder of the ultra-conservative Indian party Jamaat e-Islami. Educated in the ultraconservative Deobandi tradition, Mawdudi developed five key principles which had been taken into acount not only by Qutb, but by many other fundamentalists, even Osama Bin Laden (who had the chance, when he was student, to have as teacher of religion one of Sayyd Qutb's brothers).

Mawdudi`s and Qutb`s essential principles were the following: the truth, self-sufficiency, superiority and perfection of Islam, the necessity to read and literally interpret and appropriate the contents of the Qu'ran, a vehement rejection of Western values and of the West as a whole, an extreme politicization of religion in order to establish a state whose Constitution would be the Qu'ran and whose legal system would be represented by the *Shari'ah*, the universal nature of Islam and the need to convert all mankind to it[22]. The only true or right way to convert all manking to Islam would be through a continuous Jihad[23]. The concept of Jihad understood as a fundamental duty of every believer (fard 'ala l-' ayn) occupies a central place in the thought of Mawdudi and Qutb, because their assumption was that the then-present world had fallen back into a state of ignorance and darkness (jahiliyya) similar to the one which preceded the Divine Revelation of the Prophet. If the Prophet has organized society in accordance with the divine will, meanwhile, the original model has deteriorated and pulled man away from God. As a consequence, *Shari'ah* does not prevail, and God punishes Muslims who embrace thise fake, pseudo-Islam, by sending them humiliation, poverty, repeated Israeli victories and so on. At this point, the true believers have the choice to give back and organize "islands" or oasis of true faith, in order to fight with all means necessary against infidels, both internal and external (coming from the West)[24]. By undertaking the will of God, the believer-fighter could be called upon to sacrifice his life and thus become a martyr for the faith and witness of God (shahid), his sacrifice thus receiving a great value.

Among scholars, the idea that the Six Day War of 1967 has contributed to the decrease of pan-Arabic nationalist ideas and to the success

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[22] Mawdudi, The Religion of Truth, Lahore, 1967, pp. 3-4, apud Peter R. Demant, op. cit., p.100.
[23] for an extended explanation of the concept of "Jihad", see Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur (editors), Religious Fundamentalism and Political Extremism, Frank Cass, London, 2004, p. 75.
[24] Michael David Bonner, Jihad in Islamic History. Doctrines and Practice, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2006, p. 162.

of the new Islamist political ideology, is highly widespread[25]. Of course, the reasons for the massive propagation of this ideology, and especially the multiplication of groups and transnational organizations that have apropriated is not, of course, single-cased one. However, among factors that had favored the success of radical political Islamic ideologies have to be taken into acount at least the following ones:

a) a spectacular population growth in a number of Muslim-majority countries in the Middle East – for example, between 1950 and 1970 only in Iran and Pakistan the urban population has doubled[26];

b) a feeling of poverty and resentment felt by these ghettoized populations, among which "terrorists" will later rise[27];

c) a high school dropout rate, coupled with the inability of governments (Muslim, but non Islamist) to provide viable solutions to the major problems faced by their societies;

d) a competitive relationship existing between various, movements, currents, schools of thought and especially power centers mainly within Sunni Islam;

e) the charisma and growing popularity of clergymen and preachers sharing radical messages.

In any case, Egypt has initially been the center of radiation and propagation of a brand of Islamism which, throughout the '70s, has provoked powerful movements capable of the Egyptian state borders and moving into countries like Syria, Pakistan, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and especially countries like Iran, Iraq and Lebanon, with clear Shiite majorities. Gradually, Shiite radicals will become more and more visible. This expansion of Shiite and Sunni Islam is what experts have called the first wave of jihad in the "Muslim world". Also in 1967, however, the significance of the Middle East was far from being perceived properly in both American politics and in the academia: the president of the Middle East Studies Association, Morro Berger, professor at Princeton University and one of the most known American experts in the Middle East at that time, had even written a report – subsequently qualified by E. Saïd as lamentable and unfortunate – where he considered that "the region does not represent a power centre, it has no potential of becoming so, it should not draw the attention of scientists and of US` foreign policy" because the region "is irrelevant compared to Africa,

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[25] Carl L. Brown, Religion and State. The Muslim Approach to Politics, Columbia University Press, New York, 2001, pp. 123-124.
[26] Ibid., p. 126.
[27] Michael David Bonner, op. cit., p. 164.

Latin America and the Far East." How right he was we had the chance to see later[28].

The second wave of Jihad was dominated by the Shiite distinctive Weltanschauung and whose clerical hierarchy is traditionally more powerful, more active, more influential, more conservative and better organized than the Sunni one. Of the Muslims, the Shiites represent only a percentage of 15-16%, which dominates, as I said, countries like Iran, Iraq and Lebanon. The main oppositionist Islamist ideologue, increasingly more and more vigorous against the pro-Western government of the Iranian Chess that had the idea of launching a "White Revolution" since the early '60s, was the mujtahid Ruhollah Khomeini. Just like Qutb and Mawdudi, before him, Khomeini preached the establishment of an Islamic state (not just a Muslim one) based upon the teachings of Shari'ah, but a state which simultaneously would be a vilayat-e faqih (an entity temporarily administered by the clergy pending the return of the 12th Imam who ascended to heaven in the 9th century, the only Imam who did not had a martyrical death). Developed back in the times when the future Ayatollah Khomeini was in exile in Najaf, he refreshed the Karbala myth and articulated an ideology which emphasized the need of every believer to abandon neutrality and to take action, as once in the past did Ali – the main source of emulation of the Shiites. In a short period of time, Khomeini was able to unite around him and against the government almost all social categories: the (dissatisfied) traditional clergy, intellectuals from the Islamist Left (founded by Shari'ati, which anyway had a lower popularity than the ideology promoted by Khomeini), students, the young urban poor, oil industry workers and even the tiny pro-Western, liberal minority[29]. All conditions necessary for the accomplishment of a revolution being satisfied, the result has not waited to occur: in Iran there existed, during the 70s, a strong coalition contesting the old order, a revolutionary program able to galvanize social categories with unsatisfied aspirations, and also a revolutionary team capable to take power once the old administration was removed. It became evident in September 1979 when the Islamist Revolutionary Party chaired by Imam Khomeini won the elections and begun the remodeling of his country according to the principles that propelled him[30]. In parallel, the paramilitary organization Hizbullah (the Party of God), who supported Khomeini in Iran, started an armed struggle after 1982 when Lebanon was occupied by Israel, but soon the failure of plans to export the Islamic revolution were evident to everyone.

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[28] Edward Saïd, Orientalism, p. 297.
[29] Peter R. Demant, op. cit., pp. 117-123.
[30] Gilles Kepel, op. cit., pp. 112-113.

If the first wave of Islamism, developed during the '60s and '70s in the context of decolonization and the (non) alignment movement of the countries of the so-called "third world" had had an elitist character and the second was actually an interlude limited to the Shiite Iran and Lebanon which the Sunni had perceived as being a threat to them, the experts believe that the emergence of the third wave, a Sunni one just like the first but promoted by a different generation, should be placed around the year 1991. This presend third wave is characterized by the multiplication, fragmentation and sometimes even divergent movements, groups and jihadi organizations extended over a geographic area much larger than ever in the past, and whose members are more ambitious and combative as ever. Unlike the first two waves, some movements had operated since the early 90s having as a center for coordinating their operations the city of Kabul from Afghanistan (especially after being conquered by the Talibans), and using the progresses achieved in communications[31] (for example, the Al-Jazeera TV launched in 1996 was fully used for propaganda purposes by Bin Laden and Al-Zawahiri).

The specificities of active radical movements in this present stage of the evolution of "Jihad", are, according to one scholar, the following:

a) the Islamization of politics and the politicization of Islam;

b) the Islamization of civil society and of the so-called "popular Islam" shared by the masses, a distinctive form of belief which differs from the one preached by radical spiritual leaders

c) the Islamization of culture, both at elitist and popular levels: as a record, according to statistics compiled by Bernard Lewis, the total number of Western books translated into Arabic after the Second World War is equal to the total number of books translated into a year in a country like Spain;

d) a trend (still not successful) to build a single global Islam;

e) a maintenance of heavy fightings in areas which go well beyond the traditional boundaries of the "Muslim world" (Bosnia, Chechnya, India, and so on);

f) a re-Islamization of the Muslim Diaspora and the creation of more and more 'born-again' people, potential jihadists, by ensuring them pilgrimages to Mecca, fundings, internships and trainings in Pakistani training camps (having as a a model the one in Pesawhar);

g) the maintenance of a permanent war against the "West" and its values, by all means necessary;

h) the multiplication and diversification of international and transnational networks or organizations lacking a center or a single territorial basis, which authoritarian and easy to replace leaders.

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[31] Gilles Kepel, Beyond Terror and Martyrdom. The Future of the Middle East, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., London, 2008, pp. 114-115.

The above-quoted author speculates on the future nature of the West's relations with the "Islamic world", and identifies three possible scenarios[32] of a presumed outcome:

1. A victory of Islamist ideologies that would transform the "Islamic world" into a consistent voice of a single project supporting radical anti-Western actions, systematically based upon consubstantiality between policy and the Muslim religion, which would result in a violent "clash of civilizations";

2. A massive secularization similar to the Turkish one, supported and encouraged by the phenomenon of globalization, a process which would result in the movement of Islam from the public sphere into the private, individual one, with no visible effect on political and social life;

3. A reformation of Islam that would entail liberalization and pluralization of societies, without necessarily diminishing the intensity of religious sentiment of believers.

Although none of these three possibilities seem to be a very plausible and imminent scenario, at the moment, it is likely that the future elements of each of them to develop complementarity in different states, degrees and contexts. The ultimate finality is impossible to predict or estimate.

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[32] Peter R. Demant, op. cit., pp. 129-133.