

ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ



**ANUARUL INSTITUTULUI
DE CERCETĂRI SOCIO-UMANE
„GHEORGHE ȘINCAI”**

XII

2009

TÂRGU-MUREȘ

COLEGIUL DE REDACȚIE

Cornel Sigmirean (Redactor șef)
Carmen Andraș (Secretar de redacție)
Novák Csaba Zoltán
Nicoleta Sălcudeanu
Simon Zsolt
Anca Șincan
Corina Teodor
Marian Zăloagă
Maria Costea

COMITETUL DE REDACȚIE

Acad. Dan Berindei, Vicepreședinte al Academiei Române, membru titular al
Academiei Române
Acad. Camil Mureșanu, Președintele Filialei Cluj-Napoca a Academiei Române,
membru titular al Academiei Române
Ion Aurel Pop, membru corespondent al Academiei Române; directorul
Centrului de Studii Transilvane al Academiei Române
Keith Hitchins, Champaign - Illinois University, Urbana, USA,
membru de onoare al Academiei Române
Rakesh Batabyal, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India
Iulian Boldea, Universitatea „Petru Maior”, Târgu Mureș, România
David Espey, University of Pennsylvania, S.U.A.
Vesna Goldsworthy, Kingston University, Londra, Marea Britanie
Daniela Kalkandjieva, Kliment Odrisky University, Sofia, Bulgaria
Claude Karnoouh, Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques, Paris, Franța
Universitatea Catolică Saint Joseph din Beyrouth (Liban)

TEHNOREDACTARE

Anca Filip

Volum realizat în colaborare cu SURYAM GROUP S.R.L., Târgu-Mureș

**Publicația este recenzată de specialiști în domeniul științelor socio-umane,
profesori universitari din țară și străinătate (Peer-reviewed publication)**

CONTACT

Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”
Str. A. Papiu Ilarian, nr. 10A, 540074 - Târgu-Mureș; E-mail: icsu_ms@clicknet.ro
Site Institut: <http://icsu-ms.tripod.com> ; Site Anuar: <http://gheorghesincai.tripod.com>

ISSN 1454 – 5284

Tipărit 2009 S.C. BBimage SRL

Târgu-Mureș, str. Libertății nr. 42, Tel.: 0265-268023, 0728-76.41.81

ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ
ANUARUL INSTITUTULUI DE CERCETĂRI SOCIO-UMANE
„GHEORGHE ȘINCAI”

XII / 2009

Cuprins

**I. RELAȚIILE CENTRU-PERIFERIE SI IMPLICAȚIILE LOR CULTURALE
ȘI ISTORICE / THE CENTER-PERIPHERY RELATIONS AND THEIR
CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS**

**Călătoria academică spre centrele culturale europene/
The Academic Journey to the European Cultural Centers**

Atalay Gündüz, <i>The Grand Tour as a Complementary of Gentlemen's Education</i>	7
Cornel Sigmirean, <i>Student român la Academia Militară "Ludovika"</i>	19

**Centralitate și marginalitate în literatură și cultură/
Centrality and Marginality in Literature and Culture**

Marcel Cornis-Pope, <i>Rethinking the Center-Periphery Relationship in the Post-Cold War Era</i>	37
Carmen Andraș, <i>Arrested Communication in Caryl Churchill's Mad Forest and the Centrality of the Ideological Other</i>	53
Nicoleta Sălcudeanu, <i>Literatura ca periferie generalizată și asumată</i>	63

Imaginând alteritatea periferică/ Imagining the Peripheral Alterity

Marian Zăloagă, <i>The Exulant Coming Out from Isolation: Re-reading in Various Culturalistic Paradigms. The Gypsy Studies from Great Britain and Germany in the 18th and 19th Centuries Contexts. An Essay Review</i>	71
Róisín Healy, <i>"Inventing Eastern Europe" in Ireland, 1848-1918</i>	103
Tanja Oster, <i>Identitätsentwürfe Von Roma-Frauen Aus Timișoara - Stereotypen Von Partnerschaft, Ehe Und Sexualität</i>	119

**Centrele ideologice și periferiile lor/
Ideological Centers and their Peripheries**

Florin Anghel, <i>Politica “Ochilor la Răsărit”: Frontiera dintre România și Polonia în construirea sistemului “Cordon Sanitaire”</i>	143
Ionuț Biliuță, <i>The Afterlife of the 1930s Orthodoxy Nationalism beyond Nichifor Crainic and Nae Ionescu</i>	159
Octavian Silvestru, <i>From Romantic Nationalism to National Communism. Marx, Anti-Russianism and the Romanian Cause in 1855 and 1964</i>	179

**II. ISTORIE ECLEZIATICĂ, ISTORIE ECONOMICĂ ȘI POLITICĂ/
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY**

István Petrovics, <i>Foreign Ethnic Groups and Urban Development in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: the Cases of Temesvár/Timișoara and Szeged</i>	197
László Glück, <i>Von der Spitze der Selbständigkeit an die Schwelle der „Rentnerschaft”. Der Weg einer Unternehmerfamilie an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert</i>	215
Carmen Maria Dorlan, <i>Artizanii iezuiți ai unirii cu Roma și cunoașterea identității religioase a românilor ardeleni la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea. Percepții stereotipale și realități istorice</i>	239
Ioan Chiorean, <i>Considerații privind starea agriculturii țărănești din Câmpia Transilvaniei în secolul al XVIII-lea oglindită în documentele vremii</i>	257
Maria Costea, <i>Aplicarea tratatului româno-bulgar de la Craiova (1940)</i>	267
Recenzii și note de lectură	276

**RELAȚIILE CENTRU-PERIFERIE SI IMPLICAȚIILE LOR
CULTURALE ȘI ISTORICE / THE CENTER-PERIPHERY
RELATIONS AND THEIR CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL
IMPLICATIONS**

- **Călătoria academică spre centrele culturale europene/ The Academic Journey to the European Cultural Centers**
- **Centralitate și marginalitate în literatură și cultură/ Centrality and Marginality in Literature and Culture**
- **Imaginând alteritatea periferică/ Imagining the Peripheral Alterity**
- **Centrele ideologice și periferiile lor/ Ideological Centers and their Peripheries**

*Călătoria academică spre centrele culturale europene/
The Academic Journey to the European Cultural Centers*

**THE GRAND TOUR AS A COMPLEMENTARY OF
GENTLEMEN'S EDUCATION**

Atalay Gündüz,

Ege University, Turkey

***Abstract:** During the Middle Ages travel was considered to be moral challenge in England. It was with the advance of Renaissance that, with the reintroduction of the Graeco-Roman ideal of travel, it occupied an important place in the education of young gentlemen. Shortly after graduating from Cambridge or Oxford they would take the grand tour and visit European countries like France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria and Germany. These grand tour travelers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century were then imitated by the tourists of nineteenth century when travel became available to more people as the transportation technologies develop and travel became less costly. The present study investigates how grand tour as the concept of travel open only to the wealthy classes of society has evolved in time and become affordable for the less fortunate classes of society in the form of gap year.*

***Keywords:** Grand Tour; education; travel; gap year.*

Introduction

The illumination, challenge and ordeal make travel an essential part of one's education, according to Fussell. A traveler is a student who has a quest for knowledge and enlightenment. Beginning with the sixteenth century, the European tradition of the Grand Tour regards travel as study and perceives it as the completion of a gentleman's education. Fussell traces the origins of travel writing as a genre back to those student travelers. He remarks that "one by-product of real travel was something that has virtually disappeared, the travel book as a record of an inquiry and a report of the effect of the inquiry on the mind and the imagination of the traveler"¹. In that sense, this study aims to investigate the role grand tour played in the formation of modern idea of travel.

I. Travel and Road as a Universal Metaphor

Road has always been a universal metaphor all through human history. As a common metaphor, departure connotes taking up risks, showing bravery and arrival is initiation in the rites of passage. In his highly illuminating book on the history of Western travel, *The Mind of the Traveler: from Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (1991), Eric J. Leed suggests that:

¹ Paul Fussell, "Introduction", *The Norton Book of Travel* ed. Paul Fussell, Ontario, Norton, 1987, p. 39.

The commonality and familiarity of travel may also be seen in the fact that travel is the most common source of metaphors used to explicate transformations and transitions of all sorts. We draw upon the experience of human mobility to define the meaning of death (as a “passing”) the structure of journey (as a “journey” or pilgrimage); to articulate changes of social and existential conditions in rites of initiation (of “passage”)².

Travel is a metaphor in all cultures, transcending time and place. According to Leed, “travel is as familiar as the experience of the body, the wind, the earth and this is why at all times and in all places it is a source of reference, a ground of symbols and metaphors, a resource of signification”³. Leed also draws our attention to the fact that “mobility is the first, prehistorical human condition; sessility (attachment or fixation to one place), a later, historical condition”⁴. Although Leed calls “mobility” a “prehistorical condition”, it is still possible to encounter wandering tribes and nomads in the twenty-first century. Perhaps not in the same way, but mobility of the “prehistorical tribes” still dominates the lives of people in today’s world as long as “journey is the ordinary way members link their lives and consume a world of meanings and places”⁵. Otherwise, how would we explain the wanderlust modern people feel as an urge?

In his “Introduction” to *The Norton Book of Travel* (1987), Paul Fussell observes that this wanderlust, this urge to travel can be explained through the following three reasons. Firstly, “the thrill of escape from the constriction of the daily, the job, the boss, the parents” is one of the most appealing aspects of travel. Secondly, travel helps us learn new things and the pleasure we get from learning can be considered as another appeal of travel; learning foreign languages, seeing historical sites and getting into contact with the local people are all important parts of travel. Finally, Fussell notes that travel sharpens senses⁶.

We see that travel is very like literature as these three appeals can also be regarded as the major appeals and functions of literature. It is through books that we learn many things; the whole education system would almost be impossible without books. And as Victor Shklovsky tells us, literature helps us

² Eric Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, New York, Basic Books, 1991, p. 3.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

⁶ “When I went abroad for the first time in 1997, I felt like a new born baby. Everything around me in England was so strange that I was exhausted by noticing everything I saw: the streetlights, cars, traffic signs, plugs, the walls, the way people dressed, the smells, the sounds, the money etc. My senses, numbed by habit, were fully alive once again”.

see the world under a new and different light which helps us become aware of the things we have lost the sight of due to their over-familiar existence in our lives:

Habitualization devours works, clothes, furniture, one's wife, and the fear of war. 'If the whole complex lives of many people go on unconsciously, then such lives are as if they had never been.' And art exists that one may recover the sensation of life; it exists to make one feel things, to make the stones stony⁷.

Travelers take things less for granted compared to inhabitants of a place; hegemonic ideas, ideological state apparatuses and legitimizing discourses are alien to travelers. What Shklovsky⁸ bestows to poets can also be attributed to the traveler: "After we see an object several times, we begin to recognize it. The object is in front of us and we know about it, but we do not see it—hence we cannot say anything significant about it"⁹. The travelers have the advantage of seeing everything for the first time in a country and they can say more about them. This reminds us the Turkish saying "those fish live in the sea but unaware of it". The different perspective and the awareness that the unfamiliarity of the place traveled provides us with are among the most valuable intellectual stimuli.

This new perspective challenges and contests one's assumptions about his culture and thus raises a self-awareness which keeps one alert and awake. Yet a counter argument has always existed claiming that having had very little knowledge about the places s/he visits, travelers might make very shallow and incorrect observations. Moreover they could also find it extremely difficult to penetrate into the structure of feeling¹⁰ of the local residents of the countries they reside in temporarily. Although they do not suffer the discursive limitations and restrictions of the traveled destination, they are still under the burden of their own cultural bags¹¹.

⁷ Paul Fussell, "Introduction", in *The Norton Book of Travel* ed. Paul Fussell. Ontario, Norton, 1987, p. 18.

⁸ Viktor Shklovsky, "Art as Technique", in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, Ed. Ed. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reiss., Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1965, p. 3-24.

⁹ Paul Fussell, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁰ For a detailed explanation of "structure of feeling" see Raymond Williams, structure of feeling, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1977) 128-135. Also John Storey, *An Introductory Guide to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, New York and London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993, 53-54.

¹¹ "Lamed with these disadvantages, then what Plato blames poets in general for can be put to travel writers too. According to Plato, poets write about things they do not really know about. For him, a poet can have only a shallow expertise on things he represents in his poems, which destines his representations to become only poor representations of

II. Travel as Education

Travel as a part of education has a long history in the Graeco-Roman culture. What Eric J. Leed terms as “philosophical travel” or “historical travel”, which is according to Leed: “...travel in time, a journey to the sites of the beginnings of one’s cultural order”¹² has existed in the Western culture long before the ancient Greece. Paul Fussell notes that the Seven Wonders of the World as it was known in the ancient world was a concept that arose from the fact that people went to see them and they were the most popular travel destinations of the ancient times. What is more interesting is that even as early as 1600 B.C. “Visitors to the Egyptian monuments were scratching graffiti on them”¹³. Along with Egypt, India was another destination the ancient Greek intellectuals visited as “the sites of the beginnings of” their “own cultural order.” Orpheus, Daedalus, Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Plato, Pythagoras, and Exodus were some of these well-known ancient Greeks who had visited Egypt¹⁴. Not surprisingly “the father of history” Herodotus, who was born in Halicarnassus in 480 B.C., is considered to be the first travel writer by Paul Fussell.

As the Graeco-Roman culture came to the forefront with Renaissance these ancient examples above gave a high motivation to the Renaissance intellectuals to travel to see the roots of their civilization, which they considered to be Europe. On the other hand, as Sara Warneke points out in her *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England*, the English were a traveling nation even before the sixteenth century. With other designs and motives maybe but, still the pre-Renaissance England was in the move. As in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, people traveled for religious motives mostly like pilgrimage to sacred sites in Europe and the Holy Land. Warneke argues that only after the Reformation that the English changed their motives of travel and became travelers for education¹⁵.

Leed states that during the Middle Ages, theologians like St. Augustus, St. Bernard and St. Aquinas, among others, considered curiosity toward the material world as a “venial sin”. According to the medieval understanding and beliefs, to be too curious about the material world meant a misleading love of a non spiritual world which was regarded as getting away from one’s real aim in

reality. This creates a significant contradiction between the authority attributed to writing in logocentric societies and the ineptness which results from writer’s inability to grasp reality and render it into writing”.

¹² Eric Leed, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹³ Paul Fussell, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ Eric Leed, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹⁵ Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1995, p. 2.

this life: the salvation through an inner journey into one's soul and spirit. Even pilgrimage was considered suspicious:

Many run to sundry places to visit the relics of the Saints. Oftentimes seeing those things, men are moved with curiosity and the novelty of the sights, and carry home but little fruit of amendment¹⁶

Leed argues that it was only in the 16th Century that the "motive of curiosity was first legitimized, then deified and even sacralized"¹⁷. With this legitimation, people felt free to "admire the mountain's peaks, giant waves in the sea, the broad courses of rivers and the circuits of the stars"¹⁸.

Starting with Renaissance, travel started to play a very active role in the mind's education. During the middle ages the intellectuals would be contented with a library full of books which were considered to be the main source of wisdom. However, with the advance of Renaissance enlightenment intellectuals started to feel a quenching thirst for the world. This curiosity led to the celebration of travel and created a demand for travel writing. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs draw our attention to two important philosophers of the seventeenth century and how they exalt travel and traveler. They suggest that Francis Bacon and John Locke were two influential figures who attributed great authority to travel and travel writing in terms of education and gaining knowledge. Thus they helped travel become a part of education and a serious means to acquire wisdom and knowledge:

For...Francis Bacon, the travellers of the Renaissance had discovered a 'new continent' of truth, based on experience and observation rather than the authority of the ancients; and it was in effect travel writing which provided the vehicle for the conveyance of the new information which laid the foundations for the scientific and philosophical revolutions of the seventeenth century. John Locke, a representative figure in these revolutions, owned a vast collection of travel writing on which his philosophical texts regularly drew¹⁹.

James Buzard draws our attention to the influence of John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* on the Eighteenth Century intellectual life. Buzard states that Locke's essay "became a sort of bible for those who espoused a 'blank slate' conception of human consciousness and held that all knowledge is produced from the 'impressions' drawn in through our five

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 179.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 4.

senses”²⁰. As knowledge comes from direct experience of five senses, travel becomes a means of learning and scientific pursuits. People were not satisfied with the bookish information, instead. They preferred a first-hand involvement with their subject of study.

Laurence Sterne comments on the benefits of travel as follows:

...to learn the languages, the laws and customs, and understand the government and interest, of other nations to acquire an urbanity and confidence of behavior, and fit the mind more easily for conversation and discourse: to take us out of the company of our grandmothers, and from the track of nursery mistakes: and by shewing us new objects, or old ones in new lights, to reform our judgments: by tasting perpetually the varieties of Nature, to know what is good, by observing the address and arts of the man, to conceive what is sincere: and by seeing the difference of so many various humors and manners, to look into ourselves and form our own²¹.

In that sense Sterne sees travel as a way of improving one’s culture, our knowledge of politics, social skills, gaining self-confidence, widening our horizon, forming our own tastes, getting to know people better, and acquiring access to our own inner world, learning about our own personality and character.

All this faith and belief in travel and what one may gain from it made travel a complimentary part of gentlemen’s education: “a means by which young gentlemen could finish and polish an education through a course of travels”²². As early as sixteenth century Oxford and Cambridge graduates started taking trips to Italy, France and Germany. The complete legitimization of travel had taken place by the sixteenth century. Traveling to see places just to satisfy ones curiosity was celebrated even by the Catholic Church. In 1510, Cardinal Raphael wrote a preface for Varthema’s travels and exalted travel with highly complimentary words, praising the motives of travelers²³. Renaissance, the rebirth, had also redeemed the traveler who had been accepted suspiciously until then, reconceptualizing the term:

...a conscious and disciplined observer of nature and humanity the new cannons of objectivity and methods of observation deified the traveler who

²⁰ James Buzard. “The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)”, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs eds, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²¹ Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 2000, p. 44-45.

²² Eric Leed, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 179-180.

swore allegiance to them, thereby becoming endowed with a higher purpose and a heroic cultural dimension²⁴.

Another important development Leed sees in the sixteenth century which contributed to the legitimization of "curiosity as an appropriate motive of travel" was the great development in the printing techniques started with Gutenberg. This new development led to the mass publication and circulation of travel accounts which revealed the value and profits of travel as a part of one's education. Another way that the circulation of travel books helped travel become a more common practice is the fact that the more people read about travel, the more curious they got about seeing all those lands and peoples.

England was not the only Western country who had grasped the value of travel. There was such a competition and rivalry about traveling that it had become a matter of national pride. Hulme and Youngs note that Richard Hakluyt's motive to publish travel accounts by British travelers, *Principal navigations, voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589), was "...to challenge European perceptions of English inaction and to promote new initiatives by showing that the English had been men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world...Hakluyt was able to gather from his countrymen accounts of ninety-three voyages spanning 1,500 years- enough materials to fill 834 folio pages"²⁵.

III. The Grand Tour

Leed traces the roots of Grand Tour mainly to two former traditions. The first is the medieval Germanic knighthood apprenticeship known as *Vers Sacrum* which was "the journey expected of every Germanic youth who would establish a name for himself". In the journeys the young noblemen were expected to visit courts, seek the acquaintance of "great men", take part in tournaments, and improve their social skills by attending dance parties and other entertainments. The second tradition Grand Tour derives from is *peregrination academica*, that is, the student's "journeyman's year" (I think this concept still exists in Anglo-American culture with the new term GAP YEAR). In that journey the students took a pilgrimage to the centers of learning like Bologna and Paris. Leed suggests that Grand Tour was the "wedding" of these two previous traditions²⁶.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 184.

²⁵ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs eds, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁶ Grand Tour, as a tradition still exists in the form of tourism. There are 46.100.000 entries for the term Grand Tour at Google. Most of these are advertisements by travel agencies who market their tours as "Discover some of the world's most magnificent scenery on this *grand tour* of Switzerland's most famous sights", or "History, art, architecture and culture await you on this *Grand Tour* of Chicago". On the other hand, the term has evolved into a kind of cultural and sophisticated sightseeing sense.

Casey Blanton defines the Grand Tour as a “finishing school for university students and writers”²⁷. Most of these travelers were young men from upper class who had just graduated from Oxford or Cambridge with a significant background of Latin and Greek literature. James Buzard sheds light on the fact that Grand Tour was a highly “ideological exercise” for the young man of the upper class. The main aim of the Grand Tour was to expose the young noblemen to the “treasured artifacts and ennobling society of the Continent”. The Grand Tour usually lasted between one to five years in length. The Tour was seen as a “social ritual intended to prepare these young men to assume the leadership positions preordained for the noblemen at home”²⁸.

Francis Bacon suggests that Grand Tour travelers be usually accompanied and supervised by tutors known as “governour” whose responsibility was to “watch over the morals of the traveling nobleman, act as a guide, see to accommodations, introduce him to the arts, books and learned men, and gauge his progress in the courtly and literary skills”²⁹. Among some of the well-known intellectuals who started their careers as Grand Tour tutors are Thomas Hobbes, Ben Johnson, Joseph Addison and Adam Smith³⁰.

To give discipline to the Grand Tour these tutors established certain methods, assigning their students tasks which required the recording of their observations as a “kind of memorial to their investiture in the world and as a way of halting the erosions of memory by time”³¹. Hulme and Youngs highlight the demands put on travelers of the time: “all kinds of interested parties-including scientists, philosophers, and sponsors- issued instructions... travellers about how to write down their observations, and the history of such instructions runs unbroken into the early twentieth century and the foundations of anthropology...”³².

In the Sixteenth Century a term was even coined by some German and Swiss tutors to refer to one of the methods: Apodemik³³, which means “rational

²⁷ Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*, New York, Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1997, p. 11.

²⁸ James Buzard, “The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)”, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs eds, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁹ Eric Leed, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

³⁰ James Buzard. “The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)”, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs eds, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³¹ Eric Leed, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

³² Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs eds, *op. cit.*, p. 4-5.

³³“Versuche in seiner *Apodemik* oder die Kunst zu reisen”. (<http://members.aol.com/ch29/dip2.htm> October 24, 2005). Franz Ludwig Posselt, “*Apodemik* oder die Kunst zu reisen. Ein systematischer Versuch zum Gebrauch junger Reisenden aus den gebildeten Ständen überhaupt” und ...www.univie.ac.at/igl.geschichte/klemun/ss2005/klemun_forschungspraktikum_2005.htm - 14k October

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

travel"³⁴. Apodemik method required travelers to "observe and describe the temperament of the people-- whether sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, or melancholic-- as well as their mores and customs, clothes and costumes, diet and manner of eating, languages, dialects and general way of life"³⁵.

From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century many intellectuals and writers took Grand Tour. Among some of the best-known writers who were Grand Tour travelers are Sir Philip Sidney, John Milton, Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, Henry Fielding, Thomas Gray, Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, William Hazlitt, and Lord Byron³⁶.

Grand Tour Travelers as "Patriotic Travelers"

Barbara Korte states that as the travelers' country benefited from these journeys, these travelers were also called "patriotic travelers". For the travelers were expected to bring new ideas, useful techniques and other benefits from the lands they traveled. As early as 1642, in his *Instructions for Forreine Travel* James Howell comments on the use of travel and patriotic travelers' contributions to England as follows:

The most materiall use of Forreine Travel is to find out something that may be applyable to the publique utility of one' own Countrey, as a Noble Personage of late years did, who observing the uniforme and regular way of stone structure up and down in Italy, hath introduced that forme of building to London and Westminster.

Another seeing their Dikes, and draynings in the Netherlands, hath been a cause that much hath been added, to lengthen the skirts of this Island.

Another in imitation of their aqueducts and fluces, and conveyance of waters abroad, brought Ware-water through London streets...³⁷.

We can add Lady Montagu to this list of travelers who wanted to contribute to their country's development. Lady Montagu, whose husband was assigned ambassador to Turkey in 1716, stayed in Turkey for two years. There she learned smallpox inoculation which had been effectively practiced for centuries. Having lost her brother and her beauty because of small pox she tried hard to introduce the inoculation into England.

It was not only the English higher-middle classes and the upper-classes who traveled in Europe in the eighteenth century. Winfried Loschburg mentions the Eighteenth Century Russian Tsar Peter the Great, who with his reforms

24, 2005). Talking about travel accounts Apodemik is still used to indicate "die Kunst zu Reisen" that is the art of travel.

³⁴ Eric Leed, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ Barbara Korte, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

modernized Russia. Peter the Great traveled in West Europe and visited the Netherlands, Germany, France and England under the pseudo-name Petro Michailov in the years 1697 and 1698. He visited mills and shipyards, examined the new developments in ship building and artillery. Moreover, he studied mercantilist theories of his time. Shortly after he returned back to Russia, he became the Tsar. Highly influenced by his travels to west, he introduced military and governmental reforms to his country. He also invited scientists and experts from Western Europe and opened schools of Navigation and Mathematics, Medicine, Science, and Engineering.

The Grand Tour travelers recorded “all kinds of knowledge that could be potentially useful for England or Britain and its relationship with other nations”. The travelers wrote about climate, trade, agriculture, architecture, social life, roads and on many other topics. According to Francis Bacon travel, is an innate desire of human nature. On the other hand, to make most of it a traveler should “learn the languages, the laws and customs, and understand the government and interest, of other nations, -to acquire an urbanity and confidence of behaviour, and fit the mind more easily for conversation and discourse”³⁸.

The Itinerary

As the eighteenth century English intellectuals drew parallels between the state of England in their time and the Roman Empire, they called themselves Augustan. Consequently, the classical tradition was Rome for them, not Greece. The itinerary of eighteenth century Grand Tour included cities like Rome, Florence, Venice, Paris, Geneva, Berlin, and Amsterdam³⁹. Although the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Empire was the home of numerous Greek and Roman sites, as Korte states Turkey was “beyond the traditional domain of a Grand Tour”. It was a destination for travelers “whose curiosity was not satisfied by the standard trip”⁴⁰. Yet there were always those who were ready to go off the beaten track. Sir Henry Blount of the seventeenth century was a man “whose curiosity was not satisfied by” Grand Tour of Italy, Spain and France. He wanted to know more about Turkey and Turks who, according to Blanton were “the only people, great in action, and whose Empire so suddenly invaded the world, and fixed itself such firm foundations as no other did . . .”⁴¹. Even some 56 years before Locke’s 1690 “Essay Concerning Human Understanding”, Blount was aware of the value of the first hand information and “would not sit down with a book” and learn about Turkey and Turks. Despite all the dangers

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 44-45.

³⁹ James Buzard, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴⁰ Barbara Korte, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴¹ Sir Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant, Early Modern Tales of Orient*, ed. Kenneth Parker, New York, Routledge, 1999, p. 176.

and travail of the road, he preferred eye-witness: "for above all other senses the eye, having the most immediate and quick commerce with the soul, gives it a most touch to the rest, leaving in the fancy somewhat unutterable; so that an eyewitness of things conceives them with an imagination more complete, strong, and intuitive..."⁴².

Turkey and Grand Tour

It was not until nineteenth century that Turkey became a really important travel destination for the British. With the rise of Romanticism, Greek culture came to forestage of the English intellectual life. It received such a fervent interest that, Lord Byron went to Greece to support the Greek Independence War and died there. Nineteenth century saw the publication of a very important travel book Alexander Kinglake's *Eothen*, which for some critics was the beginning of travel writing in the modern sense. Kinglake travels through Ottoman Empire and notes his impressions.

Another Grand Tour traveler who would not be satisfied by Western Europe was Fynes Moryson. He visited Turkey in 1597 and his comments on Turkey may explain why Turkey was not a much preferred destination then. He points out that "no stranger travels in Turkey without a janissary or guide to protect him"⁴³ (147). During all those times Turkey was full of dangers like bandits that's why all the strangers needed a protector and a guide to keep them out of trouble. Moreover, Turkey did not provide the comforts and luxuries that Italy, France or Germany served their visitors with. As early as the seventeenth century, the roads to Paris were excellent; the travelers could find inns and houses to rent. Finally, going to Turkey meant to set foot on a country with a different religion and culture that Europe saw as the "scourge of civilization".

The students of Grand Tour were supposed to keep records of their journeys, the tradition which would lead to travel accounts we are studying now. The similarities between the Grand Tour students and modern writers of travel literature reveal that, though not under that heading, Grand Tour Tradition is still alive today. We still see that tradition, which travel as the completing touch of one's education in the Western world. The whole idea of the "gap year" can be considered an extension of Grand Tour. Many university graduates take a year or sometimes more to see the world before they start their career or continue their education.

WORKS CITED

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 176-177.

⁴³ Fynes Moryson, "An Itinerary", in *Early Modern Tales of Orient*. ed. Kenneth Parker, New York, Routledge, 1999, p. 147.

- Blanton, Casey. *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*. New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1997.
- Blount, Sir Henry. *A Voyage into the Levant, Early Modern Tales of Orient*. ed. Kenneth Parker. New York: Routledge, 1999, p. 175-195
- Buzard, James. "The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)", in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 37-53.
- Campbell, Mary Baine. "Travel Writing and Its Theory", in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 261-278.
- Farson, Daniel. *A Traveller in Turkey*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul plc, 1985.
- Fussell, Paul. "Introduction", *The Norton Book of Travel* ed. Paul Fussell. Ontario: Norton, 1987.
- Korte, Barbara. *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Leed, Eric, *The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*. New York: Basic Books, 1991.
- Loschburg, Winfried. *Seyahatin Kultur Tarihi* trans. Jasmin Traub. Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 1998.
- Moryson, Fynes. "An Itinerary", *Early Modern Tales of Orient*. ed. Kenneth Parker. New York: Routledge, 1999) p. 128-149.
- Oke, Mim Kemal. *İngiliz Casusu Prof . Aminius Vambery'nin Gizli Raporlarında II. Abdulhamit ve Donemi*. Istanbul: Ucdal Nesriyat, 1983.
- Warneke, Sara. *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995.

STUDENT ROMÂN LA ACADEMIA MILITARĂ „LUDOVICA”

Cornel Sigmirean,

Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș

Abstract: *Romanian Student at the “Ludovika” Military Academy. The military career in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire represented a chance for social ascension, the access to the channels of emancipation to many young people. Created for the defense of the country’s frontiers, the army also represented an important factor of social cohesion, through the officers’ education in the spirit of loyalty toward the emperor. Education, through its dynasticist spirit regarding the House of Habsburg, represented a priority of the military academy’s educational programs in Vienna and Budapest. Such aspects also result from the young Ovidiu Pop’s letters, a student at the “Ludovika” Military Academy in Budapest, between the years 1898-1901.*

Keywords: *the “Ludovika” Military Academy; education; loyalty; emperor; empire; multiethnic.*

Carierea militară a reprezentat o filieră importantă de ascensiune socială pentru mulți români din fostul Imperiu dunărean. Rezervată în mod expres până în secolul al XVIII-lea nobilimii, cariera de ofițer a devenit în secolul al XIX-lea accesibilă tinerilor proveniți din straturile de jos ale societății. În anul 1878, de exemplu, doar 42 % dintre ofițeri aveau origini aristocrate. Criteriul de selecție a studenților la academiile militare de la Wiener Neustadt, de la Academia Militară Tehnică și de la Academia Militară „Ludovika” de la Budapesta era acela al loialității față de împărat. Prestigiul conferit armatei în societatea Imperiului austro-ungar și educația au contribuit la crearea loialității, devotamentului ofițerimii față de împărat și stat. Într-un stat multinațional, loialitatea armatei față de dinastia de Habsburg a reprezentat factorul de coeziune socială și de menținere a imperiului. Așa cum remarca istoricul Jean Bérenger, Austro-Ungaria s-a prăbușit în 1918 fără ca armata să sufere înfrângeri militare răsunătoare, ci ca urmare a faptului că era minată de conflicte politice interne¹. La începutul Primului Război Mondial, țările Antantei credeau că unitățile de rezerviști dominate de elementul slav vor dezerta sau vor lupta prost, dar aceste trupe s-au comportat la fel de bine ca și ceilalți beligeranți. (Emil Rebreanu, *Apostol Bologa* în romanul *Pădurea Spânzuraților*, a fost o excepție printre ofițerii armatei austro-ungare, cel puțin în prima fază a războiului)².

¹ Jean Bérenger, *Istoria Imperiului Habsburgilor 1273-1918*, București, Editura Universitas, 2001, p. 493

² Liviu Rebreanu, *Opere V*, Ediție critică de Nicolae Gheran. Adenda de Cezar

Ca structură etnică, armata imperiului reflectă mozaicul de națiuni care compunea ansamblul politic dunărean: germani, slavi, unguri, români, italieni. Ca bază de selecție, majoritatea ofițerilor proveneau însă din rândul germanilor, ungarilor, cehilor, croaților, sârbilor³.

Tabel.1. Distribuția ofițerilor pe naționalități

Anul	germani	unguri	cehi	slovaci	sârbi/croați	români	ucrainieni	polonezi	sloveni	italieni
	%									
1895	77,90	7,50	5,70	0,10	3,50	0,60	0,20	3,40	0,50	0,60
1896	78,20	7,60	5,60	0,10	3,50	0,60	0,10	3,20	0,50	0,60
1897	77,70	8,00	5,50	0,10	3,60	0,60	0,20	3,00	0,60	0,70
1898	78,70	7,90	5,40	-	3,30	0,70	0,50	2,80	0,50	0,60
1899	78,00	8,20	5,90	0,10	3,30	0,60	0,10	2,80	0,50	0,50
1900	80,00	7,60	5,30	0,10	2,80	0,60	0,20	2,30	0,60	0,50
1901	79,10	7,80	5,80	0,10	2,80	0,50	0,10	2,60	0,60	0,60
1902	78,80	8,20	5,80	0,10	2,70	0,70	0,10	2,30	0,60	0,70
1903	76,60	9,70	6,20	0,10	3,00	0,80	0,10	2,30	0,60	0,60
1904	79,50	8,70	5,00	0,10	2,50	0,60	0,10	2,20	0,60	0,70
1905	79,70	9,30	4,50	0,10	2,30	0,70	0,10	2,20	0,50	0,60
1906	79,10	9,70	4,70	-	2,20	0,80	0,10	2,30	0,50	0,60
1907	78,90	9,60	4,90	0,10	2,20	0,90	0,10	2,10	0,50	0,70
1908	78,30	9,70	4,80	0,10	2,50	0,90	0,10	2,40	0,60	0,60
1909	79,10	9,40	4,40	-	2,40	0,90	0,20	2,30	0,50	0,70
1910	78,70	9,30	4,80	-	2,40	0,90	0,20	2,50	0,50	0,70
1911	76,10	10,70	5,20	0,10	2,70	1,00	0,20	2,70	0,50	0,80
Total	78,49	8,75	5,26	0,07	2,80	0,73	0,14	2,55	0,54	0,63

Între 1 și 2% dintre ofițeri proveneau din rândul românilor, slovacilor și rutenilor. Acest procent a rămas aproape constant până la sfârșitul imperiului. Cu toate că în secolul al XIX-lea s-a format o intelectualitate considerabilă, educată în universitățile din imperiu și a crescut procentul clasei de mijloc, nu s-a modificat ponderea ofițerilor proveniți din rândul celor trei naționalități. Pentru naționalitățile din imperiu, intrarea în rândul funcționarilor sau al ofițerilor implica riscul asimilării la „națiunea politică” maghiară; de aici posibile rezerve față de asemenea cariere. De altfel, fenomenul de asimilare în rândul minorităților s-a produs cel mai puțin în rândul populației rurale.

Apreotesei și Valeria Dumitrescu, București, Editura Minerva, 1977, p.328-329.

³ Hajdu Tibor, *Tisztikar és Közeposztály. Ferenc József magyar tisztjei*, Budapest, História Könyvtár, 1999, p. 157

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

Analizele privind proveniența ofițerilor arată că regiunile agrare au dat cei mai puțini ofițeri, cu excepția familiilor de militari⁴.

În particular, a crescut însă numărul ofițerilor români, în jur de 1% din totalul ofițerilor armatei austro-ungare. Înainte de desființarea regimentelor de graniță de la Năsăud și Orlat (1851)⁵ și din Banat (1871)⁶, numărul românilor în armata imperiului a fost mai mare, dar majoritatea erau subofițeri⁷. Regimentele de graniță au reprezentat însă un argument solid în favoarea unei cariere militare în cazul românilor în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea.

La Academia Militară de la Neustadt, înființată de Maria Teresa la 1769, se recrutau pentru a deveni cadeți, tineri dotați intelectual, provenind din familii care au servit cel puțin 20 de ani în armata austriacă⁸. Astfel, cca. 250 de tineri români proveniți din familii de grăniceri au urmat studii la academiile militare din imperiu⁹. Printre ei s-au numărat: *Leonida Pop*, fiul unui ofițer (maior) de graniță, care după studii la Wiener-Neustadt, absolvite în 1851, apoi la Academia Militară Tehnică, a devenit Comandant al Armatei a II-a operative (în imperiu erau 16 armate). S-a distins în războiul pentru ocuparea Bosniei. A fost înnobilit cu titlul de baron, iar din 1882 a fost timp de opt ani, Șef al Cancelariei Militare Imperiale; Traian Doda, originar din Banat, a studiat la Wiener-Neustadt, a ajuns la gradul de general și comandant de brigadă la Cracovia; Alexandru Guran din Borlovenii Vechi, jud. Caraș-Severin, absolvent al Academiei Wiener-Neustadt, s-a distins în războaiele din 1848 și din 1859 din Italia, a fost comandant al Școlii de război (1859), șef al Secției V din cadrul Ministerului de Război, director al Institutului Geografic din cadrul Ministerului de Război, general, din 1876 locotenent-mareșal, distins cu diferite ordine militare austriece, rusești și italiene; Mihail Trapșia din Lăpușnicel (Caraș Severin), absolvent al Școlii Superioare de Educație Militară Mährisch-Weisskirchen și al Academiei de Artilerie din Olmütz, s-a distins în războaiele din 1859 și 1866 (în bătălia de la Custozza), în 1885 a fost avansat la gradul de general și comandant de brigadă; generalul Teodor Cavalier de Seracin, participant la războaiele Austriei cu Danemarca (1864) și Prusia (1866),

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ Carol Götner, *Regimentele grănicerești din Transilvania 1764-1851*, București, Editura Militară, 1973, p.173-182; pentru istoria Regimentului II de graniță Năsăud, vezi Valeriu Șotropa, *Districtul grăniceresc năsăudean*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 1875.

⁶ Liviu Groza, *Grănicerii bănățeni*, București, Editura Militară, 1973, passim.

⁷ Într-un articol publicat la 1884 în revista *Transilvania*, George Barițiu consemna într-o listă (după Gustav Ritter Amon von Treuenfest) numele și gradele a 174 de români născuți pe teritoriul districtului grăniceresc năsăudean, care au ocupat funcții militare în Regimentul II de graniță și în alte regimente ale Austriei (Apud V.Șotropa, *op.cit.* p.106).

⁸ Liviu Maior, *Românii în armata habsburgică*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 2004, p. 135.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

comandant al Institutului Geografic, generalii Nicolae Cena, David Urs de Margina, Ion Dragalina ș.a.¹⁰ În total, în armata imperială, din rândul românilor au fost cca. 35 de generali¹¹.

Principalele instituții de formare a ofițerilor armatei imperiale erau cele două academii de la Wiener Neustadt și Academia Militară Tehnică.

Împreună, cele două academii pregăteau anual 230 de ofițeri proveniți din toate provinciile imperiului. Din Transilvania, între 1890-1918, la Wiener Neustadt au studiat cca. 305 viitori ofițeri. Printre ei, luând în considerare limba maternă și confesiunea, 46 au fost români¹².

Tabel.2. Distribuția pe naționalități a studenților de la academiile militare¹³

anul	locația	germani	unguri	slavi	români	italieni
1876	Wiener Neustadt	47,00	9,70	43,30	-	-
	Katonai Müszaki Akadémia	56,85	12,10	27,80	2,42	0,4
1877	Wiener Neustadt	35,03	17,51	47,13	-	-
	Katonai Müszaki Akadémia	47,21	12,26	34,94	1,85	3,34
1878	Wiener Neustadt	33,76	16,88	49,02	-	-
	Katonai Müszaki Akadémia	53,27	10,65	31,55	1,63	2,45
1879	Wiener Neustadt	26,19	21,72(?)	43,15	8,06(?)	-
	Katonai Müszaki Akadémia	59,88	9,30	27,32	0,58	2,32
1880	Wiener Neustadt	67,18	8,49(?)	22(?)	-	2,31
	Katonai Müszaki Akadémia	43,12	3,75	24,37	0,62	-
1881	Wiener Neustadt	50,75	15,53	30,30	0,37	2,65
	Katonai Müszaki Akadémia	29,74(?)	16,92	49,23	-	3,07

La sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea, la cele două academii austriece se adaugă Academia Militară „Ludovika” de la Budapesta. Fondată în anul 1872,¹⁴ a reprezentat împlinirea unui mai vechi deziderat al societății maghiare.

¹⁰ Liviu Groza, *op. cit.*, p. 143-173.

¹¹ Liviu Maior, *op. cit.*, p.137.

¹² Vezi Paty Gábór, *Magyarország diákobécsi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1890-1918*, Budapest, 2004, passim.

¹³ Hajdu Tibor, *op. cit.*, p.168.

¹⁴ Cornel Sigmirean, „Studenți din Transilvania la Academia Militară „Ludovika” din Budapesta”, în *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”*, Târgu-Mureș, XI, Târgu Mureș, 2008, p. 274.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

La 1848, guvernul maghiar a însărcinat Ministerul Apărării cu organizarea Liceului Militar „Ludovika”. Cursurile s-au deschis în octombrie, la Facultatea de Științe a Universității din Pesta, însă cursul nu s-a finalizat. Ideea unei academii militare s-a reactualizat după anul 1867. Prin art. 11 al „Înțelegerii” din 1867, prin care s-a creat dualismul austro-ungar, s-a fondat armata maghiară (trupele de honvezi), ca parte integrantă a celei imperiale, faimoasa K.u.K. având uniforme și însemne proprii și maghiara ca limbă de comandă. Dar, „armata ungară” nu avea în componența ei unități de artilerie iar mai târziu, de blindate și aviație¹⁵.

În acest context, s-a fondat Academia Militară, deschisă inițial cu un curs de un an pentru pregătirea ofițerilor. În anul 1883, durata studiilor s-a stabilit la 3 ani, Academia Militară Ludovika devenind o instituție similară cu cele două academii de la Viena. După o nouă reorganizare, în 1897, Academia putea oferi o pregătire echivalentă celei de la Academia „Maria Teresa” din Viena, cu mențiunea că la Budapesta se asigura doar pregătirea în specializările infanterie și cavalerie, ofițerii de artilerie și tehnică fiind școlarizați la academiile austriece. Deschiderea unui curs de artilerie s-a aprobat în 1912, când tensiunile în plan internațional (primul război balcanic) și spectrul izbucnirii unui război european au convins guvernul de la Viena de necesitatea dotării armatei cu o artilerie performantă.

Auditorii Academiei Militare „Ludovika” erau în proporție covârșitoare din Ungaria (Transleithania).

Tabel.3. Regiunile de proveniență ale viitorilor ofițeri din armata națională

Regiunea	Procentaj	Anuarele Academiei Ludovika	
		1893-1897	1898-1902
Budapesta	10,9	17,2	18,8
Estul Dunării	13,7	13,0	13,6
Sudul Dunării	5,2	7,1	5,2
Vestul Regiunii	7,7	5,2	4,6
Estul Regiunii	9,3	7,4	9,0
N-E de Carpați	3,2	4,2	2,9
Nordul Ungariei	2,0	4,9	4,4
Dincolo de Tisa	13,3	14,7	13,9
Între Dunăre și Tisa	4,8	6,1	7,0
Banat	10,1	8,1	10,0

¹⁵ Liviu Maior, *Habsburgii și românii. De la loialitatea dinastică la identitatea națională*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2006, p. 110.

Transilvania	14,9	8,4	6,1
Croația	2,4	2,2	1,2
Austria	1,2	0,2	0,9
Fiume	-	0,3	0,6
Necunoscut	1,3	1,0	1,7

Ca origine etnică, situația studenților era următoarea: maghiari 81,5%, germani 11,7%, sârbi 1,6%, croați 2,4 %, români 0,8%, slovaci 0,8%, ruteni 0,4%, cehi 0,4%, armeni 0,4%. Ca religie, 62,1% romano-catolici, 19,4% reformați, 13,7% evanghelici, 0,4% unitarieni, 1,6% greco-catolici, 1,6% ortodocși, 1,2% izraeliți.

Sigur, procentul românilor este foarte mic. Însă, statisticile din Ungaria înregistrau limba maternă și nu naționalitatea persoanei. Astfel, dacă adunăm procentele care-i reprezintă pe ortodocși și greco-catolici, confesiuni reprezentative pentru români, sârbi și ruteni, avem 3,2% din totalul studenților de la „Ludovika”. Dar, adunând procentele celor trei naționalități, avem doar un procent de 2,8%. Acest fapt denotă că erau numeroase cazuri de greco-catolici români sau ruteni și de ortodocși români sau sârbi care-și declarau maghiara ca limbă maternă. La recesământul din 1900, 13% dintre greco-catolici și 1,5% dintre ortodocși își declarau maghiara ca limbă maternă. Putem, într-un asemenea raționament, să luăm în calcul un procent sensibil mai mare de români la Academia „Ludovika”.

Ca origine socială, studenții de la „Ludovika” aveau următoarea reprezentare:

Tabel.4. Mediile sociale de proveniență a ofițerilor de la „Ludovika” între 1893-1908¹⁶

Ocupația părinților	HL	Ludovika		
		1893-1897	1898-1902	1903-1908
Aristocrat, mare proprietar	-	3,70	0,90	0,60
Nobil	6,00	7,90	4,90	2,20
Nobil (fără proprietate)	-	1,00	0,60	0,70
Nenobil, proprietar mediu	2,00	4,40	4,35	4,60
Proprietar	5,60	2,70	3,20	2,20

¹⁶ Hajdu Tibor, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Administrator de moșie, pădurar	9,30	7,60	5,20	5,00
Total populație agrară	22,90	27,30	19,15	15,30
Funcționar de stat, judecător	14,90	9,30	11,00	14,90
Funcționar autonom	4,50	9,00	7,00	8,50
Mic funcționar (notar)	4,50	4,90	3,5	5,7
Profesor	1,60	3,90	7,25	5,00
Învățător	1,60	1,50	3,8	2,90
Muncitor căi ferate	3,60	3,90	4,9	4,60
Poștaș	1,20	1,50	2,00	3,50
Total funcționari publici	31,70	34,00	39,50	45,10
Ofițer	9,30	4,40	7,00	8,60
Funcționar militar, medic	2,80	3,20	2,30	2,00
Soldat, subofițer, jandarm	-	-	0,30	0,60
Total armată	12,10	7,60	9,60	11,20
Subofițer civil, servitor, gardian	-	0,25	0,30	0,20
Supraveghetor financiar, polițist	0,40	-	1,45	1,10
Muncitor industrie	0,40	0,80	0,30	-
Total mici burghezi	6,40	3,75	5,25	3,50
Inginer	1,20	1,00	1,45	2,40
Preot	1,20	1,70	2,30	2,00
Medic, farmacist	4,50	2,70	3,50	3,30
Avocat	3,60	5,70	4,10	4,60
Politician	-	0,75	0,90	1,30
Artist	0,80	0,50	-	0,20
Total intelectuali fără funcție publică	11,20	12,35	12,25	13,60
Capitalist, director	0,80	1,30	1,45	0,60
Comerciant, proprietar de restaurant	6,10	2,50	3,50	3,30
Mic industriaș	3,20	2,00	1,20	1,50
Privat, proprietar de casă, constructor	0,80	0,75	3,50	2,90
Funcționar privat	2,00	2,70	3,80	4,20
Burghez	6,10	-	-	-
Total industriaș, comerciant, finanțist	19,00	9,25	13,45	12,50
Necunoscut	2,00	8,45	4,35	0,80

Evident, ponderea cea mai mare o aveau tinerii care proveneau din familii de funcționari publici, din rândul micilor comercianți și industriași, al intelectualității fără funcții publice, categoriile cele mai dinamice și în plină ascensiune în societatea austro-ungară de la sfârșitul sec. al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX.

În acest climat mozaicat de etnii și confesiuni, cu origini sociale dintre cele mai diverse, tinerii Academiei pe parcursul celor trei ani de studii frecventau discipline menite a le crea un bun nivel intelectual: lb. maghiară, lb. germană, lb. franceză, geografie, matematică, geometrie descriptivă, istoria artelor, istoria. Evident, programa de studii era completată cu un program sever dedicat pregătirii militare și educației în spiritul loialității față de împărat.

Ambianța școlară, a studiilor, educația militară, relațiile care domneau între studenți, au fost evocate de mulți dintre absolvenții Academiei „Ludovika”, printre alții și de către Liviu Rebreanu, student la Academia Militară între anii 1903-1906.

Am apelat în studiul nostru, pentru reconstituirea climatului din Academie, la scrisorile studentului Ovidius Pop¹⁷, trimise unchiului său, Ioan Micu Moldovan¹⁸, profesor, canonic, la Blaj, un adevărat mecena al multor tineri care au studiat la universitățile europene la sfârșitul sec. al XIX-lea și începutul sec. al XX-lea.

Student între anii 1898-1901 la Academia militară¹⁹, la specializarea infanterie, în prima scrisoare adresată unchiului său îi relatează că este singurul român dintre toți elevii: „De când e școala aceasta, n-a fost român în ea. 310 suntem cu toții. Nici un român afară de mine. Nici un jidov”.²⁰

Mai are în schimb un coleg italian, Arrigó cavalier de Milcenich, *fiul alpolgarmesterului* din Fiume, *care nu știe ungurește, nici cât mine*. Motiv de ironii, cu remarci naționaliste:

Într-o zi, bietul italian, copil din familie înaltă, om blând și tăcut, întrebat de un coleg pentru ce nu voiesc italienii din Fiume să se maghiarizeze, Fiumeanul le răspunde că națiunea italiană e mai cultă ca cea maghiară; Numai atât le-a trebuit celorlalți. Îndată și-au arătat cultura, au început a zbiera, fluiera, batjocori și nu s-au îndestulat cu atâta, ci seara au început a-l bate cu papucii de noapte, fiecare aveau câte o pereche de papuci de piele, de noapte.

¹⁷ Studentul O.Pop era născut în 4 martie 1880, în Ocna Mureș și a terminat Liceul din Blaj. Tatăl său, Beniamin Pop, absolvent al Seminarului de Sancta Barbara, a fost protopop de Ocna Mureș.

¹⁸ Arhivele Naționale. Direcția Județeană Cluj, Fond *Ioan Micu Moldovan, Scrisori primite*, dosarele 14766-14828 (în continuare ANDJC).

¹⁹ Magyar Hadtörténeti Levéltár Budapest (Arhiva Militară Maghiară din Budapesta), Fond *A Magyar Király Honvéd Ludovika Akadémia*, Dosar 347.

²⁰ ANDJC, *Fond cit.*, f 1.

Așa încât, sărmanul cavalier de Milcenich, de pe sub nasul căruia începu a-i luci o musteață neagră, frumoasă, aproape plângând merse la Güm Raport. Rezultatul? Căpitanul i-a spus ca orice vătămare să o înștiințeze. Dar, un alt căpitan, tot de la compania noastră, în clasă, în auzul tuturor, a zis că dacă dau colegii cu papucii, să dea și el, să nu se lase. Ba locotenent-adjunctul majorului, profesorul de gimnastică, îi zice tot "gyavá olasz" (italian bleg, n.n.) fiindcă-i blând, tăcut".

El în schimb, Ovidiu Pop, cu colegii o duce

până acum, destul de bine. Cântă ei des „az oláhok fa czipőbe járnak etc”, dar eu tot rîd și le zic igen, igen, de én nem járok. Cadrele didactice sunt înțelegătoare: „Generalul nostru, rectorul academiei, e foarte bun. Căpitanul e un grobian. Oficirii oameni destul de omenie. Aici-ți dau de toate dar și pretind. De dimineața la 6 până seara la 8, tot 2 ore muștră grea, 2 ore pregeri.

Astfel, programul unei zile la Academia Militară, în expresia lui O.Pop „orarend” și „napirend”, includea următoarele momente:

Sculare 6°. Dejun 6°20'. 6°30'-7° csuklo gyakorlat. 7°-10° prelegeri. 10°-10° ½ szűnet, 10°-12° prelegeri deci ante m. 5 ore. După amiază: 2°-4(5)° prelegeri ori gyakorlat – alternativ - 5°-6° szűnet 6°-8° silențiu. 8°cina. 9°culcare. Deosebirea între prelegerile cătănești și civile e deosebirea că: cum bate ora ifițurul-profesor intră. Noi stăm – deși pe scaune – tot „vigyazz”. Altcum ne distragem cu aceea că profesorii noștri sunt tot căpitani și un major și așa frumos și bat pintenii bine sunători – că aproape toți să plimbă plimbă în decursul orei.

Altfel, în Academie atmosfera era specifică vieții de cazarmă. Despre colegii săi:

cărțași și beutori de prima forță. Sunt vreo 10 inși, cari de când se scolă și până se culcă tot cărți bat, Ferbli și 21. Și între ore. Unul a pus vreo 40 fl. altul 10, altul 5. Nu este seară în care să nu golescă o mulțime de glăji de bere, vin. Nu jur că eu nu am beut fără nu așa cum ei beau. Locul beuturii este casina. Să apucă și pun pe masă o glajă cu apă și pocale – câți sunt – pe sub masă apoi umblă sticlele cu vin. Odată a intrat ofițirul ce era în slujbă. S-au speriat? de loc. Unul a vorbit, ceialalți la spatele lui au beut mai departe. De pedepse nu le pasă. La noi încă n-a început a lucra pedepsă. Fără totă ziua ne cetesc în „napiparancs (akadémiai- zászloalj-század)” că x,y de la 2,1, század – noi suntem 3 század – a căpătat 2,3 zile szigoru fogság.

De asemenea, primeau vacanță pentru perioada sărbătorilor de iarnă. Și așa cum mărturisește O. Pop, „cari rămănem aici totă ziua vom călări și de va fi ghiață ne vom patina”.

Începând cu 1 decembrie se derulau „colognările” (colocviile) ce țineau până în 20. După vacanță, sesiunea de examene. Tânărul O. Pop se mândrește că

Bătrânul căpitan – prof. din matematică, până acuma pe mina m-a numit, publico în clasă, de primul matematic; după-ce prima ocupare numai a mea a fost bună. [Și amar se înșeală ori cine, care crede că colegii mei nu și-au arătat „dinții” - din „iubire” firește.. –] Deci pote fi Radu Hossu linișcit, că cel puțin din matematică nu-i fac rușine.

Biserica și credința în împărat sunt elementele de coeziune prin care se cultivă fidelitatea față de stat :

În dormitorul nostru pe părete vis a vis de chipul măreț al regelui atârnă crucifixul frumos lucrat al D-lui N.I.Christos., iar într-o altă scrisoare menționa: În internat sunt două capele, una catolică și una reformată. Din oficiu mergem toți la cea catolică.

Momentul cel mai important al anului era ziua împăratului, la 18 august. Atunci aveau loc avansările sau chiar încheierea cursurilor școlare. Motto-ul era „Credincios până la moarte”. Imnul și jurământul militar erau dedicate persoanei împăratului. *Gott erhalte unsern Kaiser* simboliza perfecta loialitate față de monarh.

La Academia „Ludovika” din Budapesta, la momente festive, studenții aveau *tabori mise*, ocazie cu care se organizau defilări:

(am făcut defilirung). Am căpătat atunci și vin. Acum pot zice că cost mai bun nu pot pofti. Ia omul din blid cât voiește și de mai trebuiește poate repeta. Astfel, rămân cătană credincioasă patriei și regelui. După ce deviza cu fală purtăm pe ciacău este „hazánkeert és kiralyért (pentru patria noastră și pentru regele nostru – n.n.).

După trei ani, urma repartizarea ofițerilor într-o unitate militară, pe cât posibil cât mai departe de mediul etnic în care s-a născut. Așa s-a creat și s-a menținut caracterul supranațional al armatei imperiale, loială împăratului și statului multinațional, o armată formată din ofițeri care au excelat, în primul rând, prin calitățile morale, dar care au fost mai puțin performanți în războaie.

ANEXĂ:

Iubite Unchiule!²¹

²¹ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 766.

Epistola cu banii am primit-o chiar în ora de prelegere – mi-a adus-o tocmai poștarul, deși obiceiul e că tote epistolele ni le preda ofițirul de zi , după cetirea legilor. Mulțămesc frumos de bani și epistolă.

O săptămână am împlinit de când port vesminte de ostaș. Armele le-am căpătat numai de 3 zile. Avem tote comoditățile : casină elegantă – 2 biliarde, 3 pianе, 4 cimbolom, șah, domino, 3 lantenis, cuglerii 4, bicicле, cai etc. Dar ce folos? Tote le folosim la poruncă și minut. Nici nu ajungem la tote. Numai odată am voit să ne luntrăm, și și atunci ne-a scos afară căpitanul.

Las să urmeze niște impresii din cătănie:

În dormitorul nostru pe părete vis a vis de chipul măreț al regelui atârnă crucifixul frumos lucrat a D-lui N.I.Christos, la ușa 45 puști cu bajonete, gata ori când a vărda sânge!

Generalul nostru – rectorul academiei – un forte bun. Căpitanul un grobian. Oficirii omeni destul de omenie.

Aici-ți dau de tote; dar și pretind.

De dimineța la 6 până sera la 8, tot 2 ore muștră-grea , 2 ore prelegeri.

Mai este un italian cavalер de Milcenich, fiul alpolgarmesterului din Fiume nu scie ungurește nici cât mine.

Cu colegii o duc până acum destul de bine. Cântă ei des: „az oláhok fa czipöbe járnak etc”. Dar eu tot rād și le zic: „igen, igen, de én nem járok”.

Două pățanii am de însemnat până acum:

I. Căpitanul mi-a zis să me tund, m-am tuns cu frizură. Abia am intrat în cazarmă și din nou la tuns.

II. M-am dus în cantina noastră. Vād pe un coleg că mănâncă sardele. Cugetam la ce bune vor fi acele, că ce pești frumoși se vād. Cumpăr o șcatulă (22cr) me pun între ei, o desfac. Îmbuc, am cugetat că pe dracu l-am băgt în gură. Nici amar, nici dulce, nici subțire, nici gros, scie dracul ce gust aveau peștii aceia și ce seamă!?

Dar ce să fac? Se uitau colegii la mine. Să o las întratâta? Mi-era frică să nu mă rādă. Să le mânc? Erau rele ca dracu. Încep eu și pe rând, cu greță și greutate golesc șcatula. Acesta a fost pe la 4 d.a. Și până dimineța tot sardele am visat în gură și și acum îmi vine greu când vād șcatule de sardele.

Am scris la mama să facă bine să-mi dee 10 fl pe lună. Avem și noi spese. Cum: mănuși – statul nu dă numai 1,2 perechi – portopeu, derekszy, și alte mărunțușuri. N-aș vrea să es eu dintre colegi, fiindcă colegialitatea ne este pusă în poruncă.

Alte noutăți deocamdată nu sunt. Din Geografia tocmai așa s-a întâmplat și cu mine. M-a întrebat multe de tote grele. Am mai știut dintre ele. În urmă zice căpitanul: Ce râu trece prin Pariz?

Să mă fi întrebat ce râu trece prin Săn Mărtin ori Hădărău aș fi știut, dar prin Pariz n-am știut. A zis generalul. Dar ce să-i fac.

Serut frații

Serut mânilе.

fiu

ascult.

B Pesta, 1898 Sept.27

Ovidius Pop

Iubite Unchiule!²²

Am scris Mamei să facă bine să-mi vateze 10 fl pe lună. Minimul ce-l primesc colegii mei. Cred, că unui „akademicus”, nici nu-i peste cap, după ce aici toți sunt cu „capul” forte mare. Am rogat pe Mama ca din luna Octobree să roge pe Unchiu ca biata cătană să-și primească „soldul”.

Că merit, adeverește „orarendul” și „napi rend”.

Sculare 6°. Dejun 6°20'. 6°30'-7° csuklo gyakorlat. 7°-10° prelegeri. 10°-10° ½ szünet. 10°-12° prelegerideci ante m. 5 ore. După amiaz: 2°-4(5) ° prelegeri ori gyakorlat – alternativ- 5°-6° szünet 6°-8° silențiu. 8°cina. 9°culcare.

Deosebirea între prelegerile cătănești și civile e deosebirea că: cum bate ora ișișirul-profesor intră. Noi stăm – deși pe scaune – tot „vigyazz”. Altcum ne distragem cu aceea că profesorii noștri sunt tot căpitani și un major și așa frumos și bat pintenii bine sunători – că aproape toți să plimbă plimbă în decursul orei.

De când e școla aceasta n-a fost român în ea. 310 suntem cu toții. Nici un român afară de mine. Nici un jidov. Peste 1-2 săptămâni, și pe noi ne lasă duminica, în sărbători și alte zile prescrișă în „katonai szabályzat” în oraș, de cumva nu iasă careva în „alte” zile neprescrișă.

Odată am fost la biserica din edificiul nostru. Internatul susține 2 protopopi: cat.și ref.

Din oficiu mergem tot la cea catolică.

Marți – ziua imperatului – am avut tábore mise. A fost Fornyák honvédség adlatura. Înainte am făcut defilirung.

Am căpătat atunci și vin. Acum pot zice că cost mai bun nu pot pofti. Ia omul din blid cât voiește și de mai trebuiește pote repeta.

Cătănia e cu mult mai grea decât am închipuit-o.

Avem exercițiu 4° întregi. Abia putem umbla. Ce facem? Aprindem țigaretel, la plimbare prin grădină.

Alte noutăți nu sunt decât că în 1,2 și 3 octobree la toți le-a sosit „zseb pénz” numai al meu cine șcie pe unde-i.

În speranța că nici al meu nu va mai rătăci mult; fiindcă nu schimbă trenul nicăiri, rămân cătana credinciosă patriei și regelui: după ce devis ce cu fală purtăm pe ciacău este „hazánkéert és királyért”.

Serut mânil

fiu asc.

Bpesta 1898 oct.5

Ovidius Pop

Până acum sum sănătos, espesând mult pe contul altora

Iubite Unchiule!²³

Faceți bine trimiteți-mi 10 fl. Ceialalți 10 i-am spesat pe: păpuci 8fl 2fl mai tutun, foite etc.

²² *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 767.

²³ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 768.

Să spun drept rog pe unchiu de cei 10 fl ca să nu ajungă minusul peste plus.
Altcum sum sănătos, tare și mare!

fiu asc
Serut mâinile

Bpesta 1898 oct.5

Ovidius Pop

Iubite Unchiule!²⁴

Să mă ierte unchiul, nu ne este permis, - poruncă - să scriem pe corespondințe de 2 cv.; deci sacrific în loc de nemica 7 cv.

Banii i-am primit în 19 a.l. seara. Vă mulțămesc frumos, au sosit chiar la timp.

Eri a.m. 10 am stat la „kihallgatás”(gúm Raport) pentru păpuci. Doi dșori n-au avut. Nu mi-ar fi plăcut să fiu în pielea lor, ce a pus căpitanul pe ei. Noi acum avem 3 părechi păpuci noi - n-am avut de când sum! –

Am făcut o tristă experiență. Într-o zi bietul italian, copil din familie înaltă, om blând și tăcut, întreat fiind de un coleg: „pentru ce nu voesc italianii – din Fiume – să să maghiarizeze?” – Fiumeanul sincer și neprecaut le răspunsă :”națiunea italiană e mai cultă ca cea maghiară!”

Numai atâta le-a trebuit la ceilalți. Îndată și-au arătat cultura au început a zbiera, fluera, bajocori. Și nu s-au îndestulit cu atâta, ci seara au început a-l bate cu păpucii de nopte – fiecare avem câte o păreche de păpuci de piele de nopte –

Așa încât sermanul cavaler de Milchenich deși pe sub nas începe a luci o musteță neagră, frumoasă, aproape plângând merse Gum Raport. Rezultatul? El spune că căpitanul a zis, că ori ce vătămare să o însciințeze. Dar un alt căpitan tot dela compania noastră, în clasă, în auzul tuturor, a zis că dacă dau colegii cu papuci, deie și el și nu să lese. Ba locotenent adj majorului profesorul de gimnastică i zice tot „gyáva olasz” – fiindcă-i blând, tăcut.

Omeni maturi sub disciplina militară. Acum mi închipui că ce or fi putut face colegii lui Virgil în Cluj?

Cărțași și beutori de prima forță. Sunt vreo 10 inși, cari de când se scolă și până se culcă tot cărți bau Ferbli și 21. Și între ore. Unul a pus vreo 40 fl. altul 10, altul 5. Nu este seară în care să nu golescă o mulțime de glăji de bere, vin. Nu jur că eu nu am beut fără nu așa cum ei beau. Locul beuturii este casina. Să apucă și pun pe masă o glajă cu apă și pocale – câți sunt – pe sub masă apoi umblă sticlele cu vin. Odată a intrat ofcicirul ce era în slujbă. S-au speriat? de loc. Unul a vorbit, ceialalți la spatele lui au beut mai departe.

De pedepse nu le pasă. La noi încă n-a început a lucra pedepsă. Fără totă ziua ne cetesc în „napiparancs (akadémiai- zásloalj-század)” că x,y de la 2,1, század – noi suntem 3 század – a căpătat 2,3 zile szigoru fogság.

Ce privesc studiile. Franceza și germana ni sunt cam grele. Sum împărțit între acei ce nu șciu. Fiecare – osztály, a,b – are profesorul éi prelegerile separate.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 769.

Serut mîna
 Fiu ascultător
 Bpesta 1898 oct.20
 Ovidius Pop

Să nu credă unchiul că corespondința am aruncat-o. Pentru 10 fl nici un notarăș n-ar fi scris mai mult.

Iubite Unchiule!²⁵

Măine (30 a.l.c) mare bucurie va respira totă făptura și nefăptura din Ludovica; fiindcă cei dintâi academiști au prima eșire liberă în oraș. Pregătiri peste pregătiri, vizitații peste vizitații, porunci și îndrumări peste îndrumări cum să umblăm, să ne purtăm în oraș. Fiindcă spitalul academiei geme de bolnavi din vina lor – dintre cădeți, fiindcă numai ei au avut până acum eșire în oraș – însuși generalul și căpitanii ne-au spus verde și franc unde și cum să umblăm. Veșmintele cele nouă încă nu sunt gata. Căputul cel mare spun că va fi frumos în tocmai ca la stelvert vater; vom vedea, până atunci nu cred, fiindcă și în cătănie multă paradă e numai pe hârtie.

De acasă încă n-am primit nici măcar o epistolă; dela frați dela toți am primit câte ceva vești.

Studiile cu mult sunt mai grele ca în gimnaziu și altcum pretind dela școlari, ca în gimnaziu. Nu te întrebă că avut-ai timp ori ba, fără: *üljön csak le sau setzen sie sich* și punctum.

În serviciu sunt cu toții foarte stricți; dar când vine câte unul întră noi, e foarte afabil.

La ori ce nu-i bine i zice: *civil tempo!*

Costul e tot așa bun ca la început.

Alte noutăți nu știu, fiindcă prin oraș nu ne-a lăsat să umblăm.

Sum până acum tot așa sănătos și tot așa bine prospiciez. Totă Sâmbăta ne scăldăm.

Serut mâna
 fiu ascult.
 Budapesta 28 oct. 1898
 Ovidius Pop

Noi salutam numai dela Licutenant în sus. Precând ceialalți toți cadeții salută și stelvertreteritor.

Iubite Unchiule!²⁶

Ce mi-a scris Unchiul eu cetesc totă ziua din faptele lor. Cu tote acestea titula noastră sărbătorească e : ”Magyarország szemei fénye.” (Pentru Ungaria lumina ochilor – n.n.) și e folosită foarte des din partea superiorilor noștri.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 770.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 771.

Vanitatea în multe lucruri nu începe din noi; fără de unde începe nu-mi permit – „szolgálati szabályzat II 6 pont 70” nici să gândesc, decum să o pun pe hârtie.

În Pesta graseză scharlat de aceea ne-a oprit pe timp nedeterminat eșirea din Căsarmă.

Altă noutate e că și în familia majorului nostru a intrat scharlatul. Un cadet de pe anul IV împărțit la huszari a fost isbit de un cal de i s-a rupt mâna în 4 dărațe. Zace în șpital, este speranță de vindecare! –

Sum sănătos. Sărut mâna.
fiu ascult.

Budapesta 5 Nov. 1898

Ovidius Pop

Banii i-am primit în suma de 20 fl ; mulțămesc frumos!

Iubite Unchiule!²⁷

Să faceți bine imediat de este cu puțință să-mi trimiteți următorii bani:

banii mei lunari	5 f	
„lakderékskij”, care l-a cumperat dela		
Companie și noi trebuie să-l plătim	2.70 f	
2 păr mănuși		
- dela academie am căpătat 3 păr manta	2.40 f	
în serviciu		
3 păr manjette		1.20 f
peste 1000 zile suntem oficiri, ne	4.50 f	
fotografăm		
kardbojit		1.70 f
„pajtársi pénztár”	2 f	
orologiu direg		1.50 f
		20 fl

Atâția bani mi trebuieșc îndată. De acasă nu mi scriu nemica.

Ori capăt bani, câți cer aici, ori o las la dracul domnia. Nu voiu să fiu de rușinea colegilor. Toți au plătit în tot locul, numai eu n-am.

Serut mâna

fiu ascult

Bpesta 1898 Nov.1

Ovidius Pop

Iubite Unchiule!²⁸

Pregătiri enorme se fac pe 2 Dec., când vom avea un măreț „disz-kivonulás”. Vom pune brădet verde pe coifuri. Pentru tote ostenelele ce de sigur ne așeptă, am

²⁷ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 772.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 773.

emis o „drăguță” poruncă de zi: în 2 Dec. d.a. 1 toți oficerii și stud. dela acad.mil, sunt invitați la „disz-ebéd”. Apoi toți stud. fără deosebire, atât cei pedepsiți, cât și cei care sunt în oficiu au deplină libertate până la 11 ore sera. În schimb apoi și noi facem enorme pregătiri și folosim bine acea zi trăgând noi de noi o disz-vacsora împreună de bună seamă cu suirea alcoolului în cap. Și cel dintâi și al doilea sunt lucruri cătănășești.

O veste bună pot spune și eu unchiului. Bătrânul căpitan – prof. din matematică, până acuma pe mina m-a numit, publico în clasă, de primul matematic; după-ce prima ocupare numai a mea a fost bună. [Și aamar se înșeală ori cine, care crede că colegii mei nu și-au arătat „dinții” - din „iubire” firește.. -] Deci pote fi Radu Hossu linișcit, că cel puțin din matematică nu-i fac rușine.

Din 1 Dec. încep colognările și țin până în 20 Dec. Când „pote” generalul, comandantul Academiei va bine voi a împărți distincțiile de aur. Sperez că și eu voiu apuca una.

De prezinte sum, „gyengélkedő a szazadnál”. Mă dore iarăș ochiul stâng. S-a umflat mai tare ca astă vară. Sum scutit de exercițiu și totă ziua de 3 ori câte o ½ oră mă frec cu o cârpă caldă muiată în apă. Sperez încă că după câteva zile voiu păși iarăș liber ; dupăce unui gyengélkedő multe i sunt oprite! Cea mai mare pedeapsă e, că în ce săptămână a fost omul gyengélkedő, este interzisă eșirea în oraș. Fie duminica sănătos ca merul dacă lun ante m. a fost morbus.

După ce tot acelaș calendar e în Pesta ca și în Blaj, și după ce punctuositatea – când e vorba de căpătat bani – e prima cerință unui viitor ofițer; rog frumos pe unchiul să facă bine pe 1 Dec. să-mi trimită 10 fl.

Nu specific, fiindcă de câteori am specificat eu însuși și am speriat de suma eșită. Dar speriatul meu n-ar fi de morte – fiindcă cătana la tote se dedă – fără me tem să nu se sparie și alții.

Serut mâna
fiu ascult.
Bpesta 898 Nov.26
Ovidius Pop

Iubite Unchiule!²⁹

Banii cât și epistolele le-am primit, vă multănesc frumos de tote, precum și de bunătațea de a-mi pofti două distincții.

În 2 Dec.pentru noi a fost o adevărată zi de bucurie și sărbătoare. Totă ziua am îmbrăcat-o în „disz”.

Până acum am colognat din matematică și gyakorlati szabályzat destul de bine, până în 20 Dec.trebue să collognez și din celelalte – suntem constrinși să collognăm cu toții.-

Cu bucurie pot scrie iarăș că sum deplin sănătos.

Serut mâna.
fiu asultător

²⁹ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 774.

Bpersta 898 Dec.6

Ovidius Pop

Iubite Unchiule!³⁰

Să apropie timpul vacanței Crăciunului. Porunca de zi 10 Dec. între altele sună că până pe 18 Dec. inclusive, toți câți voiesc să mergă acasă trebuie să scrie acasă formulă (pe fața 3 a) oficială, care apoi părinții ori neamurile sunt detori să o înainteze comandei de care ne ținem.

După ce și eu aș dori să merg acasă eu o trimet la Unchiu, să nu fie cerințe militare nu l-aș incomoda pe Unchiul cu astfel de „nimiruri” – aducătoare de libertate – .

De ar ști unchiul cât me doresc la o zi de libertate, de sigur mi-ar împlini rugarea.

De mă doare unchiul; fiindcă mama prin o epistolă formula:

<p>A magy.kir.honvéd Ludovika Akadémia. 3 század</p>
--

A 3 század tekintetés parancsnokságának

Bpesten

Kérem Pop Ovidiusz unokaöcsémet Balázsfalva (Alsó fehér megye) és Soős Szt. Márton közsegekbe karácsonyi szabadságra bocsátani.

Kelt....

de alui Virgil mi-a denegat spesele de călătorie, vin pe vacanță acasă, altcum nu.

Mă aflui bine. Am depus 4 colognii – bine – mai am vreo șase

Sum sănătos,

Serut mâna.

fii ascultător

Bpesta 1898 Dec,11

Ovidius Pop

Iubite Unchiule!³¹

Mă rog să-mi trimită Unchiul 20 fl pe luna lui Decembre și Crăciun, ce-l voi petrece aici.

Din tote studiile avem collognări; deci suntem destul de ocupați având 16 studii ordinare (A) și o mulțime B.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 775.

³¹ *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 828.

În 22 Dec.căpătăm vacanța pe Crăciun 11 ½ zile. Cari rămănem aici totă ziua vom călări și de va fi ghiăță ne vom patina.

Sărut mânil
fiu ascult
Bpesta 900.XII 11
Ovidius Pop

Iubite Unchiule!³²

Când pășim în noul an, ce încheie totodată seclul prezent, doresc ca acest an unchiului să-i fie linișcit și plăcut ca ajungând în seclul viitor să mi să împlinescă zisa mea de acum 2 ani: „să ajungă Unchiul, să mă vază Colonel!” [atunci credeam mai dulce viața, acum m-aș îndestuli cu mai puțin.]

Serut mâna
De aceea din inimă Vă doresc: La mulți ani!
Bpesta la 1900 januar 13
fiu ascultător

Ovidius Pop

³² *Ibidem*, Dosar 14 807.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

*Centralitate și marginalitate în literatură și cultură/
Centrality and Marginality in Literature and Culture*

**RETHINKING THE CENTER-PERIPHERY RELATIONSHIP
IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA**

Marcel Cornis-Pope,

Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, U.S.A.

***Abstract:** This paper rethinks the center-periphery relationship in post-Cold War literature and culture. The author argues that the last two decades have freed our topographic imagination of traditional ideological polarizations, but have often replaced these polarized mappings with cartographies of a nationalistic or ethnocentric kind that promote resentful cultural divisions; or with “globalizing” ideologies which reinforce the “international division of labor and appropriation . . . benefiting First World countries at the expense of the Third World” (Teresa Ebert). The literary and artistic examples this paper considers, taken from both the US and East-Central Europe, transcend both leveling globalism and ethnocentric separatism, celebrating crossroads, bridges, cultural “hybridity” and “potentially limitless mappings”. The fiction of Thomas Pynchon, for example, from *Gravity’s Rainbow* and *Vineland* to the more recent *Mason & Dixon*, has been concerned with the search for an alternative cartographic vision that scrambles the “borderline[s] . . .] between worlds,” interplaying centers and peripheries. Likewise, the literature written more recently in East-Central Europe reflects the conflicting pulls towards world integration and self-differentiation “on the margins”. The city characteristically plays a “marginocentric role” in many of these writings, emphasizing its own eccentric position in relationship to the dominant paradigm, while at the same time restructuring that paradigm from the margin. Much recent urban literature and art behaves like a hypertext (in some cases it is a hypertext) that emphasize geocultural interfaces (crossroads, borderlands, multicultural cities and regions) and dialogic interactions among various cultural entities. As such, it demands a hypertextual reading attentive to its intercrossed discursive modes.*

***Keywords:** America; Gloria Anzaldúa; Homi Bhabha; boundaries; cartography; center; Rey Chow; Livius Ciocârlie; Un Burgtheater provincial; Clopotul scufundat; Enlightenment; Susan Stanford Friedman; geographics; global; heteroglossia; hybrid; liminal; local; marginocentric; Mitteleuropa; Victor Neuman; New World; periphery; Philadelphia; polysysemic; post-Cold War; postmodernity; Johann Nepomuk Preyer; Thomas Pynchon; Gravity’s Rainbow; Mason & Dixon; Vineland; slavery; Edward Soja; Monica Spiridon; Timișoara; Sorin Titel; Țară îndepărtată.*

The post-Cold War period has freed our topographic imagination of traditional ideological polarizations, but has often replaced these imperialistic mappings with cartographies of a nationalistic or ethnocentric kind that promote resentful cultural division. Much of this new ethnic and nationalist fundamentalism has emerged in direct reaction to the pressure of the First

World's "globalizing" ideologies which, far from being "deimperialized," reinforce the "international division of labor and appropriation ... benefiting First World countries at the expense of Third World" and Second World postcommunist societies (Teresa Ebert 286). The new tensions between global interdependency and ethnocentric separatism, First World centers and Third World peripheries indicate a state of continued crisis at the level of the ideological frameworks within which cultural exchanges unfold. These frameworks reflect a new "heterological" sensibility, in Michel de Certeau's sense of the word, without allowing yet a truly liberating "discourse on the other". Neither a globalist "notion of multiculturalism [that] affirms difference within a politics of consensus that erases culture as a terrain of struggle" (Henri Giroux 14), nor a defensive localism which promotes a reified form of "specificity," are proper approaches to the issue of otherness. As Rey Chow has also remarked recently, the "gestures of localism and pluralism" are virtually synonymous insofar as they treat cultural difference in an essentialist and idealized way, as something fixed and final (10). Multiculturalism neutralizes difference by considering all cultural practices valid in their own terms, localism promotes an often chauvinistic notion of "our own 'cultures,' 'ethnicities,' and 'origins'" (12). The alternative proposed by Homi Bhabha, Edward Soja, Rey Chow, and others to both the naive celebration of "hybridity" (155) and "nativist centrism," is the articulation of a "third space" of negotiation (157) between self and other, native and foreign, global and local.

Spatial division, we have been reminded in the aftermath of the 1989 geopolitical restructuring, is "[o]ne of the major tools used by the state to maintain social order [. . .]: pitting one place against another, closing down this space, fortifying that space, abandoning the other place, and exploiting the place of the Other" (Bruce McLeod 85). Therefore, literary theory and practice needs to consider the political implications of the spatial divisions produced and occupied by modern technological society. Geography need not displace history at the heart of contemporary theory and literature; suffices if it brings "a new animating polemic on the theoretical and political agenda, one which rings with significant different ways of seeing time and space together, the interplay of history and geography, the 'vertical' and 'horizontal' dimensions of being in the world freed from the imposition of inherent categorical privilege" (Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* 11).

In a recent book that boldly remaps our professional landscape, Susan Stanford Friedman has proposed the term "geographics" for a new field of interdisciplinary studies that "crisscross[es] boundaries between the humanities and social sciences, between the so-called essentialists and constructivists, between identity politics and coalition politics" (*Mappings* 18). Central to this emerging field is a "rhetoric of spatiality" that redefines identity as a "positionality, a location, a standpoint, a terrain, an intersection, a network, a crossroads of multiply situated knowledges" (19). Though identity "is in fact unthinkable without some sort of imagined or literal boundary" between self and

other (*Mappings* 3, 19), we will benefit from approaching the increasingly more fluid “global ethnoscape” (Appadurai 191-192) with non-binary notions of identification. We must learn to be “crossroads,” as Gloria Anzaldúa (*Borderlands* 195) advises, but our celebration of hybridity should not overlook the fact that borders have an insidious way of regenerating themselves even in multiple identities. However fine, ethnocultural distinctions tend to become reified and repolarized, creating interethnic crises of the sort we have witnessed in the aftermath of the Rodney King beating, or more recently in Bosnia and Kosovo. It is in the nature of boundaries to insist on separation even as they articulate a connection. Therefore, what we need, according to Susan Stanford Friedman, are “narratives of relational positionality” (65) that will challenge traditional separations between self and other, western and nonwestern, male and female, global and local, “specify[ing] a liminal space in between, the interstitial sight of interaction, interconnection, and exchange” (3).

I want to argue by considering a few recent examples from American and Central European fiction that postmodernism has and can continue to provide “narratives of relational positionality” that bring an alternative cartographic imagination to bear on process of post-Cold War restructuring. Recent multicultural, borderline, and feminist narrative projects contribute to the new “politics of location” advocated by bell hooks, “identify[ing] the space where we [can] begin the process of re-vision” (*Yearning* 145). They retrain us in a transnational “geopolitical literacy that acknowledges the interlocking dimension of global cultures” while also providing alternatives to “western modernity (colonialism) or western postmodernity (late-capitalist global markets)” (Friedman, *Mappings* 5, 6). But the most important contribution that these revisionary narrative cartographies make is in rearticulating the post-Cold War world around polysystemic principles that deemphasize monologic concepts of development such as the Heideggerian “dream of harmonious and unified culture [. . .] rooted in one particular place” (J. Hillis Miller, *Topographies* 55), replacing them with an understanding of cultural evolution as open to “potentially limitless mappings” (281).

My first example is Thomas Pynchon’s postmodern epic, *Mason & Dixon* (1997). This novel can be read as an expansion and reconceptualization of the quest, started in *Gravity’s Rainbow* and continued in *Vineland*, for an alternative cartographic vision that would scramble the “borderline[s . . .] between worlds” (*Vineland* 105). Pynchon’s contribution to this project is twofold. On the one hand, *Mason & Dixon* explores the roots of the Western model of cultural development that has traditionally relied on an often violent assertion of difference from others, tracing it back to the Enlightenment segregation of cultures into “world-historical”, “emergent”, and eternally primitive. In Pynchon’s post-colonial vision, not only pre-Revolutionary America but also such antipodal places as Cape Town, St. Helena, or North Cape where Mason and Dixon travel on their assignments, are examples of settler colonies where

the European elite annihilated or marginalized over time the indigenous population through a process of discriminatory “othering” (Spivak, “The Rani of Simur”) that reinforced racial, cultural, and class distinctions between the colonizers and the colonized. Pynchon’s exploration of the eighteenth-century geopolitical world confirms the fact that the success of the Western European imperialist project depended on a politics of binary separations. Partition created a “divisionary movement” (Harlow 87) both within the metropolitan world (labor divisions, class and gender demarcations) and in the peripheral colonies, disrupting setting, turning majority populations into minorities, and encouraging “mutually contesting, starkly conflicting, [local] narratives” (Harlow 107). As privileged instruments of colonial mastery, cartography and land surveying embodied in the most literal way the practice of partitioning, renaming, and reinscribing the place of the other. While critiquing the geometric D’Alembertian imagination of the Enlightenment that has generated divisive orders from the time Mason and Dixon drew their 244 mile long line between Pennsylvania and Maryland to the time of narration (as new divisions emerge in the post-revolutionary America) and the time of our reading (the post-Cold War “new order”), Pynchon’s novel also “contrives [. . .] a map of the world that never was” but could be (*Mason & Dixon* 242): a world of “borderlands” (349), geocultural and ontological interfaces, and “fluid Identit[ies]” (469).

Mason and Dixon themselves feature in this novel not only as mercenaries of an ideology of division but also as boundary-crossers. Their assignments on three continents occasion “intercultural narratives,” in Susan Stanford Friedman’s sense of the word (*Mappings* 137), exposing Mason and Dixon to contact zones between cultures and places that refuse single definitions. Mason and Dixon are compelled to reassess periodically their own positionality, dissociating themselves from the Dutch colonialists in Cape Town, from the British imperialists in America, from the metropolitan culture in the Wilderness, and from the control of the Royal Society and the East India Company most everywhere. They become provisional hybrids, visitors in intercultural or otherworldly zones. Their movement across ontological and geopolitical zones enriches the scope of the narrative, superposing a polysystemic structure of borderlands over the monologic line that pursues Eurocentric interests in the world. Pynchon’s multiple spatialities and identities upset simultaneously the narrative of European imperialism that dominates Mason and Dixon’s time, the narrative of post-Revolutionary nationalism that remaps the freed American colonies during the time of narration, and the narrative of U.S. economic and cultural hegemony in the time of our reading. The reader is encouraged by the novel’s many anachronisms to do a historical “cross-reading,” moving back and forth between three temporal-diegetic levels. In the words of Peter Schmidt, “Pynchon may have written his most prophetic work by taking his further leap *back* in time, writing an historical novel that problematizes more profoundly than

any other works what it means to ‘write’ history or measure how history writes us” (Part 3).

Mason and Dixon’s journeys, beginning with the time they first crossed the Equator on their way to Cape Town, can be summed up as a “passage” into the “haunted and *other* half of ev’rything known” (*Mason & Dixon* 58). The places they visit during their various assignments—Cape Town in order to observe the transit of Venus, James’s town on St. Helena, to help the Astronomer Royal observe Sirius, America, to cut the famous Mason and Dixon line, and Scotland, to find an adequate mountain for magnetic measurements—are cross-cultural and “otherwordly” places. Cape Town is “a town with a precarious Hold upon the Continent, planted as upon another World by the sepia- shadow’d Herren XVII back in Holland” (58). James’s Town on St. Helena is “a very small town [that] clings to the edge of an interior that must be reckoned part of the Other World” (107). Cape Town is the first example in the novel of a liminal city but not in the conventional postmodern sense that, as Kevin Robins has pointed out, exults the pleasures of consumption and transgression from the perspective of a privileged middle-class “flâneur” who is careful to distinguish himself from the “‘have-nots’ in the abandoned zones of the city” (323). Cape Town illustrates the category of what I would call a “marginocentric” city, functioning both as an interchange in the imperialist “global order” that segregates the “haves” from the “have-nots,” and as a ground for the manifestation of unruly energies and “multi-spiced,” Oriental influences. Precisely because of its marginocentric position as an outpost at the “End of the World” (*Mason & Dixon* 78), the town encourages the overstepping of boundaries both in the colonizers and the colonized. Zeemanns’ kitchen slaves defect to the northern mountains, leaving Mason and Dixon without lunches. The two astronomers welcome their delivery from the unimaginative Dutch food and dabble in exotic Malay staples. As the narrator, Wicks Cherrycoke observes, “the cuisine of a people whose recreations include running *Amok* is necessarily magickal in its purpose and effect, and no one is altogether exempt” (86). Even without partaking of this energizing food, the Dutch girls in the Vroom household devote themselves “most unreflectively to the Possibilities of Love,” showing that desire can cross racial barriers. Later on, as Dixon accompanies Cornelius Vroom to his Company Lodge, he finds that the somber Dutch burghers have their own “Garden of Amusement” (150) inside which history is being replayed as subversive farce: lodge-nymphs with scimitars command their naked “captives” to squeeze together into a tight replica of the cell in Fort William, Calcutta, where 146 Europeans were condemned by the Nawab of Bengal to spend the night of June 20-21, 1756. As the narrator comments, in this scene of horror eroticized, the Europeans experience on their own skin the viciousness of their imperial power that “encourage[s] the teeming populations they rule to teem as much as they like, whilst taking their land for themselves, and then restricting the parts of it the People will be permitted to team upon” (153).

James's Town on St. Helena, where Mason carries out his second assignment while Dixon stays back in Cape Town, is another example of a marginocentric place on an island that functions as a transit station for the Empire's "Birds of passage"—convicts to the South Seas, young wives on their way to India to join husbands in the Army and Navy, "Company Perpetuals, headed out, headed home, [. . .] shuttles upon the loom of Trade" (109). At night, this town "which proves to be as Mazy as an European City" (126) becomes an "unlit riot of spices, pastry, fish and shellfish." "Smells of Eastern cooking pour out of the kitchen vents of the boarding-houses, and mix with that of the Ocean" (114). Believing that James's Town is still too infused with the power of the Company, Mason's employer—the Assistant Astronomer Royal Maskelyne—forces the puzzled Mason to move to the unprotected side of the island where the Wind, "that first Voice, not yet inflected [. . .] of the very Planet" (159), makes music that is not British, but "Viennese, perhaps, Hungarian, even Moorish" (173). Maskelyne welcomes it because it causes him to "imagine things, that may not be so" (161), and because "its properties of transformation" make even unspoken words be spoken (163). Mason himself experiences the visitations of his dead wife, Rebekah, on the "Windward Side" of the island (163). For both of them St. Helena is a place of haunting, underwritten by the "infernal" (132) authorship of the unknown.

European imperialism makes periodic efforts to recuperate these liminal places into its global cartographies. Cities are more susceptible to recuperation, acting "like capacitors [. . .] plugged into the globe of history . . . : they condense and conduct the currents of social time" (Holston 65). After Venus's transit on June 5-6, 1761, Cape Town returns to "colorless rectitude," with "Impulse, chasten'd, increasingly defer[ring] to Stolidity" (*Mason & Dixon* 99). People experience a "turning of the soul" (100), masters resuming their language of abuse and slaves their silence. Mason and Dixon view this retrenchment ruefully, realizing that what drew them to Cape Town was not the celestial event itself, "but rather that unshining Assembly old Human Needs, of which Venus, at the instance of going dark, is the Prime Object" (102). What they had witnessed was an encounter with "a Goddess descended from light to Matter," passing "dark, embodied, solid, against the face of the Sun" (92); in other words, an encounter with the mythic Other (Lacan's "grande-autre"—*Séminaire. Livre III* 68).

Mason and Dixon's next encounter with otherness takes place in America. They arrive in Philadelphia in November 1763 to settle the boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania by "mark[ing] the Earth with geometrick scars" (257). Even though neither has illusions about America, they find it more open-ended topographically and politically than the other places visited. Philadelphia and surprisingly not New York illustrates on a larger scale the role played by Cape Town and James's town in the first third of the novel, that of a resourceful and heterogeneous marginocentric node. The first time Philadelphia is introduced, in a quotation from Timothy Tox's *Pennsylvania*

(both poet and poem are fictitious), it is described as one of the “pelfiest” towns, helping “A young man seeking to advance himself [. . .] get [. . .] to the nearest Source of Pelf” (217). As the narrator confirms, at the time of Mason and Dixon’s arrival, “Philadelphia was second only to London, as the greatest of English-speaking cities” (258). In the middle of November, Philadelphia is bustling with sailors, traders, stevedores, vendors, charlatans, evangelists, and coquettes that “put all the stoep-sitters of Cape Town quite in Eclipse” (259). Its coffeehouses are alive with debates on the most varied subjects, from the techniques of land surveying, to paranormal phenomena, religious divisions, and the British politics in the colonies.

However, as the surveyors cut their West line into the back country, they begin to realize that “[n]ot all Roads lead to Philadelphia,” nor do the country roads respect the West Line, running “rather athwart it” (484). This territory beyond the metropolis is inhabited by mystical sects that have a very different sense of reality and by “preternatural” creatures (a “Learned English Dog, an enamoured “Mechanical Duck) that disrupt the flat ontology of the Age of Reason. A Kabbalistic community in the Chesapeake area believes in the existence of a giant Golem created by an Indian tribe supposed to be one of the ten lost tribes of Israel. Escaping the tribe’s control, the Golem roams the woods affirming its differential identity (“I am that which I am”—486). The New World beyond Philadelphia appears as a secret text, at the intersection of Jewish, Indian, Chinese, and European myths. As they take in the mysterious otherness of the western world, the surveyors cannot decide whether America is a real alternative to the metropolitan-imperialist world they have left behind or an outpost for the manifestation of its repressed impulses:

Is America [Britannia’s] dream? —in which all that cannot pass in the metropolitan Wakefulness is allow’d Expression away in the restless Slumber of these Provinces, and on West-ward, wherever ’tis not yet mapp’d, nor written down, nor ever, by the majority of Mankind, seen,—serving as a very Rubbish- Tip for subjunctive Hopes, for all that *yet may be true*,—Earthly Paradise, Fountain of Youth, Realms of Prester John, Christ’s Kingdom, . . . safe till the next Territory to the West be seen and recorded, measur’d and tied in, back into the Net-Work of Points already known, that slowly triangulates its Way into the Continent, changing all from subjunctive to declarative, reducing Possibilities to Simplicities that serve the ends of Governments,—winning away from the realm of the Sacred its Borderlands one by one, and assuming them unto the bare mortal World that is our Home, and our Despair. (345)

Going West, away from the troubling signs of a repressive white civilization, the surveyors “believe themselves pass’d permanently into Dream” (477)—a dream of pristine otherness. What Mason and Dixon experience is a “story of contact,” in Susan Stanford Friedman’s sense of the word, animated by a “desire for the other, the different, the alien; desire to connect across or

bridge difference; . . . desire to fabulate, fantasize, dream or create” (Friedman, *Mappings* 134). But, as Pynchon’s novel suggests ironically, the white surveyor’s “story of contact” is also a *story of delineation*, approaching the other with the tools for measuring, partitioning, and renaming. The fledgling America plays in Pynchon’s novel the role of a “New World” that challenges the histories of modern British, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese imperialisms, while repeating some of their divisive strategies. Even before they start work on the West Line, Mason and Dixon become aware of the racial, political, and religious divisions that undermine the colonies, with Quakers, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Catholics, and “Reborns a-dazzle with the New Light” (*Mason & Dixon* 293) fighting each other or taking it out on the Indians as in the infamous 1764 massacres in Lancaster. Even though “America was the one place [they] should *not* have found [slaves]” (693), the surveyors are reminded by a knowledgeable Quaker that the sugar they enjoy in coffee houses is “bought [. . .] with the lives of African slaves, untallied black lives broken upon the greedy engines of the Barbados” (329). Dixon himself concedes at the end that in settling the dispute between the slaveholding colony of Maryland and the free colony of Pennsylvania he and Mason had reconfirmed the “line between [. . .] Slave-Keepers” and “Wage-Payers” (629). Unable to rectify “this public Secret, this shameful Core” of division, Pynchon’s surveyors are “doom’d to re-encounter [it] thro’ the World” (692). Before leaving America, Dixon confronts rather quixotically the issue of slavery, by grabbing the whip of a Baltimore slave trader and unchaining his twenty African slaves. Mason watches the scene with apprehension yet realizing that all lines, theirs included, are “conduit[s] for evil” (701).

In typical exploratory fashion, Pynchon’s novel suggests some ways in which America can reclaim a more complex mapping. Mason and Dixon’s line is challenged not only by geomancers like Captain Zhang, who embrace the ancient Chinese lore of *Feng Shui* with its respect for the character and integrity of a place, but also by fellow surveyors like Captain Evan Shelby who want the line to accommodate variations and deviations:

There is a love of complexity, here in America, [. . .] pure Space waits the Surveyor, - no previous Lines, no fences, no streets to constrain polygony however extravagant, - especially in Maryland, where, encourag’d by the Re-survey Laws, warranted properties may possess hundreds of sides, - their angles pushing onward and inward, - all Sides zigging and zagging, going ahead and doubling back, making Loops inside Loops (586).

To the Cartesian sense of spacial order (the “Ortholatry” and “Goniolatry” of classical surveying), Captain Shelby opposes a metamorphic “polygony” defined “by as many of these exhilarating Instrumental Sweeps, as possible” (587). Pynchon’s own prose aspires to an extravagant polygony, zigging and zagging through interminable m-dashes and semi colons, refusing to settle down into a simple, uncontradictory line. Mason and Dixon also learn something

of this zigging and zagging style, applying it in their own explanations and narratives. The power of narration to create an alternative, utopian mapping of the world is well illustrated by Dixon in the mythic story he weaves around his visit to North Cape. Guided by an unidentified figure, Dixon enters the great circumpolar Emptiness” (739) to discover an upside down world, hundreds of miles below the outer surface. The population of this “Terra Concava” makes shrewd use of telluric forces and other powers unknown to man. They watch with trepidation the measurements undertaken by humans outside, knowing that once “the size and weight and shape of the Earth are calculated inescapably at last” (741) and universal maps that divorce space from the specificity of place are established, they will have to look for another dimension. With their world of difference erased by standardization, these alternative tribal beings will not be able to join the outer surface because living on the convex surface points people away from one another. By contrast, in the “Earth Concave, everyone is pointed *at* everyone else,—everybody’s axes converge,—forc’d at least thus to acknowledge one another” (741).

Mason and Dixon miss the possibility of imagining a similar world of convergence in America, but Chapter 73 offers a taste of this ignored narrative alternative: “Suppose that Mason and Dixon and their Line cross Ohio after all, and continue West by the customary ten-minute increments” (706). What they would have discovered is a “perfect Latitude”, crossing the lightning-struck prairie towards “towns from elsewhere, coming their way, with entirely different Histories,—Cathedrals, Spanish Musick in the Streets, Chinese Acrobats and Russian Mysticks” (708). In one word, they would have discovered a new frontier of “borderlands” accommodating those traditionally excluded by the American frontier: “hyphenated Americans” and other marginals “betwix and between” (Brooke Thomas 134, 135). Like the geopolitical borderland between Mexico and the United States explored by Anzaldúa, this imaginary borderland has both utopian and dystopian suggestions. As yet unabsorbed by America’s exceptionalist project, it plays the role of a genuine “contact zone” between civilizations, challenging “dualistic thinking in individual and collective consciousness” (*Borderlands* 79). Yet, surely, had Mason and Dixon reached that far, their Line would have created new divisions, splitting the land and its people.

The project of a multicultural, “polygonal” mapping of America that has failed in Mason and Dixon’s time is brought back again both by Cherrycoke’s post-revolutionary narration and by our own interpretive rereading. What the narrator and some of his narratees seem to be looking for is an “America of the Soul” pieced together by “one heresy after another, [. . .] ever away from the Sea, from the Harbor, from all that was serene and certain, into an Interior unmapp’d, a Realm of Doubt” (511). Alternatively, Reverend Cherrycoke imagines a “planet-wide Syncretism, among the Deistick, the Oriental, the Kabalistic, and the Savage, that is to be” (356). This utopia is partly realized at the level of narratology, as the space of storytelling is invaded after the narrator and his

narratees go to bed, by a veritable “Bedlam of America”: “[S]lowly into the Room begin to walk the Black servants, the Indian poor, the Irish runaways, the Chinese sailors, the overflow’d from the mad Hospital, all unchosen Philadelphia” (759). Pynchon’s invented epic poet is also there to ask what “if all were naught but Madmen’s Sleep?! The Years we all believ’d were real and deep/As Lives, as Sorrows, bearing us each one/Blindly along our Line’s relentless Run [. . .]” (759). Once again, the Line is denounced as restraining and replaced with a bedlamic web. Cherrycoke’s own narrative has illustrated that model, suggesting that “[n]o one thread [. . .] can be followed to a central point where it provides a means of overseeing, controlling and understanding the whole. Instead it reaches sooner or later, a crossroad, a blunt fork” (Hillis Miller, *Ariadne’s Thread* 21). Historical narrative becomes by necessity a “complex knot of many crossings” (22), a “web of storytelling” (23) within which the reader is invited to explore alternative paths.

My second example of how postmodernism has and can further contribute to a remapping of post-Cold War cultures is taken from the other side of the former ideological divide. In response to both globalist and nationalistic-ethnocentric cartographies, Central European postmodernism has often emphasized those geocultural interfaces (crossroads, borderlands, in-between regions, multiethnic cities) that foreground the interaction of various local entities, as well as the dialogue of larger cultural paradigms (Eastern and Western, traditional and innovative, native and foreign). Paralleling the postcolonial/postmodern redefinition of the Western city as multifaceted and decentered as a result of immigration, recent Central and Eastern European topographic representations have emphasized the heteroglossic potential of multiethnic nodal cities like Cernăuți/Czernowitz, Dubrovnik, Gdansk, Lwów, Riga, Timișoara, Trieste, or Vilnius that at favorable historical junctions have rewritten the national cultural paradigm from the margin, ascribing to it a dialogic dimension, both internally (a dialogue with other ethnic traditions) and externally (a dialogue with larger geocultural paradigms). Such nodal cities encourage a de/reconstruction of definitions and cultural myths, a hybridization of styles and genres, and alternative interethnic rapports. Like the postcolonial metropolis described by Salman Rushdie, the Central European marginocentric city brings together “things that seem not to belong together,” setting “alongside each other in odd, often raw juxtapositions all sorts of different bodies of experience to show what frictions and sparks they make” (Rushdie qtd. in Appignanesi and Maitland 8).

The multifaceted sociocultural identity of a city like Timișoara—Romania’s Western most urban center where the anti-Ceaușescu revolution started—has functioned as a broad metaphor of resistance against ideological oppression before 1989, and as an equally important anti-nationalistic symbol after 1989. Located in the multicultural Banat, a region caught between Central

Europe and the Balkans, this city with its blend of six cultures (Romanian, German, Hungarian, Serbian, Jewish and Romany) has often acted as a hybrid, intercultural node. As Timișoara's first mayor in modern times, Johann Nepomuk Preyer explained in *Monographie der Königlichen Freistadt Temesvár* ("The Monograph of the Free Royal Town of Timișoara," 1853), the city looked simultaneously "towards the Orient, [. . .] where the big waves of the ancient Danube carry the diligent commerce of Germany's and Austria's flourishing cities, but where the brilliant spirit of modern civilization is still struggling to take root," and towards the West and "happier cities, where [. . .] the interests of greater countries and empires come together" (256—*my trans.*). Romanian's first important novelist, Ioan Slavici (1848-1925) grew up in the neighboring city of Arad with the conviction that one needed to acknowledge each individual's ethnic language and customs. The multilingual press of Timișoara shared a similar conviction at the beginning of World War I, maintaining surprising neutrality in its reports (e.g., deploring the collapse of the Central European empire without vilifying its enemies such as the Serbs). As Victor Neumann puts it, "If not entirely a Mitteleuropa, [this area was] in any case a Kleineuropa, synthesizing the civilizations of the East and West" (*Tentația lui homo-europaeus* 225). By virtue of their hybridity, cities like Timișoara, Zagreb, Novi Sad, or Cernăuți, managed to resist nationalist homogenization after World War I and ideological leveling after World War II, contributing their models of interethnic collaboration and regional self-identification to the process of nation-building.

To be sure, the interplay between an archaic-oriental and a middle-class Central European civilization has often created tensions, as Preyer's own comment on the double gaze of the city of Timișoara suggests. Like so many other commentators, Preyer deemphasizes the Eastern inheritance of the city, attributing all efforts to civilize Timișoara to Western influences and deploring the decay of the city under Turkish occupation. The "Homo Otomanicus" remained Central Europe's Other, considered as "inassimilable" as the Gypsy and occasionally the Jew (Preyer 295). Fear of the Eastern Other reemerged periodically whenever the multiethnic balance of Timișoara or the Banat area was weakened by nationalist ambitions, but it seldom took violent forms.

The dialogic, multiethnic culture of Timișoara and the Banat managed to survive even through the years of nationalist communism. In the 1970s, Timișoara became a metaphor of resistance against Ceaușescu's authoritarian city-planning, through the work of two groups of writers loosely connected with postmodernism: the innovative novelists Sorin Titel and Livius Ciocârlie, and the "action" poets Ion Monoran, Petru Ilieșu, Richard Wagner, and William Totok. At once provincial and cosmopolitan, Timișoara and the Banat region function as a nostalgic model of political tolerance and multicultural cooperation in Sorin Titel's tetralogy *Țară îndepărtată* (Remote Country), a work that reveals Titel's kinship with two other "marginocentric" writers of

Central Europe, Danilo Kiš and Andrzej Kuźniewitz. In Titel's novels, "Romanians, Hungarians, Serbs, Poles, Germans, [Jews], navigate towards the Vienna of the 1900s, reexperiencing a deep human solidarity under the sign of mythic-imperial values" (Ungureanu 61); they also try to take the respect for cultural differences learned in the interstices of the Habsburg Empire, in a maternal and provincial Banat, into the polarized Cold War world.

Livius Ciocârlie's fiction also attempts the difficult recovery of a communitarian and culturally hybrid notion of a provincial city (embodied in pre-war Timișoara) against the culturally homogenized and ideologically sterile concept of a totalitarian city. The strikingly unusual form of *Un Burgtheater provincial* ("A Provincial Burgtheater," 1985), described by its author as "a sort of chronicle, a sort of novel," or of the semi-autobiographical novel diary *Clopotul scufundat* ("The Sunken Bell," 1988) and other novelistic memoirs published by Ciocârlie since 1989, suggests that the reconstruction of an East European city-text involves a rethinking of literary genre and of the rules of representation. The first work presents a collagist view of Timișoara and the Banat region, pieced together from fragments of historical chronicles (Turkish, Romanian, and German), newspaper clips, letters and documents, private or printed. Both the status of the author (who is reduced to an assembler of texts) and that of his narrative subject (the cultural spectacle of a multiform provincial city, summed up in the metaphor of a "burgtheater") are redefined in this open-ended intertextual construction. In *Clopotul scufundat* the recuperation of an ideal Timișoara is more difficult, involving a whole range of conflicting genres (personal diary, memoir, essay, document, fiction). Much of this work records relentlessly the degradation of the contemporary city-text in Ceaușescu's Romania. The attempts of Ciocârlie's semiautobiographical narrator to find his mooring in the urban present end in litanies of insignificance and loss. But in time the "slow and vulnerable gelatin" of writing (69) begins to fill the existential void with vivid notations of former times and places. Drawing on a memory he did know he had, the character-narrator recovers images of a historical Timișoara:

"Out-field," was the name of a not too large plot of grassland, at the margin of the "Bucharest Street." The street branched out from the boulevard. It began, much like it does today, with a villa hidden behind a high iron fence. Then came the more modest house inhabited by the Strumpfs. Two Bauhaus-style houses, with a second level. In one, bluish-gray, lived a family of Italians. Their name ended in "atti." Vignatti, perhaps. Across from them, on the other side of the street, a single house which belonged to some Germans. The old man used to sell soccer tickets. I had a lot of respect for him. His wife, big, bony and always frowning. [. . .] Further up, the street ended in the field that stretched on the other side of the fence. (162)

These images have a surprising germinative force, reconstructing the “ghost” of a pre-war city (Brânzeu 153). They also have important political implications, opposing a description of the city as a multiethnic periphery only marginally removed from nature, neither entirely of the city nor entirely of the country, to Ceaușescu’s ideologically flattened notion of communist city. Belying the narrator’s initial distrust in memory, his text performs the task of “unburying” a web of authentic city images from the debris of an ideological cataclysm. The city becomes a “palimpsest” of different ethnic legacies and cultural inscriptions, a historically layered experience of a place that no monologic ideology can eradicate.

It should not come as a surprise that recent theoretical attempts to recover the idea of a multicultural “Third Europe” as a buffer zone between imperialistic ambitions and a response to invidious ethnic separations have also returned to the cultural-affective model of marginocentric cities like Timișoara or regions like the Banat. As Monica Spiridon argued in the first issue of *A Treia Europă* (The Third Europe), published by a homonymous Research group based in Timișoara, the Banat represents a veritable *forma mentis*, structured around “faith in equilibrium, allergy to excesses, a cult of harmony and order, and a phenomenology of the middle way. Other dimensions of this model include a tempered version of middle-class liberalism, [. . .] tolerance for otherness and prudent ecumenicalism, [. . .] and a transregionalism purged of mistrust in specificity” (Spiridon 31-32). This observation has been confirmed by cultural historian Victor Neumann, whose recent work (especially *The Temptation of Homo Europaeus* and *Identități multiple în Europa regiunilor: Interculturalitatea Banatului* [Multiple Identities in Regional Europe: Interculturalism in the Banat Region]) has emphasizes the idea of a “transethnic” East European civilization developing beginning in the 18th century in response to parochial ethnic interests and the continued threat of Ottoman imperialism. Neumann finds this “multivectorial” cultural ambiance well illustrated in the main urban centers of Transylvania, Banat, and parts of Serbia. These two studies conceived during the last decade of the Cold War era but published after 1989 can be read also as a contemporary meditation on the dangers of ethnic/nationalistic fragmentation and the need for a new pluricultural renaissance.

As Captain Zhang muses in *Mason & Dixon*, nothing produces “Bad History [. . .] more directly or brutally, than drawing a Line, in a particular a Right Line, the very Shape of Contempt, through the midst of people,—to create thus a Distinction betwixt ’em [. . .]—All else will follow as if predestin’d, unto War and devastation” (615). The alternative cartographies proposed by Pynchon, Titel and Ciocârlie from the two sides of the former Cold War divide seek to reverse centuries of “Bad History”, replacing “Ortholatry [. . .]—that depriv’d worship of right Lines, intersecting at right Angles” (522) with the imaginative topography of multicultural cities and zones, their “Sides zigging and zagging, going ahead and

doubling back, making Loops inside Loops [. . . and saying] Poh! to simple Quadrilaterals” (586).

WORKS CITED

- Anzaldúa, Gloria, Preface to *Borderland/La frontera*, San Francisco, Aunt Lute Press, 1987.
- Appadurai, Arjun, “Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology”, *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, Ed. Richard G. Fox, Santa Fe, School of American Research Press, 1991, p. 191-210.
- Appignanesi, L., and S. Maitland, eds. *The Rushdie File*, Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1990.
- Bhabha, Homi K, “The Third Space” In *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference.*, Ed. J. Rutherford, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1991, p. 207-21.
- Brînzeu, Pia, *Armura de sticlă*, Timișoara, Editura Excelsior, 1995.
- Ciocârlie, Livius, *Clopotul scufundat*, Bucharest, Editura Cartea Românească, 1988.
- Ciocârlie, Livius, *Un burgtheater provincial*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească, 1984.
- Chow, Rey, *Ethics after Idealism: Theory-Culture-Ethnicity-Reading*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1998.
- De Certeau, Michel, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
- Ebert, Teresa L., *Ludic Feminism and After: Postmodernism, Desire, and Labor in Late Capitalism*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Friedman, Susan Stanford, *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Giroux, Henry A., “Post-Colonial Ruptures and Democratic Possibilities: Multiculturalism as Anti-Racist Pedagogy”, in *Cultural Critique*, 21 (Spring 1992), p. 5-39.
- Harlow, Barbara, “Drawing the Line: Cultural Politics and the Legacy of Partition”, *Polygraph*, 5 (1992), p. 84-111.
- Holston, James, “Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship”, *Polygraph*, 8 (1996), p. 65-78.
- Hooks, Bell, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*, Boston, South End Press.
- Lacan, Jacques, *Le Séminaire. Livre III. Les psychoses 1955-1956*, Ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, Paris, Seuil, 1973.
- McLeod, Bruce, “Collegiate Maneuvers: The University of Chicago, Postmodern Geographies and Dislocating the University”, *Polygraph*, 8 (1996), p. 79-94.
- Miller, J. Hillis, *Ariadne’s Thread: Story Lines*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992.
- Miller, J. Hillis, *Topographies*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Monoran, Ion, *Locus Periucundus*, Timișoara, Editura Marineasa & Planetarium, 1994.
- Neumann, Victor, *Tentația lui homo-europaeus: Geneza spiritului modern în Europa centrală și de sud-est*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1991. *The Temptation of Homo Europaeus*, Trans. Dana Miu, East European Monographs, Boulder, CO/ New York, Columbia University Press, 1993.

Preyer, Johann N., *Monographie der Königlichen Freistadt Temesvár/Monografia oraşului liber crăiesc Timișoara. 1853*, Trad. Adam Mager and Eleonora Pascu, Timișoara, Editura Amarcord, 1995.

Pynchon, Thomas, *Gravity's Rainbow*, New York, Viking, 1973.

Pynchon, Thomas, *Mason & Dixon*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1997.

Robins, Kevin, "Prisoners of the City: Whatever Could a Postmodern City Be." *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*, Ed. Erica Carter, James Donald, and Judith Squires, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1993, p. 303-30.

Schmidt, Peter, "Line, Vortex, and Mound: On First Reading Thomas Pynchon's *Mason & Dixon*", Posted Summer 1997, 10 November 1998; <www.swarthmore.edu/Humanities/pschmid1/essays/pynchon/mason.html>.

Soja, Edward, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in CRITICAL Social Theory*, London, Verso, 1989.

Soja, Edward, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Spaces*, London, Basil Blackwell, 1996.

Spiridon, Monica, "Response to an Inquiry on the definition and role of a "Third Europe"" *A treia Europă*, 1 (1997), p. 31-33.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, "The Rani of Simur: An Essay in Reading the Archives." *History and Theory*, 24, 3 (1987), p. 247-272.

Thomas, Brook, "Turner's 'Frontier Thesis' as a Narrative of Reconstruction". *Centuries' Ends, Narrative Means*, Ed. Robert Newman, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1996. p. 117-137.

Titel, Sorin, *Țara îndepărtată. Pasărea și umbra*, București, Editura Eminescu, 1989.

Ungureanu, Cornel, "Cutia Pandorei: Pentru o istorie alternativă a literaturilor din Europa Centrală", *A treia Europă*, 1 (1997), p. 55-64.

ARRESTED COMMUNICATION IN CARYL CHURCHILL'S *MAD FOREST* AND THE CENTRALITY OF THE IDEOLOGICAL OTHER*

Carmen Andraş,

Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane "Gheorghe Şincai", Târgu Mureş

Abstract: *The present paper is analysing the power relationship intrinsic in language communication, as reflected in Caryl Churchill's play Mad Forest. The play is set in Communist and post-communist Romania and suggests the continuity of prejudices inoculated by the Communist dictatorship. It is in fact about the survival of the third voice, the overwhelming voice of ideology and demagoguery, which is blocking any normal communication between the speaker and auditor. Any enunciation of personal ideas and feelings is blocked and so it is any attempt to dialogue and communication. It seems an everlasting situation which Romania cannot escape.*

Keywords: *Caryl Churchill; Mad Forest; Communism; postcommunism; ideology; communication; language; Homi Bhabha; Alphonso Lingis; Eugen Ionescu; Mikhail Bakhtin.*

Caryl Churchill's play *Mad Forest*¹, is set in a transitional Romania, in-between Communism and democracy, a period characterized by the lasting ideological residues that continue(d) to mark the Romanians even after the demise of the Communist regime. The British author stresses the impression of continuity and not the break with the past, as any post-revolutionary situation would imply. It was/is in fact the survival of the *third voice*, the overwhelming voice of ideology and demagoguery, which is blocking any normal communication between the speaker and auditor. It is neither an alien nor a personal voice, which owes its endurance to the intermediality of post-1989 Romania.

Caryl Churchill is a playwright whose work is dedicated to stage, television and radio. Her stage plays include *Owners* (1972), *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire* (1976), *Cloud Nine* (both Joint Stock on tour, 1979), *Top Girls* (Royal Court, London, then Public Theatre, New York, 1982), *A Mouthful of Birds* (Joint Stock on tour, 1986), *Serious Money* (London and New York, 1987), *Mad Forest* (Central School of Speech and Drama, then Royal Court, 1990), *Blue Heart* (Joint Stock on tour, 1997), and many other highly appreciated plays. Some of her works, *Mad Forest* included, are experimental, developed in the framework of the Joint Stock programs². After *Icecream*, Caryl Churchill explains in her Introduction, there came

**Bucharest's image in British literature* is part of the project *Dicţionar imagologic al oraşelor din România reprezentate în literatura de călătorie britanică*, financed by CNCSIS.

¹ Caryl Churchill, "Mad Forest. A Play from Romania", in *Plays: Three*, London, Nick Hern Books, 1998, p. 104-181.

² "Founded in London during 1974, Joint Stock Theatre Company took part in the

another Joint Stock type play, *Mad Forest*. Mark Wing-Davey, who had worked with Joint Stock, was at the time director of Central School of Speech and Drama. It was early 1990 and Ceausescu had been overthrown in December. Mark wanted to take some students to Bucharest to work with students there, and asked if I'd join them and then write something for the Central students' end of year show. Emotions in Bucharest were still raw and the Romanian students and other people we met helped us to understand what Romania had been like under Ceauşescu as well as what happened in December and what was happening while we were there. We learned far more in a short time than anyone could have done alone, and the company's intense involvement made it possible to write the play³.

Mad Forest was initially staged by students in their final academic year at the Central School of Speech and Drama, London, on 25 June 1990. It was next performed at the National Theatre, Bucharest, from 17 September, and opened at the Royal Court Theatre, London, on 9 October.

The first act, "Lucia's Wedding", and the third, "Florina's Wedding", are built around two romantic love stories, while the second act, "December", is conceived in the manner of social interviews conducted by Caryl Churchill, the director, and ten Romanian students. The first act, set several months before the Revolution, is centred on Lucia's relationship with Wayne, an American young man she intends to marry, putting thus her friends and family in danger. Vladu family look like normal people striving to survive through the dictatorship: father, Bogdan, an electrician, mother, Irina, a tramdriver, and their children, Lucia, a primary school teacher, Florina, a nurse and Gabriel, an engineer, carry on their daily lives in a country where one has to turn the radio as loud as possible in case the Securitate men are surveying them. Next to them live

flowering of the countercultural fringe and alternative theatre that emerged in Britain, Europe, and America in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Initially conceived in 1973 as a sort of "umbrella" producing organisation for its founders Max Stafford-Clark, David Hare and David Aukin, Joint Stock soon created a workshop-based method of text creation in collaboration with playwrights and reorganised itself as a collective. The group also began to define itself as a socialist theatre company. This identification inspired and troubled Joint Stock throughout its existence, and although useful for understanding the company's cultural context it can be misleading in assessing the company's work. In the mid-1980s, Joint Stock also became strongly committed to issues of racial and sexual parity in representation, even as it struggled with funding due to changing government arts policies; amid grant losses affecting all of British theatre at the time and personnel burnout, the company closed in 1989. Joint Stock's lasting commitments were to producing new writing, exploring the artistic process, seeking innovative theatrical forms, and registering social critique" (.Sara Freeman, "Joint Stock Theatre Company", *The Literary Encyclopedia*, 10 February 2006, <http://www.litencyc.com/php/topics.php?rec=true&UID=1655>).

³ Caryl Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. VII.

Antonescu family, father Mihai, an architect, Flavia, a teacher, and their son, Radu, an art student. Mihai is working on to Ceaușescu's extravagant Casa Poporului and does not understand why his son is not willing to use his father's connections in order to make a career.

Act II is a collection of interviews related to the events of the first three days of the Revolution, with characters chosen from different social layers, from a "flower seller", a "bulldozer driver", a "house painter" to a "Securitate man", all in English, but with Romanian accents (as we understand from the stage directions, if not direct spectators). Act III returns to Lucia's family that is preparing Florina's wedding, a few months after the Revolution. Nevertheless, this last act is set mostly in a hospital, where Gabriel, the hero, is recovering from injuries he got during the Revolution. The play ends abruptly with a violent confrontation, verbal and physical, which brings to surface all kinds of nationalist and xenophobic clichés and turns the happy event of Florina's wedding into chaos.

The title leads us to a passage in *A Concise History of Romania* by Andrei Oțetea and Andrew MacKenzie, used as a motto to the play and which introduces us in the general atmosphere of an impenetrable and unknowable country, where communication is impossible:

On the plain where Bucharest now stands there used to be "a large forest crossed by small muddy streams...It could only be crossed on foot and was impenetrable for the foreigner who did not know the paths...The horsemen of the steppe were compelled to go round it, and this difficulty, which irked them so, is shown by the name...Teleorman - Mad Forest"⁴.

The country seems caught in the co-ordinates of an uncertain, hybrid space, similar to Homi Bhabha's deep "cave of making" sense in translation and communication, but with no hope of transcending darkness into the world of inter-human cultural dialogue. Regrettably, Caryl Churchill has nothing to express but pessimism in what a possible escape from the senseless sub-human space ruled by the dictatorial Other, invader of personal life, thought and language, is concerned. The Romanians' existence in the play is a vegetative one, so far from the light of self-discovery and knowledge through intellectual achievements. They have no memories of light, no memories of free thought, imagination and creativity. They are neither prepared to move from their own cultural stasis to cultural communication, nor to make the "translation" between cultures on an international level, despite their symbolic bilingualism, Romanian and English, suggested by the parodical readings from an English phrasebook for tourists, included as mottos at the beginning of each scene. Communication is arrested since they are not able to travel between their

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 103. See A. Oțetea, A. MacKenzie, eds., *A Concise History of Romania*, London, Robert Hale, 1985.

cultural tradition and the open world that lies in front of them after the fall of Communism, they cannot ‘translate’ between cultures, past and present, because of the asymmetrical relations of power with the voice that still dictates their thoughts. Enunciation is blocked and so it is any attempt to dialogue and communication. The long moments of silence do not imply meditation or peace of mind, but fragmentarity of thoughts, debris of messages coming from the past, interruption of any means of dialogue. Everything is so different from Homi Bhabha’s *third space*:

The cave of making can be a dark and desperate place. From time to time, the darkness is dispelled by flashes that dazzle the obscurity. These sudden impulses are too bright to illuminate an idea or light up a thought; they make the night more impenetrable, the cave more unbearable. And yet, the memory of light lingers on, and leads you further into a darkness that slowly reveals its own geography of insight and ignorance. Then voices begin calling to you from beyond the cave – voices of instruction and encouragement, half inscribed and half intuited, half heard and half imagined. It is these voices, frightened with unresolved conversations and interrupted arguments, that finally help you to “hold” the thought: and in the midst of that movement of ideas and intuitions you discover a momentary stillness. This moment of reflection is never simply the mirror of your making your frame of thinking, but a stillness sometimes heard in choral music when several voices hold the same note for a moment – omnes et singulatum – as it soars beyond any semblance of sameness...To hold, in common, a concept like third space is to begin to see that thinking and writing are acts of translation⁵.

In Caryl Churchill’s play, language is not the support of communication anymore, intra- and inter-cultural “translation” of thoughts and feelings becomes mimicry. In Act I, for example, “each scene is announced by one of the company reading from a phrasebook as if an English tourist, first in Romanian, then in English, and again in Romanian”⁶: “Lucia are patru ouă. Lucia has four eggs” (page 107), “Cine are un chibrit? Who has a match?” (108), “Ea are o scrisoare din Statele Unite. She has a letter from the United States” (109), “Elevii ascultă lecția. The pupils listen to the lesson” (110), “Cumpărăm carne. We are buying meat” (111), “Sticla cu vin este pe masă. The bottle of wine is on the table” (104), “Lucia are o corană de aur. Lucia has a golden crown” (121), are just a few examples of a condensed description of Lucia’s wedding day with its mechanically repeated gestures, actions and words. Nothing moves until the company recite a poem in Romanian in praise

⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, “Preface. In the Cave of Making. Thoughts on Third Space”, in Karin Ikas, Gerhard Wagner, eds., *Communicating in the Third Space*, New York, Routledge, 2009, p. IX. For the concept of “third space”, see Idem, *The Location of Culture*, New York, 1994.

⁶ Caryl Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 107 (Stage Note to Act I).

of Elena Ceaușescu. What follows is queuing for eggs and meat, going to work, having little family reunions where the few uttered words are covered by the music on the radio turned very loud.

Long moments of silence are interrupted either by short murmured sentences, by patriotic verses or songs, or by the brutal noise of rifles in Act II. The background noise (music included in this case) becomes overwhelming. Any attempt to make conversation or to express one's feelings is eliminated from the very start both by the voice of the dictator inside their minds and by the external sound pollution. The characters give up trying to communicate and finally waste their capability of expression. In these conditions, stage notes are very important since gestures, descriptions of movements or background noises, offer more information than the characters' fragmentary utterances:

Since the play goes from the difficulty of saying anything to everyone talking, don't be afraid of long silences. For instance, in Scene One, the silence before Bogdan turns up the music was a good fifteen seconds in our production. Short scenes like 13 and 15 need to be given their weight. Don't add additional dialogue (for instance in queues, party or arrival in country) except in III6 where 'etc' means there can be other things shouted by the spectators.

The queue scenes and execution scenes should have as many people as are available. In the execution scene it is the violence of the spectators which is the main focus rather than the execution itself.

We didn't use a prop rat. The Vampire was not dressed as a vampire.

In Part II (December) the language of the different characters varies with how well they speak English, and this should be reflected in their accents.

In the hospital and party scenes it is particularly important that the short scenes within them are not run together and that time has clearly passed.

Music. As in the text, the music after the opening poem becomes the music on the Vladu radio. It's not essential to do what we did with the music, but it may be helpful to know that at the end of the wedding we used a hymn to the Ceaușescu and continued the music till everyone was in place for the beginning of December; at the end of December the whole company sang a verse from "Wake up Romania" in Romanian, which then merged with a recording of it; we had music at the beginning of Part III. The party music in III.8 should be Western Euro-pop. The dance music should be the Lambada – this is not an arbitrary choice, it was the popular dance at the time. The nightmare scene and the very end of the play probably need sound⁷.

In Caryl Churchill's Romania, the familiar "murmur of the world" becomes the background squeaky noise that excludes dialogue. "Entering into communication, Alphonso Lingis observes with reference to ideal situations, means extracting the message from its background noise and from the noise that is internal to the message. Communication is a struggle against interference and

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 104.

confusion”⁸. This is not possible in Communist and post-communist Romania, where interference and confusion are dominant, not only in the playwright’s experiment but in reality too. Alphonso Lingis acknowledges:

There could well be, and in fact always is, an outsider or outsiders who have an interest in preventing communication. Every conversation between individuals is subversive-subversive of some established order, some established set of values, or some vested interests. There is always an enemy, a big brother, listening in on all our conversations, and that is why we talk quietly behind closed doors. There is nothing you or I say to one another in conversation that we would say if the television cameras were focused on us for direct broadcast. There are outsiders who have an interest in preventing *this* rather than *that* from being communicated; they do so by arguing for that, by presenting it in seductive and captivating ways, or by filling the time and the space with it. There are outsiders who have an interest in preventing us from communicating at all. They do so by filling the time and the space with irrelevant and conflicting messages, with noise⁹.

“To enter into conversation”, Alphonso Lingis continues, is “to struggle against the noise, the interference, and the vested interests, the big brothers and the little Hitlers always listening in - in order to expose oneself to the alien...” because “one enters into conversation in order to become an other for the other”¹⁰.

Act II, “December”, suggests the complete break of communication followed by the installation of confusion. In the turmoil of the Revolution, Romania goes even madder. “None of the characters in this section are the characters in the play that began in Part I”, Caryl Churchill explains in her note, “they are all Romanians speaking to us in English with Romanian accents. Each behaves as if the others are not there and each is the only one telling what happened”¹¹. They tell their stories for themselves, mechanically; there is no sense of communion. They are not able to open themselves to the others, to share their feelings. Instead of becoming more humanized owing to the common traumatic experience, these robots turn little by little into broken machines. Here are a few examples:

Painter: My name is Valentin Bărbat, I am a painter, I hope to go to the Art Institute. I like to paint horses. Other things too but I like horses. On December 20 my girlfriend got a call, go to the Palace Square. People were wearing black

⁸ Alphonso Lingis, “The Murmur of the World”, in *American Continental Philosophy. A Reader*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2000, p. 96.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 104.

¹¹ Caryl Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

armbands for Timișoara. There was plenty of people but no courage. Nothing happened that day and we went home.

Or,

Bulldozer Driver: My name is Ilie Barbu. I can work many machines. I work in all the country to build hospitals and schools. Always build, never pull down. In December I work at the People's Palace, I drive a bulldozer. There are many Securitate and today they make us scared because they are scared¹².

Or,

Doctor: On my way home in the afternoon there was a woman crying because she lost her handbag, the other women comfort her saying, "It could be worse, people were crushed and lost their shoes, don't cry for such a small thing.

Or,

Securitate: Claudiu Brad, I am an officer in Securitate. In everything I did I think I was right, including the 21. I went to military school because I like uniforms. My family has no money for me to study but I did well. I went to the Officers School of Securitate and got in the external department, which is best, the worst ones go in the fire service. Nobody knows I am in Securitate except one friend I have since I am three years old. I have no other friends but I like women and recruit them sometimes with clothes. On December 21 I am taking the pulse of the street in plain clothes with a walkie-talkie hidden. My district is Rossetti Place. I report every three hours if the crowd move their position, how could they be made calm, what they want¹³.

Little by little, as the events become violent and the protest turns into bloody street fights, the descriptions become more precipitated, the interlocutors' fear is to be felt in their abrupt accounts of shootings, rifles, tanks, cries, shouting, dangers (real or imaginary enemies). "It's enough to see one person dead to get empty of feeling"¹⁴, the Painter exclaims. Sentences are shorter and shorter, flashes of memories and feelings, with no connection to what the others are saying. Nevertheless, one can discern a dramatic metamorphosis: the broken robots turn by miracle into human beings, disorientation and paranoia are replaced by compassion, happiness, pride, optimism ("There were no words in Romanian or English for how happy I was", the Translator tries to express his feelings openly¹⁵).

Even in Act III, a few months after the Revolution, the characters find the words to describe their states of mind with difficulty. They fight with themselves to think freely, but the words do not come easily. "Social language" is "congealed" in the old ideological frames, if we adapt Eugen Ionescu's description of the phenomenon in his reply to Kenneth Tynan's critique of his plays:

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 124, 125.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 125.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 128.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 131.

The problem is to get to the source of our malady, to find the nonconventional language of this anguish, perhaps by breaking down this “social” language which is nothing but clichés, empty formulas and slogans. The “robot” characters Mr Tynan disapproves of seem to me to be precisely those who belong solely to this or that milieu or social “reality”, who are prisoners of it and who...have become impoverished, alienated, empty...If anything needs demystifying it is our ideologies, which offer ready-made solutions...in a language that congeals as soon as it is formulated¹⁶.

Unfortunately, in *Mad Forest* not only the characters’ language is frozen but their minds too. Love, paranoia and hatred are intermingled. If we expected that Caryl Churchill would save them in Act III, we were wrong. In the end of the play, their most stable nationalist and xenophobic prejudices against the “enemies of the nation” burst out. Frank Rich, reviewing the New York premiere, wrote in this context:

The technique of ‘Mad Forest’ is elliptical and atmospheric ... In Act III ... paroxysms of xenophobia and paranoia ... often seem even more frightening than the sullen episodes of repression that preceded them.

Frank Rich also remarked that “the conventional political satire” in the first part of the play is later overwhelmed by “a more surreal form of theatre”: it introduces a vampire (a parodical character in fact, solitary and sad, who is attracted to Romania by the smell of blood and who is vampirizing a stray dog for lack of company), an archangel who collaborated with the fascist Iron Guard in the 1930s, a mental patient who questions whether what occurred in Romania was a revolution or a putsch, and finally ends in “drunken revelry and sadistic, retributive violence”¹⁷.

Act III develops on several directions: family gatherings, visits at the hospital where Gabriel, the hero of the Revolution, is recovering, and, finally, Florina’s wedding. The common places of these scenes are fractured monologues suggesting the characters’ disappointment with the confiscation of Revolution by ex-communists, the lies covering the truth, their shattered dreams about the future.

Both families, the Vladus and the Antonescus, together with their mutual friend, Ianoş, welcome Lucia’s return from America. She believes she had enough of that country and decides never to leave Romania again. She also decides to leave her American husband and marry Ianoş, her former lover in Act

¹⁶ Eugene Ionesco, “A Reply to Kenneth Tynan: The Playwright’s Role”, in Samuel Abba Weiss, *Drama in the Modern World: Plays and Essays*, Boston, Heath, 1964, p. 484.

¹⁷ Frank Rich, “After Ceauşescu, Another Kind of Terror”, *The New York Times*, December 5, 1991, p. C15.

I (ironically, Wayne financed the abortion of her child with Ianoş without knowing the real destination of the money). Lucia's sympathy toward the Hungarians, and particularly toward Ianoş, unleashes an absurd, extremely violent fight between the "representatives" of the "Romanian nation" and the only one "representative" of the Hungarians, culminating in a general fight of everybody against everybody. They all, Ianoş included, bring to surface their worst repressed feelings. If the characters seem to have recorded some progress (modest, but hopeful) in reaching freedom of thought and opinion, the *third voice* calls again their attention with old clichés of hatred, intolerance, xenophobia. Communication is frozen once more, probably for good, verbal and physical violence annihilates any expectations of dialogue. If the first part of Act III is still suggesting the hope in the possibility of cross-cultural communication by the use of a bilingual mode of expression, in English and Romanian, the moment the conflict reaches its climax, *heteroglossia*¹⁸ turns into *monoglossia*. Variety and difference are obliterated and the Other is the perpetual enemy again. Oneness is sufficient through its absolute superiority. Alcohol intoxication disinhibits any reticence of common sense. This is both the end of Florina's wedding and of hopes in a good future in a democratic Romania.

The fight scene is followed by "stunned silence" after which

They pick themselves up, see if they are all right.

Music - the Lambada. Gradually couples form and begin to dance. Bogdan and Irina, Mihai and Flavia, Florina and Radu, Lucia and Ianoş. Gabriel tries to dance on his crutch. For some time they dance in silence. The Angel and Vampire are there dancing together. They begin to enjoy themselves.

Then they start to talk while they dance, sometimes to their partner and sometimes to one of the others, at first a sentence or two and finally all talking at once. The sentences are numbered in a suggested order. At 14, every couple talks at once, with each person alternating lines with their partner and overlapping with their partner at the end. So that by the end everyone is talking at once but leaving the vampire's last four or five words to be heard alone. At first they talk quietly then more freely, some angry, some exuberant. They speak Romanian¹⁹.

The verdict is clear: the intruder (the dictator, the vampire) wins over the others. He has the last words and his thirst for blood (the essence of human life itself, both biological and intellectual) is far from coming to end. It goes mad and the country goes madder together with its people.

¹⁸ See Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, tr. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1981.

¹⁹ Caryl Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 178 (a stage note).

And, in fact, there is another powerful, central voice to be heard: the British author's voice that dooms Romania to be forever haunted by its past. Sadly enough, she is not entirely wrong! Nevertheless, from an imagological standpoint, the presentation of Communist and postcommunist Romania is oversimplified. Following lasting stereotypes, Caryl Churchill's images of Romania (even if meant to be parodical and schematic) are in fact ambivalent and confusing: the Romanians are full of prejudices and guilt, incapable of seriousness and profound thought, unfit for modern times, narrow-minded, primitive, passive, backward, pathetic, coward, on the one hand, good-hearted, childish, picturesque, romantic, on the other. Like her predecessors, the author ends by tracing back the Romanians' faults and vices either in their ever repeating history, or in their genetic inheritance. Predestined to be haunted by the spectres of their history, by dictators coming back into their lives under different disguise, by their Balkan and Oriental, barbarian and primitive genes, the Romanians have no great hopes for the future. No Revolution can change their absurd immutable fate, a cliché common to British representations. This is why British literary representations of Romania, *Mad Forest* included, are not happy-ending stories. Love ends with treason, truth turns into lies, sanity into paranoia, hope into scepticism, evidence into conspiracy, friendship into hatred, and dreams of freedom into nightmares.

To understand the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe means to understand the complexity of their histories, cultures, and identities. Not the form of the play matters, be it experiment or satire, but the message itself, a message that should have left a room for trust and confidence in a people's capacity of improvement.

LITERATURA CA PERIFERIE GENERALIZATĂ ȘI ASUMATĂ

Nicoleta Sălcudeanu,

Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș

Abstract: Literature as generalized and assumed periphery. The question of the wandering writer becomes one of the wandering writing. The writer finds his shelter in difference and double identity. Banishment may be a new birth, a founding energy. The contemporary cultural orphanage eludes the terror of temporality, it has become emancipated from the metaphysical oppression and goes straight to concomitance, that means a new perception of the world, an assumed banishment and an easy resignation. Leaving away is not any more a trite spirit of adventure or race maintenance, but becomes, more and more, a stylistic composition of living. While misplacement is not anymore the reason of all the troubles of creature, its benefit is a more comfortable manner of living inside the ontological landscape. The result means a new way of ambiguity, freedom and creativity. Creature wins the privilege of looking back not with rage, but with irony, his glance is cured by the tatters of the abandoned landscape. Ubiquity and periphery becomes a way of life.

Keywords: exile; anomia; nostalgia; periphery.

Odată cu „moartea lui Dumnezeu” (Nietzsche), cu descoperirea „vidului din spatele zeilor” (Jung), omul investește mai mult în camusiana „inexistență” („Filozofia inexistențială va fi filozofia exilului”), dar o inexistență de nu eroică, atunci gospodărească, pusă la treabă. Chiar și „lipsit de amintirile unei patrii pierdute sau de speranța unui pământ făgăduit”, inutilitatea demersului său e girată, în ciuda sentimentului absurdității, de semnificația sisifică a coborârii la poalele muntelui, în pofida faptului că, pe piscuri, unde de obicei se petrec revelațiile, zeul e mort.

Lucrurile se schimbă când păcatul original se travestește în nesupunere politică. Din acest moment, exilul își pierde orice măreție transcendentă și vorbește fără urmă de tragic, efectul de *hybris* se diluează.

Vocabularul lui final” - în termenii lui Rorty - coboară vertiginos în microcosmul fenomenului. Unul mai degrabă denotativ, tolănit pe imediatețea unei trăiri incerte, contaminate tot mai pregnant de prezent. Doar astfel poate interveni „posibilitatea unei utopii liberale: una în care ironismul, în sensul lui relevant, e universal. O cultură postmetafizică mi se pare nu mai puțin posibilă decât una postreligioasă și la fel de dezirabilă¹.

Spoliat de dimensiunea sa metafizică, surghiunul își silabisește propria limbă. O reînvață de fiecare dată și cu fiecare individ în parte. E vorba de „rearanjarea limbii” de care pomenește Eva Hoffman, referindu-se la acalmia

¹ Richard Rorty, *Contingență, ironie și solidaritate*, București, Editura All, 1998, p. 29.

convalescenței instalate imediat după boala - sociologic vorbind - a „anomie” („singurătate, reprimare afectivă, conștiință de sine excesivă”)² -, boală ale cărei simptome sunt bine descrise de autoare:

Poloneza, în scurt timp, s-a atrofiat, redusă din cauza simplei inutilizării. Cuvintele poloneze nu se aplică la noile mele experiențe; nu sunt contemporane cu nimic, nici cu obiectele, nici cu chipurile și nici chiar cu aerul pe care îl respir în timpul zilei. Iar, în engleză, cuvintele nu au pătruns încă în straturile psihicului din care ar putea fășni o conversație intimă.

Sau:

Acum acest spectacol - imagine, cuvânt - a dispărut, firul s-a rupt. Nu am limbaj interior, și fără el, imaginile interioare - toate acele imagini prin care asimilăm lumea, o preluăm, o iubim, o facem a noastră - se estompează, se încețoșează³.

Handicapul rearanjării limbii aduce însă și o nouă abilitate, mai puțin cunoscută de nativi, aceea a supraviețuirii prin operă. Problema scriitorului translează sensibil dinspre exilul omului înspre cel al cărții. Reverberând absurdul în efigie, cartea este cea condamnată, incendiată, excomunicată. Limba și litera scrisă se sacrifică sub forma substitutului simbolic de tip *voodoo*: „o limbă e un palat al amintirilor (...). Corăbiile unei limbi poartă mitologii și ereditate, poveri magice, testamente neîmplinite”⁴. Psihiatria exilului devine „spitalul cuvintelor”, dacă e să-l credem pe Ion Caraion („de când sunt în exil, mă dor toate cuvintele”). Existența reală e prinsă în crisalida „liniștii timpului de sub pom”, după o formulare preluată de Nicolae Balotă în închisoare⁵. Individul rămâne, în cel mai bun caz, suspendat, asemenea kafkianului „Vânător Gracchus”, pe linia de cezură dintre existență și non existență. Și uitat acolo. Scriitura-și continuă drumul.

Locuirea în limbă nu se poate realiza însă decât doar după moartea Patriei. Ceea ce agravează și împinge în exasperare exilul politic e moartea simbolică a acesteia. În această zonă s-ar adăposti și exilul interior, cel profesat, să zicem, de un I. D. Sîrbu: „Peștele nu își dă seama ce este apa (râul, lacul,

² "Anomie (sociologie) = stare sau condiție a indivizilor sau a societății, caracterizată prin prăbușirea sau absența normelor și valorilor sociale, cum ar fi în cazul dezrădăcinaților.", apud Eva Hoffman, *O viață într-o altă limbă*, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1994, p. 279.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 111.

⁴ Ion Caraion, *Tristețe și cărți*, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1995, p. 21.

⁵ Nicolae Balotă, *Parisul e o carte*, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1995.

marea) decât atunci când e scos din ea: nici noi nu știm ce e Patria decât când murim. Sau când simțim că moare ea”⁶. Ce altceva decât moartea patriei (deși îl contrazice fără replică pe Caraion: „Noi a căror patrie este lumea, ca peștilor marea”) ar fi putut să-l împingă pe Dante („florentinul surghiunit fără vină”) în exasperare? Ce altceva decât iubirea paroxistică travestită în ură pentru Florența natală, căzută în mâinile ticăloșilor, pare să-l anime în vituperanțele-i patetice:

prea umflatele voastre măruntaie au să înghețe, iar inimile voastre prea clocotitoare vi se vor strânge. A, voi cei mai înfumurați dintre toscani, zmintiți atât prin fire, cât și prin viciu! Cât de amar nicăcesc în bezna nopții, pașii bolnavei voastre minți, sub ochii celor cu crescute aripi. (...) Aceia cu crescute aripi și neprihăniți, trecând în calea lor, vă văd cum stați parcă în pragul unei temnițe, cum alungați pe unul căruia îi este milă de voi⁷.

Iubire paroxistică, dar și deplasare fermă dinspre „exilul suportat” înspre cel „asumat”. În cuvintele lui Scarpetta, el este poate primul care distinge între cele două determinări ale exilului, le taie în două: „TREBUIE o putere spirituală, ideologică și TREBUIE o putere pământescă și politică, dar contează mai ales ca amândouă să fie separate radical, ca una să nu se «întruchipeze» în cealaltă”. El se opune „dispozitivului de înrădăcinare” în așa fel încât

Florența nu este locul unei origini, al unei matrice care trebuie regăsită, ci cel al unui transfer: acesta implică momente de ciudată intensitate, strigăte amestecate de ură și de dragoste, năpustindu-se uneori chiar în delir rasist - dar toate par mai ales să funcționeze ca resortul arzător al unei eliberări definitive. Dante se definește ca «florentin din naștere, și nu din obiceiuri» (separare radicală între «naștere» și «apartenență» comunitară)⁸.

De altfel exilul poate fi definit schematic și reductiv între polii a două atitudini: cea ovidiană, neconsolată, și cea dantescă, adaptată.

Din alt colț de lume, și din alt timp, Bolintineanu oficiază rapsodic-cioranian prohodul țării resimțind, la aceeași temperatură și în aproape aceiași termeni, ruptura:

Nefericită nație, sărmană Românie! fiii tăi, ce naști și hrănești cu sângele tău, sunt de multe ori mai răi și decât streini, pentru tine, și iată de ce ai tot dreptul a te teme că viitorul ascunde mormântul tău!⁹.

⁶ I. D. Sîrbu, *Jurnalul unui jurnalist fără jurnal*, vol. I, Craiova, Editura Scrisul Românesc, 1991, p. 98.

⁷ Dante Alighieri, *Opere minore*, București, Univers, 1971, p. 718.

⁸ Guy Scarpetta, *op. cit.*, p. 103-105.

⁹ Dimitrie Bolintineanu, *Opere alese*, vol. II, studiu introductiv de D. Păcurariu, București, Editura pentru literatură, 1961, p. 445.

Moartea patriei nu e totuși simultană cu decesul fiului risipitor, el mai întârzie, în ciuda convingerii lui Ovidiu, cel din *Cea de pe urmă noapte la Roma* („Eu ies - mai bine-aș zice c-am scos un mort din casă!”). Obsesia thanatică a exilului e mai „vie” ca oricând în subconștientul oniric eliadesc:

sicriul și-a reluat zborul lui lin și s-a îndreptat spre București. Îl urmărisem până atunci fără nici o dificultate peste munți, peste ape și orașe - dar de data aceasta nu l-am mai putut urmări. Rămăsesem pe malul bulgăresc al Dunării, și-l priveam cum se depărtează până ce nu l-am mai văzut¹⁰.

Că dorul de țară a fost resimțit dintotdeauna pe coarda thanatică, nu-i o noutate. În eruditul său studiu dedicat sentimentului nostalgiei, același Starobinski atrage atenția asupra unui dicton rătăcit, pe la 1700, într-un capitol de medicină militară dintr-un tratat, scris de B. Ramazzini, *De Morbis artificum diatriba (Dezbatere asupra bolilor profesionale, Mantua, 1700)*, care hotărăște odată pentru totdeauna că „Qui patriam quaerit, mortem invenit” („Cine cată spre patrie dă peste moarte”). Privirea lui Orfeu. Dar o privire agățată între moarte și nuntire, cumva mioritică, fiindcă, pentru cineva ca Virgil Ierunca, despărțirea e logodnă:

Aș vrea să fiu sănătos și sărac (opunând sărăcia mizeriei) pentru a servi pe cât pot orice vânt de primenire ce-ar putea bate peste podișurile spirituale ale țării mele pe care o iubesc acum ca pe o logodnică¹¹.

Iată că absurdul ireductibil, văzut în izotopia pigmentilor săi, acoperă o paletă mult mai nuanțată la o a doua vedere.

„Patologia despărțirii”, tot în termeni starobinskieni, stă într-o regresie temporală, o proiecție mentală mereu inactuală. Patria reală e în perpetuu conflict cu cea ideală. Argumentând cu *Antropologia* lui Kant, el spune că

nostalgicul nu-și râvnește locul tinereții, ci tinerețea însăși, copilăria. (...) Reîntors în țară, nostalgicul este nefericit, căci regăsește aici oameni și lucruri ce nu mai seamănă cu cele de odinioară¹².

Nostalgia și melancolia, ingrediente nelipsite în patologia exilului, „reprezintă o regresie în vârsta inocenței, dar și în copilăria lumii”. Considerând că pentru omul civilizată problema se reduce la conflictul dintre tentația păstrării

¹⁰ Mircea Eliade, *Memorii*, vol. I, București, Humanitas, 1991, p. 274.

¹¹ Virgil Ierunca, *Trecut-au anii... Fragmente de jurnal. Intampinări și accente. Scrisori pierdute*, București, Humanitas, 2000, p. 145.

¹² Jean Starobinski, *Melancolie, nostalgie, ironie*, București, Editura Meridiane, 1993, p. 145.

privilegiilor copilăriei și imperativelor lumii adulte, Starobinski va formula o concluzie doar pe jumătate valabilă: „Literatura exilului, mai bogată ca oricând, este, în cea mai mare parte, o literatură a copilăriei pierdute”¹³.

Pentru a nu eșua într-un ton funebru și excesiv nostalgic, trebuie să recunoaștem că, așa deceptiv precum se arată, exilul își are partea lui de optimism, de speranță. Distanța dintre naștere și moarte e parcursă de viață, la urma urmelor. Compensația celui „cu crescute aripi” e recâștigarea lumii întregi de la altă înălțime. Eliberat de coordonate constrictive, el își găsește adăpost în alteritate, cel puțin în accepțiunea lui Tzvetan Todorov, în viziunea căruia diferența și dubla identitate ce trasează contururile Celuilalt se scurtcircuitează într-o sinteză bipolară, expansiunea eului în lume și, pe de altă parte, aglutinarea gentilă a acestuia de către cea din urmă. Geografia își atenuază exigențele în chiar momentul în care sinele e absorbit în spațiu. Sintagmele restrictive „capătul”, „marginea”, „fundul lumii”, așa cum au fost înțelese de Ovidiu, își iroiesc brusc implacabilitatea. Exilatul modern „care și-a pierdut patria fără a fi dobândit o alta, care trăiește într-o dublă exterioritate” e portretizat de Todorov (bulgar exilat în Franța) printr-un artificiu, grăitor în sine, al citării succesive, inițial din Hugues de Saint-Victor (sec. al XII-lea), text preluat apoi de „Edward Sad'd, palestinian trăitor în Statele Unite, care, la rândul său, îl găsisse la Erich Auerbach, german exilat în Turcia”:

Omul căruia patria sa i se pare primitoare nu este decât un începător naiv; cel pentru care fiecare ținut e aidoma celui din care se trage este deja un om puternic; dar perfecțiunea o atinge numai cel pentru care lumea întreagă este ca o țară străină¹⁴.

La rândul-i, Umberto Eco, referindu-se - ce-i drept - la competența enciclopedică gândită ca labirint, descrie trei tipuri: labirintul clasic, unicursal („de cum intri în el, nu poți decât să ajungi în centru, iar din centru nu se poate decât să găsești ieșirea”), cel manierist („toate parcursurile duc la un punct mort, afară de unul, care duce la ieșire”) și cel de tip *rețea* („în care orice punct poate să fie legat cu orice alt punct”). Dacă luăm cele trei tipuri de labirint și le suprapunem peste cele trei categorii descrise de Todorov, abuzând prin extrapolare de rezervele de plurisemie stocate de tipologia lui Eco¹⁵, obținem o holografie a rătăcirii. Privită pe verticală, ca evoluție antropologică a asumării acesteia, avem: o dată rătăcirea înțeleasă ca ispășire, apoi ca lipsă a sensului și semn al angoasei, culminând cu varianta ei ultimă, secularizată; privită pe axa profunzimii perspective, obținem rătăcirea ca istoricitate, în trei etape diacronice, coincizând cu trei vârste culturale distincte; și, în sfârșit, pe

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

¹⁴ Tzvetan Todorov, *Cucerirea Americii. Problema Celuilalt*, Iași, Editura Institutul European, 1994, p. 231.

¹⁵ Umberto Eco, „Anti-Porfiriu”, în Gianni Vattimo-Pier Aldo Rovatti, *op. cit.*, p. 69-70.

orizontală, descoperim trei forme, trei tipuri sincrone de asumare a rătăcirii: unul în cheie *forte*, *saudade*, altul mai relaxat (manierist, în opinia lui Eco), iar „perfectiunea” viziunii todoroviene revine, pe bună dreptate, rătăcirii *debole*, marea hoinăreală prin „lumea întreagă ca țară străină”. Eva Behring se simte așijderea atrasă de magia triadei când încearcă „o sistematizare și o tipologie posibilă a fenomenului «identității culturale în exil»”, stabilind „trei niveluri, în funcție de gradul schimbării limbii și de productivitatea literară legată de aceasta, ca și de complexul strategiei scriitoricești”. Primul nivel ar fi „neîncrederea față de posibilitatea integrării în cultura și tradițiile țării-gazdă: menținerea, în principiu, a limbii române ca limbă a literaturii; orientarea către relațiile și publicul din România. Acestui tip i se subordonează, din perspectiva de astăzi, «cazuri» ca prozatorul Paul Goma, poetul Ion Caraion sau istoricul literar Ion Negoițescu”. Al doilea nivel e cucerit prin „acceptarea unei identități culturale duble, resimțite ca duplicitară: stăpânirea și folosirea idiomului natal, ca și a limbii de exil; orientarea în același timp către cititorul din patrie, cât și către cel din țara de primire. Acestei categorii îi aparține - cu totul independent de apartenența la o anumită generație - marea majoritate a exilului literar românesc, de la primul până la ultimul val de emigrație. Lista ar începe, aici, cu Mircea Eliade, ca exemplu strălucit de aculturație, ar continua cu George Uscătescu, Vintilă Horia, Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca sau cu frații Ciorănescu, iar pentru emigranții de mai târziu, din generația tânără, ar cuprinde nume ca Norman Manea, Virgil Tănase, Dumitru Țepeneag sau Dorin Tudoran”. Și, în sfârșit, nivelul suprem,

desprinderea de identitatea originală, asimilarea în noul mediu în concordanță cu folosirea consecventă a limbii țării de exil, orientarea către cititorul din țara-gazdă. Exemplul pentru acest tip de-a dreptul rar este Emil Cioran, care a mers până la negația totală și la ruptura de identitatea sa românească. Petru Popescu, care aparține generației «fiilor», poate fi încadrat tot acestui tip, însă integrarea sa absolut neproblematică în lumea nord-americană nu a fost însoțită de o repudiere atât de categorică și de explicită a originilor culturale ca la Cioran¹⁶.

Deși subscriem la împărțirea pe trei tipuri, cu convingerea împărtășită că toate lucrurile bune sunt trei, se va vedea că triada categorială schițată de noi mai în aval este sensibil diferită, măcar prin reșezare cantitativă, chiar dacă împărtășește aproximativ aceleași criterii delimitative; și cu amendamentul major că tipologiile nu decurg nemțește, geometric, din folosirea limbii materne, bilingvism sau repudierea originii.

¹⁶ Eva Behring, *Scriitori români din exil. 1945-1989. O perspectivă istorico-literară*, traducere din limba germană de Tatiana Petrache și Lucia Nicolau, revăzută de Eva Behring și Roxana Sorescu, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 2001, p. 74-75.

Măcar de la avangarde încoace, lumea întreagă a devenit o țară străină, cel puțin în „republica literelor”. Nici chiar literatura română nu se poate sustrage acestei evoluții, în pofida izolării sale într-o enclavă a subalternului în plan universal, și ea e târâtă, prin mimetism, în această mișcare tranzitivă, prin unicități sporadice, ce-i drept, la diferite grade de adaptabilitate, dar pe deplin ilustratoare (Alexandru Vona, Virgil Nemoianu, Matei Călinescu, Herta Müller, Dumitru Radu Popa, Andrei Codrescu, Norman Manea, Petru Popescu ș. a.). Lumea întreagă ca țară străină devine apogeul unui absurd *soft*, îmblânzit, umanizat. Ea devine ospitalieră pentru un popor dezinvolt răătăcitor, nediferențiat în planul nativității, sumă de individualități ce-și asumă rutina unei Golgote zilnice, ecumenice, și a unei înstrăinări „vesele”, somatizate. Această Golgotă fiind literatura. *Exilul* poate fi evaluat și *ca naștere*, ca energie fondatoare.

Un exemplu concludent al diseminării etnicității în lume îl oferă Andrei Codrescu (venit dintr-o sensibilitate - să-i spunem - postmodernă), în cartea-eseu focalizată pe noțiunea de „afară”, nu întâmplător subintitulată „un manifest al evadării”. Marcat, încă din copilărie, de misterul și seducția lui „afară”, un „afară” stimulat, nu în mică măsură, de politic, el își propune un scop în descoperirea „exteriorului”. Acesta îi apare ca formă sigură a libertății. Simțindu-se acasă un exilat - iată o răsturnare spectaculoasă a perspectivei -, el dezvoltă o mitologie *ad hoc* a exteriorității pe care, mai târziu, o confirmă în miezul experienței. „Înlăuntrul” înseamnă închisoare și interdicție, spațiu carceral. De altfel, Codrescu nu este un pionier al acestei idei, exilul ca opțiune a libertății este așezat în opoziție socratică cu închisoarea, printre alții, și de canadianul Ioan Davies, în studiul său voluminos, *Writers in Prison (Scriitori încarcerati)*, în măsura în care consideră că „cineva care scapă în afară pentru că el sau ea nu doresc să fie parte a incertitudinilor interne, cred că se pot face utili opoziției, mai degrabă în afara țării decât în interiorul acesteia”¹⁷. Așadar o expulzie într-o viațuire extrauterină. Pe e altă parte, condiția de exilat aduce cu sine o certă specificitate stilistică și tematică ireductibilă a operei. În literatura lumii, numărul scriitorilor exilați este copleșitor. Ei depun mărturie asupra faptului că surghiunul nu e doar o ruptură, o moarte, el poate conota o nouă naștere și, la urma urmelor, normalitate de făt născut la termen, la sfârșitul unei „gestații” nativizante. Rezumându-ne la spațiul nostru literar, pentru Gabriela Melinescu, ca să alegem un exemplu dintre multe altele, acesta este „un mod de a trăi, o sursă de inspirație. Este o perpetuă durere, o pierdere, o rupere de limba maternă și, tocmai din această cauză, un fel de trezire, de mobilizare a forțelor și de trăire”¹⁸. Poate niciodată n-a fost mai acută nevoia de a ne cunoaște interioritatea prin Celălalt. Noi, cei dinlăuntru, trebuie să privim și să ne lăsăm

¹⁷ Ioan Davies, *Writers in Prison*, Cambridge, Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1990, p. 139.

¹⁸ Gabriela Melinescu, *Exilul ca trăire*, în *România liberă*, 26 mai 1995.

oglinziți în ochii aceluia, doar astfel vom reuși să încropim, din cioburi, adevărata imagine de sine.

Scrutând exilul din perspectiva racursului istoric - o istorie a sensibilității culturale și a situării operei în lume -, constatăm o modificare în codul său genetic, în substanța înstrăinării, ce parcurge drumul de la exodul amniotic al masselor (nomadismul, migrațiile) la exilul individului, ba chiar la forma sa extremă, depeizarea operei. Asistăm la o naștere dureroasă, dar eliberatoare a Cuvântului lăsat moștenire. Scrisul spulberă, „dez-întruchipează” „dispozitivele de înrădăcinare”, el

călătorește, străbate frontiere, determină deriva continentelor, zboară deasupra teritoriilor, pleacă fără încetare, migrează, se exilează, recompilează itinerarii nemaiauzite. Corăbii bete, invitații la călătorie, aruncături de zaruri, ziduri chinezești, odisei, călătorii în Sierra Tarahumara, anotimpuri în infern. Iese, se smulge din trupul matern, îl fragmentează. Compensează limita limbilor¹⁹.

Modernismul, existențialismul și ceea ce se numește, destul de lax, postmodernism sunt popasurile cele mai spectaculare ale ideii de deșărare mai mult sau mai puțin încruntată.

¹⁹ Guy Scarpetta, *op. cit.*, p. 97, 98.

Imaginând alteritatea periferică/ Imagining the Peripheral Alterity

THE EXULANT COMING OUT FROM ISOLATION: RE-READING IN VARIOUS CULTURALISTIC PARADIGMS THE GYPSY STUDIES FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY IN THE 18th AND 19th CENTURIES CONTEXTS. AN ESSAY REVIEW*

Marian Zăloagă,

Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș

***Abstract:** Reconstituting Gypsy world was more assiduously attempted during the 18th and 20th centuries. An unlettered culture like the Gypsy one was dedicated a vast literature, with its own journals and autonomy betraying from the beginning a transdisciplinary propensity, despite a highly mythologization or ideologization tendency. The present essay review intends to comparatively follow the development of the “Gypsy studies” in Britain and Germany. My main objective is to unveil the importance of the cultural and political framework for the discourses promoted within the literary and scientific productions coming out during the aforementioned epoch. As I am mostly interested in the process of “Wissensproduktion” of the external knowing agents I will focus on the discursive practices understood in a Foucauldian and Saidian sense. Thanks to the penetrating and vast readability of the literary productions (true carriers of stereotypes and vulgarizing channels of the scientific productions) printed during the 19th century they will constitute the basis of the following analyses.*

***Keywords:** Gypsy studies; literature; otherness; Orientalism; modernization theories; criminalization/anomie; feminization; hybridity; eugenicism; Germany; Great Britain.*

There are some years since the first treatment of Gypsy studies in German and British cultures have enrolled in the grand theories spectacle without neglecting the specificities of both experiences, deeply rooted in the predecessors' discourses. Benefiting of a considerably important turn acknowledged in the field of humanities researchers became clearly aware that the ultra-specialization exposes to the risk of maintaining the promoters in marginal or even outside positions (i.e. epistemically and academically). The possibility of wasting time in tight parochial discourses too much indebted to the forerunners, or the competition/threat of productions elaborated by amateurs, made people with different intellectual background (literary critics, cultural studies researchers, anthropologists, social historians, etc.) switch the

* The image of the Other in British literature is part of the project Dicționar imagologic al orașelor din România reprezentate în literatura de călătorie britanică, ID 1656 financed by CNCSIS. The article systematizes the theoretical concepts that are going to be used in the description of the ethnical minorities in the Romanian urban context.

accent from merely adding up to the myriad of information by simply collecting by ethnographic means, to qualitative discourse analyses.

Obviously the key element in the discourse was the word “power” with its consequences in defying normality, normativity, authenticity and projective desirability, thus, exploiting an epistemological field generously opened by Michel Foucault. Certainly, the relation minority - majority naturally played a role in advancing on this not at all innocent discourse. Though, it may also be interpreted as a reaction to the unclear and highly ubiquitous legal discourse confronted with the myriad of expressions of the Romany culture to be acknowledged since the 1980’s; it surely had something to do with the political projects of the program of inventing a (trans)nation. Freed from the missionary role, such projects imposes on its agency intellectuals external to the nation to begin analyzing the productions about Gypsies as ordering, classificatory expressions of power, thus following a recipe already proven productive in the study of their own national project. Surely, their one - sided, scientifically legitimated curiosity produced frictions with the representatives of the Romani project and was seen as a heresy to which it was “written back” with the same coin¹. Others, particularly anthropologists, have gained acceptance maybe thanks to their valuable field work², though historians beating similar paths were seen as dangerous as they went too far denying any linguistic ethnicity of the groups of Gypsies³, their reading of the sources being proof for the deviant nature of the group in the eyes of majorities or authorities. Many sociologists were fascinated by the subculture theories in treating the Gypsies, which convincingly placed the problems univocally into the realm of deviancy, anomie and criminality. This trend had also serious influence on the historians, particularly on those concerned with the study of Travellers or Tinkers⁴ in Britain, Bohemien in France⁵, or of the Jauner in Germany⁶.

¹ Thomas Acton, “Modernity, Culture and ‘Gypsies’: Is there a Meta-Scientific Method for Understanding the Representation of ‘Gypsies’? And do the Dutch really Exist?”, in Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt, *The Role of the Romanies Images and Counter-Images of ‘Gypsies’/ Romanies in European Cultures*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2004, p. 98-118.

² Judith Okely, *The Traveller – Gypsies*, Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p.1-37.

³ Wim Willems, “Ethnicity as a Death-Trap: the History of Gypsy Studies”, in Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, Annemarie Cottaar (eds.), *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups. A Socio-Historical Approach*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998, p. 17-34.

⁴ Brian A. Belton, *Gypsy and Traveller Ethnicity The social generation of an ethnic phenomenon*, London and New York, Routledge, 2005, Donald Kenrick, Colin Clark, *Moving on: The Gypsies and Travellers of Britain*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999.

⁵ Francois de Vaux de Foletier, *Les Bohemiens en France au 19e siècle*, Paris, Éditions Jean – Claude Lattes, 1981.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

As intellectual and cultural history teaches us any approach of a subject is more or less politicized, certainly almost never ideology - free or unintentional. A good example in this respect is exactly the book of Michael Grellmann, whose publishing helped the author gain an academic position⁷. His serving, even boosting of the credo of the imperial absolutist authorities made his book referential also in later national contexts. A particular intellectual tradition along with the imperative of different scientific paradigms also conditioned the approaches. Accordingly, the attempts of the two authors, Deborah Esptein Nord and Nicholas Saul dealing with the Gypsies image in the "British imagination" or their representation in the "German culture in the long nineteenth century" pay tribute to the grand theories which dominated the academia in a truly globalized society: orientalism, eugenics, modern state formation, nation building and particularly and generically said, to their role in the big game of identity making. Certainly, as we will be able to see they were adapted to specific national contexts.

The commonalities of both approaches are due to the fact that chronologically speaking they focus on the productions about the Gypsies originating in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, thus predisposing to the comparative perspective I will adopt in the following pages. This will be relevant for the main subject they followed (Gypsies representation) as well as for the background understanding of the cultures which produced knowledge: the national program, the influence of cultural trends like Enlightenment, Romanticism, realism or naturalism, the social impact of Darwinist and other evolutionary theories, the local tradition in delineating a social assisting program for the needy, hence, explaining usually more about the literate societies, about its strategies in expressing the (idealized or projected) Self, concomitantly impersonating the imagined *generic Gypsy*.

It is difficult to simply say for what exact reason isolationism was abandoned in favor of multidisciplinary approaches or to determine if the promoters were the external or the Romany intellectuals which strived to make the subject better inserted in an academic and political agenda. What seems certain to me is that these complex approaches were conditioned from the very beginning in the 18th century with Grellmann's book by the information of various inquisitive origins, which were to be pasted together as to construct a coherent narrative. Of two things can one be definitely convinced: the mutation suffered by the understanding of the historical discourse understood as a narrative of the sources, producers and their anchorage in the intellectual and social background of the time, doubled by the intervention of the interpreter and

⁶ Wolfgang Seindespinner, *Mythos Gegengesellschaft. Erkundungen in der Subkultur der Jauner*, Münster, New York, München, Waxmann Verlag, 1998.

⁷ See the vast survey of Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*, London, Frank Cass, 1997.

compiler of these sources at a certain moment in time, namely the historian. Thus, the influential ideas of Hayden White make sense in approaching the textual construction, elaboration of the sources, and helped revealing the connections of the literary production with the historical reconstructions of the past. This approach now fully accepted played a substantial role in the field of imagology, literary texts of different genres representing here a privileged source. Moreover, the understanding of literature in its social and historical context allowed social historians to use popular as well as scholarly literary productions as revealing records for the past occurrences from the daily life, a medium of very intimate feelings otherwise inaccessible in sources of other provenience.

1.

As far as the Gypsy image is concerned we are for centuries offered an exclusively outsider narrative about their past or present state being. Remaining outside the lettered society they were rarely a voice for themselves a situation that was perpetuated until the first quarter of the 20th century. Consequently, their presence is more or less definable by the reveries, beliefs and/or through others voices and set of values. Of an emancipated historical and identity discourses of the Romanies nowadays it is also hard to speak, as they are to continuously consider their forerunners' productions, generally emerging from the normative societies in relation with whom they were marginal, deviants, outsiders. As a result their image conditioned and expressed by their hetero-ethnoname, the labels of everyday use, allegedly encoding essential folk traits is a certain proof for the "gap between (this) people and (its) image", the uses barely calling to mind "the actual people from which they were derived, not do they carry, the stigma of insult, so neutral do they seem and so wholly separate from any original referent"⁸.

Therefore reading different productions in the grid of the dominant society is the only possibility to learn something not so much about them but particularly about their peculiar fitting in the diversely cultural trends and regulative or intellectual-cultural traditions of the "host" societies and its manner of reconciling their "foreignness" with the definition of the macro - group identity, be it of the imperial - missionary ruler, national or class related.

Origins are a key-question in any attempt to fix identity. This offered information about anybody's provenance with impact in both fixing their (i)legitimate living in some territories thus supporting preventing/repressive measures. Making sense of the "true origins" also played a role in Gypsies' "capitalization", though slightly different in time and space, it took into consideration the restructuring social environment under the assault of

⁸ Deborah Epstein Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807-1930*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2006, p.15.

modernization and reconfiguring of the European map. Within western European cultures Gypsies seem to perfectly fit in Orientalism analyses grid: as far as the Gypsies' origins truly represented a centuries old topic, and due to the religious and ideological prejudices and later contribution of the social and natural sciences contributing to their ordering in a classificatory system of knowledge about humanity (generally on the eves of civilization). For all that, the agents of knowledge production did not developed further as the 20th century anthropologists did with oversee tribal societies, on the account of comparisons reconstructing the historical social organization of the medieval and Ancient Regime of the European societies. It could not be else as the Gypsy "uniqueness" in the European societies still represented an oddity. This obtuseness may be caused by the producers' direct or indirect involvement exactly in the tentative of fighting these habits surviving in the 19th century, which became unwanted, incompatible with self-defined modernity. And still, as we will see in the British discourses, the real origins seem not to really matter as compared with the aim of affirming primitivism as opposed to modernity. Therefore Gypsies could be of any extra-European origin.

Definitely in this grid, what really mattered was to "orientalize" them by associating the Gypsy "with a rhetoric of primitive desires, lawlessness, mystery, cunning, sexual excess, godlessness, an savagery – with freedom from the repression, both constraining and culture building of Western civilization"⁹. However, the limits of the Saidian theory are soon amended by Epstein Nord who proposes a new vision of the Gypsy as the "domestic or the internal other", their proximity and visibility being "crucial features in their deployment as literary or symbolic figures. Their familiarity lent them an exoticism that was, at the same time, indigenous and homely". More than that, they interestingly were offered a functional role in the construction of the Englishness; to go on quoting Epstein North: "Although British Gypsies were considered alien, they were, at the same time, imagined as long-standing features of English rural life and, in some nostalgic views of the English past, signify the very essence of true and ancient Britishness"¹⁰. The foreignness is attenuated by the vaguely remembered eastern European newly arrived in the 19th century Gypsies which were "much darker" as compared with the autochthonous Gypsies associated with a perishing rural and idealized world of the evasive Romantic minds. This view brings us in the proximity of Bhaba's hybridity theory which seems to be fertile also in questioning the representation of the Gypsies in the German culture as we will see below.

This orientalist paradigm gains additional influence if we appeal to the gendered language employed to reinforce the dominant relation between the majority culture and marginal Gypsies. Their "orientalized and exotic looks, and

⁹ *Ibidem*, p.3.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

their potential for explosive and potentially dangerous sexuality” answers even to the male fantasies which could be discovered in the habitual, static descriptions of the Gypsy female¹¹. On the other hand, in rendering their essence “Gypsy’s habitual swarthinness becomes a marker not simply of foreignness, of non-Englishness, but of heterodox femininity as well”. There is hardly a difference even if diverse authors, despite new philological arguments, alternatively opted for the Egyptian or Indian descent. The last descent became of particular importance in the representation of the Germans who could do nothing else but compensate the lack of early empire, or else to say the late overseas empire with a type “orientalism at home”, simply by accommodating their discourse to the discourse initiated by the already consecrated European empires. If seen from the point of view of the intents, the overtones, typology and the final production of knowledge do not differ much, and were wisely instrumentalized as to impose their nation, at least discursively, by direct part taking at the heritage and the Europeanized civilization project; thus they claim for themselves a privileged position in the concert of civilization classificatory glossary. If for the Germans the major intent had been that by instrumentalizing the exotics from home (i.e. Gypsies) to signify their belonging to Europeanness powers, aim reached by administrative modernizing means of the populations and thus by massively contributing to knowledge, the British experience seemed more like a personal mirror using the exotic language of the empire, without exaggeratedly creating genealogies from the Indian with any relevance to their past and present identity.

2.

The insistence, or the parallel discourse of Grellmann that Gypsies might be descending from the lowest caste, the most defamed social category of Sudras, or pariah, did nothing but derogate from the possibility of emancipation. Obviously the image of the Gypsies could not extrapolate the social economic realities, in which poverty and the subculture it generated with the more or less elaborated anomie theories reaching the realm of penalty and regulating or repressive policies. Curiously, the debate preoccupying mostly the social historians did not gained much attention, and Marxist explanations in this respect seem to miss.

The marginal position and their subcultural even dangerous underground culture is considered only symbolically in the British case even though elsewhere in French culture it seems to have played a central role. Vagabondage is merely seen as part of a national portrait. Walter Scott for example used an essentialist language identifying “the Gypsies ethnologically: they are “Pariahs,” like “wild Indians among European settlers,” and, although attached to a settled group, are judged according to their own “customs, habits,

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 144.

and opinions”¹². Elsewhere persona invented by different authors rebel not so much against the material inequalities but against the standards imposed by the “strictures of respectability and the demands of bourgeois manhood”¹³. This quote adds another evidence to Epstein’s belief according to which the reference to Gypsies in British imagination, literature in particular, is more likely to be ahistorical, unreal, idealized, incorporating the “poet’s contestation” of the present day society.

3.

Assuming a marginal role, of a misfit and critical position to the social milieu to which one belongs but not totally comply to, authors constructed different Gypsy characters which made use of the cultural stereotypes but also articulated sometimes in much personified instances according to the functionality they were aimed to incorporate. Thus, we learn about a raw of authors like John Clare, Matthew Arnold or “the ambivalent” William Wordsworth who “used the Gypsy as, among other things, an alter ego free from the shackles of the daily grind and from the modern world of getting, spending, working, and obeying the law. The pastoral, indolent, and sometimes passive male Gypsy of their poems offers a contrast—and a comforting one—to conventional and exigent models of nineteenth-century manliness”¹⁴. The evocation of the idealized image of the Gypsy plays a compensatory role for a traditional world in danger to be forgotten. This supports once again that the literary Gypsy is not necessary the same with the real Gypsy, the authors actually not intending to supply with ethnographic information, but refer to different identity issues by means of these customary strangers, or exploring their alter egos.

Ambivalent representation of these groups of travelers vaguely suggests possible links with the peripatetic¹⁵ occupations through which they proved themselves indeed by the services offered complimentary to the settled population. This idealization is betrayed by the plots of William Wordsworth and “slightly before him and Matthew Arnold after him, Gypsies played a role in a changing landscape, but they were also figures in a pastoral tradition. Their literary representation was bound up with particular poetic conventions, with ways of understanding and imagining the landscape, and with the transformations they registered in the countryside around them. In nineteenth-

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 31.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p.13.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ See Joseph C. Berland and Aparna Rao, “Unveiling the Stranger: A New Look at Peripatetic Peoples”, in Joseph C. Berland; Rao, Aparna, *Customary Strangers : New Perspectives On Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*, Westport, Connecticut, London, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004, 1-31.

century pastoral, Gypsies were marked both as casualties of rural transformation and as itinerant and vagabond doubles of the poet. For Wordsworth, whose identification with Gypsy wanderers and “travellers” was ambivalent at best, the Gypsy was a primitive, an unevolved fellow resident of the Cumberland hills, whose vagrancy was itself a defining characteristic”¹⁶.

Biography plays thus a key role in the options for the tropes to be used and the final often ambiguous but certainly more than generic, very personalized Gypsy. A political and aesthetic agenda are also considered in the book under scrutiny. To make things more obvious we will follow Epstein, “deeply unsettling rural change and so regarded them as emblematic of both persecution and liberty. Second, Clare regarded Gypsies as pastoral figures. For him, they not only represented an insulated and authentic state of being to be cherished and celebrated, but appeared as objects of empathy and identification, seemed to offer possibilities for escape and refuge, and were imbued with qualities that the poet aspired to possess (if only partially and temporarily)”¹⁷. Even authors with a religious mission otherwise difficult to classify as Borrowers productions were often referred as anthological collections or highly personalized autobiographies in the tradition of Bildungsroman, generate uncertainty whether we were to watch the real Gypsies or “a kind of picaresque fiction that invites readers to expect both autobiography and Bildungsroman”¹⁸. In other productions biographical stance and until then unattained attempt towards authenticity, by letting the voice of the Gypsies to tell the story of their life, is attempted by Boswell saga. Gaining possibility to self-representation, “Boswell’s book follows the shape of autobiography, creating a clear trajectory and interpretation for the events of his life”¹⁹.

This strive towards authenticity was made possible only by the acute and oversensitive discourses of some artists facing the modernity with its effects in the environmental as well as in identity altering of the normative culture. Thus, reflections on the fate of the Gypsies seen as primaveral – primitives articulates in Mathew Arnold productions into a “modern nostalgia, (for) a preindustrial figure untainted by the “strange disease of modern life”²⁰.

This language of degeneration of the identity and the new classificatory techniques which came to regulate the life of the individuals or the societal interactions as expression of modernizing and in the same time individualizing, puts accent on the danger of a highly potential estrangement, dissolution of strong organicist ties deriving from industrialization and urbanization as the most evident expression of 19th century progress.

¹⁶ Deborah Epstein Nord, *op. cit.*, p.44.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 47-48.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 71-72.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 167.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 45.

In this process the essentialization of the Gypsy as “remnants of a golden age, the human equivalents of village rituals and rural customs long forgotten” as the Gypsy Lore Society members saw them²¹, their characterization by John Sampson as “ur-ancestors of the human kind” or the accent of Borrow on their language called “the mother of all languages”²² did not give them an ascendant in relation with the majority culture, but at least represented the pretext of considering a set of idealized antique quintessential values. Notice also the accent on the rural in which Gypsies were attributed with the role as carriers of traditions of an endangered world, remembered in Romantic tradition as important marker for the identity of the dominant society facing irrevocable shifts. The urbanization generated high tide waves of migration in the direction of the cities which exposed the subjects involved to rethink, redesign their identity according to the regulations of the new environment and the geographical and symbolical strictures. Only in this context would be easily understandable the debate focusing on the matter of diaspora, memory and group’s particular ethnicity. In this respect the comparison between two worlds, the Gypsies and the Jews seemed definitely expected. Assimilation seen as an ability of survival in an ideologically hostile cultural environment seemed beneficent in case of the Jews who were regarded as properly inserted in the urban networks thanks to their traditions; on the other hand Gypsies were deemed to embody the fate of the rural populations facing poverty and abandoning their rural matrix in an attempt to find a precarious salvation by gravitating around the outskirts of the urban centers²³. Interestingly, in British culture Gypsy and Jews seemed not to represent the dangers of contagion, of but their fate is in reverse, symptomatic for the dangers to which majority members of UK society are exposed to. Warnings towards the fragility or lack of memory, totally denied to the Gypsies unfamiliar with their Indian ethnic descent²⁴, goes along with the attempt to make aware of the vulnerabilities of any national project dismissing the past and exclusively anchored in the present or dreaming to the utopian projects. As Epstein puts it: “Their (Gypsies) literary representation was intimately connected to an obsession with origins of all kinds—linguistic, personal, and national. A people “without” origins came to stand, paradoxically, for the question of origins itself

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 9.

²³ These social Darwinist theories received large audience among the British reading public, to its rapid dissemination the literary productions having an important contribution. See Joseph Carroll, *Literary Darwinism, Evolution, Human Nature, and Literature*, New York and London, Routledge, 2004, 85-103, 145-161.

²⁴ Deborah Epstein Nord, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

and to be used as a trope to signify beginnings, primal ancestry, and the ultimate secret of individual identity”²⁵.

4.

Definitely the Gypsy stereotypically impersonates the perfect wanderer. A wanderer in search of something which was associated in many Western romantic cultures with liberty and safety²⁶. This view collided with the modern state policy which could not admit the growth of vagrancy, associating it with potential deviance and criminality. The surveying state authorities took action and generated anti-vagrancy legislation.

As Epstein notices “After the late eighteenth century and, in particular, after the passage of the Vagrancy Act of 1824, Gypsies were prosecuted not as they had been, as a nation or “race,” but as nomads, “vagrants, rogues, and vagabonds”. The overtly racist content of anti-Gypsy legislation had disappeared in 1783, when the laws that mandated the imprisonment, deportation, or even execution of individuals simply because they were Gypsies were repealed. (...)Beginning in 1783 and culminating in 1824, Gypsies could be rounded up simply by virtue of their nomadic existence. For the offenses of hawking, peddling, begging, camping on the side of a turnpike, telling fortunes, “wandering abroad and lodging under any tent or cart,” or vagrancy (however defined), Gypsies could be prosecuted, fined, locked up, or persistently harassed. They often tried to set up camp in cramped, isolated places—like lanes, as in *The Mill on the Floss* — or to elude arrest and imprisonment by continually moving on”²⁷. In other words, in British milieu the criminalization of the Gypsy cannot be treated as a racist but as an outcome of a structural change in the system of social order, in which the vagrants of any kind were to be carefully watched as they became suspect of dangerous behavior.

In response literature associated their existence with “the Highlanders, lairds and other vagrants part of a mongrel Scottish inheritance” as in case of *Guy Mannering*²⁸, exploiting this association and finding significance to it for the past management so important for the identity. The recurrent identity question and its careful and necessary preservation occupied their attention. Others, like Wordsworth proved in part merciless. “For Wordsworth, whose identification with Gypsy wanderers and “travellers” was ambivalent at best, the Gypsy was a primitive, an unevolved fellow resident of the Cumberland hills, whose vagrancy was itself a defining characteristic”²⁹. Going further the same author expressed his agreement with the necessity to “suppress the Gypsies’

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p.10.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p.44.

²⁸ *Ibidem* p.39.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

work, make them sedentary rather than itinerant, portray their inactivity as repellent rather than inviting, and classify them as an undesirable type of vagrant—sleeping out of doors, exhibiting no means of subsistence, and, perhaps, breaking the law³⁰. Gypsies' vagrancy as seen by the literates may be thus more a revolt to compel, refusing possession of land as a sign of liberty not as a deviant behavior but as a cultural trait³¹.

A redeeming alternative in the discourse countering the criminalization was achieved by the language of primitivism intended in some cases to infantilize and not simply to indicate towards the origins; these samples (i.e the Gypsies) had to be theoretically musealized, as it was supposed to witness about a perishing world that matters to be saved from the vicious effects of modernization. It is to speculate whether this infantilization is intended to suggest innocence. What seems eventually undisputable is that they are treated and primeval creatures, dominated by "solicitude and infantile sensations"³², somehow beyond good or bad. The language of social Darwinism is helpful in this respect, but curiously does not seem to be a threat to the racial pool of the British society, not even in contexts when the myth of child theft is literary instrumentalized. On the contrary, "kidnapping stories, captivity narratives, and foundling plots express the anxiety created by adhering to an absolute and inherently fallacious separation between peoples and offer reassuring explanations for differences within groups that exist universally"³³. Certainly, this raises the matter of authenticity, and the possibility of acculturation. Their attributed wildness of the Gypsies is in British imagination not necessarily negative: "Gypsies' wildness is highly contagious, as their arrival in a new place initiates and figures a crisis for Enlightenment definitions of civilization and nationalist definitions of culture. Here, in the Gypsy camp, is a culture without "culture," transmission without "tradition"—self-knowledge and collective amnesia side by side. Anchored themselves in an eternal present, a self-continuity that transcends context and time, they seem able to remove and replace the memory of others at will. Those who join them—whether as stolen children, "scholar-gypsies," or willing or resistant fellow travelers—seem not only to forget who they are but to lose all sense of time"³⁴.

Modernization raised the problem of acculturation in a social leveling unit called "the nation" who by means of musealisation tried to save the local cultural artifacts, be them material or immaterial. The narrative, be it literary or scientific, around some artifacts attempted to replace the lived diversity.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 55-56.

³¹ For the regulative and rationale of the state interventionism in UK see David Mayall, *English Gypsies and State Policies*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press, 1995.

³² *Ibidem*, p.44.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p.55.

Musealisation was conceived as a way of solving the tensions, somehow a reconciliation of local traditions with the attractive as well as repulsive national project (sometimes having to integrate in the big scenery of the national project). Itself built on a selected set of ethnicities intended to satisfy the vanities of different provinces, national cultural agenda may be deemed to be a collection of authenticities, with representation of different strength on the national political scene. Some had seen themselves under-represented, conquered, while others hardly gained admittance (Jews and Gypsies) due to their conservative traditions or better say self - cultivated peripherality, or at most toughly negotiated or comforted hybridity.

Specialists of the new sciences were called to support the national project, among them: historians, statisticians and anthropologists. We distinguish there a category of experts and ventriloquist handlers of the nationalism, and others who approached some research themes simply as “passionate” amateurs. In the last position found themselves many contributors to the Gypsy Lore Society. Their attention to the Gypsies manifested outside the big academia, as the journal they founded made room for amateurs as well as for the highly qualified philologists. Their marginal position favored a certain disposition to identification with the object of research: “In this way, the scholar-gypsy serves, as we shall see, as a prototype for the bohemian Gypsy lorist of the late nineteenth century—the Englishman who leaves “society” and voluntarily adopts the social posture of the outcast and nomad”³⁵. Imitating Borrow who posed “into a misfit and wanderer, the marginal man who identifies with the Gypsies”³⁶, “the lorists hovered between amateurism and semiprofessional aspirations, a pattern common to a variety of late-nineteenth-century scholars whose work took place outside academic institutions”³⁷. The societies profile is well resumed by Epstein in few words where she prospects the intentions and the intellectual background in which they flourished: “many of these new gypsiologists aspired to a level of philological and theoretical sophistication that would gain them academic respectability, if not university positions. Their efforts coincided with—and were influenced by—an enormous broadening of research and writing in mythology and cultural and social anthropology. Max Müller prepared the way for comparative mythologists with his philological research, focused on India, in the 1850s and 1860s; the Folk-Lore Society was founded in London in 1878; Andrew Lang espoused his theories of cultural evolution in a number of studies published in the 1880s and beyond; and volume 1 of Sir James Frazer’s *The Golden Bough* appeared in 1890”³⁸.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 129.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 130.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 127.

The purity argument was not so central as to generate an experience so horrific like the Holocaust in Germany. Though focuses on the British culture, Epstein cannot avoid a comparison with a relatively rich preoccupation with the topic in Germany. She considers that despite fascinations even frenzy for philologists discoveries and Arian reveries, the link between these and biologist racial paradigms³⁹, found no resonance in U.K. despite undeniable share of social Darwinist theories; still, they did not received legal support leading to the criminalization of a certain ethnic group, as it happened in Germany from different reasons depending on local traditions and the challenges of modernity as well. Books similar to those of Lieblich or Dillman are not mentioned by the study of Epstein. To continue by quoting the authoress:” Criminology had played a part in Gypsy studies in Germany from the mid-nineteenth century, but, in the last decades of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth, criminologists in Germany began to create institutions that would identify, classify, and help weed out large numbers of individual Gypsies”⁴⁰. Moreover, as we will see the discourse of “purity” seemed to be quintessential in German milieu: “When their “race”—Aryan—was considered an asset, the pure Gypsies were not marked for extermination; when purity ceased to mean anything and the Gypsies’ social and behavioral characteristics became paramount, lack of purity and a dose of German blood became virtues. Where there was a will to exterminate, there was a way, and the discourse of purity was but a pretext”⁴¹. Racist purity maintenance, or better say hybridity avoidance was exploited in two senses: the internal conscious strategy of identity salvation by the Gypsy themselves (“stubbornness” as was first theorized by Grellmann), or in the sense of controlling even prohibiting inner-marriages (endogamy) as expressed by assimilation oriented absolutist enlightened regulations of Maria Theresia and Joseph II, respectively the credo that mingling (to which urbanization exposed) would mean the entrance in a deviant, law-breaking milieu. These observations referred to by Epstein in the last pages of her book may seem as intrusions but they found meaning as they use the aim of differentiation between British and German constructions of the Gypsy and their social and political outcomes.

The German Case

In the last decades the curiosity for the Gypsies history and in particular their contacts with normative societies could not obliterate a teleological view.

³⁹ The debate remained in India and did not make much fuse about the Gypsy as in Germany thanks to the direct contact with the colony and with the specificities of it, which among other imposed the research of the dialects in order to administer better the subjects. It was different in Germany where a cultural complex could not but elaborate on the topic of origins. For a detailed discussion see Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race Aryanism in the British Empire*, London, Palgrave Publishing Limited, 2002.

⁴⁰ Deborah Epstein Nord, *op. cit.*, 153.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

This is motivated by the effect Holocaust had on both, and the activist affirmation of their unfairly neglected or forgotten sufferance. From diverse reasons going from humanitarian to national constructivist projects into which a peculiar victimized identity could be reinforced as symbolic layer of collective memory made clear that the Holocaust insertion into the collective memory was also a legitimate mean of coagulation as well as a highly politicized instrument. Hence, even studies like that proposed by Nicholas Saul actually tries to answer a simple question: if the anthropology studies flourishing during the 18th and 19th centuries “mapped the road” to the era of Holocaust⁴². His belief expressed in the beginning of the book was that: “It was the 19th century which bred the energies that, under German conditions, made these disasters possible: industrialisation and technologization, urbanization and mass society, nationalism, imperialism, Social Darwinism, racism” all participated to that terrible outcome. To demonstrate this idea he followed “the restructuring shifts in the representation of the Gypsy in the German Culture” focusing on the 1850 and the beginning of the First World War, without making abstraction of the precedents from the 17th century, his narration beginning with Thomasius, following the impact of Grellmann.

As sources show the Gypsy is continuously described as “wanderer from abroad”⁴³. This centuries long lasting stereotype completed by some others like: laziness, mastering the disguise techniques⁴⁴, made the Gypsy a complete strangers to the virtual Germany nation, was far from remaining univocal in its argumentation. Already from early modern times, their unknown origin left space for speculations involving references one more phantasmagoric then the other. Traditionally seen as Egyptian, later recognized as former (degraded) Indians, their portrait reached the realm of social deviance through association sometimes confusion with the Rotwelsch⁴⁵ idiomatic underground society. As in

⁴² Nicholas Saul, *Gypsies and Orientalism in German literature and Anthropology of the Long Nineteenth Century*, London, Legenda, Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, p.1-2.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p.2.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p.3.

⁴⁵ See Yaron Matras, “Johann Rüdiger and the Study of Romani in 18th Century Germany”, in *Journal of the Gypsy*, Lore Society, fifth series, Vol. 9, 1999, p. 89-116; Yaron Matras, “The Role Of Language In Mystifying And De-Mystifying Gypsy Identity”, in Nicholas Saul & Susan Tebbutt (Eds.), *The Role of the Romanies*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2004, p. 59-60. Cant language is also thought of being spoken by deviants in premodern England and Gypsies sometimes joined the tableau: The “changing status of cant and vulgar languages in eighteenth-century Britain against which elites fought was associated with earlier centuries collections of cant and slang language which made use of “substandard language as a means of marking off a criminal class from laboring people”, see Janet Sorensen, “Vulgar Tongues: Canting Dictionaries and the Language of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain”, in

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

British case, Saul's tracking of the Gypsy in German literature and anthropology follows similar grids, though not necessarily in the same order. For the sake of coherence and possibly harmonious mirroring I chose to follow as close as I could the same sequence proposed in the first half of the essay, surely developing more where the sources provided additional arguments serving to the general debate.

1.1

The end of the 18th century seems defining for enrollment in a highly cultivated and self-confident official European orientalist discourse. Missing the oversee empire, Germans manifested their intellectual conquest of the other by producing knowledge about the others in service of eastern monarchs (i.e. Russia), or by concentrating on topics from home. Gypsies as "the Other at home" allowed the trimming of the theories deriving from philologists discoveries done previously in British milieu and later richly cultivated by the autochthonous Germans. With Grellmann's landmark treaty this interpretation would established itself as the frame of understanding Gypsies' ontology. Defined as a: "A textbook example of occidental knowledge – power over the eastern other, it hermeneutically appropriates the facts of the Gypsy story as then known, smoothly controlling the lettered presentation of an illiterate other to their occidental hosts, the very model of a modern master narrative. In the classic Orientalist style it emphasizes Gypsies' sensuality over their rationality, their immaturity and passivity, their lack of agency, and inability to progress"⁴⁶. Also Saul properly observes the ambiguous dualistic discourse of Grellmann who "emphasizes their common humanity at the same time as their abject dependence on the white races for that humanity's full realization. But it also, in compensation, emphasizes their erotic and aesthetic attributes, on the other hand "exclusively" revealing the repressed power of the Orient over the Occident"⁴⁷. This argumentative ambiguity will dominate the discourse following his publication both in scientific anthropological as well as in literary works.

Attentive to the rare lose of Orientalist track, Saul brings into discussion exceptional works that undermine this type of approach. Hence, despite assuming many traits from the image Grellmann promotes, however, "Liszt's cognitive interest is deeply opposed to the easy, monolithic Orientalism that precedes him." It is actually the attempt of atypical researchers such as Liszt that made discordant voice: "In the later there belong texts which exhibit opposite characteristics, stifle the authentic Gypsy voice, and refuse to authorize any manifestation of meta-Orientalist cultural difference."⁴⁸. Going on Saul

Eighteenth-Century Studies, Volume 37, Number 3, Spring 2004, p. 435-454.

⁴⁶ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p.7.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

adds that: “Liszt moves beyond the horizon of received Gypsy Orientalism. He avoids both uniformization of enlightenment philanthropy and easy aestheticist Romanticism. The Gypsy’s aesthetic talent is, admittedly, their chief anthropological characteristic”⁴⁹.

Saul does not simply take over the British theories, but adapts them to the case into debate. He observes that Orientalist tradition has also a milder tone when in the discourse of the Romantics: “Romantic Gypsy, emphatically idealized as a missionary from the land of poetry, the Oriental homeland of the human race, features with startling frequency in German Romantic and other literary discourse, from Wolzogen to Schiller, Goethe, Kleist, Lenau, Eichendorff, and many others.”⁵⁰ This aspect remains in a way unexplored in the above referred British case. It was certainly idealized but usually it was brought into discussion in scientific literature as a sign of their static and pre-civilized ranking.

Definitely, as noted an “unsympathetic Orientalist appropriation of the Romany voice by the master narrative of the gadjo host was the defining characteristic of Gypsy anthropology after Grellmann in the first half of the 19th century”⁵¹. Despite this general observation, Saul undertones two kinds of productions and their correlation in advancing the type of orientalism as experienced by the German culture with respect to the Gypsies (be them generic or concrete – e.i., from the near-by): “First, as predicted, the literary writers both affirm and subvert the disadvantaging, pseudo-scientific discourse of official Gypsy anthropology. Secondly, the literary discourse on the Gypsy is constantly oriented around the notion of the Gypsy as exotic, Orientalist other, and this focus is consistently used to problematize not only Gypsy but also German identity, be it national, political, or sexual”. Like British and French orientalism understood as an intellectual authority imposition of the self in relation with otherness, it keeps being strong self - evaluative, and self - referential. To continue by quoting him: “19th century Germans tended to regard the Gypsies through a model of inner - directed Orientalism. It is, finally, clear that German Orientalism directed at the Gypsies, like all orientalisms, has been fundamentally a discourse about Germans, and that this interest is especially virulent in the epoch of Germanic struggles for cultural and political identity”⁵². Serving to the “nature of the German system of knowledge and its function to establish cultural well-being in the same body”⁵³, orientalizations of the Gypsies in literature took into scrutiny the scientific achievements, instrumentalizing them as to serve some utopian political German constitution. There are cases

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p.14.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p.7.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p.20.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p.163.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p.92.

like Freytag and May who revive the Romantic paradigm, representing “the extraordinary constituted vitality of the German’s identification with their *Orientalist equal and opposite nation* (my italics) in this paradoxical century (...) presenting the encounter with the Gypsy as something like the *condition sine qua non* of Germanic national self-becoming. In each case the Gypsies seem to play the role of savior.”⁵⁴. But despite example like the above quoted, the taste of oriental narrative seem to disadvantage Gypsies portrayal; to come to an end with this I would again quote: “A still more ferocious literary genre painting from the Wiener Briefe of that year presents the Romanies in the full bloom of Orientalist realization as native, kleptomaniac and irrational savages, vengefully *incapable*, when it fails to serve their interest, of comprehending the distinction between right and wrong”⁵⁵. Maintaining itself under a powerful influence of philanthropist Enlightenment paradigm, the discourse betrays an internal colonialization resulting from the abjection of the Oriental other⁵⁶. Summarizing and hence following the schema established by Todd Kontje developed in German Orientalism⁵⁷, Saul ends up distinguishing four typologies of Orientalism: of the “realist literature with vulgar – Orientalist contempt (Hebbel) 163-164 as excluded other, pillar of the (clearly still fragile) German self-understanding (...) But we have also seen Germans attempting sensitively to give voice to the silences Romanies (Strauss). We have seen Germans positively (if pessimistically) identifying *themselves* with features of the Gypsy condition (Immermann). In the most self-conscious of the social realists (Raabe, Keller), we have seen the intellectual foundations of German Orientalism ruthlessly deconstructed.”⁵⁸ Be that as it may, I think that keeping too much to these schema is in a way a thesistic approach. It suborders too much to the enounced in the title, Orientalism though seeming not to be an input equally influential in all the works, and particularly in the literary ones, whose plot is sometimes very much abstracting or focusing on very contextualized experiences and involving various tropes.

1.2.

The social dimension, particularly Gypsies’ marginality and poverty has been a key word in the scientific literature and particularly in the short national characterial portraits. They have a long tradition on Germany reminding us about the previous *Völkertafel*⁵⁹ which in few words and with the support of

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p.103.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p.63.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p.73.

⁵⁷ See Todd Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2004.

⁵⁸ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p.164.

⁵⁹ Franz K. Stanzel, “Imagologisch-ethnographische Studien zu den Völkertafeln des

visual representations attempted to render groups by surprising their essential(ized) characteristics. As has been demonstrated they fit very well the attempt to chart populations in a primitive pre-statistical but highly efficient manner, concentrating on the values and vices to be inscribed in each matrix⁶⁰. The fictional character of such productions can not be denied either⁶¹. Exemplary for text and image grouping, reminding about the *Völkertafel* is Johann Benjamin Weissenbruch's book dealing with the criminalization of the Gypsies in a German area. The configuration of the pictorial and scriptural information communicating about the identity of the criminals may suggest towards the continuities in the field of identification techniques, if not a direct filiations from that previous forms of portrayal of alterities⁶². In this respect modalities of making a living by stealing or begging reinforce Gypsies anomie, placing them in the field of subcultures. The centuries long use of labeling as "Landplage" of wandering Gypsies visiting "the town and recently vacated its allocated site in a poor meadow by the river" clearly associates their marginality and parasitism contributing to the increase of the local fragile economic well being. In some later works "The allegedly characteristic Gypsy odour is due to poverty (...). He searches constantly for qualities such as family solidarity, national pride, selfness and honour."⁶³. Poverty was explained in the case of the Gypsy as characterial and the tendency to make them responsible of their social status is due to their laziness. Suddenly, we discern a real criterion of selection for the worthy poor which came to be the key of the charity as practiced in the German milieu already from the 16th century. With time it became more and more implemented and the benefactor had to bother to make sure about the worthiness of the beneficiaries. The focus on the members of the community, as well as their own observation made outside Gypsies ineligible. Moreover, as Saul noticed: "As the new German nation-state crystallized and emergent German self-consciousness was cast in this mould, the correlated notions of work and *Heimat* came to determine the legitimacy of the Gypsy presence among hard-working Germans." The *Heimatrecht* and *Heimatprinzip* turned into a core principle in giving to the needy. The local authorities responsible for

frühen 18. Jahrhunderts / Europaer: Ein imagologischer Essay', reviewed by Regina Bendix, in *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 114, No. 451 (winter, 2001), p. 118-119.

⁶⁰ Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2006, p. 64.

⁶¹ Franz K. Stanzel, *Europäischer Völkerspiegel. Imagologisch-ethnographische Studien zu den Völkertafeln des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1999, p. 11.

⁶² See Johann Benjamin Weissenbruch, *Ausführliche Relation von der famosen Ziegeuner-, Diebs-, Mord- und Rauber-Bande, welche den 14. und 15. November Ao. 1726 zu Giessen durch Schwerdt, Strang und Rad, respective justificirt worden*, Frankckfurt : Krieger 1727.

⁶³ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

supporting those in need blamed the Gypsies for exploiting this system of Christian mercy, and from here to criminalization of their spatial mobility was only a step to be made. This reached more strengthen and serious implementation with the late advent of the national (police) state⁶⁴, capable of employing a regulated police force. Unlike, Britain where the poor law act and antivagrancy act was not necessary anti-Gypsy, in German lands and German Empire, Gypsies as scapegoats gained special attention. As Leo Lucassen explains in a recent study this different approach to the poverty makes the difference in future dealing with the Gypsy questions. The tradition of exclusion of the foreigners with all the accusations that was brought to them lead to the radicalization of their treatment afterwards⁶⁵.

1.3.

A new note and a more strengthened link between the scientific and literary creations are proven by the success of racialization of discourses towards Gypsies, which finally in a racist manner established their deviance in “their *poor* inherited qualities”⁶⁶. The obsession with the integrity of the national body made necessary the expulsion of the Gypsies out of it. The arguments were at hand, thanks to the Lombroso’s atavistic theories well received in the Germany milieu. Actually, the modernization with its secularizing effect brought about the switch from “a teocentric to a monistic social Darwinist discourse” which also influenced the judgments regarding the Gypsies as well as their treatment in the German state.

Modern state fought Gypsies’ lifestyle through policies such as those employed by the Habsburgs which also received support from Grellmann. Inhibition of mobility by concentration in Friedrichlohra seems the best solution of the Prussian state to solve their attributed criminality. Such settlements favored acculturation and discipline⁶⁷ by evangelization of the Romanies⁶⁸. Disciplining of the Gypsy subjects by the acculturation power of the Christianity of Catholic expression was attempted also by the Habsburgs⁶⁹.

⁶⁴ Already a tradition since the 17th century in German milieu but inefficient in the territory, as the presence of the bandits in the 18th century has proven it.

⁶⁵ Leo Lucassen, “Between Hobbes and Locke. Gypsies and the limits of the modernization paradigm”, in *Social History*, Vol. 33 (2008), no. 4, p. 423-441.

⁶⁶ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁶⁸ The limits of this process are pertinently analyzed by: Wilhelm Solms, „Sie sind zwar getauft, aber... Die Stellung der Kirchen zu den Sinti und Roma in Deutschland”, in Lucia Schezberg, August H. Leugers, *Scherzberg, theologie. geschichte. Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kulturgeschichte*, 1/2006, p.122-126.

⁶⁹ See my article: Marian Zăloagă, ”On tolerance and radical otherness in Transylvanian. Saxons and Habsburgs on the Transylvanian Gypsies (i)religiosity and religious practices (from 17th to the 19th centuries)”, in *Studia Universitatis Petru*

On the other hand, these pre-modern and particularly the following modern 19th century measures brought up tensions and new criteria of evaluation when the identification of the true Gypsies was at stake. In order to maintain the purity of national body, despite a tendency of intermarriage (undoubtedly denied by Grellmann) the “forensic profile” encountered the challenge of hybridity (by invention of a new category: the *Mischlinge*) interestingly turning this category in the most dangerous, the former practicing peripateticism being defined as authentic Gypsies, and, in a Romantic manner worth of protection, by “musealisation”. These developments correspond to the second half of the 19th century Germany, announcing in a way future genocidal developments: “The old order, then, when there still existed Romanticism, magic, and judicial murder, has passed. Raabe’s Gypsies live in the disenchanted world of modern state. Their subjection to the state, enforced settlement, and compulsory labour have, as this exchange between Sidonie and Janna in the forest suggests, resulted in a hybrid mode of existence which grimly travesties their former way of life.”⁷⁰

The language of “hibridity” occupies a place in the discourse of modernity and national state building: Katombo described as “der fruhere Zigeuner”, displays the thoroughly un-Romany – like quality of autodidactic book - learning, and this transforms him - in surely a metafictional portrait of Karl May himself – into the even less Romany-like person of brilliant navel architect and sea-captain, with *Abendländliche Anschung* (...) In a sense, Katombo/Ruamburg also brilliantly exploits his hybrid upbringing (if not ancestry) to mediate between Occident and Orient.”⁷¹

For the composite national state, with its many provinces, the Gypsy trope surely played the role of pretext into questioning the leveling project of the national state, above the provincial particularities. This tension seems to be clearly stated in Saul’s book: “The political dispute in which these Gypsies are involved concerns not some remote provincial patrimony but an entire nation, or, better, the fate of two great constituent German states, which figure in Scepter und Hammer as the rival kingdoms of Nordland and Suderland”⁷².

Modernity also introduced the tension between rural and urban world. Here Gypsy trope was differently instrumentalized in the cultural production. As compared with the British culture where the rural area was organically and positively linked to the authentic Gypsy (be it virtual or real), the rurality of the German Gypsies, or rather their living in hinterland areas made them also hybrid presences, as the follows by Jensens character: “To this extent, then, the Binenfritz despite, his authentic Gypsy provenance, in fact synthetizes the two

Maior, Series Historia , 7/2007, p.73-90.

⁷⁰Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p.72.

⁷¹*Ibidem*, p.99.

⁷²*Ibidem*, p.98.

cultures of Gypsy and German. More significant is his sense of Gypsy identity. Whilst he makes no attempt to integrate with the hostile culture of the village and indeed hopes that his daughter, despite her freedom, will not move to the city, nevertheless his sense of identity is suffused by a pessimistic conviction of imminent racial extinction (...)The Binenfritz is thus preparing to be the last of his race”⁷³. There is no return home. “Thanks to their travel through history and culture, the Gypsies, as he himself exemplifies, have acquired hybrid characteristics, they have become hybrids or maladapted species variants”⁷⁴.

Before reaching this stage of social Darwinism, the German culture developing on the background of a modernizing state -itself in full process of construction and affirmation among the prominent international actors-, incipient forms of expression betraying biased hierarchies is made public by the play with some notions like *Naturvolk* and *Kulturvolk*⁷⁵. Under the influence of natural sciences, this evolutionist credo became common already in the 18th century discourses. Nature hence was not invoked only as a sign of authenticity or essentiality but also in the key of developmental steps human cultures should take to reach among the “creative((s) of) civilizations”. In some instances Gypsies are mentioned exactly to show the result of evolution of the own culture, keeping though a “sympathetic and conciliatory” tone: “die Zigeuner sind Menschen wie wir, und doch sind sie anders als wir”. They fascinate the *gadje*, because they have remained a *Naturvolk*, childlike and alien in the midst of their culturally advanced host nations and so are worthy object in their difference”⁷⁶. In other cases, like by Victor Areco, the judgments are merciless: “Gypsies are agreed to display “Sexuelle Ungebundtheit und die Abberationen des Geschlechtstriebes” to a horrific degree”⁷⁷. In this respect, even Liszt’ remarks, which in Saul’s opinion produced a major switch, resemble the discourse of the predecessor Grellmann; he notices “stubbornness to assimilation”, categorizes them “as pre-civilized *Naturvolk* provenance and cast of mind, nomadic outcasts they despise organized labor or trade and live by instinct and opportunity on the margin of the settled peoples’ world. Like children they are constitutionally incapable of letters, formalized social and legal relations, archival history of their own origins, hopeful projections of the future, indeed even the structuring of time and abstract thought per se”⁷⁸.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ Bernd Weiler, ”Von der »Kulturlosigkeit« Über die »Kulturarmut« zum »Kulturenreichtum« der »Naturvölker« Ideengeschichtliche und wissenssoziologische Überlegungen zu einer Grundsatzdiskussion in der Anthropologie zwischen 1870 und 1930”, in Moritz Csáky, Peter Stachel (Hg.), *Mehrdeutigkeit. Die Ambivalenz von Gedächtnis und Erinnerung*, Wien, Passagen Verlag, 2002, p. 35-77.

⁷⁶ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p.160.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 159.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p.10.

Thus, Gypsies seemed to be forever doomed to a minor culture; only the musical performances of some virtuosi seemed to be, for some authors, the unique chance to redemption. Working as a substitute to their unproductiveness in the field of letters or dull everyday work, their spontaneous musical performance, as Saul reads Liszt's vast study, is credited to be in Hegelian view, a successful rehabilitation of this nation. "Gypsy music, he insists, expresses the same unconditional, free passion as Hegel's epic heroes and he then triumphantly inserts two pages of accurately cited (if rather repetitive) extracts from Hegel's *Aestetik*"⁷⁹. It is in these artistic performances that Liszt tried to "recuperate the authentic Gypsy voice" in that other, freer, non-verbal medium, the musical performance. Redemption of the Gypsy remains possible only in literature, anthropology keeping in a way to the enlightened paternalistic and philanthropist approach. But even the literature does not seem to be always reconciliatory; e.g. in the realist productions like that of Hebbel's for example: "Issues an anathema on Gypsy art which is centered on its mythical emblem, the violin and possibly occasioned by the recent publication of Liszt's *Die Zigeuner*", he finally "savagely denouncing Gypsy music as daemonic and death-dealing"⁸⁰. Moreover, their "wild and ever-quickening music unchanged since it was first played the Ganges a thousand years since, drives Hungarian Hussars and German girls alike into a frenzied, subject – threatening Bacchanalian dance"⁸¹. Pre-realistic famous productions like Strass's *Tuvia Panti*, undermines Liszt's utopian suggestions that by means of virtuosity the assimilation becomes possible: "It is however also arguable that this tale of an orphaned Gypsy boy, who is purchased by a wealthy German couple, educated as their adoptive son, in the city of B. develops a virtuoso violin technique, but after eight or nine years of failed assimilation falls back to his Romany tribe, is also in some measure inspired by Franz Liszt". "Joszy, like *Tuvia Panti*, was an emergent violin virtuoso, and Liszt attempted by way of experiment to assimilate him into occidental culture. (...) He becomes dandy and philanderer. Moves to different environments – Strassbourg, the black Forest – convince Liszt that acculturation is impossible, and Joszy is finally released into the keeping of his original Gypsy family"⁸². In the spirit of the *Zigeunerromantik* tradition, bridging the gap, their artistic performances may contribute to their self-assertion, voicing, in the sense that music used "as a ritual mean which transports them around the symbolic fire through the ecstasy of the communal Orphic dance from the narrow constraints of the everyday into a communion with the stars, locus of their religion and/or knowledge, a domain beyond the

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 80.

gadjo ken⁸³, the confessions of love being done “through the natural language of love” which is music⁸⁴.

Previous positive appreciations of their talent can be found in Grellmann’s synthesis: “But not only are their women sensual and licentious, the Gypsies as nation are unusually artistically talented, producing gifted, erotically tantalizing dancers among the young women and brilliant, improvising musicians of both sexes”⁸⁵. Whatsoever, in Grellmann’s narrative these qualities were not regarded as compensatory, on the contrary must be read in the key of the orientalist, infantilized European discourse. Still as other specialists have convincingly proven it, Gypsy music remains even for Liszt an experiment, a mean of contestation of the canon which had to be finally fulfilled by any artist in order to gain respectability⁸⁶. Thus, Gypsies performance cannot deny the scholarly superiority of western music as some misreading tried to suggest. Liszt’s theories are later revitalized in different contexts, the trope surviving long after and despite falsity and primitiveness in execution noticed by realist or social-darwinists, it recounts the arguments for “the transforming power of authentic music”⁸⁷.

In enlightened key, the treatment of the Gypsies is connected with the policy of surveying and directing their “future well being”, this becoming the “burden” of the Germans assuming the position of normative and civilized society. The assimilation and acculturation as phenomena characteristic to the development of the national identity raised dilemmas concerning the identities of both the actors involved (Germans and Gypsies), concomitantly reflecting on the best methods this surveillance – aiming civilizing or simply salvation of the surviving authentic Gypsies- may be achieved. Here the infantilizing as discursive strategy played a key role, having in my opinion, a lot to do with the patriacharistic system deriving from the sociological matrix of the Protestant families based on an undisputed patriarchal value⁸⁸. Women questioning, by the voice of a Gypsy character, of this state of affairs was attempted by Caroline

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 83-84.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 85.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁸⁶ Iulia-Karin Patrut, „Zigeuner’ und die Kunst. Wissensproduktion und Literatur am Beispiel von Franz Liszt und Wilhelm Raabe”, in Maria Sass, Herbert Uerlings, Iulia Karin Patrut (Herausgegeben), *Europa und seine ‚Zigeuner‘. Literatur- und kulturgeschichtliche Studien*, Sonderheft: Germanistische Beiträge Band: 22 / I, Universitätsverlag Sibiu/Hermannstadt, 2007, p. 209-231.

⁸⁷ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁸⁸ See in this respect, Emmanuel Todd, *Inventarea Europei (The invention of Europe)*, Timisoara, Amarcord, 2002, p. 115. Here the anthropologist hypothesis that protestant predestination reception also corresponded to some family organization structures, that is the preexistence of a family organization including an authoritarian father and unequal brothers.

von Wolzogen. Her “Alloisia in fact aims for is a third way, an alternative community of authentic love beyond both the false and oppressive patriarchy of the bourgeois world and the brutal and infantilized realm of the Gypsies”. Without fully developing into a feminist movement or being forcefully inserted to it, this “third way”, recalls of the “*Sonderweg*” which has become somehow prophylactic to German adaptation/adaptation or confronting with the French or Anglo-Saxon inspirational grand theories. “Aloisia’s Gypsy dance, an utterance in a meta-language uncontaminated by phallogocentric patriarchal discourse, tactfully mediates the truth of her tale to the Countess serving to “the realization of Mario’s pathological critique of civilization”.⁸⁹ In the most classic patriarchal hegemonic fashion, characteristic for the Oriental discourse as well, the active role of the patriarch, the *creator of a civilization* is contrasted not only with the infantile but also the feminized Gypsy culture. No surprise to see the Gypsies incorporating the matriarchal world, as happens in Raabe; as Saul observed: “But perhaps the best instance of the Gypsy stereotype is the aged matriarch, grandmother Janna Nadra”. This assertion can be correlated to another episode of excesses of a phallogocentric terrorized society towards women in German milieu, which ended with reporting without scruples of the label of “witches” to the Gypsy women representation⁹⁰.

At another level of reading, as already suggested above, infantilized and the primitive Gypsies were counted among the sensual irrational uncultured nations. In this respect the control was mandatory, the mission of ordering and acculturating them by repressive means legitimated, otherwise the normative civilization risking the undesired miscegenation and therefore fall into degradation. The acculturation was itself dangerous as in case of the Gypsies Germans dealt not merely with an amnesic people seemingly fragile to identity engineering, but with trickster like, difficult to predict ability to play with its identity.

It comes clear now why their treatment in the national modern state depended on the local realities. As some would prove, there was always a double identity at stake. Besides a local identity testifying a sort of external but in the same time costumary nearby strangers, Gypsies’ lifestyle exposed them to the perception of *Heimatloss*, which obviously generated questions towards their legitimacy in different areas. This spatial mobile lifestyle became ethnicized confirming the permanent vagrant image on account of which the boundary maintaining is legitimated by a long tense relation between two

⁸⁹ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p.29.

⁹⁰ For a condensed synthesis on the topic see the first half of my article: Marian Zăloagă, “Die ‘Zigeunerin als ‘Hexe’. Eine Analyse der gegenwärtigen und historischen Dimension eines Diskurses und seiner Bedeutung für Identität”, in Herbert Uerlings, Iulia –Karin Patrut (Hrsg.) *‘Zigeuner’ und Nation. Repräsentation- Inklusion, Exklusion*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin Bern, NY, Oxford, Wien, Peter Lang Verlag, 2008, p.556-560, 559.

worlds: the sedentary and the nomad. With the advent of the bureaucratic state, as part of centralization and modernization process of the state on the continent, the chaotic degree of mobility had to be inhibited or controlled by different mechanisms. Besides the state interest, the surveying mechanism initiated and institutionalized was also assumed by the absolutist rulers who enjoyed posing in generously humanitarian caretakers of their subjects⁹¹. The categories practicing it for centuries suddenly found themselves outside the law and in some areas repressed by harsh measures. Associating Gypsies with the class of vagabonds, of the underclass was subsequently the outcome of the new legislation.

This had an impact on literary discourse as well, which explains why in time, the more reiterated realistic literary productions came to be dominated by a criminalizing output. From the 19th century on, atavistic theories, as well as previous traditions made possible the reception of social-darwinistic theories, later of the racial hygienicist theories which found institutional support⁹² in the first half of the 20th century particularly in imperial Germany. Without focusing on the Gypsy question, they indirectly set the future trends in the policy field and certainly disseminated in the literary texts resulted in creations legitimizing the reinforced usage of the stereotypic association between Gypsy and the dangerous vagabond classes.

Autochthonous authors have indeed prepared the way for a heartedly reception of Lombroso; as Saul shows among them one may mention the name of Alfred Ploetz which prepared the way to medicalization of discourse towards the marginal categories in an urbanizing environment⁹³. Permanent reference to the deviants by addressing them as “social ills” show how “collectivist and scientific solutions to social problems such as mass alcoholism, overpopulation, and rising criminality seemed more convincing than the essentially divisive and conflicting proposals of strictly political ideologies, especially those of egalitarian social democracy”⁹⁴. Synchronically, explicit belief in the inferiority of the black people were soon vulgarized and hastily adapted to the Gypsies despite the fact that their argument did never involved “empirical” demonstration of these hazardous theories. Written in the spirit of the missionary assignment of Europe, sometimes embracing degenerative cultural and biologist approaches, they bring evidence about the epidermisation and later ethnicization of deviance. The outcomes reached emphasized that the (a)nti-

⁹¹ See Marc Raeff, “The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach”, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 5 (Dec., 1975), p. 1221-1243.

⁹² See Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, 1927–1945, Crossing Boundaries*, Springer Science, 2008.

⁹³ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p.123.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*.

sociality is genetically⁹⁵ determined and imprinted, that actually Gypsies were born criminals⁹⁶. In this respect the evolution of the concept of “*Landplage*” or “Gypsy nuisance” is to be mentioned. Saul identifies its use by two authors: Gustav Freytag, respectively, Saar. If the first does not see them according to tradition as “*Landplage*”, their involvement in the attempt of child theft seeming to maintain them as highly susceptible to crime, without reaching the interpretation of the Gypsy as assaulter to the vital stock of the nation⁹⁷, Saar shows how easy the “doctrine of the Gypsy as Lombrosian degenerate and work-shy criminal penetrated, despite sympathies to the contrary even into the discourse of a liberal aristocrat”⁹⁸. His tale, shares evidently the “Lombrosian theory of inherited idleness is offered as an explanation for the girl’s failure to retain the seasonal job (...)The girl’s failure to change after a year of the workhouse, her concomitant addiction to drink, and her final criminal act of revenge, seem only to confirm the theory”⁹⁹. In some tales the fatal risk of miscegenation and degeneration is suggested by simply taking as referential the Gypsy ill – reputed example. In German culture it came to effectively incorporate unworthiness, bearing the most stigmatizing social effect: “For when the homeless Kratochivils build their remarkable substitute for a home, they do so by reference neither to ethnic majority nor to ethnic minority, neither on a Slavic nor on a Germanic site, but on a Gypsy model. Thus, as the family sinks to its lowest social – and evolutionary – level it finds an existential niche only by copying the behavior of the *abject Gypsy race*”¹⁰⁰. Living by begging determined these harsh judgments which can be traced back in pre-modern writings, now experiencing new meanings although their cumulative traditional reference is prevailing in this very context. Clearly, their labeling as *Landplage* is due to the connection already referred to between local charity practices and the exclusion mechanisms of the unworthy strangers, here incorporated by the Gypsies.

Assimilation or acculturation involves a programmatic interventionism in the sense of social disciplining with the effect of new identity emergence. Still, characterial or even physiognomic traits of those exposed to it, unveils at most a hybrid deceiving outcome. The double identity of the Gypsies belonging to the *Zigeunerromantik* registers or the realist productions is expressed in different way. Some, in tradition of Spanish *Preciosa*, involve the rediscovery of

⁹⁵ It reached this plenary dimension during the 1930’s, see Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *op. cit.*, p.358.

⁹⁶ This continues to be a widely shared believes in the society nowadays. See Maria Diedrich, “Born Guilty?” in *Transition*, No. 60 (1993), p. 34-51.

⁹⁷ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 148.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem* p. 149.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p.150

one's real identity and the extraction from the foreign and soft core Gypsy culture, which seemingly leaves no trace on the ongoing evolution of the reborn self. Others see it as a space of negotiation between cultures, as in case of the Hungarian Gypsy Musicians. Unfortunately, this hybrid existence did not left traces of the type of "writing back". Thus, instead of offering the 19th century Gypsies the possibility to make its voice heard¹⁰¹, the literary and anthropological productions only left room for the "German simulation of Gypsy voice"¹⁰². In realist productions like those signed by Raabe, in a "disenchanted world of the modern state" which enforced their subjection to the state by enforced settlement and compulsory labor characters, subjects were supposed to live a "hybrid mode of existence which grimly travestites their former way of life"¹⁰³. Certainly, following Karl May's example one may say that hybrid upbringing (if not ancestry) may have been used to contribute to the mediation between Occident and Orient¹⁰⁴. But with Jensen one reaches exactly the point of final split up, the radical racist purity discouraging any mix: "the same applies to the depiction of racial mixing. Miscegenation, the hybridization of white and Chino, is seen negatively, as capitulation to a charismatic but culturally dangerous, un-Germanic sensuality; but the marriage of German and "the Creole" produces an unexceptionable synthesis of what are of course at bottom two European races"¹⁰⁵. Interestingly even those well equipped with a rational approach fall under the spell of degeneration simply by getting into the world of the Gypsies. Jensen's professor even goes darker after undertaking a simulated "research trip": "As the browning of is skin under the exotic sun of Timapse moor indicates, the Professor has by the end acquired something of the Gypsy, something of the hybrid, during his adventure. Indeed, as his espousal of the Märchen as the key to the riddle of life suggests, he has also become something of a Romantic"¹⁰⁶. Instead of enriching the exposure to the Otherness endangers. Remarks regarding one's belonging into a racial category, or "in-between" categories also challenge the purity on which the national project substantiate itself. Sure is that theories of Ernst Haeckel¹⁰⁷ gained respectability and were disseminated among the masses by means of literary production, Jensen embracing them in his construction of the Gypsies.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p.21.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 22.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p.72.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 99.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 113.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

¹⁰⁷ Haeckel and Müller developed the biogenetic law or the theory of rehearsal, according to which the development of the individual is marked by stages within which the organizing plan of the body is morphologically and functionally similar to that of some inferior species. Haeckel exaggerated by considering that all the inferior characters on philo-genetic line may be evidenced to any descending spices of this line.

The epidermization played a fundamental role in establishing hierarchies. Its effect was undoubtedly disastrous leading to misjudgments and supporting cultural prejudices of all sorts. As an external marker, maybe the determining one in automatically labeling and frivolously prejudicing, it does not seem to be the most important as compared with lifestyle and mobility in definition of the “true Gypsy”. But also it could not be omitted. “In this context Jensen’s Gypsy novella *Die braune Erica*, makes interesting reading. Here we find the same fundamental situation mildly varied: an unmarried German natural scientist of a certain age is translated by a restless, still unconscious, and misunderstood longing into a zone of exotic otherness. (...) She changes him before he can win her(...) Nevertheless this prize too he carries back in triumph to the civilized world, there to live life in a *Heimat* transformed”¹⁰⁸. In a literary form, this disorientation of the senses and the reason, suggests exactly the doubts of the previous armchair anthropologists towards assimilation policy the absolutist state and sometimes the national state attempted to this outsider category. If the optimistic view of the Enlightenment was cemented on social engineering like the taking away the children from their bad reputed and vicious parents, by inhibition of the Gypsy to Gypsy marriage in order to make the melt down of their identity possible, concomitantly experimenting an forced and monitored settlement (e.g. the Friderichslora), at the eves of the 20th century assimilation was doubted and even made dangerous particularly for the normative nationalistically essentialized society. So it happens in Saar’s literary projects: “Adapting in true Darwinian fashion to their new niche, the Kratochvils have observed “das braune Volk, colonized the ruins of this (as the narrator observes) merely “annähernd menschliche (...) Behausung, and rebuilt it in more or less Romany style. It should be noted that Saar’s description of the Gypsy –style tent is wholly authentic”¹⁰⁹. The link between evolutionism, material culture and the danger of regress by cohabintance with the brawn primitive people is expressed by the description of the “Habuntererdlicher Erdhütten (...) Whilst Saar, then, takes care to construct, and then deconstruct, the framework of degenerative theory with which to interpret the socio-economic phenomenon of the pauperized Kratochvils, he also takes care to suggest through the tent symbolism - and the level of narrative authority - the Gypsies, too, represent the post - evolutionary survival of an early stage of human development”¹¹⁰.

Thanks to the advancement of research, still socially misinterpreted results of the biological anthropology, along with the cultivation of a language specific to the natural sciences, maybe expressly for the sake of scientificity, these racist discourses naturally took as reference the “blood line”. Jensen

¹⁰⁸ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p.151.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

strongly influenced by Haeckel for example admits the possibility of marriage, interracial marriages with effects on the cultural sphere. "The Gypsies are to be assimilated into the German bloodstream, and that is just how – according to this interpretation of Darwinian law – should be. In Jensen, at that time, friend of Haeckel, the pioneer of Darwinism in Germany, preacher or Social Darwinism, and founder member of the Society for Racial hygiene, we have one of the first Social Darwinist interpretation of the place of the Gypsy in Germany, one which, despite all its friendly Romanticism, is nonetheless also fatally accepting of the notion that it is right for the Gypsies to die out"¹¹¹. Saul describes here exactly the process of institutionalizations of the social Darwinism and the implicit impact these theories vulgarized by their literalization had on the Gypsies. Solutions for their salvations were sequentially and arbitrarily operated by Block in the 1930's: "What is tactfully called "das Aufnehmen fremder Kinder" is re-legitimated as a healthy instinctive drive for the preservation of the Gypsies "als Rasse" in that an admixture of new blood would protect the race against degeneration"¹¹². It is hard to say if they were suggested as a reflex of the common Aryan roots, but it is notable that such discourse breaks up with the monogamous mythology attributed to the Gypsy society, at the same time announcing future classifications of the expert 1930's eugenicists which cared for the salvation of the pure Gypsies as relicts of a venerable past, disfavoring or frankly say condemning the "Mischlinge" as derivatives of an underground society, and finally cataloguing them as degenerates, clients to the internment program of the totalitarian Nazi regime in his attempt to utopically create a society without delinquents¹¹³.

Medicalization of the discourse is explainable only considering these antecedents. As we know it reached the climax during the 1930's until 1945, and in some cases it may be traced even during the 1960's and even in the present day public discourse. More than any other previous discourses it found in Germany a sufficient reason to be institutionalized which explains the its power of conviction legitimizing the internment in camps and the abhorrent medical experiments of the Nazi practitioners. Though tabooed, eugenics seems indeed influential in the modern and postmodern societies.

Final remarks

Despite common analyses grid the two analyzed cultures imagined Gypsies according to their traditions, cultural, social and institutional

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, p.118.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p.161.

¹¹³ Karola Fings, "«Rasse: Zigeuner». Sinti und Roma im Fadenkreuz von Kriminologie und Rassenhygiene 1933-1945", in Herbert Uerlings, Iulia-Karin Patrut (Hrsg.), „Zigeuner“ und Nation, p. 302.

developments. It could not be else. Still the role of literature and anthropology with their tendencies to recuperate the “Gypsy voice”, generally ends up articulating individual or collective desires, contestations, being more the reflection of the imagined Gypsies rather than the intended or authentic Gypsies. Curiously, this is being the case also for the productions inspired by field work, in which authors could not avoid recognizing and confirming the stereotypes familiar to the normative society of which they sometimes retracted or even rejected for a period of time at least. The “scholarly gaze”¹¹⁴ is in different degrees romanticized or objectified in the literary production which created emblematic characters which in different plots had to appropriate the creator’s intentions. Even sometimes apparently divergent in their revelries, in too many other cases they end up impersonating the Otherness as perceived by the self - referential majority society, confirming exactly the prejudiced qualities or deviances attributed to the Gypsies for ages.

The long 19th century lives on the shoulders of the previous pre-modern cultures, occasionally offering the stance of Enlightenment rationalism, Romanticism, social Darwinism and Orientalism. Differently conditioned these cultural frameworks fermented after slightly common but also different recipes. Only considering these production in the social and ideological and political background would their cultural expression be made accessible and meaningful. Moreover, despite similar grids of analyses favored by Epstein and Saul only seen in mirror of their milieu or provenance would the two cases unveil their nuances.

Both literary productions use the Gypsy as a pretext and thanks to their diasporic experience refer to the authenticity in the framework of the national state. The tensions between historical regions within the frameworks of the modern state is obvious both in Epstein with the idealizing of the rural Scottish Gypsies and hardly visible but subtly noticeable in Saul’s book where the negotiation of policies to be followed with regard to them (the Prussian or Bavarian model) standing as possible interpretative coming to terms of the provinces by simply inventing a bigger challenge to the coherent national system, to the definition of non-Germaneness.

Clearly the identity crises influenced the placing of the Gypsies in the majority society self-understanding. Their alterity was differently managed respectively. For the Germans, lacking of imperial an extra-European Empire, the role of civilizatory mission was exercised towards the home strangers, the discourses and methods involved being comparable with those in British case. Still, for the British rule the Gypsy was one among many other alterities they had to refer to as outer – referential, sharing similarity with the Germans the view of the Gypsy as the “strangers at home”, itself differently exploited. The diasporas were obviously differently perceived, according to the stages of the

¹¹⁴ Nicholas Saul, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

nation building. The British and German identities measured themselves in the Gypsy mirror focusing on different bench marks or simply desirable values.

Even the fate of the cultural trends seemingly universal due to the natural sciences language some promoted, saw different instrumentalization. In case of the Gypsies in particular the results were radical in German case as compared to the British. Social Darwinism connected with the discourse of Orientalism and nationalism was expressed differently. Thanks to the accent put on the social regulating matters within modernizing project British case did not experienced very harsh measures. In Germany on the other hand the almost religious power of the nation, making use of the same tropes like deviance, parasitism, hybridism, etc., the accent was strengthened as they were received not simply as threats to the moral or social order but to the stately national project coming into being. The tough reactions are also the result of policing traditions and the local experience of the almsgiving.

If there is something to be objected to both authors is their almost exclusive focus on the productions concerned with the homeland Gypsies. In the context of a flourishing travel literature which was greedily consumed by a growing reading market during the 18th and 19th centuries it is curious that only glimpses to the Spanish Gypsies respectively Eastern European Gypsies are offered (Borrow, Grellmann, Block, Alscher). I think that a more complete image and even a new context of identity exploration could have fruitfully be explored also by considering the link with the antechamber of the Orient – the Gypsies of Eastern Europe.

“INVENTING EASTERN EUROPE” IN IRELAND, 1848-1918

Róisín Healy,

Department of History, Galway, National University of Ireland

Abstract: *Maria Todorova has warned against assuming a homogeneous view of Eastern Europe among Western Europeans. This article argues that Irish discourse on Eastern Europe was more positive than British discourse in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While those who supported the closure of the separate Irish parliament in the Act of Union of 1801 echoed the Orientalism dominant in Britain, those who opposed it sympathised with the struggles of subject nations in Central and Eastern Europe for self-determination and even posited a parallel between Ireland and these nations. Irish nationalists were drawn especially to Poland and Hungary, whose political paths seemed to match Ireland's most closely. They also displayed a distinct preference for the Christian, particularly Catholic, communities of the region. The minority who chose to side with Germany in World War One had to jettison their sympathy for its Polish minority, however, in an effort to justify the alliance. With few opportunities for direct contact, the Irish used Eastern Europe predominantly as a foil for their own political struggles. Thus the main emotion Irish nationalists felt when they observed the establishment of new states in the region by the Paris Treaties of 1919 was envy. Only after fighting the War of Independence from 1919 to 1921 did Irish nationalists have their own state to boast of.*

Keywords: *Orientalism; Balkanism; nationalism; Catholicism; Ireland.*

In his path-breaking book, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (1994), Larry Wolff argued that “Eastern Europe” existed as a cultural construct long before it became a political unit as a result of the territorial division of Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War. He showed that, as far back as the eighteenth century, the idea that the major civilisational border in Europe lay between East and West, rather than North and South, was gaining ground. And this new region of “Eastern Europe”, he insisted, was a product of the imaginations not of its own inhabitants, but of Western Europeans. But while he drew on sources written in English, French and German, he paid little attention to national variations in the general view of Eastern Europe as mysterious, backward and barbaric, let alone dissent from it¹. In her 1997 work, *Imagining the Balkans*, Maria Todorova explicitly distanced herself from such a homogenising view of the West or “Occidentalism”². She insisted on the influence of the observer's own experiences on his/her view of the East: “Everyone has had one's own Orient,

¹ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, Cal., Stanford University Press, 1994.

² Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. IX.

pertaining to space or time, most often to both. The perception of the Orient has been, therefore, relational, depending on the normative value set and the observation point”³. Her own work exemplified this approach. She revealed, for instance, a more positive view of the Ottoman Empire among Italians than Germans as well as the emergence of a minority anti-Turkish position in Britain from the 1860s⁴.

Todorova left open the possibility of further variations within Western discourse on the Balkans and, by extension, Eastern Europe, which is taken here to mean all lands East of modern-day Germany, Austria, and Italy. The view from Ireland is particularly interesting in this context. On the one hand, Irish writers shared and contributed to the dominant British view of Eastern Europe, as Wolff and Todorova described it. The novel, *Dracula*, seemed so fit so neatly into this view that Vesna Goldsworthy failed to note that its author, Bram Stoker, was Irish rather than English. In her study of literary representations of the Balkans, she wrote: “The Balkan worlds of popular imagination are peopled by British creations. Bram Stoker’s Transylvania and Anthony Hope’s Ruritania are arguably the best-known brand names produced in this imaginative takeover of the Balkans”⁵. On the other hand, Irish nationalists repeatedly asserted parallels between Ireland and Eastern Europe. Indeed far from distancing themselves from Eastern Europe, Irish nationalists rebranded Ireland as part of Eastern Europe with new appellations such as “Poland of the Sea” and “Hungary of the West”⁶. Eastern Europe became a site of inspiration from the early nineteenth century as the subject nations of the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman empires, like Ireland, sought greater independence.

If both of these approaches to Eastern Europe - the conformist and the subversive - proceeded from the same geographical “observation point”, they did not share the same “normative value set,” to use Todorova’s terms. This article traces the various views of Eastern Europe found in Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and seeks to explain them within the Irish and broader European context. This was a time of unprecedented Irish and international interest in the region, largely as a result of the numerous national conflicts that erupted there with increasing intensity from the 1860s. Ireland’s position at Europe’s Western periphery meant that there was little direct contact

³ *Ibidem*, p.12.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 66 and p. 97-100.

⁵ Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1998, p. x.

⁶ “The Irish People”, 5 December 1863 and William Butler Yeats, “How Ferencz Renyi kept silent” cited in William O’Reilly and Andrea Penz, *Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit als imperative Postulate: Nationale Bewegung in Irland und Ungarn im Vergleich (1780-1870)*, Graz, Leykam Verlag, 2006, p. 16. The eponymous hero was a (possibly fictional) Hungarian patriot. The poem was first published in the Boston periodical, *The Pilot* in 1887.

with the region. Established patterns of travel and migration brought the Irish to Britain, Western continental Europe and the New World but rarely to destinations East, and few Eastern Europeans, even those who sought refuge in Britain, visited, let alone settled, in Ireland. Thus information on Eastern Europe was predominantly second-hand, gleaned from newspapers and literature. Interest largely followed geography, declining from West to East, from the "historic nations" of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia to the emergent nations of the Russian and Ottoman empires, and history, prompted by political events in the region. Irish discourse on Eastern Europe was largely rhetorical as there were few opportunities for Irish people to influence the region. Thus, it functioned mainly as a channel for discussion of events at home.

The instrumentalisation of Eastern Europe in Irish politics was by no means an innovation of the nineteenth century. While expressions of interest in Eastern Europe before this time were limited and patchy, the idea of a link between Ireland and the East was already a millennium old. Origin myths from the ninth century, three centuries before the Anglo-Normans arrived in Ireland, claimed that the Irish were descended from waves of foreign settlers who included the Scythians and Egyptians⁷. As Joseph Lennon has shown, the apparent blood connection created in Ireland a sense of affinity with the East, which endured right up to the modern period and distinguished Irish Orientalism from its British and French counterparts⁸. Ironically, English visitors and settlers also subscribed to the parallel between Ireland and the East, but proceeded from a very different understanding of the latter. In his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, written in 1598, Edmund Spenser, poet and secretary to the lord deputy of Ireland, mentioned the Scythian origins of the Irish only to buttress his argument about the innate savagery of the Irish people - the Scythians were deemed to be the most barbaric of all the peoples in the ancient world⁹. He went on to recommend that the native Irish social and political order be wiped out by force and replaced by English, Protestant rule. In this sense English views of the East helped to justify the conquest of Ireland.

It was only in the last decade of the eighteenth century, however, that the notion of a parallel between Ireland and Eastern Europe became a significant trope in Irish political discourse. Many observers discerned a parallel between Ireland and Poland, in particular, as both countries saw a dramatic deterioration in their political status against the background of the French revolutionary wars. The United Irishmen, a secret political organisation centred in Belfast and Dublin, launched a rebellion against British rule in 1798 with the

⁷ Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History*, Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 2004, p. xx.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

⁹ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 48.

aid of the French. French military support was inadequate, however, and the British crushed it easily. The organisation's leader, Theobald Wolfe Tone, was arrested and put on trial for treason. In his speech from the dock, he invoked Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who had led the Polish rebellion against the partitioning powers just four years earlier in 1794. They had both failed to gain the independence of their country, Tone admitted, but their cause was no less noble than that of a third revolutionary, George Washington, who had enjoyed the good fortune to defeat his enemy. British reaction to the 1798 Rebellion only added to the appeal of the parallel¹⁰. The Act of Union of 1801 closed the Irish parliament, which had legislated for Irish affairs, and integrated Ireland more closely into the British state, now formally known as the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland. Opponents of the Act compared it to the partitions of Poland, which had already been greeted by opprobrium in Britain, most vocally by Edmund Burke, himself an Irishman¹¹.

As other subject nations of Eastern Europe also began demanding greater autonomy from the centre, whether Berlin, Vienna, Moscow or Constantinople, Irish nationalists looked to them for encouragement in their own struggles. The 1840s represented a decade of intense revolutionary nationalist activity all over the continent, marked in Ireland by the emergence of the Young Ireland movement and its organ, *The Nation*, in 1842. Convinced of the importance of a distinct Irish culture as a basis for political independence, the Young Ireland leader, Thomas Davis, was especially interested in the strategies used by Eastern Europeans, Hungarians and Poles in particular, to preserve their native language. The failure of their own Rising in 1848, combined with the loss of a million of the island's Irish-speaking population in the Great Famine in the latter half of the decade, put the cultural nationalist programme on hold, however¹².

If Poland had been the dominant parallel for Ireland since the 1790s, Hungary now began its status as a rival. As William O'Reilly and Andrea Penz have shown, Irish nationalists saw their own campaign for greater independence mirrored in Hungary's struggle against the centralising and Germanising policies of the Austrian government. The Habsburg Monarchy had provided a guarantee of internal autonomy to Hungary in 1790, including a parliament of

¹⁰ Marianne Elliott, *Wolfe Tone: Prophet of Irish Independence*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1989, p. 393. Elliott used the version of the speech in copies of the original found in Dublin Castle. Later versions made Tone appear more confrontational.

¹¹ Capel Molyneux, *A reply to the memoir of Theobald McKenna, Esq. On some questions touching the projected union of Great Britain and Ireland*, Dublin, H. Fitzpatrick, 1799, p. 36. D.B. Horn, *British Opinion and the First Partition of Poland*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1945, p. 13 and 35.

¹² Helen Mulvey, *Thomas Davis and Ireland: A Biographical Study* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 2003); Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland movement*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1987.

its own, and allowed Magyar to serve as the territory's official language from 1840. The revolution of 1848/49 brought a stark reversal, however. Hungarian nationalists took advantage of the weakened position of the Emperor to demand concessions and then declare a republic in April 1849, only to fall victim to Austria's greater military strength. An anonymous article in the Irish newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal*, argued that Austria's subsequent actions effectively changed Hungary's status within the Habsburg Monarchy to that of Ireland's within the United Kingdom since the Act of Union. Austria closed the Hungarian parliament in Pest and obliged the Hungarian deputies to sit instead in the parliament in Vienna, thus reducing Hungary from an independent kingdom to a province of Austria¹³.

The January Rising of 1863 brought Irish attention back to Poland. Irish nationalists sought to exploit British anger at the severe Russian suppression of the Rising to gain sympathy for their own demands. It was no coincidence that an Irish Member of Parliament, John Pope Hennessey, was the most enthusiastic defender of the Polish cause at Westminster. Thomas McLean has shown that the British were already becoming more suspicious of the Poles as a result of emigrés' associations with left-wing politicians in Britain¹⁴. Hennessey justified the Poles' use of violence on the grounds that Russian policies had left them with no alternative and demanded that Britain intervene to ensure that Russian fulfilled the terms of the Treaty of Vienna, of which it was a signatory. Although a nationalist himself, Hennessey made no mention of Ireland in the debate about Poland, but his insistence on the primacy of popular will at a time of mounting support for Home Rule could be read as a criticism of the Union. He noted that the British people, like the French, wholly supported the Poles in their struggle and that the Russian people disagreed with the policy of their own government, which had no mechanism to express the popular will¹⁵. The former Young Irelander, William Smith O'Brien, on his return from a visit to central and Eastern Europe, tried to use the apparent affinity between Ireland and Poland to urge the formation of an Irish brigade to provide military aid to the Poles. He quickly realised, however, that without knowledge of Polish, French or German, the Irish would be of little use and contented himself with the collection of money instead¹⁶. If a military mission to Poland came to nothing, the consensus in Ireland and indeed in Britain that the Poles were justified in their resort to arms provided encouragement to the military wing of Irish

¹³ O'Reilly and Penz, p. 18 and 91; *Freeman's Journal*, 26th May 1860.

¹⁴ Thomas Edward McLean, *The Other East: Poland, Russia, and British Romanticism*, Ph.D. Univ. of Iowa, July 2004, p. 147.

¹⁵ Hansard (House of Commons Parliamentary Debates), vol. 169, 7 Feb. 1863, p. 883-892.

¹⁶ William Smith O'Brien, *Lecture on Poland*, Dublin, Goodwin, Smith and Netherscott, 1863.

nationalism, the newly formed Irish Republican Brotherhood. A report in the *Irish People* on the IRB's first general convention, in Chicago in November 1863, endorsed the notion of a parallel with Poland, in turn suggesting that violence was a legitimate approach for Irish nationalists. The proceedings, the reporter wrote, "would cause many an Irish heart to thrill with sweet remembrances of his dear old home, the Poland of the sea"¹⁷.

The religious dimension to the January Rising made the parallel with Ireland all the more plausible. The archbishop of Dublin, Cardinal Paul Cullen, formed a Polish solidarity committee and urged Irish Catholics to contribute to a fund to assist Polish priests fleeing the Russians, arguing that history had given the Irish a particular moral responsibility to the Poles:

The scenes now enacted in Poland cannot but remind us of the calamities with which our own dear country was visited in the days of Cromwell and the Puritans, when the streets of our towns ran with the blood of massacred Catholics, and multitudes of Catholic children were torn from their homes and sent to drag out a miserable existence in the swamps of Georgia or on the scorching sands of the Antilles¹⁸.

He also used the opportunity to praise the pope, claiming he was the only European leader to stand up for the Poles. Cullen's call for solidarity with the Poles was also a call for ultramontanist and suggested that the Catholics of Eastern Europe would enjoy special support.

It was perhaps no coincidence that the other Eastern European nation in favour with the Irish at this time, Hungary, also had a majority Catholic population. But its appeal was largely political. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 provided a concrete example of the kind of arrangement that might replace the Union and became an enduring point of reference right through independence in 1922. The Compromise provided for three joint ministries responsible for foreign policy, defence and finance and revived the Hungarian parliament, whose approval was required for all imperial laws. Shortly after its passage, a meeting of Irish priests endorsed it as a model for Ireland¹⁹. They had been particularly offended by the Act of Union's establishment of the Church of Ireland, to which the population, three-quarters of which were Catholic, had to pay tithes. This particular grievance was removed, however, with the establishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869.

The Dual Monarchy's subsequent efforts to satisfy its other minorities also attracted Irish attention. An article in the unionist periodical published by Trinity College, the *Dublin University Review* considered the implications of

¹⁷ *The Irish People*, 5 Dec. 1863. I am indebted to my colleague, Mary Harris, for this reference.

¹⁸ *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, January 1865.

¹⁹ *The Times*, 23 Jan. 1868, cited in O'Reilly and Penz, p. 108-109.

the autonomy granted to Galicia in 1868 on foot of the Compromise with Hungary. Believing Russia to pose the same threat to Europe that Turkey had posed in previous centuries, the *DUR* recommended concessions to the Ruthenians by the Polish-dominated assembly in Lemberg/L'vov. Far from sharing the sympathy of Irish nationalists for the Poles, the article condemned them as "almost all bigoted Romanists" and claimed that intolerance was a "blot on the character of Polish patriotism"²⁰. Lest anyone infer that the Irish also deserved concessions, the *DUR* insisted that Britain had governed Ireland so well that Irish grievances were minimal. Polish misrule, most notably the Catholic fanaticism of King John Casimir, was responsible for Ruthenian discontent. There was in Galicia, according to the *DUR* "a much worse state of feeling than ever existed in Ireland—a feeling which enabled Metternich to keep Galicia quiet by getting the peasants every now and then to "pot" the landowners at so much a head"²¹. The concessions demanded by the Ruthenians were inappropriate to the Irish anyway, the *DUR* suggested. Commenting on demands for state subvention of a Ruthenian theatre in Lemberg, the author scoffed: "fancy a theatre in Tralee, or in "Catholic Killybegs", with patriotic pieces and legendary tales from the Ossianic budget". The parallel was rather unfair—Tralee and Killybegs were small provincial towns, unlike Lemberg, the capital of Galicia²².

The unification of Germany in 1871 and the attacks on Polish Catholics that followed in the *Kulturkampf*, along with forced conversions of Greek Catholics in Russian Poland, reinforced the emotional tie between Irish and Polish nationalists. As an article on the *Kulturkampf* in the *Freeman's Journal* put it in 1872: "Poor Poland, she has had to suffer even as poor Ireland; and this says all that could be said for a tried, a fiercely-tried nationality. Her language is to be estranged from amongst her homesteads, and it shall be treason for her priests to cherish its existence amongst her people. The curse of Poland is the curse of Ireland. Both are Catholic"²³. Not surprisingly, Cardinal Cullen agreed with the idea of a common Catholic martyrdom. He was particularly exercised by the conversions of the Uniates, who followed Eastern rites, but acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. The latter point was crucial in that it made them worthy candidates of Roman Catholic sympathy. Again, Cullen suggested the Irish had special reason to support these Catholics, Ruthenians resident in Russian Poland. This time, he called upon more recent Irish memories - of the famine of the late 1840s. In a pastoral read to the Dublin Archdiocese in May 1877, Cullen informed his Catholic flock that Russia had used not just terrorism to gain converts, but material inducements, just like the

²⁰ *Dublin University Review*, December 1869, p. 689.

²¹ *Dublin University Review*, December 1869, p. 685.

²² *Dublin University Review*, December 1869, p. 689.

²³ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March 1872.

notorious “soupers” who had persuaded Irish Catholics to convert to Protestantism by feeding them soup when they were starving²⁴.

Gladstone’s Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 refocused attention on the political dimension of Ireland’s relationship to Eastern Europe. By the mid-1880s the Liberal leader had become convinced that the only way of settling the Irish question was Home Rule, by which he meant a separate Irish parliament for Irish matters, a new fiscal relationship between Britain and Ireland and a review of the practice of Irish MPs sitting at Westminster²⁵. While Gladstone argued that Britain was far behind other European powers in satisfying its ethnic minorities, attempts to justify Home Rule by comparisons with Eastern Europe met strong resistance from unionists who feared, in their catchphrase, that “Home Rule was Rome Rule”, domination by the Catholic majority. *The Times* of London managed to get the former Austrian Foreign Minister, Friedrich Ferdinand Graf von Beust, to deny any parallel between Ireland and Hungary in order to undermine the First Home Rule Bill of 1886. Beust pointed out that Hungary, unlike Ireland, had enjoyed a state of its own in the past and still spoke its own language, thus giving it a greater claim to self-government²⁶. In response to demands to apply the Galician model to Ireland, the unionist organ, *The Irish Times*, claimed that the country would be worse off under the arrangement. It pointed specifically to the fact that Galicians were subject to trial without jury for speaking or acting against the government, mischievously noting the likely consequences for the supporters of Home Rule, Gladstone and the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Charles Stewart Parnell: “One would think an Irish slavery which in other countries is called licence would be preferable to a Polish independence under which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell assuredly would at this moment be undergoing penal servitude among common felons”²⁷. Given the failure of the Home Rule Bill of 1886 to gain a majority at Westminster, Gladstone lamented in a speech in 1888 that, in its current position, Ireland had to bypass all of Western Europe and look to Poland to find a parallel with its situation. He had, of course, Russian rather than Austrian Poland in mind²⁸.

The efforts of new nations to cast off Ottoman rule, particularly from the 1870s, propelled southeastern Europe to the front pages of newspapers all over Europe. For the most part, Irish nationalists sympathised with these Balkan nations. As Florian Keisinger has recently shown, Irish newspapers, with the exception of *The Irish Times*, shared the English liberal position on the Balkans,

²⁴ Text reproduced in *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 May 1877.

²⁵ David George Boyce, *The Irish Question in British Politics, 1868-1996*, 2nd ed., London, Macmillan, 1996, p. 31.

²⁶ *The Times*, 2 April 1886, cited in O’Reilly and Penz, p. 125.

²⁷ *The Irish Times*, 7 September 1888.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, 25 August 1888.

which condemned Ottoman rule as tyrannical and supported the nationalist ambitions of the region's subject peoples. Thus while *The Irish Times* held the emergent Balkan states responsible for the atrocities that characterised the wars, the other Irish papers blamed the Turks²⁹. Keisinger identified two Irishmen who were incensed enough by the Turks' treatment of the Bulgarians to lend practical help. A former teacher from Cork fought alongside the Bulgarians and Pierce O'Mahony set up an orphanage in Sofia in 1904 for children who had lost their parents in the conflict³⁰. A third Irishman, John David Bouchier from Bruff, in County Limerick reported from the Balkans from 1888 to 1920, from 1892 as correspondent for the London *Times*. His journalism, which included reflective pieces in the *Fortnightly Review*, entries on Greece, Romania and Bulgaria in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, as well as on-site reports on four wars in the region were influential in shaping British opinion on the Balkans. Although his background was typically unionist – he was a Protestant of Anglo-Irish stock – his sympathies again lay with nations seeking to break free of Turkish rule, especially Bulgaria, Macedonia and Crete. Indeed his identification with the peasants of the region led him so far as to adopt local peasant dress. He stopped short, however, of endorsing local Christian attacks on Moslems and engaged in a lengthy investigation of atrocities by Bulgarians against Pomaks for the London *Times*³¹.

Irish nationalist observers, on the other hand, made obvious their preference for Christian nations. Part of the reason they were so enthusiastic about Poland throughout this period was the memory of the role of its king, John Sobieski, in halting the Ottoman invasion of Europe at Vienna in 1683. In the midst of the First Balkan War, the provincial daily, the *Southern Star* pointed out the extent of Europe's debt to the Poles: "They [the Turks] would have destroyed European civilisation utterly if Poland had not bled herself white breaking their power. Then she met the fate of Ireland from the "Christian" nations, who fattened while she fought. But time works all things out". If Poland had not got the praise it deserved, now at East, the report boasted, the Greeks and the Serbs were finally bringing the Turks' torment of the Slavs to an end³². On the other hand, Russia's persecution of Catholics, both Roman and Greek, made Irish nationalists wary of a Pan-Slavic alternative to the Ottoman Empire. As Cardinal Cullen said "Ireland does not love the Turk, but neither

²⁹ Florian Keisinger, *Unzivilisierte Kriege im zivilisierten Europa? Die Balkankriege und die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland, England und Irland 1876-1913*, *Krieg in der Geschichte* 47, Paderborn, Schöningh, 2008, p. 14.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 151.

³¹ Michael Foley, "John David Bouchier: an Irish Journalist in the Balkans," *Irish Communications Review* 2007 <http://bouchier.info/index.php?mid=18>

³² *Southern Star*, 23 November 1912.

does Ireland love the savage and anti-Catholic Cossack”³³. The *Freeman's Journal* accused Gladstone of hypocrisy for condemning the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876 but not the forced conversions of the Uniates, which was happening at the same time³⁴. The logic of ultramontanist placed the Uniates ahead of the Orthodox Bulgarians in the hierarchy of Catholic objects of sympathy. Catholicism thus challenged the acceptance in Ireland of the British liberal position on the Balkans.

The most famous account of the Balkans by an Irishman was fictional, however – the gothic novel, *Dracula* written by Bram Stoker and first published in 1897. Far from expressing any affinity for Eastern Europe, however, it appeared to perpetuate the stereotype so well documented by Wolff for the early modern period. Vesna Goldsworthy sees it as part of a Western European Gothic tradition, whose site of action shifted from southern Catholic Europe to the more complex Balkans from the 1870s, as the region gained more international attention³⁵. Yet recent readings of *Dracula* have suggested that the Irish background of the author was key to its message and that Transylvania was in fact code for Ireland. The word Transylvania, meaning “beyond the forest”, several critics have claimed, echoes the phrase “beyond the Pale”, a fenced boundary around greater Dublin, which marked the extent of English in Ireland from late medieval times. The word “Dracula” conceivably comes from the Gaelic compound “drochfhola”, meaning bad blood and pronounced much like the eponymous character. Living in a big house and terrorising the locals, while spending considerable time away, Dracula fits the mould of the pariah of nineteenth-century Irish nationalism, the absentee landlord. In this reading, the novel is an attack on the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy class³⁶. Some of the similarities used to support the Transylvania as Ireland reading appear strained, however: Ireland and Transylvania are hardly the only places in Europe to have a history of successive conquests by different races or a combination of famine and plague. And the novel is so dense as to defy one fixed reading. Joseph Valente has pointed out that the character of Dracula contains other elements that appear to represent the opposite of the Anglo-Irish landlord, the Fenian—his belief in the redemptive quality of patriotic blood sacrifice, his efforts to pass as

³³ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 May 1877, cited in Keisinger, p. 156.

³⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 8 May 1877.

³⁵ Goldsworthy, *op. cit.*, p. 74-76.

³⁶ Stephen D. Arata, “The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization,” *Victorian Studies* 33, 4 (1990), p. 621-45. David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1996, Michael Valdez Moses, “The Irish Vampire: *Dracula*, Parnell, and the Troubled Dreams of Nationhood,” *Journal X* 2, 1 (1997), p. 66-111; Sarah Goss, “*Dracula* and the Spectre of Famine,” in George Cusack and Sarah Goss, ed., *Hungry Words: Images of Famine in the Irish Canon*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2006, 77-107.

English in England, and his commitment to secretive nocturnal activity. Valente plausibly argues that this dual symbolism makes *Dracula* an attack on cultural essentialism itself and a plea to Britain to respect Ireland's difference. Stoker, he reminds us, was himself of mixed heritage, born to a father of English Protestant stock and mother of a native Irish family and a supporter of Home Rule³⁷. *Dracula* remains an Irish novel as in earlier readings, but its Balkanism becomes more ambivalent.

Stoker's text was opaque enough, however, not to force a response on the Irish question from his readers. In any event, unionists from both Britain and Ireland were quick to deny that lessons could be learned from the Balkans for British policy in Ireland. In a recent dissertation, Neval Berber noted many comparisons drawn by travellers from Britain and Ireland to Bosnia-Herzegovina. These observers viewed both places as backward peripheries of bigger states and recognised that landlords and peasants in each were united by language but divided by religion. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Muslim beys and Christian rayah spoke the same South Slav language, while the Protestant landlords and Catholic peasants of Ireland, for the most part, spoke English. Yet while racial caricatures of the inhabitants of both Ireland and the Balkans abounded in Victorian Britain, British observers generally placed the Irish at a stage of civilisation above the Bosnians because of the benefits of British rule. Committed to a pro-Turkish foreign policy, conservative opponents of Home Rule for Ireland conceded that the Irish were more worthy of self-government, if only to show that the Bosnians most definitely were not. The Conservative leader, Benjamin Disraeli argued that "autonomy for Ireland would be less absurd" than for Bosnia. James Creagh from County Clare, who served in the British army and travelled to the Balkans in 1875, asserted in the account he published the following year, *Over the borders of Christendom and Eslamiah*, that the Irish were better able for independence than the Bosnians³⁸.

If the Austro-Hungarian Compromise had featured as a potential model for Irish Home Rule since 1867, the reasons for Austria's readiness to cede autonomy in the first place became the focus of debates in the decade before the First World War. The occasion was the publication of Arthur Griffith's *The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland*, in 1904. The book, 20,000 copies of which were sold within three months of publication, used the example of Hungary to argue for a more radical approach to the Irish question than

³⁷ Joseph Valente, *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness, and the Question of Blood*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2002, p. 51-59.

³⁸ Neval Berber, *The Image of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of Bosnian Muslims in British Travel Writing, 1848-1914*, Ph.D. thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2007, p. 207-32 and "The Irish Paradigm in the 19th Century British Discourse on Bosnia-Herzegovina," in Steven Ellis and Ludá Klusákova, ed., *Imagining Frontiers: Contesting Identities*, Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2007, p. 319-338.

majority nationalist opinion allowed³⁹. Its author, a journalist, maintained that Ferenc Déak's policy of abstention from the imperial parliament established in 1849 had forced Austria into conceding autonomy to Hungary in 1867. Griffith believed that if Irish MPs decided to abstain from Westminster, they too could force Britain into granting greater autonomy for Ireland. Although mooted in the past, abstention had never been attempted and did not have the support of the majority of Irish MPs, who belonged to the Irish Parliamentary Party led by John Redmond. Griffith further saw the Compromise as a blueprint for a future settlement. Like the Irish Parliamentary Party, he was willing to allow the British monarch to continue as head of state. Where he departed from the main nationalist party was in demanding full internal legislative independence for a new Irish parliament. Redmond, by contrast, was content to allow Westminster the final say over acts passed in Ireland⁴⁰. A letter from a reader of *The Anglo-Celt* reflected the IPP view. The author, T.M. Farrelly, argued that defeat at Sadowa in 1866, not Hungarian abstention, was responsible for the Compromise of 1868 and that the Compromise itself delivered little—Hungarians were still paying taxes to the Austrians⁴¹.

If Griffith looked to Eastern Europe for a new constitutional arrangement for Ireland, cultural nationalists looked to it for a boost for the Irish language. By 1891, the numbers who could speak Irish had dropped to 680,245, just 14.5% of the population. The foundation of Conradh na Gaeilge or the Gaelic League in 1893 and the publication of its Irish-language paper, *An Claidheamh Soluis* (*The Sword of Light*), was designed to halt the decline. Irish cultural nationalists saw in the survival of indigenous languages in Eastern Europe, particularly those under threat from the homogenising impulses of imperial powers, hope for the future of the Irish language. At a meeting of the Gaelic League in 1908 in County Monaghan, after a speech on Poland, Prof. Tierney of the local seminary commented that Ireland was like Poland in many ways and that those “who were trying to revive the Irish language should take a lesson from the Poles”⁴². An article in *The Leader*, an English-language periodical which contained articles in Irish, celebrated the Hungarian, Count Stephen Szechenyi, for his efforts in promoting Magyar in an article clearly designed to inspire those at home. It was entitled “How a Language was Revived”⁴³.

It was difficult to overlook the fact, however, that Eastern Europeans had been far more successful than the Irish in preserving their native languages.

³⁹ Arthur Griffith, *The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland*, with an introduction by Patrick Murray, Dublin, University College Dublin Press, 2003, p. viii.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. xiv-xv.

⁴¹ *The Anglo-Celt*, 11 July 1907.

⁴² *Ibidem*, 15 February 1908.

⁴³ *The Leader*, 9 August 1913.

Examples from Eastern Europe could thus slip from sources of encouragement to reproach. At a League meeting in Dunmanway, County Cork, Fr. W. Murphy told those present that the Irish language should be as important to the Irish as their own languages were to the peoples of "Wales, Bohemia, Finland, Bulgaria, Servia, Poland, Brittany, Catalonia and Hungary"⁴⁴. At the end of an article, "The Poles Fight for their Language", describing the Poles' resistance to Russian and German attacks on their language, the author rebuked his readers:

Must not such struggles excite our sympathy, such efforts move our admiration, such patriotism make us ashamed of our too weak efforts to stand up and assert our nationality, not against law, but the more insidious influences of fashion?⁴⁵

The true obstacle, he was suggesting, to the revival of the language was not government policy, but the Irish people's sacrifice of cultural authenticity to dreams of social advance, which the English language seemed to promise.

The First and Second Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 opened up the possibility of several small nations finally gaining the full independence they had demanded in previous decades and inspired Irish nationalists in their own struggle. The Third Home Rule Bill was introduced into the House of Commons in April 1912, but provoked strong opposition from Protestants in the province of Ulster. A minority of Irish nationalists believed force might be necessary to ensure Home Rule for the island as a whole or even to move beyond it. The Fenian periodical, *Irish Freedom*, used the attack of the coalition of Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece on the Ottoman Empire to justify its own commitment to physical force as a means of settling the Irish question. To the question "What Frees the Brave?" it answered: "The sword!" The more moderate *Freeman's Journal* was more sanguine. In endorsing the parallel between Ireland and Bulgaria, it put the emphasis on the country's cultural revival:

The artillery of Bulgaria won her battles, but there were greater forces which made Bulgaria. The triumph of Bulgaria is a triumph for the ideas which made her nationality ... as well as a triumph for her Creusot guns⁴⁶.

Unionists looked to Eastern Europe too. Ironically, the Ulster Unionist leader, Andrew Bonar Law, resorted to an old nationalist trope when he

⁴⁴ *Southern Star*, 15 March 1913.

⁴⁵ *The Leader*, 17 January 1914.

⁴⁶ *Irish Freedom*, December 1912 and *Freeman's Journal*, 22 November 1912, cited in Keisinger, *op. cit.*, p.170.

compared the imposition of Home Rule on the province to the partition of Poland as lacking the consent of the local populations⁴⁷.

A similar reworking of Poland's image occurred among radical nationalists occurred before and during the First World War to fit with their decision to ally with England's enemies as the best prospect for gaining independence for Ireland. Arthur Griffith and his followers in the Sinn Féin Party he founded in 1905 acknowledged oppression of Poles only in the Russian partition and even echoed German nationalists in their defence of German rule in Poland and Alsace-Lorraine. Its newspaper of the same name, *Sinn Féin*, pointed to the increased population and prosperity of Prussian Poland and Alsace-Lorraine as evidence of the benevolence of German rule⁴⁸. Roger Casement, civil servant turned anti-British conspirator, rubbished the prediction by novelist Arthur Conan Doyle that a victorious Germany would suppress Ireland's language and culture, just as it had that of Poland. Casement argued that the speaking of Polish had not declined under the Germans, which, while true, was certainly the opposite of German intentions⁴⁹. The moderate nationalist majority, who decided to volunteer to fight on Britain's side in the First World War in order to ensure the implementation of Home Rule—a third bill had been passed in September 1914 but suspended for the duration of the war—insisted on the old image of Poland as victim. An article in the *National Volunteer*, the organ of the Redmondite majority, demonised the Prussian government, describing a Prussian official, “with his whip brandished over the Polish child greatly daring to pray to God and the Virgin ... in the language of their fathers”. While the author acknowledged the similarity with Ireland's past experience, he was quick to note the efforts that England had made to compensate for this in recent years⁵⁰. The same argument was made in a pamphlet, *Ireland and Poland: A Comparison*, by W.R. Rolleston, a senior figure in the Celtic literary revival and supporter of the Union. Comparing Ireland only to the Prussian partition, the author argued that British rule in Ireland was far superior, as evidenced by the flood of reforms in the spheres of religion, agriculture, education and local government, among others, since 1869.

Published in 1917, a year after the Easter Rising in Dublin, the need to justify continued Irish loyalty to Britain, Rolleston's pamphlet had a greater sense of urgency. Those responsible for the Rising, while initially unpopular, won widespread retrospective support through the subsequent execution of its leaders. Sinn Féin was the beneficiary of the radicalisation of Irish opinion. It

⁴⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 December 1913.

⁴⁸ *Sinn Féin*, 14 November 1914, cited in Joachim Fischer, *Das Deutschlandbild der Iren 1890-1939: Geschichte, Form, Funktion*, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000, p. 187.

⁴⁹ Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁵⁰ *National Volunteer*, 7 November 1914, cited in Fischer, p. 169.

continued to look to Eastern Europe for encouragement. One of its election fliers announced that "Poland is now Sinn Féin", a reference to the decision of Polish deputies to withdraw from the Austrian parliament. It noted that Britain had recognised Polish independence and that Austria was to hand over administration of its Polish territories to the new government⁵¹. But while Sinn Féin won a majority of Irish votes in the 1918 elections and its elected deputies proceeded to abstain from Westminster, Ireland did not win independence as easily and quickly as many Eastern European states. A cartoon in *The Leader*, entitled "Czecho-slovaks and Ireland", showed the Irish nationalist leader, Eamon De Valera, in prison for his part in the Easter Rising, while a Czechoslovak in national dress celebrated his country's freedom. Underneath was a poem noting all the other Eastern European nations that, unlike Ireland, were now independent⁵². It took the War of Independence and the sacrifice of six counties of Ulster before Irish nationalists could themselves celebrate their country's freedom in 1922.

This freedom marked the culmination of assertions of a distinct national identity, which had been expressed in part throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Irish discourse on Europe. While English liberals generally endorsed self-determination for the subject nations of the German, Austrian, Russian and Ottoman empires, Irish nationalists went a step further, insofar as they identified with these Eastern Europeans. Their own history, as they understood it, allowed them to empathise with others who suffered the homogenising policies of imperial governments. The influence of Catholicism in Ireland encouraged the formation of a hierarchy of Eastern European nations from Poland at the top, followed by Hungary, to the Orthodox and Muslim peoples of the Balkans at the bottom. If the notion of a parallel between Ireland and Eastern Europe served nationalists well in providing a sense of solidarity and challenging the British to support self-determination at home, it offered Irish unionists little. They, like British conservatives, refuted any parallel, insisting on the superiority of British rule in Ireland to that of any other empire to the East. The cases of Stoker and Bourchier show, however, that there were voices in between these two poles. Moreover, Irish views of Eastern Europe were not fixed, as the events of the First World War demonstrate. Radical nationalists were willing to sacrifice the Prussian Poles, for instance, to accommodate an alliance with Germany. Ireland's various "Eastern Europes" were, like those of other Europeans, inventions that reflected developments at home rather than in the region itself. And given Ireland's own subordinate status, they had precious little impact on the lives of Eastern Europeans.

⁵¹ "Poland Free! An Object Lesson for Ireland", Sinn Féin pamphlet, printed by Joe Stanley. I am indebted to my colleague, John Cunningham, for providing me with a copy of this.

⁵² *The Leader*, 2 November 1918.

IDENTITÄTSENTWÜRFE VON ROMA-FRAUEN AUS TIMIȘOARA¹ - STEREOTYPEN VON PARTNERSCHAFT, EHE UND SEXUALITÄT

Tanja Oster,

Ludwig Maximilians Universität, München, Germany

Abstract: *Identity Constructions of the Romani Women in Timisoara. Stereotypes Regarding Paternity, Marriage and Sexuality.* The purpose of this study is to investigate the interplay of ethno-cultural stereotypes in processes of identity construction by studying auto-stereotypes and hetero-stereotypes of relationship, sexuality and marriage among individual Romani women in western Romania. Following an ethnographical methodology – problem focused guided interviews within the framework of three-month participant observation – the hermeneutical analysis suggests that Romani women are re-organizing the mostly negative hetero-stereotypes in order to create and maintain flexible pictures of the self. However, their heterogeneous identity constructions also reflect fundamental cultural notions of the gendered and ethnicized self. Consistent with anthropological approaches to the intersection of social categories in every-day lives, the results furthermore mirror the interdependency of ethnicity, gender and class within the Romani women's discursive constructions of identity.

Keywords: Romani women; gender identity; reproduction-education; discrimination and emancipation strategies.

Vorüberlegungen

„Die könnten doch wenigstens aufhören Sex zu haben (*să facă sex*), wenn sie schon wissen, dass sie nix zu essen haben. [...] Sie haben auch keine Papiere [Ausweisdokumente] und kommen dann zu mir, damit ich ihre Kinder in der Schule einschreibe... [...] Wie stellen sie sich das vor?“, machte sich Dana nach einem langen Tag außer Haus Luft². Vormittags hatte sie Romanes-

¹ Der vorliegende Artikel gibt einen Teil meiner Magisterarbeit mit dem Titel »„Die können ja nur Kinder und Essen machen“ – Selbstentwürfe rumänischer Roma-Frauen« an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München wieder. Er beschränkt sich auf Stereotypisierungen im Bereich Partnerschaft, Ehe und Sexualität – was in der Magisterarbeit neben der charakteristischen Schönheit und ethno-kulturell wie moralisch angemessener Kleidung einer Roma-Frau als dritter thematischer Strang herausgearbeitet wurde.

² Aus Gründen der Distanzierung als Forscherin und des Schutzes des Gegenübers im „Feld“ wurden Ortsangaben, der Name der Zigeunerinnen-Organisation sowie Personennamen fiktionalisiert. Zur Betonung der singulären und historisch einmaligen Feldsituationen wird empirisches Material zudem bewußt im „ethnographic past“ wiedergegeben. Hinter der Übersetzung von Passagen des Feldmaterials werden jeweils dann die rumänischsprachigen Ausdrücke meiner Gesprächspartnerinnen angegeben, wenn durch

Unterricht an zwei Grundschulen gegeben und war dann in die Jura-Vorlesungen geeilt; hatte am Nachmittag den Kindern „armer“ Roma-Frauen bei den Hausaufgaben geholfen und hatte den täglichen Besuch bei der Familie ihres Verlobten Cătă absolviert. Durch ihr Studium war sie Cătă und anderen jungen Menschen begegnet, die im Gegensatz zu ihr „in dem Bewusstsein aufgewachsen waren, Roma zu sein“³. Nun, beim gemeinsamen Abendessen mit anderen Roma-Studierenden in der Zigeunerinnen-Organisation, war Dana entnervt von der unkontrollierten und völlig unüberlegten Fortpflanzung der „armen“ Frauen „aus der Kolonie“ (*colonie*), einigen Straßenzügen am Stadtrand Timișoaras. Denn mit den Konsequenzen sah sich die 21jährige Dana ständig konfrontiert. Im Vergleich zu ihnen hob sie die Kontrolle und Rationalität ihres eigenen Reproduktionsverhalten hervor – Ehefrau und Mutter sein, das kam für Dana erst nach Absolvieren ihres Studiums in Frage.

Die vorliegende Fallstudie will Einblicke in den lebensweltlichen Mikrokosmos individueller Roma-Frauen aus Timișoara geben: Dana ist eine der Frauen⁴. Im Westen Rumäniens gelegen, ist Timișoara nur eine von vielen Städten, in denen Rumänen, Magyaren, Deutsche, Serben und andere ethnische Gruppen neben verschiedenen Roma-Gruppen lebten und leben. Von den vermutlich mehr als 3.000 Roma unter den ca. 310.000 Einwohnern der Stadt kommen neben Dana noch Corneli und Doamna Mia über ihre Vorstellungen von Partnerschaft, Ehe und Sexualität zu Wort⁵. Die Parallelen zwischen Danas

eine Übersetzung ins Deutsche die Griffigkeit verloren ginge bzw. feste Redeweisen verwendet wurden. Die Übersetzungen wurden selbst vorgenommen.

³ Vorstellungen der Roma-Frauen von Weiblichkeit entstehen in der Interaktion der Geschlechter. Die Problematik, als weibliche Nicht-Roma Zugang zu männlichen Roma zu erhalten, wird in der einschlägigen Literatur jedoch immer wieder attestiert und wurde auch in der eigenen, gendersensiblen Forschung bestätigt. Der eingengegte Fokus auf Roma-Frauen erlaubt daher nur Aussagen über die Selbstpositionierungen der Roma-Frauen in Bezug zu anderen Frauen.

⁴ Ein Blick in die jüngere Geschichte Rumäniens verweist mit der offiziellen Änderung der Schreibweise der Minderheit in „Romi“ auf die stärker werdenden diskursiven Abgrenzungen der Bevölkerungsmehrheit von den „Romi“, liefert jedoch keine Alternative zum „Țigan“-Begriff. Aus pragmatischen Gründen wurde daher das Konstrukt „Roma-Frauen“ gewählt, dessen Bedeutung in der Romanes-Sprache „der Mensch“ am neutralsten zu sein scheint. Jedoch evoziert dieser Begriff durch seinen homogenisierenden Charakter implizit eine ethnische Großgruppe der Roma. Eine Einordnung der Protagonistinnen des Forschungsfeldes in diese Großgruppe bzw. ein Vergleich von „Zigeunerstämmen“ auf Meta-Ebene würde die akkulturierten Frauen ausschließen und im Sinne der Zuschreibungen als „unechte“ Roma abwerten, weil sie etwa eine so genannte Kontraktehe ablehnen, sich aber kulturell dennoch als Roma begreifen (vgl. Okely, 1983, 10-11). Dies kann durch die Verwendung des Roma-Begriffs als relative Bezeichnung und das Umreißen des konkreten Interaktionsfeldes zur Aushandlung kultureller Zugehörigkeit umschifft werden.

⁵ Die Zahlen entstammen der Volkszählung aus dem Jahr 2002. Remus Crețan vermutet

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

eingangs geschilderten Aussagen und dem erotisierenden und exotisierenden Blick der Mehrheitsgesellschaft insbesondere auf die Roma-Frau, sind nicht zu übersehen. Dieser entfremdende Blick baut stereotype Fremdbilder auf, die sich häufig weit von alltäglichen Realitäten entfernen und Roma-Frauen etwa als „sexuell unkontrollierte Țigănci“ mit einer schier unübersichtlichen Schar von Kindern abbilden⁶. Das gesellschaftlich dominierende Bild unterscheidet nicht zwischen unterschiedlichen Roma-Gruppierungen geschweige denn, dass es individuellen Roma flexible Selbstpositionierungen erlaubt, die gar jenseits einer Selbsteinordnung in eine bestimmte Roma-Gruppe liegen. Es misst jedem Einzelnen ein- und dieselben Eigenschaften bei. Daher werden hier Aussagen und Handlungen individueller Frauen in den Blick genommen, die diese stereotypen Bilder von Roma-Gruppen in sich aufnehmen und verwenden – gerade weil ihre Stimmen selbst in akademischen Kreisen bislang kaum gehört wurden. Das gilt erst recht für mein Geburtsland Rumänien. Bestehende Publikationen werden dominiert von anwendungsorientierten bzw. quantitativen Arbeiten, die auf Armut und Ausgrenzung fokussieren. Diese nehmen selten eine subjektorientierte und gender-sensible Perspektive ein, die auch subjektive Innensichten einbezieht.

Der ethnologische Ansatz hingegen ermöglicht es, Stereotypen im Zusammenhang von Identitätskonstruktionen zu untersuchen und durch das Schreiben „kleiner“ Alltagsgeschichten die Strukturen und Prozesse hinter abstrakten Datenbergen etwa über Fertilität, Pro-Kopf-Einkommen oder die Anzahl legalisierter Ehen unter Roma offenzulegen. Durch das Einnehmen einer individuellen Perspektive tritt die konkrete Funktion der ethnisierten Fremdwahrnehmungen für die Roma-Frauen zu Tage. Dana wie auch die anderen untersuchten Roma-Frauen kennen die entfremdenden Bilder von der Țigăncă in den Köpfen des rumänischen Durchschnittsbürgers nicht nur zu Genüge, sie wissen damit in ihrem Alltag auch geschickt umzugehen. Die Frauen konstruieren ihre kulturelle Identität, indem sie einerseits auf andere Roma verweisen und anderer-

jedoch, dass – analog zur landesweiten Anzahl rumänischer Bürger, die sich offiziell als Roma ansehen – tatsächlich mehr Roma in der Stadt leben (vgl. Crețan, 2007, 37). In diese Stoßrichtung argumentiert auch der Berater für die Probleme der Roma an der Präfektur Timișoara und untermauert seine Vermutung anhand der über 4.000 Roma-Schülern in der Stadt.

⁶ Die Begrifflichkeiten, die Personengruppen der Romanies zu beschreiben versuchen, sind zahlreich. Jeder Begriff ist Ausdruck seiner jeweiligen nationalen, kulturellen und politischen Traditionen – sei es „Zigeuner“, „Gypsies“ oder „Țigani“. Trotz ihres hohen Wiedererkennungswertes in der jeweiligen Alltagssprache, sind diese Begriffe zumeist negativ aufgeladen und zitieren oftmals eine lange Geschichte extremer Abwertungen und Diskriminierungen. Das kann den Blick auf durchaus positive Bedeutungen in der Selbstwahrnehmung individueller Menschen verstellen. Der Țigan- bzw. Țigăncă-Begriff wird hier vorwiegend im Kontext der stereotypen Stilisierungen von Roma-Frauen beibehalten.

seits auf stereotype Vorstellungen der Mehrheitsgesellschaft rekurren. Die von den ihnen situativ aktivierten Selbst- und Fremdbilder können nicht nur als ihre „persönliche Problematik“ verstanden werden. Sie sind vielmehr in die hegemonialen Vorstellungen der rumänischen Mehrheitsgesellschaft von den Țigani eingebettet. Gerade die Kombination von ethnischen Hetero- und Autostereotypen in den Identitätskonstruktionen der Roma-Frauen ist von besonderer Bedeutung für ihre diskursiven Selbstpositionierungen. Im Mittelpunkt der Studie steht der Umgang der drei Roma-Frauen mit den normativen Țigancă-Heterostereotypen – oder Bilder vom Anderen – rund um Sexualität, Ehe und Partnerschaft. Davon ausgehend wurden diejenigen Autostereotypen – oder Bilder vom Selbst – herausgearbeitet, welche die Frauen bei ihrer Standortbestimmung konstruierten. Die Aufmerksamkeit der Analyse richtet sich ferner auf die Mechanismen, derer sie sich bei ihren Standortbestimmungen bedienen und die Identitätswürfe, zu denen sie schließlich kommen. Dadurch treten ihre primären Identifikationsmerkmale Ethnizität, Gender und soziale Schicht wie auch die spezifische Ordnung hervor, in welche die Frauen diese sozialen Kategorien bringen. Denn sie müssen sich auch mit den Diskursen auseinandersetzen, die aus ihnen „echte“ Roma machen.

Bilder vom Anderen in den Köpfen der Mehrheitsgesellschaft

Mit 20 verschiedenen Minderheiten gilt Rumänien seit Jahrhunderten als multiethnischer Staat⁷. Historischen Quellen zufolge leben seit dem 15. Jahrhundert verschiedene Roma-Gruppen in der westrumänischen Region Banat, wo sie im Lauf der Geschichte immer wieder zum Ziel von Assimilierungsprogrammen sowie der nationalsozialistischen Vernichtungspolitik wurden. Nach dem Zusammenbruch des Sozialismus kam es einerseits zu einer Wiederbelebung und Verstärkung „alter“ Țigan-Vorstellungen, andererseits klafften soziale Unterschiede auf, besonders innerhalb der ethnischen Gruppe – trotz der verwirrenden statistischen Daten unbestritten die zweitgrößte Minderheit von den

⁷ Im Zusammenhang mit Rumänien mag der Begriff der Mehrheitsgesellschaft aufgrund der zahlreichen Minderheiten im Land problematisch sein. Für die vorliegende Untersuchung ist er dennoch sinnvoll: Zum einen machen laut der letzten Volkszählung von 2002 Rumänen 89,5% der Gesamtbevölkerung aus; zum anderen unterscheiden auch die von mir beforschten Frauen zwischen Roma und rumänischer Mehrheitsgesellschaft. Mit Mehrheitsgesellschaft sind im Folgenden neben der rumänischen Mehrheitsbevölkerung auch die zahlreichen weiteren ethnischen Gruppen gemeint, die im Land leben. Denn diese teilen einstimmig den Roma in der Nationen- oder Ethnien-Hierarchie den Platz am untersten Ende zu. Daher ist in den nachfolgenden Schilderungen auch synonym von den Rumänen die Rede. Die Belege für diese Einordnungen der Roma sind zahlreich. Neben der repräsentativen Umfrage der Bevölkerung Rumäniens durch das Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center (EDRC, 2001, 9-11) haben zahlreiche qualitative Arbeiten gleiches nachgewiesen, so etwa Cristian Tileaga (vgl. Tileaga, 2006, 21) für das gesamte Land, Johannes Ries (vgl. Ries, 2007, 78ff.) für Siebenbürgen sowie Corina Anderl-Motea (vgl. Anderl-Motea, 2007) für das Banat.

insgesamt 24 Millionen rumänischen Bürgern⁸. Zeitgleich mit den wirtschaftlichen und politischen Transformationsprozessen blühte der Roma-Aktivismus auf. Auch die rumänische Regierung setzte zahlreiche Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung der sozialen Lage der Roma in Gang. Laut Iulia-Karin Patrut hat sich im heutigen Rumänien das Verhältnis zwischen Roma und Mehrheitsgesellschaft entspannt⁹. Damit soll im Umkehrschluss jedoch nicht behauptet werden, dass Stereotypen, Vorurteile und exkludierende soziale Praktiken verschwunden wären (vgl. Patrut 2007, o.S.).

Die Existenz von stereotypisierten Țigan-Fremdbildern von Roma in der rumänischen Gesellschaft wurde empirisch wie literarisch bereits mehrfach nachgewiesen. Die Geburtsstunde der Fremdbilder vom Țigan und der Țigancă in den Köpfen der Mehrheitsgesellschaft Rumäniens beschäftigt zahlreiche Wissenschaftler und wird häufig auf den siebenhundert Jahre währenden Sklavenstatus rumänischer Roma zurückgeführt: Roma waren als Arbeitskräfte in die Gesellschaft inkludiert, erfuhren aber durch ihren niederen Rang soziale Exklusion. Im gegenwärtigen kollektiven Bewusstsein Rumäniens weisen die Literaturwissenschaftler Patrut und Uerlings die Spuren der starken Form der „inkludierenden Exklusion“ detailliert nach (2007, 18)¹⁰. Die positiven Auto-stereotypen, welche sich heutzutage die verschiedenen ethnischen Gruppen wie auch die rumänische Mehrheitsbevölkerung zuschreiben, muten als Spiegelbild der durchweg negativen Heterostereotypen an, die bei Țigani lokalisiert werden: Țigani werden als dumm, rückständig und ungeschliffen, dreckig, faul und kriminell gesehen; kurzum als unzivilisierte, unmoralische und unsittliche Fremde.

Diese Țigan-Fremdbilder von den Roma in Rumänien sind grundsätzlich nicht geschlechtsneutral. Die meisten Autoren argumentieren in der Regel jedoch ausgehend von einer undifferenzierten Masse der Țigani, während die stereotype Țigancă selten als eigenständiges Bild sichtbar wird. Die Historikerin Shannon Woodcock hingegen arbeitet heraus, dass die Țigan-Stilisierungen der rumänischen Mehrheitsgesellschaft im Lauf der Geschichte prinzipiell männlich sexuali-

⁸ Die Anzahl der in Rumänien lebenden Roma beläuft sich auf etwas mehr als 0,5 bis 3,5 Millionen Menschen. Die erste Zahl entstammt der letzten Volkszählung aus dem Jahr 2002 und beruht auf der freiwilligen ethnischen Selbsteinordnung als „Rromi (Țigani)“. Die zweite Zahl beruht auf Schätzungen zahlreicher Wissenschaftler wie Roma-Aktivistinnen (vgl. Ries, 2007, 19). Die Zahlen variieren generell in Abhängigkeit von Zensuskriterien sowie politischen Motiven der Statistiker.

⁹ Angesichts der Pogrome gegen Roma gleich nach der Wende konstatiert auch Johannes Ries einen gewaltigen Unterschied (2007, 19).

¹⁰ Von Bedeutung in diesem Zusammenhang weniger der Ursprung diverser Stereotypen, den zahlreiche Autoren datieren wollen, um dessen Beitrag zur Bildung diverser Stereotypen zu rekonstruieren. Von Interesse ist für die vorliegende Studie vielmehr eine differenzierte Kontextualisierung der Stereotypen in Zeit und Raum im Hinblick auf gegenwärtige soziale Interaktionen – bis auf wenige Ausnahmen eines der Forschungsdesiderata in der Untersuchung der Diskurse in der rumänischen Gesellschaft.

siert waren und es auch heute noch sind. In die Fremdbilder vom männlichen Țigan sind Vorstellungen von der Țigancă eingeflochten. Beiden wird der Hauptmoment der unzivilisierten, promiskuitiven und unmoralischen Sexualität zugeschrieben, während einige wenige Kennzeichen nur für den männlich bzw. weiblich sexualisierten Part des Țigan-Fremdbildes gelten. Lediglich der männliche Țigan wird als gewalttätig und aufgrund der ihm zugeschriebenen Aggressivität als (sexuell) bedrohlich angesehen. Stilisierungen, die sich allein auf die Țigancă beziehen, kreisen primär um drei Attribute: ihre betörend schöne äußere Erscheinung; weiterhin ihre „schrakenlose sexuelle Verfügbarkeit“ und schließlich ihre magisch-trägerischen Fähigkeiten. Fremdbilder von der Țigancă sind nicht nur in die Vorstellungen vom männlichen Țigan eingebettet, die Țigancă wird vom Țigan auch dominiert: „Stereotypes of Țigan women are consistent throughout history, as the beautiful, sexually available victims of Țigan male sexual aggression and control“ (Woodcock 2005, 396). Auffällig ist neben der Geschlechtsspezifität außerdem die ethnisch-soziale Bedeutung der Țigan-Bilder: In der Fremdwahrnehmung werden dem Țigan automatisch konkrete Eigenschaften zugeschrieben, die als essentialistischer Kern seiner „anderen“ Kultur wahrgenommen werden. Zudem wird anhand dieser Heterostereotypen ein bestimmter sozialer Habitus in die ethnische Gruppe der Roma eingeschrieben. „Die[se] ethnisch-soziale Doppelsemantik der Stereotypen erlaubt es sogar, jemanden aus der eigenen, nichtzigeunerischen Gruppe aufgrund seines abweichenden Verhaltens zum Zigeuner zu ‚machen‘“ (Ries 2007, 83f.). Diese kulturelle Dimension von Stereotypisierungsprozessen, welche die Reziprozität von Stereotypen und handelnden Akteuren berücksichtigt, gilt es zu untersuchen. Die untersuchten Roma-Frauen arbeiten sich an überlieferten Selbst- und Fremdbildern ab und verorten sich zwischen – wie der Duktus des Feldes es diktierte – „traditionell“ und „modern“ markierten, „authentischen“ oder „unechten“ Lebensweisen¹¹.

Theoretische Verortungen

¹¹ Angestrebt ist keine Überprüfung des vermeintlichen Realitätsgehalt der Țigancă-Stilisierungen am Alltag der Frauen – weder im Selbstblick der Roma-Frauen noch im Fremdblick der Mehrheitsgesellschaft. Das Nachzeichnen des Alltags aus ihrer Sicht kann und will kein Abfassen einer „Kultur der Roma(-Frauen)“ aus Timișoara sein. Ferner soll weder die diskriminierende Unkorrektheit der Heterostereotypen angeprangert werden, noch eine Untersuchung der Gender-Konzepte der Roma-Frauen aus Timișoara vor dem Hintergrund des menschenrechtlichen Verständnisses von der so genannten Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter abgefasst werden. Derlei Vorhaben wären ein Minusgeschäft für die Roma-Frauen, bei dem sie von vornherein als Opfer ihrer Fremdwahrnehmung oder der als patriarchal identifizierten Strukturen ihrer Roma-Lokalgruppen dastünden. Der aktive Umgang der Roma-Frauen mit stereotypisierten Repräsentationen in ihrem Alltag steht im Mittelpunkt.

Ausgehend von einem interaktionistischen Kulturverständnis wird Identität als permanentes Aushandeln zwischen Selbst- und Fremdbildern in den „kompliziertesten Balanceakten“ unseres Alltags gedacht (Kaschuba 2006, 136). Der Volkskundler Hermann Bausinger definiert wie folgt kulturelle Identität auf individueller Ebene (Bausinger 1986, 143):

Der Einzelne erfährt sich ja nicht nur in der Auseinandersetzung mit einem anderen, sondern auch in seiner kulturellen Ausstattung mit einer bestimmten Sprache, mit bestimmten Überlieferungen, bestimmten Eigenheiten der materiellen Kultur, mit Normen und Werten. Diese kulturelle Dimension trägt zu meiner Identität bei; sie liefert Werkzeuge zur ständigen Herstellung oder Stabilisierung von Identität.

Individuelle Identität beinhaltet stets auch eine kollektive Dimension, die – wie Wolfgang Kaschuba mit Werner Schiffauer darlegt – auch durch die „Transparenz des sozialen Rahmens gestiftet ist“ (Kaschuba 2006, 135). Kulturelle Identität basiert auf dem „produktiven Umgang mit Fremdem als prinzipielle Bedingung aller kulturellen Entwicklung“, wie die Kulturanthropologin Regina Römhild in Anlehnung an Ina-Maria Greverus konstatiert (Römhild 1998, 5).

„In uns tragen“ wir verschiedene Ebenen unserer Identität. Diese werfen wir jedoch nicht alle als „stabile Anker in den gesellschaftlichen Fluss“ (Brunnbauer 2002, 15). Die untersuchten Roma-Frauen betonten einige Ebenen in den Feldbegegnungen, während andere nicht zur Sprache kamen. Alle problematisierten ihre kulturelle Identität, indem sie ihre Bewusstseins für die Zugehörigkeit zu einer ethnischen Gruppe in den Vordergrund rückten. Ethnische Identität muss in ständiger Aushandlung einer Gruppe von Gleichen mit Menschen, die nicht zur eigenen Gruppe gehören, „’gemacht’ und ’reproduziert’ werden“ (Brunnbauer 2002, 14). Zentrale Basis des vorliegenden Ethnizitätsverständnisses ist Judith Okelys integrales Modell basierend auf Fredrik BARTHS interaktionistischem Paradigma. Die Kulturanthropologin konzeptualisiert Romanies als permanenten Prozess der Vergemeinschaftung und Abgrenzung (Okely 1994, 59f.). Durch Auswahl, Ablehnung, Umkehrung oder Subversion von Aspekten aus der Mehrheitsgesellschaft kreieren Roma ein „Spiegelbild einer Gesellschaft, welches aus ihr selbst entsteht“, wie es Jens Bengelstorf in Anlehnung an Okely formuliert (Bengelstorf 2007, 32).

Die untersuchten Roma-Frauen problematisierten neben Ethnizität auch Gender und soziale Schicht. Im Koordinatennetz der individuellen Identitätsentwürfe stehen die in den konkreten Lebenswelten der Frauen relevanten sozialen Kategorien in enger Beziehung zueinander, sind als interdependent zu denken (vgl. Walgenbach 2007, 59; 61). Durch ein gegenseitiges Abhängigkeitsverhältnis sind diese sozialen Kategorien miteinander verbunden durch „Subjekte, welche *durch* und *in* mehreren interdependenten Kategorien positioniert sind“ (Walgenbach 2007, 64; Hervorhebung im Original). Die vorliegende Interdependenzanalyse richtet sich auf das konkrete Spannungsfeld zwischen ei-

gen und fremd innerhalb der (Selbst)darstellung in den Identitätsbildungsprozessen der Roma-Frauen aus Timișoara¹².

Eine besondere Bedeutung gewinnen Stereotypisierungen in diesem Zusammenhang – verstanden als verfestigte, tradierte Bild- und Wertvorstellungen, die positiv oder negativ aufgeladen sein können¹³. Die Funktion der „Bilder in den Köpfen“ erschöpft sich nicht nur im Hinweis auf das Selbstbild und die Befindlichkeit der Stereotypenbenutzer (vgl. Roth 1998; Hahn, 2007, 23). Insbesondere ethnische Stereotypen konstruieren Identität und Alterität, wodurch sie kollektive Werte und Zugehörigkeiten schaffen und stabilisieren. Ergänzt um die Perspektive der Alterisierung des Ethnologen Michael Pickering (2001) kann Stereotypisierung als Prozess gedacht werden, in dem in dem „Bildhauer“ und „Modellsitzender“ gleichermaßen, jedoch mit unterschiedlicher Technik und Wirksamkeit an einer Figur formen (vgl. Ries 2007, 76). Roma sind nämlich in der Hierarchie ethnischer Gruppen der diskursiven Fremdwahrnehmung durch Nicht-Roma und deren sozialer Praxis unterworfen, während jede Roma-Frau auch die Anforderungen der Roma-internen Diskurse erfüllen muss (vgl. ebd. 77). Die gewählte integrale Perspektive erweist sich besonders durch ihren betonten Einbezug gesellschaftlicher Dominanzverhältnisse als wertvoll. Dadurch kann der spezifischen Ordnung in Bezug auf die interdependenten Kategorien Ethnizität, Gender und soziale Schicht nachgegangen werden und deren Hierarchisierung durch die Akteurinnen tritt hervor. Anhand der von den Frauen situativ gewählten „Beschreibungsdimensionen individueller Identität“ wird nicht zuletzt auch deutlich, wie Individuen sich die Gesellschaft ganz allgemein ordnen (Kaschuba 2006, 147).

Zur Methodik

Zur Operationalisierung der subjektorientierten Fragen wurden mehrere Arbeitsweisen der ethnologischen Feldforschung kombiniert¹⁴. Der Schwerpunkt liegt neben der Auswertung schriftlicher Quellen auf den gewonnenen Daten aus der teilnehmenden Beobachtung – einschließlich Fotodokumentation –, den informellen Gesprächen und leitfadenzentrierten Interviews.

¹² Die angestrebte Analyse des Zusammenhangs von Kategorien und die Bestimmung dessen, wie sich die beforschten Frauen selbst benennen, kann lediglich für den spezifischen zeitlichen und räumlichen Kontext Antworten finden, in dem die Feldbegegnungen stattgefunden haben (vgl. Walgenbach, 2007, 62).

¹³ Stereotypisierung wird generell gedacht als ein subjektiver „Wahrnehmungs- und Kategorisierungsprozess, ohne den eine erfolgreiche Aufarbeitung und Bewältigung der den Menschen umgebenden Umwelt nicht möglich wäre“ (Schondelmayer, 2008, 57).

¹⁴ Die vorliegende Arbeit versteht Feldforschung als Überbegriff, der sowohl teilnehmende Beobachtung und Interviews sowie die dazugehörige Reflexion der Forscherin im Feld, den Feldzugang sowie den die gewählte hermeneutische Analyse des erhobenen empirischen Materials umfasst.

Den größten Erkenntnisgewinn für diese Studie liefert die im Zeitraum vom Januar bis April 2008 in Timișoara durchgeführte teilnehmende Beobachtung von insgesamt elf Roma-Frauen in ihrem beruflichen wie privaten Alltag.¹⁵ Diese Methode eignete sich wie keine andere dazu, die „soziale[n] Praktiken und ihre Implikationen sowie die Bedeutungen [des] Handelns und Sprechens“ – das sog. Stumme Wissen – festzuhalten (Münst 2004, 331). Dieses induktive Vorgehen ermöglichte es, die Forschungshypothesen „aus dem Feld“ heraus zu generieren und die sozialen Prozesse zu beschreiben. Dieser qualitative Zugang rückt die Subjektperspektive, die Sinndeutungen der Befragten ins Blickfeld und stellt Aussagen gleichwertig neben das Handeln der Beforschten, um kulturelle Praxen deuten zu können. Aufgrund der Ergänzung der teilnehmenden Beobachtung durch andere Methoden kann die begrenzte Reichweite der Befunde erweitert werden, denn „[z]entrale kulturelle Konzepte, Normen, Werte und kognitive Orientierungen können von den jeweiligen Akteurinnen und Akteuren sprachlich häufig nur undifferenziert oder gar nicht formuliert werden“ (Münst 2004, 334).

Die untersuchten Frauen gelten als Fallbeispiele, die „in sich typische Erfahrungen“ in einem „Spektrum möglicher Prozessverläufe“ repräsentieren (Schondelmayer 2008, 15). Ihre Repräsentativität wird durch die Kontext- und Situationsgebundenheit der Feldsituationen eingeschränkt, sie sprechen keineswegs für alle Roma-Frauen in Timișoara, geschweige denn in Rumänien.

Bilder in den Köpfen dreier Roma-Frauen aus Timișoara

Die Selbst- und Fremdbilder um Sexualität, Partnerschaft und Ehe geben den Blick auf die Positionierungen der Roma-Frauen frei, die von zwei Differenzierungslinien markiert werden – nämlich „Tradition“ und „Armut“¹⁶. Wenn die drei Roma-Frauen diese Themen ansprechen, werfen sie zudem ein Spannungsfeld entlang der Pole der „Authentizität“ und der „Unechtheit“ einer Roma-Frau auf: Eine „echte“ Țigancă agiert sexuell kontrolliert, während eine „unechte“ Țigancă sexuell promiskuitiv handelt – letztere entstammt dem Heterostereotyp

¹⁵ Ausgehend von der Zigeunerinnen-Organisation, die sich lokal auf sozialer und kultureller Ebene für Roma-Frauen und ihre Familien einsetzt, wurden Kontakte zu Roma-Frauen geknüpft. Das entstandene Informationsnetz reicht jedoch weit über den Kontext der NGO hinaus. Auch in Bezug auf Alter, Bildungsniveau und Selbstidentifikation mit einer bestimmten Roma-Lokalgruppe sind die befragten Frauen sehr heterogen. Von den insgesamt elf Protagonistinnen der Magisterarbeit kommen hier drei Frauen zu Wort, welche die Vielstimmigkeit und Komplexität des Feldmaterials wie auch die Heterogenität der individuellen Selbstpositionierungen aufzeigen.

¹⁶ Beide Begriffe werden hier wie in der Alltagssprache der untersuchten Frauen verwendet. Während sie mit „Tradition“ primär einer statischen Kulturvorstellung Ausdruck verleihen wollten, meinte „Armut“ ein ganzes Bündel an Eigenschaften, das weit über materielle Konnotationen hinausgeht. Die Facetten der Begriffe werden in den nachfolgenden lebensweltlichen Schilderungen deutlich.

der „sexuell unkontrollierten Țigancă“. Diese Stilisierungen treffen auch auf „traditionelle“ Praxen wie frühe Verheiratung, überkommene Rollenvorstellungen, etc., die nun geschildert werden.

Folgenden Lebensweg beschrieb die heute 38jährige Doamna Mia – wie auch die meisten anderen Roma-Frauen – für junge Frauen als Inbegriff der „Traditionen“ und der „Authentizität“. Diesen Weg hatte Doamna Mia in ihrer Jugend eingeschlagen. Als einzige Tochter neben zwei Brüdern in einer Familie von Geambași auf dem Lande aufgewachsen, die „noch sehr in den Traditionen verwurzelt“ ist, wurde die damals Dreizehnjährige von ihren Eltern mit einem Băiaș verheiratet¹⁷. Die „Werte und Traditionen“ verlangten von den „Mädchen“ (*fete*), so Doamna Mia, dass sie ihre Jungfräulichkeit bis zur Ehe bewahrten und verheirateten sie daher in jungen Jahren. Das Ziel der Familie bei der Partnerwahl sei das Knüpfen von Allianzen mit anderen Roma gewesen¹⁸. Diese Form der arrangierten Eheschließung möchte ich daher als Kontraktehe bezeichnen (vgl. Ries 2007, 211). Auf das Verlöbnis und die bald darauf folgende Heirat hin, zog die junge Braut in den Haushalt ihres Ehemannes nach Timișoara, wo sie so „hineinwuchs“ und ihren Partner kennenlernte. Das schließe nicht zwingend sexuelle Kontakte der jungen Verheirateten ein – wie in der dominanten Vorstellung der „Mehrheitsgesellschaft“ (*societatea*). Doamna Mia hingegen hatte mit knapp dreizehn ihren ersten Sohn Cătălin, sieben Jahre später ihren zweiten Sohn geboren, und entsprach somit diesem Heterostereotyp¹⁹. Zeitgleich mit der Verlobung fiel das Ende des schulischen Bildungswegs Doamna Mias als Mädchen (*fată*) zusammen. Denn Mädchen hätten ihren Eltern und – ab ihrer Verheiratung – ihrem Ehemann zu „gehörchen“. In der Schule seien weder diese Personen anwesend, um sie zu „beschützen“ und ihre Sittsamkeit zu kontrollieren, noch hätte Schulwissen (*carte*) einen höheren Stellenwert als das in der Familie weitergegebene „traditionelle“ Wissen. Heute problematisierte Doamna Mia diesen Aspekt, indem sie andere Roma-Frauen scharf kritisierte, die ihre

¹⁷ In Timișoara sind beide Lokalgruppen aus dem Spektrum rumänischer Romanies ansässig. Geambași werden häufig aufgrund ihrer historischen Wirtschaftsform als Pferdehändler eingeordnet, während Băiași auch als Bergleute bzw. als Rudari oder Lingurari bekannt sind (vgl. Bengelstorf, 2007).

¹⁸ Während sich die Frauen hinsichtlich der Endogamie einig zeigten, legten sie die soziale Einheit unterschiedlich aus, innerhalb derer diese Regel zu gelten habe. Doamna Mias Verheiratung mit einem Băiaș war in ihrer Familie von Geambași nicht problematisiert worden, da er Rom sei. Manch andere Frau, die sich in diesem Punkt „traditionsbewußt“ gab, setzte die Grenze zwischen verschiedenen Lokalgruppen. Interessanterweise waren fast alle untersuchten Frauen mit einem Rom liiert – gleichgültig einer „modernen“, kritischen oder „traditionellen“ Selbsteinordnung hinsichtlich der Kontraktehe.

¹⁹ Paloma Gay y Blasco beschreibt bei Madrider Gitanos, einer Lokalgruppe des Spektrums spanischer Romanies, die Eheschließung als Beginn der sexuellen Aktivität einer Gitana (vgl. Gay y Blasco, 1997).

minderjährigen Töchter „zu früh verheiraten“ (*căsătorie timpurie*). Die unausweichlichen Konsequenzen sieht Doamna Mia in ihrer Biographie vorgezeichnet: Ihr eigener schulischer Werdegang endete zunächst mit ihrer Verheiratung, denn „es hängt sehr vom Mann ab, ob er einen noch die Schule machen läßt“. Ihren Hauptschulabschluss holte Doamna Mia nach, als ihre Söhne selbst vor dem Schulabschluss standen. Schulbildung sei generell wichtig, sagte sie heute, denn „in der heutigen Zeit hast du ohne Schulbildung keine Zukunft“. Idealerweise bestimmten jedoch in der Ehe die Führung des Haushaltes und die Erziehung der Kinder den Alltag wie den Lebensmittelpunkt der zu „Frauen“ (*femei*) gewordenen Mädchen (*fete*). Doamna Mia präsentierte sich stets in erster Linie als „gute“ und aufopferungsvolle Mutter und Hausfrau. Ihre Erwerbsarbeit als *mediator sanitar* und ihr ehrenamtliches Engagement in der Zigeunerinnen-Organisation war zweitrangig, denn „von den Frauen hängt viel ab, alles hängt von ihnen ab, die ganze Familie“²⁰.

Die geschilderte ritualisierte Kontraktehe tauchte als Wunsch in den – oftmals heterogenen – Selbstpositionierungen der 28jährigen Corneli auf. Meine zweite Gesprächspartnerin war seit fünf Jahren selbst Mutter und analysierte rückblickend das Kennenlernen ihres „versoffenen Mannes“ (*bărbat*). Aus heutiger Sicht hätte sie sich eine solche Initiative der Eltern bei der Partnerwahl gewünscht²¹. Corneli war davon überzeugt, sie hätten nicht nur einen „guten Mann“ ausfindig zu machen gewusst, sondern auch „sicherlich darauf geachtet, dass ich mir einen besseren Mann nehme“. Denn der „Papa von Găbiță“ verdiene als Lăutar zwar gut, „versaufe das ganze Geld“ jedoch zumeist, so dass sie und ihr Kind ohne jegliche Unterstützung auf sich allein gestellt seien²². Was auf den ersten Blick als völlige Identifikation mit dem Bild der „echten Țigancă“ erscheint, stellt sich bei näherer Betrachtung als wenig eindeutig heraus. Wirklich

²⁰ Seit 2002 existiert der *mediator sanitar* als offizielle Berufsbezeichnung für Roma-Frauen, die Frauen aus ihren Lokalgruppen bei der Gesundheitsvorsorge für ihre Kinder und sich selbst unterstützen sollen. Die nationale Roma-NGO „Romani CRISS“ hatte den Bedarf für eine Mittelsperson zwischen rumänischen Gesundheitsbehörden und Roma-Gruppen festgestellt und den Beruf ins Leben gerufen. Näheres hierzu unter http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act_text?id=37616, Stand: 3.06.2008.

²¹ Zumeist verwendete Corneli die Bezeichnung „der Papa von Găbiță“ (*tata lu' Găbiță*) und sprach selten von ihrem „Mann“ (*bărbat*), was in der rumänischen Umgangssprache auch „Ehemann“ (*soț*) meinen kann. Diese Lesart trat in den Vordergrund, wenn Corneli von ihrem Umfeld als „verheiratet“ angesehen wurde – auch wenn diese mit dem Vater ihres Kindes kein Trauschein verband. Als Indikator für Cornelis Status spielte die ritualisierte Form der Eheschließung – weder nach den „Traditionen“ der Lăutari, noch nach mehrheitsgesellschaftlichen Gewohnheiten – keine Rolle. Im Kontrast zu Corneli sprach Doamna Mia stets in eindeutiger Weise von ihrem „Ehemann“ (*soțul meu*).

²² Corneli verwendet Lăutari hier als ethnisch nicht konnotierter Überbegriff für Musiker in einer Kapelle (*taraf*), die keine Noten lesen können und ihr Handwerk „mit den Ohren“ in der Familie lernen.

problematisch scheint Cornelis Partnerwahl nicht gewesen zu sein. Nicht nur, dass sie den „Papa von Găbiță“ stets als hoch angesehenen Lăutar erwähnte, sie sprach mehrfach eine mögliche „Versöhnung“ an und präsentierte sich dann als „starke“ Frau, die ihn noch „in den Griff kriegen“ werde. Ferner gab es in Cornelis Verwandtschaft keine Paare, die mittels Kontraktehe zusammengekommen waren. Im Gegenteil, Corneli hatte sich in „ihren Mann“ einfach „verknallt“. Auch ihre (behauptete) materielle Abhängigkeit vom „Papa von Găbiță“ wird von der familiären Unterstützung im gemeinsamen Haushalt mit einem Großteil der Familie konterkariert. Corneli strich weiterhin heraus, dass ihre „einfachen“ Eltern „großen Wert“ auf den Schulbesuch ihrer Kinder gelegt hätten und kontrastierte dies explizit mit den Vorstellungen der Rumänen von den „ungehobelten und dummen Țigani“. Tendenziell widersprüchlich ist auch die Tatsache, dass Corneli ihren Hauptschulabschluss „mehr so nebenbei“ (*mai mult pe fugă*) „nachgemacht“ hatte, da sie die meiste Zeit mit Singen und Tanzen in der örtlichen Roma-Folkloregruppe verbracht hatte. Ihre Eltern – wie auch die gesamte Großfamilie von Lăutari – hatten ihr musisches und künstlerisches Talent erkannt und gefördert²³.

Die 21jährige Dana, meine „Türöffnerin“ und gleichzeitig wichtigste Gewährsperson, lebte nicht nach dem geschilderten Idealbild der „Authentizität“ – wie auch die meisten anderen befragten Frauen. Einen der Schwerpunkte in Danas ablehnender Einstellung zum „traditionellen“ Lebensentwurf betraf den „frühen“ Zeitpunkt der Ehe. Besonders auffällig wurde dies in einem für sie zentralen Moment ihrer Biographie. In einer Familie von Băiași aufgewachsen, deren Alltag vom Bergbau in der Region geprägt war, sah sich Dana mit vierzehn plötzlich selbst mit einer solchen Verheiratung konfrontiert. Damals hatte ihr Vater ihre jugendliche Liebesbeziehung entdeckt und sie vor die Wahl gestellt zwischen Liebesbeziehung, die in sofortiger Verheiratung inklusive Schulabbruch münden sollte, oder Schulbildung. Angesichts des einschneidenden Ereignisses von Ehe und bald darauf folgender Mutterschaft im Leben ihrer Mutter, die alles andere auszuschließen schien, entschied Dana damals, sie brauche „jetzt keinen Mann“, das „reiche“ ihr nicht und sie wolle „mehr vom Leben“ als Mann, Kind und Küche. In ihrer Entscheidung für Abitur und (Doppel-)Studium hatten sie die „einfachen“ Eltern seither immer bestärkt und sich für die schulische Bildung der fünf Kinder alles vom Mund abgespart.

Zur Abgrenzung von „traditionellen Țigănci“ bestimmte Dana ihre Position ausdrücklich als „modern“ und „fortschrittlich“ und bewertete die „frühzeitige“ Kontraktehe (*căsătorie timpurie*) als sinnlosen Atavismus, den sie durch die „moderne“ Liebesheirat ersetzt hatte.²⁴ Den „Kulturkonservatismus“ einiger

²³ Die Bezeichnung Lăutari bezeichnet hier die Lokalgruppe der Musiker im Spektrum rumänischer Romanies, zu der Corneli ihre Familie zählt.

²⁴ Diese Einstellung konstatiert der Ethnologe Johannes RIES auch bei den untersuchten Romagruppen im siebenbürgischen Trăbeș (vgl. Ries, 2007, 211).

Lokalgruppen in Timișoara sah Dana als Zurückgebliebenheit, die sie selbst vollständig überwunden hatte. Durch den Verweis auf die „traditionelle“ Doamna Mia distanzierte sich Dana von der Kontraktehe und argumentierte mit dem miserablen Gesundheitszustand der „früh Gealterten“ als „Opfer“ der „Traditionen“. Doamna Mia sei so „kaputt“, weil sie ihr erstes Kind bereits mit „dreizehn gemacht“ habe (*la făcut pe Cătă cu 13 ani*), zahlreiche Fehlgeburten und Krankheiten folgten, bis sie ihren zweiten Sohn gebar. Die Fremdbilder Danas von der Rückständigkeit „traditioneller Țigani“ stimmte mit dem Heterostereotyp von „traditionellen Țigani“ überein. Beide schilderten deren Töchter als „Opfer“ der Traditionen: „verschachert“ zum Knüpfen von Allianzen zwischen Roma und bereits in einem „zarten Alter“ auf Mutterpflichten reduziert.

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt in Danas Selbstpositionierung bildet die Partnerwahl bzw. die Gründe für das Heiraten. In Abgrenzung zu den „armen“ Frauen, betonte sie ihr kontrolliertes Sexualverhalten, das dann „traditionelle“ Züge erhielt. Es „gehöre sich“ für eine Roma-Frau, den ersten Mann zu heiraten, mit dem man zusammen sei – schilderte Dana als Motiv für ihre Liebesheirat. Trotz der Distanzierung vom „traditionellen“ Lebensweg hielt Dana am Ideal der „Jungfräulichkeit“ fest.²⁵ Sie hatte sich nicht nur mit vierzehn diszipliniert und wurde nicht verheiratet, Dana benahm sich auch später gemäß der Sittlichkeitsnormen. Mit sechzehn hatte sie das Heiratsangebot eines „reichen Rumänen“ ausgeschlagen, mit dem sie liiert gewesen war, weil sie ihre „Jungfräulichkeit“ bewahren wollte. Mit neunzehn hatte sie – trotz prekärer finanzieller Situation – ein Angebot zur Prostitution ausgeschlagen. Gerade ihr sexuell diszipliniertes Verhalten war es, das ihr einst das Interesse und die Bewunderung „ihres Liebsten“ gesichert hatte. Das hemmungslose Ausleben sexueller Wünsche bewertete Dana als Verlust der Respektabilität. Der einzige Raum, in dem sie einer Frau sexuelle Bedürfnisse zugestand, lag innerhalb einer Beziehung, die allein auf gegenseitiger Liebe gründete²⁶.

²⁵ Paloma Gay y Blasco beschreibt die (weit gefassten) Vorstellungen von Jungfräulichkeit bei Madrider Gitanos, die z.B. lediglich die Penetration untersagen (vgl. Gay y Blasco, 1997, 519f.). Für die vorliegende Arbeit ist lediglich relevant, dass Dana die Kontrolle ihrer Sexualität und somit eine Regelkonformität zum Ausdruck bringen wollte, wenn sie von Jungfräulichkeit sprach. In diesem Sinne verwende ich den Begriff ebenfalls.

²⁶ In den Augen ihres direkten Umfeldes bestätigte Dana gelegentlich auch das Heterostereotyp von der „verführerischen und sexuell unkontrollierten Țigancă“ – ohne sich selbst in diese Lichte wahrzunehmen. Danas Selbstbild als „tugendhafte“ Frau wurde von der Beschimpfung als „unsere kleine Nutte“ (*curvulița noastră*) durch andere Roma-Frauen in Frage gestellt. Dana hatte zusammen mit anderen Studierenden einem Roma-Studenten einen Streich gespielt, bei dem sie „Schönheit“ im Sinne sexueller Attraktivität als Mittel zum Zweck eingesetzt hatte. Dana hatte angestrebt, dem Aufdringlichen zu verdeutlichen, dass sie allein ihrem Verlobten „gehöre“.

Wie im Fremdblick der Mehrheitsgesellschaft Rumäniens kontrastierte Dana wie auch einige weitere Roma-Frauen zwischen der „traditionellen“ Heiratspolitik – etwa der Geambași vor Ort – und den unkontrolliert explodierenden Familien „armer Țigani“. Die „armen“ Frauen „aus der Kolonie“ dienten hier als Projektionsfläche negativer Eigenschaften. Jene Frauen kontrollierten ihre Triebe nicht, wählten ihre Partner in erster Linie aus materiellen Gründen und wurden dann als „Nutten“ etikettiert. Das Bild der sexuell unkontrollierten „armen Țigancă“ bestätigte Corneli. Sie hatte sich in ihren Mann „verknallt“ ohne sich – wie in Danas Selbstbild – beherrschen zu können. Für Corneli hatte dies in letzter Konsequenz bedeutet, dass sie ihre „Karriere im Music Business an den Nagel hängen musste“. Sie habe sich dieses Leben „selbst eingebrockt“ (*mi-am mâncat singură zilele*), denn sie „verknallte“ sich „kurz vor einer wichtigen Tournee“, bekam ihren Sohn und musste – um sich seiner Erziehung zu widmen – das Singen und Tanzen aufgeben. Als Argument für eine Versöhnung mit dem „Papa von Găbiță“ führte Corneli außerdem zumeist dessen hohes Einkommen an.

Dana grenzte sich in der Regel von „armen“ und „traditionell“ lebenden Frauen ab, schien diese Eigenschaften jedoch als vorwiegend getrennte Dimensionen wahrzunehmen. Erst durch das Aufkommen von Beziehungsproblemen vereinte Dana beide Sphären. Als sie die Auflösung des Verlöbnisses seitens Cătă befürchtete, beschwor sie ein Ablehnungsszenario herauf: Die „traditionellen“ und „armen“ Frauen würden sie „durch die Bank“ als „Nutte“ (*curvuștană*) bezeichnen, da sie mit ihrem Verlobten sexuellen Kontakt gehabt hatte. Hier wurde auch deutlich, dass Dana von der Bewertung der Frauen, von denen sie sich distanzierte, nicht unabhängig war.

Diese Vermischung der Sphären „arm“ und „traditionell“ wurde auch im Zusammenhang mit Mutterschaft sichtbar. Obschon eine Schwangerschaft für Danas Eltern eben so wenig ein Problem wie sie für ihre Schwiegermutter *in spe* Doamna Mia höchst willkommen gewesen wäre, sah Dana selbst darin ein jähes Ende ihres Hochschulstudiums und somit ihrer gesamten beruflichen Laufbahn. Weiterhin würde sie die Anfeindungen durch andere Roma, generell die „Mühen und Qualen“ ihrer Eltern nach dem „Bruch mit den Traditionen“ *ad absurdum* führen. Die Konsequenz wäre, dass sie sich um das Kind kümmern und daheim bleiben müsse. Wie alle anderen untersuchten Frauen sah auch Dana in der Eheschließung die Einleitung eines lebensverändernden Moments, auf die bald ein Kind folge. Seite an Seite mit ihrem zukünftigen Mann malte sich Dana eine Zukunft aus, in der sie sich beide beruflich für Roma einsetzen und „im richtigen Moment“ für Dana eine Familie gründen würden. Da auch Cătă keine Frau nach dem Modell der Frauen „aus der Kolonie“ suche, die „nur Essen und Kinder machen“ könne, hätten sie sich geeinigt, dass Dana die Pille nehme. Sie präsentierte sich hier als „starke“ Frau, die sich bei ihrem Mann „Gehör verschaffen“ und eigene Prioritäten durchsetzen könne²⁷. Durch diese „genehmigten“ Empfängnis-

²⁷ Nach einem telefonisch ausgetragenen Streit mit Cătă lud Dana ihren Frust in einer für *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.*

verhütungsmaßnahmen stelle Dana eine „große Ausnahme“ dar, denn „die Männer“ hätten in der Regel kein Vertrauen in ihre Frauen und würden diese beim „Erwischen“ mit Verhütungsmitteln „windelweich prügeln“. Im Zusammenhang mit diesem Moment der Kontrolle durch männliche Familienangehörige bzw. den Ehemann unterstrich Dana ihren Handlungsspielraum, ohne jedoch die Kontrolle der Sexualität gänzlich abzulehnen. In Cătăș Abwesenheit „bewachte“ sie sein jüngerer Bruder – für Dana eine Bestätigung von Cătăș ernsthaften Absichten ihr gegenüber und ihrer Eingebundenheit in seine Familie²⁸.

Insgesamt gesehen hob Dana ihre persönliche Kontrolle über ihr Reproduktionsverhalten im Vergleich zur unkontrollierten und völlig unüberlegten Fortpflanzung der „armen“ Frauen hervor – wie im eingangs angeführten Zitat ersichtlich geworden ist. Noch deutlicher wurde Danas Distanzierung von der Reduktion auf „Kind und Küche“, als eine Schmuckhändlerin „aus der Kolonie“ sie für ihren Sohn als Ehefrau gewinnen wollte, nachdem sie sich über ihre Jungfräulichkeit vergewissert hatte. Danas Empörung über die Abwertung ihres Doppelstudiums durch die Händlerin mit „Laß nur, du hast lang genug die Schulbank gedrückt“ (*ai făcut școală destulă*) entlud sich auf der Straße: „... Ich wäre nur ein Loch für Costică und Medalion und Baronița ... und wie sie noch alle heißen...!!“²⁹. Allein Verkaufstalent und das Gebären zahlloser Kinder würden Dana in dieser Familie einen gewissen Respekt als Frau verschaffen, während sie „das Letzte“ wäre. Denn ihre Bildung sei hier „keinen Pfifferling wert“ (*nu pun preț*): „Frauen brauchen nicht all zu viel Wissen aus Büchern, sie sollen jungfräulich in die Ehe gehen und vier, fünf Kinder machen“. Dana wie auch die vielen anderen kritisch eingestellten Frauen sahen „Kind und Küche“ als einengenden Lebensentwurf an und betonten den Stellenwert der akademischen Bildung, der Hochkultur und ihres Berufs – sei es durch mit der Forscherin gemeinsam getätigte Literatursuche in den örtlichen Bibliotheken, Austausch über wissenschaftliche Themen, Studienerfahrungen oder Literatur, gemeinsame Opernbesuche, die Betonung des Aufgehens im Berufsleben.

sie typischen Situation bei mir ab: „Wie kann er mir sowas sagen? Ich rede wann ich will!“ Besonderes Gewicht gewann diese Aussage, wenn Dana in diesem Zusammenhang die „traditionelle“ Unterwürfigkeit Doamna Mias ihrem Mann gegenüber negativ bewertete.

²⁸ Die Kontrolle der individuellen Sexualität durch die Familie beschreibt auch Paloma Gay y Blasco bei spanischen Gitanas (vgl. Gay y Blasco, 1997, 523).

²⁹ Dana sagte „*aș fi numai o gaură pentru Costică și Medalion și Baronița... și cum îi cheamă pe toți...!!*“ und qualifizierte durch die Wahl der Vornamen ihrer fiktiven Kinder „Kleine Baroness“ (*Baronița*) und „Medaillon“ (*Medalion*) die Familie der Händlerin als unkultiviert ab. Derlei Namen gelten in der Mehrheitsgesellschaft als typischer Nachweis für die Unzivilisiertheit und Dummheit der Țigani, die ihren Kindern keine „richtigen“ Namen geben könnten. Gerade bei „Medaillon“ (*Medalion*) dachte jedermann in Rumänien an die Hauptfigur der Telenovela „Zigeunerherz“, den Țigan „Codruț Medalion Fieraru“ (www.inimadetigan.ro, Stand: 7.04.2008).

Danas Bewertung von „Kind und Küche“ als Reduktion will jedoch keine vollständige Ablehnung sein. Wie aus der Analogie zur Mutter ersichtlich wurde, stellte Dana nicht in Frage, dass ihre Mutter bei den Kindern hätte bleiben müssen, Erziehung der Kinder und Organisieren des Haushaltes waren „normal“ für eine Frau. Dana selbst kochte sie für die männlichen Studenten der Zigeunerinnen-Organisation regelmäßig mit und war jeden Abend bei der Familie ihres Verlobten, wo sie im Haushalt mithalf. Von der Leiterin der Zigeunerinnen-Organisation wurde Dana – wie auch die jungen Nutzerinnen des Vereinshauses – stets dazu angehalten den kulinarischen und organisatorischen Teil der Veranstaltungen zu gestalten. Es wären, schilderte Doamna Mia ihre Erfahrungen aus der Arbeit als *mediator sanitar*, nämlich die Frauen bei den Roma, die Kontakte zu rumänischen Behörden wie z.B. Rathaus, Krankenhaus oder Schule hielten und somit für ihre Kinder und Familie sorgten. Damit identifizierte sich Dana vollkommen.

Zwei der von Dana als „arm“ markierten Frauen – Doamna Mia und Corneli – gingen recht unterschiedlich mit diesem Etikett um. Doamna Mia, selbst zweifache Mutter und von einigen Frauen als „arm“ und „ungebildet“ markiert, distanzierte sich selbst von den „armen“ Frauen: Zum einen, indem sie ihre gute Kinderstube durch ihre gewählte Wortwahl unterstrich in Relation zum „Gekeife“ der Patientinnen, die sie als *mediator sanitar* zum Arzt begleitete; zum anderen, indem sie die „armen Frauen“ mit „vielen Kindern“ als hilfsbedürftig bei der Familienplanung schilderte: „Sie sind arm und haben nichts, nur viele,... viele Kinder, sie wissen es nicht besser. [...] Ich erkläre ihnen dann die Möglichkeiten [der schul-medizinischen Verhütungsmethoden], [...] viele haben Angst, dass ihr Mann sie schlägt, wenn er es herausfindet [dass sie verhüten].“ Auch vernachlässigten sie ihre Kinder, so dass es ihre Aufgabe als *mediator sanitar* sei, die Frauen vom Sinn und Nutzen von Schutzimpfungen und Vorsorgeuntersuchungen zu überzeugen.

Corneli hingegen präsentierte sich gelegentlich auch mal ganz bewusst als „arme“ (*sărăcă*) und „einfache“ (*simplă*) Frau, die ihr „Unglück“ selbst verschuldet habe³⁰. Wenn Corneli auch sonst ihre gute Kinderstube (*cei șapte ani de acasă*) betonte in Abgrenzung zu den Nachbarinnen, die ihre Kinder schlügen und „herumkeiften“ – ab und an aktivierte sie das Heterostereotyp der „Țigancă, die von ihrem Mann dominiert wird“, um ihre Hilfsbedürftigkeit zu betonen. Cornelis durchaus berechnete Interessen waren vielfältig gelagert:³¹ neben mate-

³⁰ Corneli ist die einzige Person, die sich selbst als „arm“ bezeichnete und damit hauptsächlich materielle Benachteiligung meinte. Sie erwähnte mehrmals ihr „geringes Gehalt“ von „5 Millionen“ Lei (5 *milioane*), etwa 128,21 €, mit dem sie nicht wisse, wie sie über die Runden kommen solle. Im Vergleich dazu betonte Doamna Mia, dass sie trotz ihres niedrigen Gehalts von „4 Millionen“ Lei (4 *milioane*), etwa 102,56 €, noch anderen „armen“ Roma helfen könne.

³¹ Die Begegnungen zwischen der Ethnologin und den Individuen einer fremden Gesellschaft fanden nicht in einem luftleeren Raum statt, das Forschungsfeld war vielmehr in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai“*, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

rieller Unterstützung, erhoffte sie sich durch den Kontakt mit der Ethnographin auch einen Prestigegewinn, eine Einbindung in deren „guten“ Netzwerke zu Roma-NGOs und zu rumänischen Behörden, um mit ihrer Hilfe ihre unsichere Wohnungssituation zu lösen³². Auf „Kind und Küche“ limitiert empfand sich Corneli mitnichten – im Gegenteil: hätte sie einen besseren Mann, der ihren Lebensunterhalt absichere, würde sie mit Freuden daheim bleiben und sich – wie einst ihre Mutter – ganz Haushalt und Kind widmen. Corneli war außerdem die einzig ununterbrochen Erwerbstätige des Haushaltes – sie arbeitete seit acht Jahren als *măturătoare* auf dem Markt –, worin sie in Analogie zur verstorbenen Großmutter und Mutter eine Möglichkeit sah, die Großfamilie zu versorgen und „zusammenzuhalten“.

In den aktivierten Bildern treffen Armutsdiskurs und Zivilisationsdiskurs aufeinander und zeigen auf, dass sich die „Bildhauerinnen“ dieser Bilder die Definitionsmacht zuschreiben und die alterisierten Frauen entmündigen. Die jeweiligen Urteile über andere und die Selbstpositionierungen der befragten Frauen sind immer auch als Verortungsstrategien im Kampf um „bessere“, prestigeträchtigere Positionen im sozialen Raum zu lesen. Die drei vorgestellten Frauen grenzten sich zum Beispiel von den so genannten armen, kinderreichen und unzivilisierten Roma ab, um sich selbst zu erhöhen. Alle meine Gesprächspartnerinnen betonten ethno-kulturelle Unterschiede zur Mehrheitsgesellschaft – anhand der Vorstellungen von der „authentischen“ und „traditionellen“ Roma-Frau sichtbar gemacht – und projizierten soziale Unterschiede auf alterisierte Roma-Frauen. Wie deutlich geworden ist, können durch Aushandlungs- und Umdeutungsprozesse Freiräume geschaffen werden, ohne an einigen grundsätzlichen Prinzipien rühren zu müssen.

Identitätskonstruktionen dreier Frauen aus Timișoara

Die untersuchten Frauen entwerfen kontrastreiche und zum Teil auch widersprüchlich gelagerte Selbst- und Fremdbilder in ihren Identitätskonstruktionen. Eine besonders wichtige Funktion erhalten hierbei die mehrheitsgesellschaftlichen Heterostereotypen, anhand derer die Frauen reaktiv Auto-stereotypen erschaffen. Interessanterweise entwerfen sie keine von der Fremdwahrnehmung völlig abweichenden Bilder, sondern greifen Differenzierungsme-

ein globales Macht-Koordinatennetz verschiedener Nationalstaaten, ethno-kultureller und/oder sozialer Gruppen eingebunden, das in der Beziehung zu Corneli im Feld virulent wurde. Daher erschien auch die Einordnung in eine „zur Selbstverständlichkeit gewordene Hierarchie zwischen Mehrheits- und [der jeweiligen] Minderheitsgruppe“ als problematisch. In diese Hierarchie der rumänischen Gesellschaft bin auch ich als „deutsche“ Ethnographin eingeordnet worden. Cornelis Selbstpositionierung als „arm“ kann daher auch als Bezugnahme auf die „mächtige“ Position der Forscherin gelesen werden.

³²Corneli und ihre Familie sollten aufgrund der bevorstehenden Rückerstattung (*restituire*) des im Sozialismus enteigneten Besitzes aus ihrer Sozialwohnung demnächst „ausziehen“ (*evacuat*) – ohne Aussicht auf eine andere Sozialwohnung.

chanismen aus der Außensicht in ihren individuellen Identitätskonstruktionen auf. Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung damit zeigt, dass sie sowohl auf generelle wie auch auf differenziertere, sexualisierte Fremdbilder zurückgreifen. Trotz der Heterogenität des Samples konnten die drei Hauptdifferenzierungslinien „Authentizität“, „Zivilisiertheit“ und „Armut“ ausgemacht werden. In der Lebenswirklichkeit der individuellen Roma-Frauen sind einzelne Autostereotypen entlang dieser drei Unterscheidungskriterien stets mit anderen Stereotypen verknüpft und können daher nicht isoliert betrachtet werden. Beispielsweise die Definition von „Armut“ aus dem „Feld“ heraus verdeutlicht die Komplexität und Vielschichtigkeit, die damit je nach Kontext gemeint sein kann. Die Frauen zeichneten Fremdbilder von materieller Benachteiligung (*sărăcie*), von Elend und Unglück (*nenorocire*), von den zu grunde gerichteten (*prăpădit*) „armen Teufeln“ (*amărățat*), vor allem aber der Nutzlosigkeit, Hilflosigkeit und Rückständigkeit, Unzivilisiertheit und Gefahr. Für die Selbstverortungsprozesse der Frauen bedeutet dies, dass ihnen eine Vielzahl anschlussfähiger Zuschreibungen zur Verfügung stehen, die fundamental auf einem Gegenüber beruhen (vgl. Ries 2007, 197f.; 224). Letztlich produzieren sie dadurch gleichermaßen Identität wie Alterität.

Es hat sich außerdem gezeigt, dass die Aushandlungsprozesse der individuellen Identität nicht im luftleeren Raum stattfinden. Jedes Individuum nimmt eine eigene Position im Netz diskursiver und sozialer Interaktionen mit anderen Roma wie auch mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft Rumäniens ein (vgl. Bausinger 1986, 143f.). Da sozialer Habitus und ethnische Zugehörigkeit in der Fremdrepräsentation der Roma untrennbar miteinander verbunden sind, wird den Roma stets ein fester Platz zugeteilt: als Țigăni werden sie allesamt auf die unteren Ränge der Ethnien-Hierarchie Rumäniens verwiesen. Trotz der Einbettung der Selbstverortungen in gesellschaftliche Hierarchien wurde sichtbar, dass „nicht der Bildhauer der aktive Produzent und der Modellsitzende der stillhaltende Leidende ist, sondern beide gleichermaßen an einer Figur formen“ (Ries 2007, 76). Im Zusammenhang mit der stereotypen „sexuell verfügbaren Țigancă“, wie sie im erotisierenden Blick der Mehrheitsgesellschaft erscheint, wird diese reaktive Erzeugung von Selbstentwürfen durch die Abgrenzung vom negativen Heterostereotyp sichtbar. Eine Frau, die sich als sexuell verfügbar zeigt, wird von den drei Roma-Frauen als „Nutte“ abgelehnt.

Die Roma-Frauen aus Timișoara „schaffen zwar ihre Identität in vorgefundenen Rahmenbedingungen und mit vorgefundenem Material, aber sie können die Bausteine von Identität neu und originell anordnen“ (Brunnbauer 2007, 16). Um ihre Selbstpositionierungen zu konstruieren, übernehmen die Frauen negative Heterostereotypen und gehen damit auf verschiedene Art und Weise um. Zum einen widerlegen sie derlei Stilisierungen beispielsweise durch ihr eigenes, gegensätzliches Verhalten, wie zum Beispiel, wenn Doamna Mia durch ihre konsequent gewählte Wortwahl und Höflichkeitsbekundungen auffällt – was dem Heterostereotyp der „dummen und unzivilisierten Țigancă“ entstammt. Zum anderen aktivieren sie gelegentlich negative Heterostereotypen. Die wenigsten Frau-

en meines Forschungsfeldes präsentieren sich im Sinne eines solchen Stereotyps, wie etwa Corneli, wenn sie ihre (materielle) Abhängigkeit von ihrem „versoffenen Mann“ betont – was seine Entsprechung im Heterostereotyp von der „unterdrückten Țigancă“ findet. Stellenweise formen die Frauen negative Heterostereotypen auch zu positiv bewerteten Autostereotypen um – etwa wenn Danas den Bruder ihres Verlobten als „Aufpasser“ als Zeichen des Eingebundenseins in seine Familie und seine Zuneigung liest. In der Regel verarbeiten die Frauen ein in der Fremdwahrnehmung negativ bewertetes Stereotyp zu gleichermaßen negativen Autostereotypen und wenden diese auf Roma-Frauen an, von denen sie sich distanzieren wollen. Beispielsweise haften sie die „sexuell unkontrollierte Țigancă“ mehrheitlich „armen“ Frauen an. Durch die Abgrenzung von diesen als „anders“ markierten Frauen können meine Gesprächspartnerinnen ihr Selbstbild rein halten und somit die eigene, der aufgestellten Norm entsprechende Identität festigen³³. Insgesamt gesehen, reorganisieren sie aktiv Heterostereotypen zu Autostereotypen, um eine positiv aufgeladene Identität zu konstituieren (vgl. Roth 1998, 28; Okely, 1983, 1994, 1996).

Mit Ulf Brunnbauer gesagt, werfen meine Gesprächspartnerinnen primär Ethnizität, Gender und soziale Unterschiede als „stabile Anker“ ihrer Identität in den „gesellschaftlichen Fluss“. Da die Definitionsmacht über die typischen Eigenschaften der Țigănci in den Händen der Mehrheitsgesellschaft liegt, werden seitens der Rumänen individuelle Roma-Frauen mit zunehmender Entfernung vom Ideal der „echten“ und „traditionellen“ Țigănci und zunehmender Annäherung an „rumänisch“ markierte Eigenschaften nicht als Vertreterinnen einer eigenständigen Kultur der Roma wahrgenommen. Die Roma-Frauen selbst problematisieren im Zusammenhang mit Partnerschaft, Ehe und Sexualität in erster Linie ihren ethno-kulturellen Unterschied zur Mehrheitsgesellschaft (vgl. Ries 2007, 97). Sie füllen das, was sie in diesen Kontexten unter der „Kultur“ der Roma verstehen, jedoch mit unterschiedlichem Begriffsinhalt. Das wird am Beispiel des Authentizitätsdiskurses deutlich, wonach die Frauen den Abstand zur rumänischen Kultur messen. Etwa die Bewertung der Verheiratung in der arrangierten Ehe mit zwölf, dreizehn Jahren als typisches, „traditionelles“ Spezifikum der Roma drückt die Vorstellung von einem festen Kern der Roma-Kultur aus. Alle Selbst- und Fremdbilder meiner Gesprächspartnerinnen verstehen dies als „echte“ Roma-Kultur, setzen sich dazu in Bezug und messen die Entfernung zu diesem Ideal der „Authentizität“. Nichtsdestotrotz zeichnen sich sowohl die Handlungen und verbalen Äußerungen der kritisch eingestellten Frauen, die vielleicht sogar „mit den Traditionen gebrochen“ haben, wie auch derjenigen Frauen,

³³ Auch die von der Alterisierung betroffenen Frauen präsentieren sich nicht als wehrlose „Modellsitzende“, sondern gehen selbstbewußt mit den negativen Bildern um. Sie bestätigen mal das Fremdbild und feiern die Dissidenz zur Mehrheitsgesellschaft, mal bringen sie sich selbst in Bezug zu „anderen“ Frauen, auf die sie das Fremdbild wiederum projizieren.

die sich als „in den Traditionen noch sehr verwurzelt“ wahrnehmen, durch einen kulturellen Hintergrund vom Mehrheitskontext ab. Durch die permanente Abgrenzung von den definitiv „unechten“ Roma, den Rumänen, gelingt es meinen Gesprächspartnerinnen, eine „strukturelle Grenze“ im Sinne BARTHS um die ethnische Gruppe der Roma zu ziehen. Die von der Mehrheitsgesellschaft ethnisierten Roma erzeugen ihrerseits Ethnizität – doch „[e]thnische Grenzen sind keine kulturellen Grenzen“ (Römhild 1998, 5; vgl. Okely 1996, 58)! Die Journalistin Maria Bercea erinnert an die gemeinsame Alltagskultur von Rumänen und Roma: „Im Prinzip haben sie [die Roma-Frauen] nicht viel Schulbildung nötig, sollen als Jungfrauen in die Ehe gehen und vier bis fünf Kinder machen. Und wir [Rumäninnen] haben [...] ausgeblendet, dass auch unsere Großmütter nur vier Schuljahre absolviert hatten, dass sie ohne Aussteuer nicht heiraten konnten und keine Verhütungsmittel verwendeten. [...] die Wahrheit ist, dass wir – Roma wie Vertreter der Mehrheitsbevölkerung – gar nicht so unterschiedlich sind“ (Bercea 2006).

Erst in nachgeordneter Reihenfolge definieren die Frauen in ihren Selbstverortungsprozessen Weiblichkeit, auch wenn dies unlösbar mit ihrer ethnischen Identität verknüpft ist (vgl. Walgenbach 2007). Die Interdependenz von Ethnizität und Gender tritt besonders deutlich bei der Identifikation des moralisch akzeptierten sexuellen und reproduktiven Verhaltens zu Tage, wo sich auch ethno-kulturelle Unterscheidungen der Frauen zwischen Roma und Nicht-Roma am prägnantesten abzeichnen (vgl. Gay y Blasco 1997; Okely 1983). In Konstellation zu den von Dana als „triebgesteuert“ alterisierten Frauen erstrahlt ihre eigene kontrollierte Sexualität in hellem Glanze und bekräftigt in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart ihr Selbstbild als regelkonforme und „echte Țigancă“. Nur aus Liebe geht sie eine Beziehung ein, das Ausleben sexueller Bedürfnisse legitimiert sie mit einer bevorstehenden Eheschließung und unterstreicht ihren selbstbestimmten Umgang mit „modernen“ Verhütungsmitteln zur Kontrolle ihrer Sexualität. In ihrer Selbstbeschreibung zeigt sich Dana als selbstbewusste Frau, die ihre Position auch gegenüber ihrem Partner durchsetzen kann. Sie akzeptiert jedoch andererseits die Kontrolle ihrer Sexualität durch den Bruder ihres abwesenden Verlobten und lotet innerhalb dessen Freiräume aus. Auch die Wünsche ihrer zukünftigen Schwiegermutter nach baldigen Enkelkindern kennt sie, sie weiß jedoch geschickt damit umzugehen, ohne Doamna Măia gegenüber „respektlos“ zu erscheinen. Dana stößt jedoch auch an Grenzen: In der Beschreibung des Ausfluges mit ihrem Verlobten Cătă zum Baden artikuliert Dana ihre „Scham“, sich vor den männlichen Verwandten Cătă „entblößt“ im Badeanzug zu zeigen. Von ihrem Verlobten fordert sie gleichzeitig, er solle sich über diese „traditionellen“ Werte seiner Familie hinweg setzen und sie zum Baden mitnehmen.

Die Identitätskonstruktionen der Roma-Frauen prägt auch die Kategorie soziale Schicht. Diese gerät jedoch zur Erscheinung am Rande. In der Regel betonen sie kulturelle Unterschiede zur rumänischen Gesellschaft. Innerhalb ihrer ethnischen Identität positionieren sie sich durch das Hervorheben sozialer

Unterschiede zur rumänischen Gesellschaft, indem sie auf ein Anderes Bezug nehmen. Ihre Fremdrepräsentation als mehrheitlich „arme Țigănci“ weisen meine Gesprächspartnerinnen entschieden von sich. Wie auch in der Außensicht erscheinen die als „arm“ alterisierten Roma in relationaler Differenzierung als sozialsubversiv, „kulturlos“ bzw. an die Mehrheitsgesellschaft „schlecht assimiliert“ (*prost asimilați*), ohne sich jedoch darin zurecht zu finden. Weder in der rumänisch okkupierten Formation der „Moderne“ noch in den „Traditionen“, die mit stereotypen Țigani verbunden sind, wird „armen“ Frauen ein Platz eingeräumt (vgl. Ries 2007).

Ein wichtiger Aspekt der Bezugnahme auf ein Anderes zur Konstitution der eigenen Identität ist die darin implizit mitschwingende Macht. Jemanden als „anders“ auszumachen, bringt auch die Bezugsetzung, die Konstellation, die Perspektive und die Deutungsmacht im Zusammenhang mit dieser Benennung zum Ausdruck. Die alterisierten Frauen, auf die negative Heterostereotypen projiziert wurden, erschienen in den Augen der deutungsmächtigen Frauen als entmündigte, inkompetente und hilflose Gegenüber – sei es aufgrund ihrer mangelnden „Authentizität“, des fehlenden „Zivilisationsniveaus“ oder ihrer abgrundtiefen „Armut“. Das Unterscheiden eines alterisierten Gegenübers durch meine Gesprächspartnerinnen verläuft nach demselben Prinzip wie die Hierarchisierung der Minderheiten in der rumänischen Ethno-Nation. Die alterisierten Frauen wiederum gehen damit selbstbewußt und aktiv um und präsentierten sich als „starke“ Frauen, „gute“ Ehefrauen oder „aufopferungsvolle“ Mütter, „selbstbewußte“ Töchter. Die Zuschreibung des negativen Attributes der „Armut“ balancieren die Frauen jedoch auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise aus: entweder bestätigen sie bewußt das negative Bild oder sie grenzen sich ebenfalls von Frauen ab, die sie wiederum als „anders“ markieren. Doamna Mia, die in unmittelbarer Nähe einer als „arm“ (*sărac*) markierten „Kolonie“ lebte, verwies auf „andere“ Roma, die solche Eigenschaften erfüllten und wies dieses Etikett in der Regel von sich. Corneli hingegen positioniert sich auch bewußt als „arm“ (*nenorocire*), ohne sämtliche implizite Eigenschaften bestätigen zu wollen: Sie ist hilfsbedürftig im Zusammenhang mit ihrer prekären Wohnungssituation, aber auch eine gute Hausfrau, die die Familie zusammenhält. „Arm“ – in all seinen Facetten – will keine der Frauen sein. Deutlich geworden ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch, dass die Roma-Frauen sich durch Widersprüche positionieren, die auf den ersten Blick unauflösbar erscheinen. Innerhalb ihrer Selbst ergeben sich keine homogenen Positionierungen, alternative Bilder und Tendenzen verlangen ein „Pendeln“ zwischen verschiedenen Bezugspunkten der Selbstverortung.

Der Authentizitätsdiskurs, der Zivilisationsdiskurs und der Armutsdiskurs – diese drei Linien der Binnendifferenzierung, die sich aus dem zugrundeliegenden empirischen Material aufdrängten, ordnen die individuell unterschiedlichen Lesarten der Selbst- und Fremdbilder von Roma-Weiblichkeit (vgl. Ries 2007). In Übereinstimmung mit Judith OKELYS Erkenntnissen kann hier auch gesagt werden:

Controlled sexuality is separated off from uncontrolled sexuality. [...] In the case of the Gypsies, sexuality, gender and ethnic divisions are all exploited in the splitting process (Okely 1983, 214).

Obwohl sich alle untersuchten Frauen einig zeigen, indem sie ein Autostereotyp von der „echten“ Roma-Frau als Ehefrau und Mutter entwerfen, treten in ihren moralischen Bewertungen von ausgelebten sexuellen Bedürfnissen die drei Unterscheidungslinien zu Tage. „Verknallen“ sich „arme“, „kulturlose“ Roma, wird das als mangelnde Kontrolle der Triebe bewertet³⁴. Rationale Überlegungen über daraus resultierende Veränderungen ihres Lebens wie etwa den Abbruch des schulischen Bildungswegs werden diesen Frauen abgesprochen. „Traditionelle“ Frauen wiederum kontrollieren ihre Sexualität in extremer Weise durch die Familie und gelten als „Opfer der Traditionen“. In den Augen der „Bildhauerinnen“ dieses Fremdbildes erscheint der Lebenslauf dieser Frauen von vornherein auf eine Ehe im Teenageralter und „Kind und Küche“ ausgerichtet. Die Frauen, die hier die Deutungsmacht für sich beanspruchen, empfinden „arme“, „kulturlose“ oder „traditionelle“ Frauen als limitiert auf das „Machen von Kindern und Essen“ – wie sich Dana ausdrückt. Erst eine feste Partnerschaft, die in einer Ehe münden wird, legitimiert für die hier Deutungsmächtigen das Ausleben der Sexualität auf eine Art und Weise, die schulischer Bildung und Berufsleben einen Platz ermöglichen kann. Diese vielschichtigen Abgrenzungsmechanismen stärken letztlich die Norm von der kontrollierten Sexualität im Rahmen einer Ehe (vgl. Gay y Blasco, 1997).

Die primären Identitätsbezüge der Frauen aus Timișoara – Ethnizität, Gender und soziale Schicht – erscheinen als „sich verändernde, fast immer umkämpfte soziale Kategorien“ (Knecht 1993, 296f.). Anhand keiner der drei Kategorien präsentieren sie unveränderliche Merkmale einer übergeordneten Roma-Kultur. In ihren Identitätswürfen erweisen sich die „Traditionen“ der Roma immer als wandelbar. Im Zusammenhang mit der Partnerwahl und dem Zeitpunkt der Eheschließung betonte selbst die kritisch eingestellte Dana ihr regelkonformes Handeln als Roma. Sie führte ihr Verlöbnis und die bevorstehende Heirat mit ihrem „ersten Mann“ und Sexualpartner auf die „Traditionen“ der Roma zurück (vgl. Gay y Blasco 1997, 524ff.). Im Grunde erscheint die Kultur der Roma in den Identitätskonstruktionen meiner Gesprächspartnerinnen als vergleichsweise geschlossen und gleichzeitig als wandelbar. Allein dem entfremdenden Blick gelingt es, der Vielfältigkeit und Flexibilität alltäglicher Lebensformen eindeutige und feste Grenzen zu setzen und homogene „Bilder in den Köpfen“ mit eindeutigen

³⁴ Der Parallelen zum Fremdbild der Mehrheitsgesellschaft von den „armen Țigani“ sind kein Zufall – konstatiert auch Johannes RIES (vgl. Ries 2007, 203). Nicht nur der rumänische Durchschnittsbürger denkt sich Roma als „arme Teufel“, auch die von ihm untersuchten Roma verwenden Armutsdiskurse zur internen Differenzierung verschiedener Roma-Gruppen.

Wertigkeiten aufzubauen.

Literaturverzeichnis

Anderl-Motea, Corina, *Ethnizität – Raum, Funktion und Bedeutungswandel. Sozialgeographische und kulturalanthropologische Erkundungen zum Verhältnis von Ethnizität und Raum im Transformationsprozess anhand von Beispielen aus Rumänien*, Potsdam, Dissertation, Universitätsverlag, 2007.

Barth, Fredrik H., "Introduction" in Derselbe (Hg.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Bergen-Oslo und New York, Universitetsforlaget und George Allen & Unwin, 1969, Seiten 9-38.

Bausinger, Hermann, „Kulturelle Identität – Schlagwort und Wirklichkeit“ in Derselbe (Hg.), *Ausländer – Inländer. Arbeitsmigration und kulturelle Identität*, Tübingen, Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1986, S. 141-159.

Bengelstorf, Jens, *Die „anderen Zigeuner“: Zur Ethnizität der Rudari und Bajeschi in Südosteuropa*, Unveröffentlichte Magisterarbeit am Institut für Ethnologie der Universität Leipzig, 2007.

Bercea, Maria, „Române și țigănci“ in *Revista 22*, vom 9, Juni 2006, Download am 11.04.2008 unter www.revista22.ro/femeia-roma-2793.html

Brunnbauer, Ulf, „Einleitung“ in Derselbe (Hg.), *Umstrittene Identitäten: Ethnizität und Nationalität in Südosteuropa*, Frankfurt/Main, Peter Lang Verlag, u.a. 2002, S. 11-29.

Crețan, Remus, *Marginalitate socială și spațială: Conceptualizare și tipologie în cazul Rromilor din Banat și Sudul Crișanei. Studiu de geografie istorică și socială*, Timișoara, Universitatea de Vest, 2007.

Deiringer, Sabine A., *Applying Anthropology to the Situation of Roma. An Ethnography of NET, a Project Addressing the Situation of the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, Norderstedt, Books on Demand GmbH, 2006.

Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center (EDRC), *Barometrul Relațiilor Etnice*, November 2001; URL: http://www.edrc.ro/projects.jsp?program_id=3&project_id=19, Stand 07.2007.

Gay y Blasco, Paloma, "A 'Different Body'? Desire And Virginité Among Gitanos" in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 3, 1997, S. 517-535.

Hahn, Hans Henning, „12 Thesen zur Stereotypenforschung“ in Derselbe und Elena Mannová (Hg.), *Nationale Wahrnehmungen und ihre Stereotypisierungen*, Frankfurt/Main, LIT Verlag, 2007, S. 15-24.

Kaschuba, Wolfgang, *Einführung in die Europäische Ethnologie*, München, C.H. Beck Verlag, 2006.

Knecht, Michi, „Bilder – Texte – Macht. Wie die Darstellung von „anderen“ Frauen als Opfer und „anderen“ Kulturen als frauenfeindlich zur Rechtfertigung von Ausgrenzung benutzt wird“ In Widee, *Nahe Fremde – Fremde Nähe. Frauen forschen zu Ethnos, Kultur, Geschlecht*, Wien, Wiener Frauenverlag,

1993, S. 273-301.

Münst, Agnes Senganata, „Teilnehmende Beobachtung: Erforschung der sozialen Praxis“ in Becker, Ruth und Beate Kortendieck (Hg.), *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung. Theorie, Methoden, Empirie*, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004, S. 330-335.

Okely, Judith, *The Traveller-Gypsies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, u.a. 1983.

Okely, Judith, „Constructing Difference. Gypsies as 'Other'“ in *Anthropological Journal of European Culture*, 3, 1994, 2, S. 55-74.

Okely, Judith, *Own or other culture*, Routledge, London und New York, 1996.

Patrut, Iulia-Karin, „Zweimal Fremdes. Rumänien in der EU – Roma in Rumänien“ in *Forum Wissenschaft*, 1, 2007.

Patrut, Iulia-Karin und Herbert Uerlings, „Fremde Arme – arme Fremde. ‚Zigeuner‘ in den Literaturen Mittel- und Osteuropas“ in Dieselben und George Guțu (Hg.), *Fremde Arme – arme Fremde. ‚Zigeuner‘ in den Literaturen Mittel- und Osteuropas*, Frankfurt/Main, Peter Lang Verlag, u.a. 2007, S. 9-36.

Pickering, Michael, *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation*, Basingstoke und New York, Palgrave, 2001.

Ries, Johannes, *Welten-Wanderer. Über die kulturelle Souveränität siebenbürgischer Zigeuner und den Einfluss des Pfingstchristentums*, Würzburg, Ergon-Verlag, 2007.

Römhild, Regina, „Ethnizität und Ethnisierung: Die gemanagte Kultur als Ausgrenzungsinstrument“ in *Kuckuck*, 13 (1998), 2, S. 4-9.

Roth, Klaus, „„Bilder in den Köpfen“. Stereotypen, Mythen und Identitäten aus ethnologischer Sicht“ in Heuberger, Valeria et al. (Hg.), *Das Bild vom Anderen. Identitäten, Mentalitäten, Mythen und Stereotypen in multiethnischen europäischen Regionen*, Frankfurt/Main, Peter Lang Verlag, 1998, S. 21-43.

Schondelmayer, Sanna, *Stereotypisierung am Arbeitsplatz. Zur Handlungsrelevanz von Selbst- und Fremdbildern in der deutsch-polnischen Interaktion*, Dissertation, Münster, Waxmann Verlag, u.a. 2008.

Tileaga, Cristian, „Representing The ‘Other’: A Discursive Analysis of Prejudice And Moral Exclusion In Talk About Romanies“ in *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 16 (2006), 1, S. 19-41.

Woodcock, Shannon, „*The Țigan is not a man*“: *The Țigan Other as Catalyst for Romanian Ethnonational Identity*, Unveröffentlichte Dissertation, University of Sidney, Department of History, 2005.

*Centrele ideologice și periferiile lor/
Ideological Centers and their Peripheries*

**POLITICA „OCHILOR LA RĂȘĂRIT”: FRONTIERA DINTRE ROMÂNIA
ȘI POLONIA ÎN CONSTRUIREA SISTEMULUI „CORDON SANITAIRE”***

Florin Anghel,

Universitatea „Ovidius”, Constanța

***Abstract:** The “Eyes on the East” Policy: The Frontier between Romania and Poland in the Establishment of the “Cordon Sanitaire” System. The Romanian-Polish relations officially established shortly after the end of World War I (January 1919) were based on strategic and security interests: joint action against an unprovoked attack by Soviet Russia and the reopening of the road linking the Baltic to the Black Sea. During the conflict with the Red Army (1919- 1920), the Polish diplomacy focused the creation of a strategic North-South axis between the two seas, which would have enabled efficient communication between Romania and Poland. A program drawn up by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in April 1919 was putting forward the setting up of what Quai d’Orsay had termed a cordon sanitaire: “it is essential, in the interest of peace and of Europe, that a strong barrier should separate Europe from Russia and Russia from Germany”. Romanian-Polish common border, officially institutionalized just in 1935, can make real bilateral policies toward Kremlin and its Red Army, from the end of World War I to 1939, and became the most important element of the so-called “cordon sanitaire” international affairs system. Poland’s breakaway from the project of the Little Entente in 1923–1924 and the development of the trilateral alliance (Romania-Yugoslavia-Czechoslovakia) into an effective diplomatic community led, a few years after the end of World War I, to the creation of two blocs of victorious states in Central and Eastern Europe, centered on the Vistula (the Romanian-Polish alliance) and the Danube (the Little Entente). Although each of these blocs had as a main goal the preservation of the status-quo, this simple fact was not enough to make them unite. The Intermarium (creation of the ‘30’s Polish diplomacy) sought to capitalize as much as possible on the alliance between Bucharest and Warsaw, and to attract all the potential forces that may have been affected by the strategies and interferences of the neighboring totalitarian Powers, Germany and the USSR. The disintegration of Poland in September 1939 and the profound changes occurred in the geopolitical configuration of Central and Eastern Europe (as a result of a direct agreement between Berlin and Moscow in the case of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact) canceled all these projects and forecasts.*

***Keywords:** frontier; Romania; strategical axis; the Baltic; the Black Sea.*

* O variantă a acestui articol a fost publicată anterior în *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană*, an VII, 2008, București.

1. *România și Polonia în geopolitica Răsăritului după Primul Război Mondial*

Acțiunile diplomatice polone în regiune au vizat explicit, de la bun început, stabilirea unor relații foarte strânse cu România și transformarea lor rapidă într-o alianță defensivă politică și militară. Asigurată de către Franța și, mai ales, de prevederile tratatului de pace de la Versailles (care stabilea frontiera polono-germană și dădea libertate organizării unor plebiscite de ordin național în Silezia, Pomerania și Prusia Orientală), Polonia a dorit ajutorul României în stabilirea unei legături teritoriale directe care să o ajute în proiectul de rezolvare regională a disputelor teritorial-istorice și juridice cu noile puteri statale din Rusia și Ucraina. La fel de important ni se pare și faptul că, mai ales în timpul războiului polono-bolșevic (1919-1920), dinspre București a venit un sentiment de neîncredere în forța Poloniei de a rezolva insurmontabilele probleme ale frontierelor răsăritene, în detrimentul Armatei Roșii, Ucrainei naționaliste sau bolșevice, trupelor albgardiste și ale Republicii independente a Lituaniei¹. Este, în esență, aplicarea principiului extrem de realist enunțat de chiar primul ministru Alexandru Vaida Voevod, la sfârșitul anului 1919: „Să căutăm să ajungem cu toți vecinii noștri cât se poate de repede la stări de pace, pentru a putea după aceea, în deplină liniște, să ne dedicăm toate forțele reclădirii interne”².

Ministrul României la Varșovia, Alexandru Florescu, informa guvernul de la București, la 7 noiembrie 1919, că în contextul războiului din Răsărit între poloni (pe de o parte) și ucraineni, bolșevici, albgardiști și/sau lituanieni, era mult mai prudent pentru România să adopte o poziție de rezervă, care să nu implice în nici un fel intervenția militară dincolo de granițele răsăritene ale țării. „Legătura, granița comună și prietenia cu țara noastră este una din dogmele politicii polone”³, susținea mai departe Alexandru Florescu, în urma unui amplu

¹ Vezi, pentru întreaga problemă a implicării României în proiectele polone privind organizarea geopolitică a Răsăritului Europei: Florin Anghel, „Okupacja Pokucja przez Armie Rumuńska (24 maja-początek sierpnia 1919) i początki stosunki polsko-rumuńskich”, *Przegląd Historyczny*, Warszawa, tom LXXXIX, zes. 2, 1998, p.251-261 și Idem, „Przesłanki sojuszu rumuńsko-polskiego na tle konfliktu zbrojnego między Polska a Rosja Sowiecka (1919-1921)”, în Andrzej Ajnenkiel coord., *Rok 1920. Z perspektywy osiemdziesięciolecia*, Warszawa, Neryton, 2001, p.225-231. Din punct de vedere polon: Roman Galuba, „Niech nas rozsądi miecz i krew...”, *Konflikt polsko-ukraiński o Galicję Wschodnią w latach 1918- 1919*, Poznań, Adam Mickiewicz, 2004; Tadeusz Klimecki, *Polsko- ukraińska wojna o Lwów i Galicję Wschodnią, 1918- 1919*, Warszawa, Graf, 2000; Henryk Walczak, *Sojusz z Rumunią w polskiej polityce zagranicznej w latach 1918- 1931*, Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2008.

² Ion Bitoleanu, *Politica externă a României Mari în dezbaterile Parlamentului, 1919-1939*, Constanța, Mondograf, 1995, p. 201.

³ Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe (în continuare, A.M.A.E.), fond 71/1914, vol. *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.*

sondaj diplomatic în capitala polonă. În condițiile date, însă, o alianță bilaterală era deja un proiect mai ambițios decât starea reală. Aceasta pentru că, scria mai departe diplomatul român, „Polonia nu s-a hotărât încă să renunțe la niște visuri de mărire pe care le hrănesc amintirile unui trecut glorios și un șovinism exagerat”⁴. Din aceste motive, la sfârșitul anului 1919, în ceea ce privește negocierile vizând încheierea unei alianțe politice și militare bilaterale, Alexandru Florescu recomanda factorilor de decizie de la București:

Polonia nu pare a fi în momentul de față, încă, coaptă pentru a oferi unei țări un reazem de așa natură încât să poată fi transformat în alianță. Această alianță ar putea fi însă o chestiune de viitor, poate chiar apropiat, atunci când Polonia va birui greaua situație prin care trece, va renunța la veleități de imperialism și, mai cu seamă, atunci când această alianță s-ar prezenta sub forma unui mai întins sistem de înțelegeri în care ar intra și marile puteri occidentale⁵.

Interesul pentru strângerea legăturilor cu România se dovedea unul major, mai ales că toate strategiile regionale polone au fost subsumate, pentru 1919-1920, unor obiective fixe: desenarea frontierelor răsăritene cât mai aproape de realitățile istorice din 1772 și continuarea războiului cu toate taberele militare sau ideologice din Răsărit care nu acceptau punctul de vedere polon.

O amplă analiză a politicii regionale polone o făcea, în aprilie 1919, într-un memoriu intern (și confidențial) ministrul polon de externe, Ignacy Paderewski (totodată și șef al guvernului). Documentul⁶, puțin cunoscut istoriografiei polone, avansa cel puțin două scenarii majore în geopolitica Europei Central Răsăritene:

1. Constituirea prin forță (și fără accept polon) a unui „culoar” între Est și Vest prin Europa Centrală, și anume prin Galiția (Pocuția) și Rutenia Subcarpatică, între Rusia Sovietică-Ungaria comunistă-Cehoslovacia și, eventual, Germania. Acest „culoar” ar permite „comunicații incontroleabile”, cu efecte dezastruoase pentru Polonia dar și pentru alți vecini ai săi (deși nu este nominalizată, referirea la România este transparentă). Sigur, guvernul de la Varșovia lua în considerare, pentru acest punct al scenariului, alte câteva premise:

a) Creșterea influenței cehoslovace în Europa Centrală și Răsăriteană prin eventualul sprijin acordat de către Rusia Sovietică. La fel, Praga ar fi

61, f. 37- 50. *Raport nr. 508 de la Alexandru Florescu, ministru plenipotențiar al României la Varșovia către Nicolae Mișu, ministru de Externe, 7 noiembrie 1919.*

⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 48.

⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 49.

⁶ Archiwum Akt Nowych (în continuare, A.A.N.), Warszawa, fond Minister Spraw Zagranicznych, vol. 6370, f. 296-306. *Memorandum intern al Ministerului polon de Externe pentru uzul primului ministru, aprilie-mai 1919 (datarea noastră), nesemnăt.*

obținut și o prioritate de necontestat în luarea deciziilor politice și economice de la Kremlin. Pentru că raporturile dintre Praga și Varșovia erau explozive iar Polonia se afla deja angajată în războiul din Răsărit, devenea previzibilă o colaborare sovieto-cehoslovacă pentru izolarea statului polon și, mai grav, pentru înfrângerea și capitularea trupelor polone⁷. În acest fel, statul polon s-ar fi prăbușit rapid sau ar fi devenit o parodie, la fel ca „Regatul Poloniei” dintre 1916-1918.

b) O „politică a culoarului”, sprijinită și de regimul bolșevic de la Budapesta, era percepută la Varșovia și ca o încercare de a unifica mișcarea națională ucraineană (din R.S.S.Ucrainiană/ Ucraina naționalistă și Rutenia Subcarpatică, aparținând Cehoslovaciei) în detrimentul situației extrem de fragile din zonele polone locuite majoritar de populație nepolonă (cu precădere ucrainenii din Galiția Orientală, Volânia și Polesia). O mișcare ucraineană controlată ideologic dinspre Rusia/ Ucraina și Cehoslovacia ar fi provocat, de asemenea, prăbușirea politicii răsăritene a Poloniei și ar fi redus considerabil teritoriul statului.

2. Crearea unei axe strategice Nord-Sud, între Baltica și Marea Neagră, care să permită comunicații de orice fel între statele respective (Polonia și România, cu precădere, dar Varșovia preconiza și participarea Letoniei, Estoniei, Finlandei, Greciei și, poate, a Turciei)⁸. Pentru realizarea acestui obiectiv erau absolut necesare fixarea și, apoi, menținerea cu orice preț a unei frontiere comune româno-polone care, pe de o parte, să asigure legătura directă între cele două state iar, pe de altă parte, să separe din punct de vedere teritorial Cehoslovacia (și Rutenia Subcarpatică) de Rusia Sovietică (și teritoriile ucrainene pe care le încorporase). „Este esențial, în interesul păcii și al Europei, să se separe printr-un dig puternic Europa de Rusia și Rusia de Germania”⁹- susținea documentul programatic al diplomației polone. Nu numai atât, însă: rolul de conducător în politica regională antisovietică trebuia să revină Poloniei deoarece, se constata mai departe, „pericolul contactului cu rușii este infinit mai mic pentru Polonia decât în cazul altor state” pentru că „Polonia a fost, într-un

⁷ Pentru punctul român de vedere vezi Florin Anghel, „Intermarium contra Mica Înțelegere. Sursele refuzului polon de aderare la alianța dintre București, Praga și Belgrad”, *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană*, serie nouă, vol.I, 2002, p.23-40. Din punct de vedere polon în ceea ce privește rolul Cehoslovaciei în evoluția relațiilor româno-polone: Michał Kamiński, *Konflikt polsko- czeski, 1918- 1921*, Warszawa, Neryton, 2001; P. Kołakowski, *Między Warszawą a Pragą. Polsko-czechosłowackie stosunki wojskowo-polityczne, 1918-1939*, Warszawa, Bellona, 2007; Henryk Walczak, *Stanowisko polskich ugrupowań politycznych wobec Czechosłowacji w latach 1918-1925*, Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 1999.

⁸ A.A.N., Warszawa, fond M.S.Z., vol. 6370, f. 296-306. Vezi și Florin Anghel, „Proiecte de drumuri comerciale polone spre Balcani și Marea Neagră. Obiective, strategii și mijloace, 1919-1926”, *Revista Istorică*, 5-6, 2002, p.185-210.

⁹ A.A.N., Warszawa, fond M.S.Z., vol. 6370, f. 300-305.

fel, vaccinată, cunoaște și înțelege civilizația rusă; de un mileniu, Polonia are funcția de a apăra civilizația occidentală”¹⁰.

Ambele scenarii pe care diplomația polonă le elabora în primăvara anului 1919 trebuiau să găsească, pentru Varșovia, sprijin internațional fortificat, angajat și imediat. Și, în afara Franței (un fel de protectoare a statului polon în discuțiile purtate la Conferința de pace de la Paris), singurul stat de nădejde în regiune era România. Deja din aprilie 1919 - înainte chiar de trimiterea reciprocă a reprezentanților diplomați acreditați - Ministerul polon de Externe lucra la o strategie pe termen lung, de atragere a României și de implicare mai accentuată (și mai accelerată) a Bucureștiului în problemele răsăritene. La 20 aprilie 1919, un document elaborat de către Czesław Pruszyński, înalt funcționar al diplomației, solicita reprezentanților guvernului de la Varșovia și ai Comitetului Național Polon (K.N.P.), aflați la Paris, să trateze cu maximă seriozitate problema alianței cu România și să abordeze, de fiecare dată când au ocazia, cu partenerii români această chestiune. Era în discuție, atrăgea atenția Pruszyński, existența statului polon în fața amenințărilor permanente dinspre Răsărit; la fel de importantă era, totodată, și evitarea întăririi influenței și prestigiului Cehoslovaciei în Europa Centrală. „Credem că lucrul cel mai important pentru Polonia ar fi încheierea unei alianțe militare cu România” - arătau instrucțiunile venite de la Varșovia. „O astfel de alianță ar spori rolul Poloniei în Răsărit și ar complica relațiile cehilor cu România și cu aliații ei”¹¹.

2. Frontiera româno-polonă în perioada interbelică și impactul asupra politicilor regionale

Din punct de vedere istoric, prima delimitare a frontierei dintre principatul Moldovei și zona de nord anexată de către Austria (denumită Bucovina) s-a stipulat la 2 iulie 1776, conform *Convenției de la Palamutka*. Conform actului diplomatic, granița pleca de la Teșna, în Transilvania și, până la Nistru, urma linia Șarul Dornei-Neagra Dorna-Stulpicani-Zăhărești-Mirești-Dragomirna-Siret-Noua Suliță¹². Un secol mai târziu, în 1888 a avut loc o nouă rectificare (pe teren) a frontierei româno-austriece în Bucovina, mai ales pe cursurile râurilor Suceava și Molnița. În Nord, limita administrativă a Bucovinei (înspre Galiția) a rămas Ceremușul. Mai trebuie amintit, evident, că anexarea Bucovinei de către Austria nu a provocat o modificare geopolitică majoră, în

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Sprawy polskie na Konferencji Pokojowej w Paryżu w 1919 r. Dokumenty i materialy*, red. Regimiusz Bierzanek, Józef Kukulka, tom II, Warszawa, Naukowe, 1967, p. 289 - 291.

¹² Ioan C. Băcilă, „Răpirea Bucovinei și delimitări spre nordul Moldovei”, în *Arhivele Basarabiei* (Chișinău), an III, nr. 2, 1931, p. 12-15.

sensul stabilirii unor contacte teritoriale între Moldova și Polonia, pentru simplul motiv că uniunea polono – lituaniană era în plin proces de destrămare statală (tocmai avusese loc prima împărțire a statului polon între cele trei mari imperii vecine).

Din punct de vedere strict geografic și istoric, frontiera româno-polonă s-a stabilit în urma acțiunilor plebiscitare din Bucovina, Unirea cu România, pe de o parte, și prin eforturile noului stat polon de a intra în posesia teritoriilor din Răsărit care îi aparținuseră până la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea, pe de altă parte.

În Declarația de Unire a Bucovinei cu România, din 28 noiembrie 1918, se arăta că provincia a revenit „necon condiționat și pe vecie” în „vechile ei hotare până la Ceremuș, Colacin și Nistru”¹³. Nu existau alte precizări, cum nu se întâlnesc - în plus - nici în textul tratatului de pace de la St. Germain dintre Austria și Puterile Aliate și Asociate; în aceste condiții, aproape nu mai trebuie explicate eforturile conjugate ale diplomaților și militarilor poloni de a convinge România de necesitatea asigurării și trasării unei frontiere comune, menite să ajute colaborarea reciprocă în fața unei eventuale agresii dinspre Răsărit.

Începând cu decembrie 1918 deja, reprezentanții Comitetului Național Polon (biroul de la Londra) contactau Legația română din capitala britanică în vederea stabilirii de negocieri urgente și adoptarea unei poziții comune pentru ca „frontiera sud-estică a statului polon să fie limitrofă României”. Conte Sobiański, conducătorul misiunii polone de la Londra, îi declara însărcinatului cu afaceri M. Boerescu că „cele două state (România și Polonia), cu relații economice intime ce vor fi stabilite, își vor asigura reciproc un debușeu la Marea Neagră și la Marea Baltică”¹⁴. Frontiera comună româno-polonă a reprezentat, de altfel, o adevărată obsesie atât a cercurilor politice cât și a presei și opiniei publice polone.

În această vreme, Ion I.C. Brătianu, aflat în permanent contact cu guvernele de la Varșovia și Praga asigura, la 2 ianuarie 1919, cele două guverne că România era pregătită „să dezvolte relații politice și economice din cele mai intime”, inclusiv prin stabilirea unei frontiere comune¹⁵. Liderul român insista pentru aplicarea imediată pe teren a unui plan de joncțiune româno-polon pe aliniamentul Munkacs (Mukačevo)- Stryj (din Rutenia Subcarpatică în Pocuția)¹⁶. Acest plan interesa în mod deosebit și partea cehoslovacă. În 1919-

¹³ *Unirea Basarabiei și a Bucovinei cu România, 1917-1918*, ediție de Viorica Moisuc și Ion Calafeteanu, Chișinău, Hyperion, 1995, p. 335.

¹⁴ Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe (în continuare, A.M.A.E.), fond 71/1914, vol. 90, f. 14-15. *Raport nr. 1945 de la Legația României la Londra către Ministerul român al Afacerilor Străine*, 7 decembrie 1918.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. 34, f. 390 – 391. *Telegrama nr. 7 de la Ion I.C.Brătianu, prim-ministru, către Legația României la Londra*, 2 ianuarie 1919.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. 181, f. 93. *Telegrama nr. 343 de la Ion I.C.Brătianu, președinte al Delegației române la Conferința de Pace către Mihail Pherekyde, președinte al Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.*

1920, în pregătirea defensivei în fața Ungariei, oficialii de la Praga au alcătuit un ambițios proiect de colaborare militară româno-polono-cehoslovacă în cazul unui atac sovietic (pe aliniamentul Prešov-Košice-Brody-Tarnopol-Colomeea-Cernăuți. Planul ar fi intrat în acțiune nu numai în cazul unui atac neprovocat asupra Cehoslovaciei ci și asupra Poloniei sau/și României, evident cu acceptul celor două capitale¹⁷.

Într-un memoriu adresat Delegației române la Conferința de pace, datat 4 iulie 1919 și semnat de aproape toți liderii bucovineni care înfăptuiseră Unirea, se respingea *ab initio* orice idee/tentativă de a pune în discuție granița istorică a Bucovinei. Se aprecia că statul român trebuia să accepte rectificări de frontieră numai ca o ultimă condiție și că ele trebuiau foarte bine cumpănite, ținându-se cont de aspectele economice, militare, strategice și ale dezvoltării locale. Documentul citat se oprea asupra cazului căii ferate Cernăuți-Zalescic, una din arterele principale ale provinciei, care ar fi dorit să aibă parcursul numai pe teritoriul românesc. La fel, se cerea Delegației române să obțină asentimentul Alianților și al părții polone ca și traseul căii ferate Nepolocăuți-Vijnița, cu legătură spre Cernăuți, să aibă garanția integrării între frontierele statului român, cu atât mai mult cu cât, admitea documentul, „valea Ceremușului își are debușeul economic la Cernăuți”. Statului polon i se puteau accepta, în schimb - sugera memoriul reprezentanților bucovineni - anumite rectificări de frontieră în regiunea muntoasă și nelocuită din jurul orașului Storojineț, regiune „a cărei cedare n-ar constitui o mare pierdere economică, nici etnografică. Nici din punctul de vedere al siguranței frontierelor n-ar constitui cedarea districtului numit o amenințare a teritoriilor românești”¹⁸.

Parisul a crezut de cuviință să decidă că noua Polonie avea menirea să pună în valoare cel puțin trei factori majori, capabili să sporească influența franceză în Europa Centrală și Răsăriteană:

1. crearea unui debușeu politic, militar și economic la Baltica;

Senatului României, 26 aprilie 1919.

¹⁷ Într-un plan elaborat în 1923, de către Statele Majore francez și cehoslovac, se arăta că, în cazul unui atac din partea Germaniei, Austriei sau Ungariei, laolaltă Cehoslovacia și Polonia ar fi amenințate, ceea ce ar fi impus o strategie defensivă comună. Cehoslovacia inducea partenerilor francezi că pericolul era unul major; în această situație, Ungaria ar fi trebuit să fie ținută în șah de către trupele române și iugoslave, Cehoslovaciei nerămânându-i decât soluția „de a lua simple măsuri de învăluire la frontiera de sud cu Ungaria.” În sfârșit, ceea ce este esențial, Statul Major cehoslovac cerea oficialilor francezi să intervină energic, în spiritul „păstrării integrității teritoriilor naționale”, pentru a se alcătui un plan comun de apărare la care să participe Statele Majore ale Cehoslovaciei, Poloniei, României, Iugoslaviei și Franței. A.M.A.E. France, fond Papiers d'agents. Papiers Millerand, vol. 56, f. 361-362.

¹⁸ A.M.A.E., fond 71/1914, vol. 58, f. 86. *Memoriu semnat de Nicolae Flondor și Alexandru Vitencu adresat Delegației române la Conferința de Pace de la Paris*, 4 iulie 1919.

2. asigurarea vecinătății dintre Polonia și România în ideea constituirii unui bloc de state între Baltica și Marea Neagră (așa numitul *cordon sanitaire*)¹⁹

3. arbitrarea, exclusiv de către francezi, a diferendelor de frontieră ale Poloniei²⁰.

Obiectivele franceze, și în special cel dedicat constituirii frontierei comune româno-polone, urmăreau respectarea cu scrupulozitate a primatului securității militare a Franței asupra tuturor celorlalte probleme economice și politice²¹ iar întreaga politică regională a fost circumscrisă, astfel, competiției pentru influența între Franța și Marea Britanie²².

Aliații au luat în considerație, cu privire la frontiere, în cadrul Conferinței de Pace, sugestiile, și deciziile românilor și polonilor. Astfel, în mod oficial, după semnarea tratatului de pace de la Versailles, partea franceză a acordat un interes sporit problemei frontierei comune româno-polone. Într-un *Memoriu* înaintat lui Ion I.C. Brătianu, la 2 iulie 1919, secretarul general al Conferinței de Pace, Dutasta, înainta o propunere Aliată privitoare la traseul graniței dintre Bucovina și Galiția. Iată cum arată acest proiect, în special francez:

O linie care pleacă de la talvegul Nistrului, la o distanță de 2 km în aval de confluența râului Siret, la Nord de Cernăuți, continuă spre Sud-Vest, lăsând calea ferată de la Zastavna, la Sud de Nistru, pe teritoriul român și atinge linia lacului de la Vest de Werenczanka. Linia care va traversa lacul va urma un traseu ce va fi fixat de Comisia de Delimitare. Talvegul râului care se varsă în lac până la 1 km în amonte pe șoseaua Coțmani-Drăcineț, o linie în direcția Est, trecând prin cotele 480 și 488, va întâlni linia de separație a bazinelor râurilor Ceremuș la Vest și Siret la Est. Urmând această linie se va atinge vechea

¹⁹ Pe larg, pentru o viziune românească, Florin Anghel, *Construirea sistemului „cordon sanitaire”*. *Relații româno-polone, 1919-1926*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun, 2008. Conceptul istoriografic *cordon sanitaire* a fost introdus în circuitul științific și dezvoltat pe parcursul a numeroase lucrări reprezentative de către istoricul finlandez Kalervo Hovi, de la Universitatea din Turku. O privire de ansamblu a politicilor regionale baltice la Kalervo Hovi, *Interessensphären im Baltikum. Finnland im Rahmen der Ostpolitik Polens, 1919- 1922*, Helsinki, Vammala, 1984.

²⁰ Kalervo Hovi, *Cordon sanitaire or barrière de l’Est ? The Emergence of the New French Eastern European Alliance Policy, 1917 – 1919*, Turku, Turun Yliopisto, 1975, p. 179.

²¹ Henri Austruy, « La frontière polono-roumaine », în *La nouvelle revue*, Paris, 15 aprilie 1919, p. 6

²² Kalervo Hovi, *Alliance de revers. Stabilization of France’s Alliance Policies in East Central Europe, 1919 – 1921*, Turku, Turun Yliopisto, 1984, p. 83. Vezi și Piotr S. Wandycz, *France and Her Eastern Allies, 1919. 1925. French- Czechoslovak- Polish Relations from the Paris Peace Conference to Locarno*, Minneapolis, Minneapolis University Press, 1962.

frontieră dintre Ungaria și Bucovina, imediat la Est de punctul unde această frontieră întâlnește limita administrativă actuală dintre Bucovina și Galiția²³.

Câteva zile mai târziu, la 31 iulie 1919, la Lwów, s-a semnat Convenția româno-polonă privind evacuarea Pocuției și stabilirea „liniei de demarcație”. Articolul 2 susținea că

linia care separă armata română de armata polonă va fi formată din frontiera istorică a Bucovinei, începând de la satul Babin, pe Nistru, până la Iablionița, pe Ceremușul Alb. Satul Serafince face parte din terenul ce urmează a fi reocupat de armata polonă²⁴.

Convenția bilaterală releva că „linia de demarcație” urma întocmai traseul sugerat de delegații la Conferința de Pace²⁵, cu specificarea numai că satul Iablionița era amintit ca făcând parte din teritoriul statului român.

Tratatul de pace de la Sévres, din 20 august 1920, încheiat între Marile Puteri Aliate și Asociate (S.U.A., Marea Britanie, Franța, Italia și Japonia), pe de o parte, și România, Polonia, Cehoslovacia și Regatul Sârbo-Croato-Sloven, pe de alta, recunoștea celor din urmă statele suveranitate asupra teritoriilor care le compuneau și, în același timp, reglementa în plan juridic internațional frontierele dintre ele. Articolul 3 al Tratatului se referea explicit la România iar paragraful 6 se oprea la frontiera comună româno-polonă (în text „Galiția Orientală”). Deși se arată că

prin stipulațiuni ulterioare se va prevedea traseul pe teren al liniei de frontieră între România și Galiția Orientală”, Aliații și statele succesoare au convenit, în ceea ce privește România și Polonia: „De la punctul comun al vechilor limite ale Basarabiei și Bucovinei pe cursul principal al Nistrului și până la un punct situat la aproximativ 2 km în aval de Zaleszczyki: cursul principal al Nistrului în amonte; de acolo, către Sud-Vest și până la punctul de întâlnire a limitei administrative între Galiția și Bucovina, cu limita între districtele Horodenka și Sniatyn la aproximativ 11 km la Sud- Est de Horodenka. O linie de determinat pe teren trecând prin cotele 317, 312 și 239; de acolo către Sud-Vest și până la punctul de întâlnire cu vechea frontieră dintre Ungaria și Galiția. Vechea limită

²³ *Ibidem*, f. 84-85. *Convenție între Regatul României și Republica Polonă privind evacuarea Pocuției de către trupele române și stabilirea liniei de demarcație*, Lwów, 31 iulie 1919.

²⁴ Vezi la Florin Anghel, *Okupacja Pokucja przez Armie Rumuńska (24 maja- poczatek sierpnia 1919)*. Un punct de vedere polon, aproape similar, la Michał Klimecki, „Rumunia wobec polsko- ukraińskiej wojny w Galicji (Małopolsce) Wschodniej w latach 1918-1919”, în Stanisława Jakimowska, Elżbieta Wieruszewka (coord), *We wspólnocie narodów i kultur. W kręgu relacji polsko-rumuńskich/ Comunitatea popoarelor și culturilor. În lumea relațiilor polono-române*, Uniunea Polonezilor „Dom Polski”, Suceava, 2008, p.130- 141.

²⁵ A.M.A.E., fond 71 / 1914, vol. 54, f. 84-85.

administrativă dintre Galiția și Bucovina; de acolo, către Nord-Vest și până în punctul 1655, care este punctul comun din Carpați al bazinelor celor trei râuri-Tisa, Vișeu și Ceremuș; vechea frontieră între Ungaria și Galiția. Punctul 1655 este punctul comun al celor trei frontiere ale României, Galiției și Cehoslovaciei²⁶.

Convenția politică de alianță defensivă, semnată la 3 martie 1921, la București, de cei doi miniștri de Externe, Take Ionescu și prințul Eustachy Sapieha, a schimbat oarecum fondul problemei privind frontiera comună²⁷. Având în vedere atât cererile repetate ale comunităților locale bucovinene din zona de frontieră (în special în ceea ce privește liniile de transport și securitatea obiectivelor agricole și industriale) cât și recomandarea art. 7 din Tratatul de pace de la Sévres din august 1920 (conform căruia România și Polonia urmau să cadă de acord asupra traseului frontierei), ministrul român de Externe a acceptat cererea negociatorilor poloni de a introduce, în textul Convenției politice, în anexa secretă, *protocolul C*. Acest ultim document susținea că „ambele guverne se angajează a negocia în spiritul cel mai favorabil un schimb de teritorii cu scopul de a înlesni comunicațiile între Bucovina și Maramureș, fără ca teritoriile schimbate să fie necesar de dimensiuni egale”²⁸.

Evident, acceptarea de către partea română a *protocolului secret C* trebuie în mod obligatoriu nuanțată. Este vorba, în primul rând, de dorința și eforturile perseverente ale diplomației de la București de a construi un sistem regional de securitate, menit a păstra *statu-quo*-ul și de a se apăra în fața unui eventual atac dinspre Răsărit. Apoi, mai important, România avea datoria și intenția de a obține recunoașterea internațională a Unirii cu Basarabia, ceea ce documentul din 3 martie 1921 consfințează²⁹.

²⁶ „Desăvârșirea unității național-statale a poporului român. Recunoașterea ei internațională. 1918”, *Documente interne și externe (februarie – decembrie 1920)*, vol. VI, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1986, p. 420-424.

²⁷ O perspectivă documentară recentă la Henryk Bułhak, „Dokumenty dotyczące wojskowego sojuszu polsko-rumunskiego, 1921-1931”, în *Studia z dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, XLIII, 2009, p. 41-51.

²⁸ A.M.A.E., fond Convenții 13 / P1, vol. II bis, nepaginat.

²⁹ Două viziuni asemănătoare: Florin Anghel, *Construirea sistemului „cordon sanitaire”*. *Relații româno-polone, 1919-1926*, ed. cit., 2008 și Henryk Walczak, *Sojusz z Rumunią w polskiej polityce zagranicznej w latach 1918- 1931*, Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2008. Asupra momentului, esențiale ni se par textele lui Jan Dąbski, *Pokój ryski. Wspomnienia. Pertraktacje. Tajne układem z Joffem. Listy*, Wrocław, 1990; Henryk Bułhak, „Początki sojuszu polsko-rumuńskiego i przebieg rokowań konwencji wojskowej w latach 1919-1921”, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, Warszawa, nr. 3, 1973; Idem, „Stosunki Polski z Rumunią”, în Andrzej Koryn red., *Odrodzona Polska wśród sąsiadów 1918-1921*, Warszawa, Wydawcy Instytut Historii P.A.N., 1999.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

Statul român era preocupat și de stabilirea unei legături feroviare lesnicioase și sigure între Bucovina și Maramureș (pe relația Cernăuți-Sighet-Satu Mare-Oradea) în condițiile în care, pentru moment, traseul trecea și prin teritoriile Poloniei și Cehoslovaciei. Călătorilor români li se aplicau - pentru tranzit - regimul vamal obișnuit, cu pașapoarte vizate de către consulatele cehoslovac și polon, ceea ce comporta cheltuieli însemnate în plus. Fără o modificare teritorială, condițiile se vor modifica abia prin semnarea, la 9 noiembrie 1929, a unei convenții tripartite referitoare la tranzitul feroviar³⁰. Conform acestui acord, Polonia și Cehoslovacia acordau părții române „facilități pentru un tranzit special de călători, bagaje, mesagerie, mărfuri și poștă în tranzit din România în România” (art.1); nu se mai cereau formalități vamale pe traseul Cernăuți-Sighet dar cele două state care acordau tranzitul interziceau coborârea sau urcarea din trenuri în timpul deplasării pe teritoriile lor (art. 3)³¹.

De la bun început, trebuie precizat că, din diferite motive, atât România cât și Polonia nu au ratificat tratatul de la Sévres din august 1920, care reglementa statutul frontierelor între statele Europei Centrale și de Sud-Est; Varșovia a acuzat de la bun început Puterile Aliate și Asociate că au utilizat, în textul documentului, formula „Galiția Orientală”, eludând orice mențiune despre statul polon. Apoi, deși în Bucovina trăiau în jur de 40.000 de poloni³², în zona de frontieră numărul acestora era infim. Cu totul nereprezentativ era și numărul românilor din satele limitrofe graniței, conform unui document din arhivele românești, un referat alcătuit de experți ai Ministerului român de Externe, din septembrie 1926, cu privire la originea etnică a populației din

³⁰ „Convențiune între Republica Poloniei, Regatul României și Republica Cehoslovacă cu privire la libertatea tranzitului feroviar din România în România prin teritoriul polon și cehoslovac, pe căile ferate, între gările Grigore Ghica Vodă-Sniatyn-Zalucze-Woronienka- Jasina-Valea Vișăului”, *Monitorul Oficial*, București, 1931.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 3-4.

³² Comunitatea polonă din România, majoritar stabilită în Bucovina, număra 48.310 suflete, conform recensământului din 29 decembrie 1930 (*Anuarul statistic al României pe 1937 și 1938*, București, 1939, p.58-59). Surse din interiorul comunității susțineau că, în România Mare, trăiau peste 60.000 de poloni („Kurier Polski w Rumunii”, Cernăuți, an II, nr. 51, 22.07.1932) iar cercetători români ai problemei insistă asupra unei cifre maxime de 100.000 persoane: Daniel Hrenciuc, *Un destin pentru istorie: polonezii în Bucovina, 1774-2008*, Iași, Princeps Edit, 2008, p. 246. Pentru evoluția comunității polone din România, din perspectiva cercetării istoriografice românești: Florin Anghel, „Polskie społeczności w Wielkiej Rumunii, 1918-1940”, în *Studia Polonijne* Lublin, 17, 1996; Idem, „Identitatea duală a unei comunități etnice: poloni și slovaci în Bucovina, 1937-1944. Manipularea etnică în timpul crizelor politice internaționale”, în *Altera*, Târgu Mureș, 25, 2004; Daniel Hrenciuc, „Considerații asupra evoluției comunităților poloneze din Bucovina în perioada interbelică”, în *Analele Bucovinei*, VIII, nr. 1, 2002; Florin Pintescu, Daniel Hrenciuc, *Istoria și tradițiile minorității polone*, Uniunea Polonezilor „Dom Polski”, Suceava, 2004.

comunele limitrofe cu frontiera polonă din județul Cernăuți³³. Fără îndoială că această situație era valabilă și pentru celălalt județ bucovinean, Storojineț. În cele zece comune de graniță, numărul românilor capi de familie era de 23 (cei mai mulți, 9, în Crisceatic, în vreme ce la Chisălău și Culeuți nu era înregistrat nici un român). Polonii aveau 38 de capi de familie: cei mai mulți la Zvineace (11), Crisceatic (10) și Cadobești (6). Spre comparație, ucrainenii numărau 3.588 capi de familie iar evreii – 194³⁴.

Din punct de vedere strategic, atât configurația terenului cât și dispunerea centrelor populate aveau aceleași caracteristici și de o parte și de alta, de la Nistru până la confluența Ceremușului Alb cu Ceremușul Negru, fără vreun inconvenient pentru vreun stat. Cele mai multe probleme se deschideau, însă, în domeniile comunicațiilor și al vieții economice locale. Un *Memoriu asupra frontierei româno-polone*³⁵, prezentat la 20 septembrie 1926 de către partea română Comisiei Mixte de Delimitare, întrunită la Cernăuți, arăta că frontiera împiedica parte din săteni să-și lucreze pământurile situate acum în celălalt stat (Polonia - în general, loturi de 1-5 ha). La fel, la Ialovicioara - Zahariceni (jud. Rădăuți), șoseaua de legătură rămăsese pe teritoriul polon deși sătenii contribuiseră material la construirea ei, iar localitățile deveniseră, practic, izolate; pășunatul devenise, de asemenea, o problemă pentru crescătorii de animale de pe valea Ceremușului deoarece locurile de pășunat se situau pe teritoriul polon.

După semnarea Convenției politice de alianță din 3 martie 1921, autoritățile polone au declanșat o amplă ofensivă diplomatică și propagandistică pentru a convinge guvernul român de necesitatea unor modificări de frontieră. Polonia dorea un teritoriu de aproximativ 75 km² care cuprindea șoseaua de legătură între orașele polone de frontieră Horodenka - Zaleszczyki, calea ferată Horodenka - Zaleszczyki (în lungime de 16 km dar porțiunea Ștefănești - Schit se afla pe teritoriul României), 4 comune (Ștefănești, Schit, Babin, Crisceatic) și fabrica de zahăr de la Crisceatic (cu un capital, în 1926, de 400 milioane lei, cu o producție anuală de 1.500 vagoane zahăr, adică 9 % din producția românească)³⁶. România ar fi primit, conform ofertei polone, un teritoriu de aproximativ 580 km² cu șoseaua directă care lega Cernăuți de Sighet (inclusiv porțiunea de cale ferată care trecea pe teritoriul polon), pășuni și păduri întinse pe valea Ceremușului, cu posibilități foarte reduse de exploatare în lipsa unei regularizări a cursului Ceremușului (200 milioane lei costuri estimate la

³³ A.M.A.E., fond Convenții 13/P1, vol. II bis, nepaginat. *Referat al Subcomisiei Teritoriale din Comisia Mixtă de Delimitare a Frontierei, din Ministerul român al Afacerilor Străine, privind populația din comunele limitrofe cu frontiera polonă din județul Cernăuți, 17 septembrie 1926.*

³⁴ *Ibidem.*

³⁵ *Ibidem.*

³⁶ *Ibidem, Memoriu nr. 110 al Comisiei Mixte de Delimitare asupra stabilirii frontierei româno-polone, 22 februarie 1927 (red. N. Arion).*

nivelul anului 1926)³⁷. Autoritățile competente românești nu respingeau, în principiu, ideea *protocolului secret C* din 3 martie 1921. Marele Stat Major și oficialii Ministerului român de Război nu excludeau schimbul de teritorii; la fel, comandamentul Corpului de grăniceri susținea că obținerea teritoriului oferit de poloni către România ar fi scurtat traseul frontierei cu aproape 80 km³⁸. Ministerul Lucrărilor Publice de la București completa și el imaginea, avansând ideea că legăturile feroviare și rutiere dintre Bucovina și Maramureș s-ar fi scurtat - în cazul acceptării ofertei polone - de la 200 de km la circa 70 km³⁹.

Ofensiva propagandistică în Polonia, a căpătat amploare încă înainte de finalizarea rapoartelor tehnice ale experților români. Oficinosul Ministerului polon de Externe, „*Epoka*”, susținea că Polonia nu numai că nu trebuia să cedeze statului român vreo parte din teritoriu dar că guvernul de la București era „obligat” să rezolve „cererile repetate ale huțulilor” conform cărora doreau să trăiască în cadrul frontierelor polone⁴⁰ (ceea ce ar fi însemnat că cedările românești ar fi fost mult mai mari decât cele prognozate). La fel, „*Gazeta Warszawska Poranna*” cerea ca România să cedeze teritoriile în discuție fără să primească altceva în schimb; aceasta deoarece ținutul pe care guvernul polon l-ar fi oferit era extrem de bogat în resurse miniere „pe care nu le-a examinat nimeni până acum”. Mai mult decât atât, continua cotidianul varșovian, zona Kosow (cea care ar fi fost oferită României) „are o climă caldă de munte, unică în Polonia precum și izvoare de apă minerală, printre care cel de la Burkut”⁴¹.

Partea polonă era strict interesată de fabrica de zahăr de la Crisceatic, până în 1914 proprietate a prințului Andrzej Lubomirski. Din 1923, fabrica a devenit societate anonimă pe acțiuni, românească, cu principal acționar banca Chrissoveloni⁴². În satul Zvineace, pe malul Ceremușului, localitate revendicată de asemenea de Polonia, se afla un vechi lăcaș ortodox, renumit datorită unei icoane făcătoare de minuni și care, în opinia experților români în studiul frontierei, „ajută mult la românizarea elementului ucrainian, de aceeași religie cu noi”⁴³. La fel, partea română nu putea accepta nici cedarea șoselei Crisceatic-Coțmani, singura care lega zona de frontieră cu calea ferată Cernăuți-Grigore Ghica Vodă-Sniatyn.

În condițiile în care, pe parcursul anului 1926, insistențele polone privind rectificarea de frontieră au devenit tot mai presante, România a propus părții polone, la 11 decembrie 1926, o soluție de compromis:

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ *Ibidem*. Referat al ședinței Subcomisiei Teritoriale din Comisia Mixtă de Delimitare, Zalucze, 10 decembrie 1926.

1. cedarea către poloni a zonei cu calea ferată Horodenka-Zaleszczyki (partea care traversa teritoriul românesc), cu mențiunea că satele Crisceatic și Zvineace rămâneau la România;

2. în schimbul de mai sus, România ar fi primit în teritoriul ei șoseaua și calea ferată care lega Bucovina de Maramureș, fără alte pretenții teritoriale⁴⁴.

Polonia nu numai că a refuzat oferta română dar, în mod oficial, în cadrul conferinței plenare a Comisiei Mixte de Delimitare, din 20 ianuarie 1928, a repudiat protocolul secret C al Convenției politice de alianță din 3 martie 1921⁴⁵, stabilind că nu mai este de actualitate.

Comisia Mixtă de Delimitare a frontierei s-a constituit, de comun acord, la 20 iulie 1926, cu însărcinarea de a delimita, a aplica pe teren deciziile oficialilor și tehnicienilor și de a borna în plan linia de frontieră. Așa cum am arătat, negocierile au fost îndelungate deoarece partea polonă, deși recunoștea *de jure* granița istorică a Bucovinei, susținea că, prin Tratatul de pace de la Sévres din 1920, a obținut Crisceatic și zona înconjurătoare. Deși nu a ratificat acest tratat, Varșovia a impus, la 3 martie 1921, adoptarea *Protocolului secret C* prin care se deschideau - în teorie - negocierile pentru schimbul de teritorii.

Modificarea opticii polone în intervalul 1921-1927/1928 trebuie văzută în lumina evoluțiilor regionale și, totodată ale politicii externe de la Varșovia. În momentul semnării Convenției bilaterale (1921), Polonia se afla în plină ofensivă diplomatică, avusese un răsunător câștig în războiul cu Armata Roșie, redobândise (tot prin acțiune armată) aproape jumătate din Lituania istorică, obținuse importante poziții în conflictul teritorial din Teschen (în Cehoslovacia) și era pe punctul de a rezolva, cu sprijinul Aliat, spinoasele probleme teritoriale legate de Silezia Superioară și Galiția Orientală. Pare, astfel, de înțeles îndârjirea cu care a încercat să convingă partea română să renunțe la ideea „frontierei istorice a Bucovinei” în favoarea unei formule „suple”.

De altfel, încercăm să avansăm ipoteza că, pentru anii '20, în condițiile colaborării foarte strânse între București și Varșovia, statul polon a încercat să aplice și pentru frontiera cu România statutul aceleia pe care o avea cu Letonia, mica republică baltică vecină cu care Polonia nu a fost niciodată în conflict în perioada interbelică. Mai târziu, ministrul de Externe Józef Beck avea să relateze cum gândea diplomația polonă acest tip de frontieră. Este vorba, în primul rând, de nefixarea „formulelor juridice clasice ale relațiilor internaționale”.

Această frontieră (n.n.- dintre Polonia și Letonia) – continuă J. Beck – nu a fost niciodată trasată cu precizie și nici recunoscută în mod expres prin vreun

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. III, nepaginat.

document juridic. Exista un singur document (protocol), semnat la Riga, în 1927, de ministrul nostru plenipotențiar, dl. Lukaszewicz⁴⁶.

Odată cu atașarea ideii *statu-quo*-ului teritorial la politica externă a Alianțelor și slăbirea ideii revizioniste la mijlocul deceniului trei, Polonia a renunțat de bună voie (deși după o campanie de presă denigratoare la adresa României) la ideea schimbului de teritorii. Lovitura de stat din mai 1926 și ideea diplomatică a mareșalului Piłsudski de a păstra fragilul echilibru geopolitic în care se situa țara sa, au impus o nouă direcție. Rapoartele, stenogramele și procesele verbale ale ședințelor Comisiei de Delimitare stau mărturie: după o primă ofensivă polonă în forță, propagandistică, cu acuze la adresa României că ignoră prevederile tratatului de pace de la Sévres din august 1920 și ale *Protocolului secret C* din 3 martie 1921, spre sfârșitul anului 1926-începutul anului 1927 deja se poate observa o atitudine mai calmă, deschisă dialogului. Mai mult, la atenționarea amicală a oficialilor români că perseverarea în ideea modificării frontierelor - chiar și pentru patru-cinci sate - ar deschide complicatul dosar al *statu-quo*-ului teritorial în Europa Centrală, Polonia a devenit, cel puțin în cadrul acestor negocieri, deosebit de precaută. În ședința Comisiei Mixte de Delimitare din 12 octombrie 1926, spre exemplu, delegatul polon a recunoscut că un schimb de teritorii ar provoca greutatea insurmontabile în raporturile Varșoviei cu Sovietele⁴⁷.

Proiectul polon de organizare a Europei dintre Germania și U.R.S.S.- ceea ce mediile diplomatice de la Varșovia desemnau drept „*Međzymorze*” sau „*A Treia Europă*” - model inspirat de către Beck, a susținut orice efort pentru a construi imaginea unei puteri regionale consecvente, independente de decizia Alianțelor (Franța și Marea Britanie) dar și la adăpost de amenințările venite dinspre Kremlin și Berlin. Un astfel de proiect rezerva României, dar nu numai ei, un rol de adjuvant în rezolvarea complicatelor situații teritoriale, politice și diplomatice în regiunea dintre Baltica, Marea Neagră și Marea Adriatică. Inițiativa urma să aparțină strict factorilor poloni de acțiune și avea drept obiectiv fundamental evitarea oricărui derapaj geopolitic al regiunii în fața provocărilor impuse de către Marile Puteri europene. Dincolo de a considera Polonia drept un factor perturbator în regiune - prin elaborarea, susținerea și punerea în practică a proiectelor sale ponto-baltice - și, la fel, de a citi aceste

⁴⁶ Joseph Beck, *Dernier rapport. Politique polonaise, 1926-1939*, Neuchâtel, Droz, 1951, p. 77-78.

⁴⁷ A.M.A.E., fond Convenții 13 / P1, vol. II bis, nepaginat. *Referat al Comisiei de Delimitare, din cadrul Ministerului român al Afacerilor Externe*, semnat de Iancu Grigorcea, 12 octombrie 1926. Despre întreaga problemă, sumar tratată încă de istoriografia română, vezi și Nicolae Dascălu, *Relații româno-polone în perioada interbelică (1918-1939)*, București, Editura Academiei, 1991; Florin Anghel, „Despre o problemă aproape necunoscută: frontiera româno-polonă în perioada interbelică”, în *Revista Istorică*, nr. 3-4, 1997.

evoluții strict prin cheia unei puteri hegemonice secundare, ar trebui urmărite eforturile constante, deși nu cu rezultatele propuse, ale lui Beck și colaboratorilor săi, în direcția asigurării unei securități întărite, neafectate de conflictele dintre Puteri, pentru toate statele regiunii, indiferent de situația conjuncturală, din perspectiva militară și diplomatică, în care s-au aflat după Primul Război Mondial.

Protocolul final de delimitare a frontierei româno-polone s-a semnat la București, la 17 mai 1935, de către miniștrii Miroslaw Arciszewski și Alexandru Iacovaky⁴⁸ (lungimea totală a graniței era de 346,6 km).

Așa cum am arătat, frontiera româno-polonă a avut drept fundament granița istorică a Bucovinei cu Galiția, fapt recunoscut atât de acordurile bilaterale din 1919 cât și de Tratatul de pace de la Saint Germain și Sévres, din 1919-1920. Situația s-a complicat în momentul semnării Convenției politice de alianță defensivă, din 3 martie 1921, care propunea schimbul de teritorii (partea polonă susținea că tratatul de la Sévres dădea această posibilitate, în cadrul unor înțelegeri bilaterale), pentru rezolvarea unor probleme locale legate de economia agrară, comunicații și paza eficientă a graniței. Polonia a demarat, în perioada 1921-1926, o intensă campanie neoficială (în presă, în rândul comunităților de graniță, pe diverse alte canale de comunicație) pentru a convinge România să cedeze o porțiune de teren care ar fi avantajat, evident, partea polonă. Odată cu impactul momentului Locarno și, mai ales, după stabilizarea relativă a politicii de securitate colectivă (implicit de respingere a tuturor sugestiilor referitoare la modificări teritoriale), guvernul de la Varșovia a renunțat, oarecum brusc (la nivelul anilor 1927/1928) la aceste pretenții. Guvernele de la București nu au privit problema schimbului de teritorii doar prin optica avantaj/dezavantaj (deși, repetăm, s-ar fi obținut, poate, o facilitare pe legătura Cernăuți-Sighet-Satu Mare-Oradea) ci au promovat, implacabil, principiul *statu-quo*-ului și al respectării scrupuloase a tratatelor de pace din 1919-1920.

⁴⁸ Protocolul, în 9 articole, a fost identificat astfel: A.M.A.E., fond Convenții, Bil. Pol. 43, nepaginat și Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warszawa, fond Prezydium Rady Ministrów, Akta grupowe, dosar 94.

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE 1930s. ORTHODOXISM NATIONALISM BEYOND NICHIFOR CRAINIC AND NAE IONESCU

Ionuț Biliuță,

Central European University

***Abstract:** The present paper aims to uncover the post-1948 intellectual career of the main exponent of Orthodoxism, namely Nichifor Crainic. After spending a period in the Communist prisons, Crainic began to write articles in the Communist sponsored newspaper 'Glasul Patriei' (The Voice of the Fatherland) addressed to the Romanian émigré communities. The Communist regime had chosen intellectuals of the former regime that enjoyed remarkable prestige in the Romanian Diasporas to promote the liberalization of the approach towards the intellectual life and an emphasis on elaborating a Communist version of interwar nationalism.*

***Keywords:** Nichifor Crainic; Communist nationalism; Orthodoxism; Lucian Blaga; intellectuals; totalitarianism; interwar nationalism.*

1. Prolegomena

The 1930s Romania became a battlefield between different political forces backed by distinct intellectual directions. The traditionalist orientation became more radical and the interwar nationalist project imbued in the highly flamed intellectual discourses joined the extremist forces of the right wing parties in the political arena. In this political process both Nichifor Crainic and Nae Ionescu gave a helping hand building and shaping ideologically the discourse of the traditional nationalists as expressed by the Iron Guard led by Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu.

The aim of the present article is to look at the posteriority of both Nae Ionescu and Nichifor Crainic after 1948. In Nae Ionescu's case the generation of intellectuals of the 1930s represented the continuation of his intellectual project, although their understanding of ethnic ontology was Orthodox-free. More precisely, by exercising his infectious charisma over his students Nae Ionescu determined his former students to join the Romanian fascist movement, namely the Iron Guard. I argue that the 1930s generation of Romanian intellectual joined the Iron Guard for several personal reasons like unemployment or their political convictions. I will provide two explanatory case studies, namely Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran whom I consider to be the most representative of the new generation of intellectuals whose discourses express best the failure of Nae Ionescu radical formula even among his students. Though they had highly nationalist convictions, their rapprochement with

Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu's movement was a continuation of a nationalist cultural understanding of the nation and not a direct continuation of Nae Ionescu confessional ethnic ontology.

After 1948, Nae Ionescu became a *persona non grata* for the new regime in power and his intellectual succession could not stand to an arbitrary totalitarian regime wanting to limit any access to a plurality, even on cultural grounds. The failure of Nae Ionescu's intellectual project through his succession is explained by several factors. These include his support for a fascist organization which turned, together with the other democratic parties, into the main enemy for the totalitarian Communist Party. The fact that Ionescu died in 1940 and he did not survive to see the emergence of the Communist regime transformed him into a wasted possibility for a regime which downplayed even its enemy intellectuals for its own profit. Another major factor in Nae Ionescu's lack of appeal for the Communist regime was the fact that even in his own age Ionescu's radical definition of the Romanian nation based exclusively on the Orthodox character of the people had no intellectual succession, people like Constantin Noica constructing an ethnic ontology without the confessional character which stressed the relevance of Orthodoxy as the ultimate criteria in discerning the true character of the Romanian nation.

For Nichifor Crainic I argue that there was no future generation to continue his nationalist project after 1948 but himself. In support of this statement comes the fact that 1932 generation educated and created by Nichifor Crainic fell under the influence of Nae Ionescu and ended up in the Iron Guard just as the generation who came later. Unlike Nae Ionescu, Nichifor Crainic survived World War II and hard years of imprisonment and was able to *sell* his intellectual expertise to the new regime. What was more interesting was the fact that in *Glăsur Patriei* all the former collaborators of Crainic from the right-wing of *Gândirea* (Radu Dragnea, Fr. Dumitru Stăniloae, Petre-Marcu Balș, Radu Gyr, etc.) together with Crainic started to back the Communist regime in its search for a Communist national approach. Nichifor Crainic and his former collaborators had no choice but to write what the regime was asking even if this meant sometimes texts which were against their own convictions. Nevertheless, the shift of Nichifor Crainic's intellectual discourse from 1962 in *Glăsur Patriei* contained only allusive statements about Orthodoxy and its relation with the Romanian nation, mostly because there was no debate concerning this aspect and the Romanian state through its instruments (The Securitate, Uniunea Scriitorilor, etc.) controlled the intellectual development of a unique ideology of Romanian nationalism. Although the topic is challenging, it is not the purpose of the present study to engage in a close analysis of the motivations or the mechanism employed by the Romanian Communist State in its attempts to shape a nationalist approach of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The present paper will analyze only two case studies, Nichifor Crainic and Lucian Blaga, and I

will attempt to see how their intellectual speech changed, or not in the Communist era under the influence of the totalitarian regime.

The article will be divided into three parts. In the first part I present the alignment of the 1930s generation influenced by Nae Ionescu to the Iron Guard and its discourse regarding the Romanian nationality as the first step in Nae Ionescu legacy. Two case studies will be considered in this first part of the study that of Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran to demonstrate that although Ionescu's charisma determined both to join the Iron Guard, his ethnic ontology remained a project with no continuity among his disciples in Nae Ionescu's formula. Despite the radicalization of their discourse under the influence of their fascist sympathies, both Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran intellectual discourses, though they spoke about the need of a spiritual background for a national culture and for defining the Romanian nation, remained uninfluenced by the Orthodox category of their Mentor's ethnic ontology. Therefore, their Legionary convictions and the lectures of their Mentor about an ontological interconnection between Orthodoxy and Romanianness did not succeed to catch the attention of Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran.

Furthermore, I will investigate the reintegration of Nichifor Crainic in *Glasul Patriei* and the inflation of nationalistic motifs borrowed from the interwar period which is proof enough of the fact that Ceausescu's regime tried to reshape its approach to Communism in a nationalist manner by using the "interwar experts". Despite his former condemnation for being an enemy of the People and a fascist supporter, after 1968 Crainic's reinsertion in the country cultural elite is a typical political maneuver of the totalitarian regimes: when one wants to avoid a problematic foreign tutelage, one has to reinvent its ideology on a different political angle. Regarding Nichifor Crainic's discourse one can notice that Crainic although is writing about monasteries and the spirituality of the Romanian village, the relevance of Orthodoxy for Crainic's undertaking was irrelevant because issues like religion and Orthodox Church played an insignificant role for the Romanian Communist Party.

For the Romanian political regime the nationalist version of Communism was the proper line to follow in order to achieve political independence from U.S.S.R. and international prestige. Inside this section of the study another example of intellectual of *Gândirea*, namely Lucian Blaga will be brought into discussion. Formerly engaged in the traditionalist debate regarding the character of the Romanian nation, Lucian Blaga has almost the same intellectual trajectory as Crainic by attempting to adjust his discourse according to the expectations of the Communist regime.

These two sections of the paper will be followed by a comparative analysis between Ceausescu's nationalism and the nationalism of the interwar period. The communist regime imported nationalism not from abroad, but rather

from their political hinterland much like Katherine Verdery argued in her book¹. This process was not engineered in a single stage. From making journals like *Glasul Patriei* in the mid-1960s to publishing Eliade's writings in the beginning of the 1980s there was a long road in the conscious attempt of Ceausescu's regime to bring to life a national Communist canon. The process was complex and needs further investigations. My final conclusion is that Romania's modern and contemporary history is still heavily influenced by the traditionalist national creed which had different metamorphoses and was interpreted by different communities of readers for different historical purposes and in different political contexts.

2. The 1930s generation. Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran facing the Iron Guard

In early 1930s, the general state of mind of the Romanian young elite was pessimistic. Economical problems and the great depression led to a high rate of unemployment among functionaries and especially among graduated students². Fighting against Communism and attempting to involve themselves in the Romanian political life were the alternatives given to the Romanian youth³. If they did not embrace the official discourse of different political parties or the Royal House, the Romanian youth started to slope towards the competition: the traditionalists represented by Nichifor Crainic's circle gathered around *Gândirea* and *Caledarul*. Crainic advocated for traditionalist nationalism, based on village's spirituality, on a primacy of Orthodox Christianity in front of the secular regime proposed by the Romanian state after 1918 and an emphasis on the necessity of a true Romanian culture, deprived of any imports from the West⁴. Crainic's synthesis from *Gândirea* proved to be very seductive in the 1920s and most of the 1930s intellectuals started to publish and to make their way in the Romanian public sphere under Crainic's patronage⁵.

Nae Ionescu's charisma was even more mesmerizing than Crainic's. Ionescu's anti-modern lectures were a stage in the formation of Eliade and

¹ Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990.

² See Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania. Regionalism, Nation Building, & Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1995, p. 29–48.

³ Keith Hitchins, *Romania 1866–1947*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 268.

⁴ Please see Keith Hitchins, "Gândirea: Nationalism in Political disguise" in Kenneth Jowitt (ed.), *Social Change in Romania 1860–1941. A debate in a European country*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986, p. 141.

⁵ Zigu Ornea, *The Romanian Extreme Right. The 1930s*, Boulder, Columbia University Press, 1999, p.86.

Cioran as young intellectuals⁶. He welcomed and proposed in the pages of *Cuvântul* his prestigious students among which the most important were Mircea Eliade or Mihail Sebastian. After 1933, when he decided to unofficially join the Iron Guard, his option had tremendous consequences over his students⁷.

In the case of Mircea Eliade things are not as clear cut as everybody thought they will be. The Romanian roots of the intellectual remained fairly unknown to the West until several scholars started to point out his political itinerary which led Eliade from a moderate nationalism to openly-declared Fascism. If one looks at the articles written by Eliade in the beginning of the 1930s one can see the ambiguity of Eliade's position for both Communism and Fascism. He states that "the Communist arsonists of churches are hooligans – and so are the fascist persecutors of the Jews... Look to the right: men beheaded in Germany, thinkers persecuted in Italy, Christian priests tortured in Germany, Jews expelled. Look to the Left: Christian priests stood in front of the firing squads in Russia, freedom of thought punished by death, the hooliganism of Communism in Paris..."⁸. Eliade wrote his diatribes against communists and fascists alike because in this particular period Eliade was not interested in politics, but rather he considered all political systems destined to an imminent annihilation in front of a spiritual revolution. Influenced probably by Nae Ionescu, Eliade embraced this ideal of a spiritual national revolution which had nothing in common with the democratic order.

In 1934 he wrote an important text in which he declared that:

We are sick of political and politicizing revolutions, we are sick of the revolutions imitating Lenin or Hitler. I think there no sentient young person who had not had enough of Karl Marx, Mussolini, communism, fascism, and I don't know what else. We should like to hear something different from the same subtle distinction between 'right-wing' and 'left-wing' between proletarian revolution and national revolution⁹.

He even condemned the Iron Guard together with all other parties advocating a spiritual revolution: "Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, reactionary advises his legionaries to vote for a democrat like Iuliu Maniu. The democrats

⁶ For this aspect, please see Matei Călinescu, "The 1927 Generation in Romania: Friendships and Ideological Choices (Mihail Sebastian, Mircea Eliade, Nae Ionescu, Eugen Ionescu and E. M. Cioran)" in *East European Politics and Societies* 15, No. 3 (2001), p. 650.

⁷ Matei Călinescu, "The 1927 Generation in Romania: Friendships and Ideological Choices (Mihail Sebastian, Mircea Eliade, Nae Ionescu, Eugen Ionescu and E. M. Cioran)", in *op. cit.*, p. 653.

⁸ *Credința*, no. 3/1932, p. 4.

⁹ Mircea Eliade, "Câteva cuvinte mari" [Some Great Words] in *Vremea*, VII, no. 341, June 10, 1934, p. 4.

become the suppressors of freedom, while the theoreticians of violence complain of violence... The year 1933 began with a threatening sympathy for Communism and movements of the Left and it has ended with the popularity of the Iron Guard”¹⁰. In another article¹¹ Eliade describes a certain conflict between the intellectuals of the young generation and the politicians of the Romanian Liberal regime. As Florin Țurcanu has pointed out¹², 1935 represented for Eliade the turning point in his views towards fascism; although he condemned Communism as bitterly as ever, he started to advocate strongly for international Fascism¹³ and for the mission of the Romanian people in history¹⁴. The change in Eliade’s speech is obvious. The reasons behind this are still obscured by historical dimness and insufficient scholarly analysis. If in the previous years Eliade wrote about Fascism and in favor of the Iron Guard and continued to publish extensively in the *History of religions*¹⁵, Eliade’s rapprochement with the Guard became obvious in 1937 when he published extensively in support of the electoral campaign of Codreanu and his movement. At this particular point of the paper a certain remark must be made: although Eliade is advocating for a spiritual revolution against fascist, nationalist or political revolutions, what he has in mind is a different cultural project from his mentor, Nae Ionescu. Although Eliade confessed that Nae Ionescu’s classes determined him to reconsider the problem of faith, for Eliade in this period under the direct influence of Nae Ionescu, “religion, consequently Christianity, could not have been a question of *faith* or dogma, but rather a question of *personal experience*”¹⁶. It means that Orthodoxy did not play any role at all for the young Eliade who was obviously more preoccupied to become a believer. I argue that this was the peak of the religious experience which he will later see embodied in the Iron Guard mysticism.

There are many factors involved in the fascist conversion of Eliade. This is the moment when several scholars entered the debate. Zigu Ornea considers that Eliade’s involvement can be explained only through a certain process of fulfillment by the Guard of a certain messianic expectation¹⁷. In the

¹⁰ *Vremea*, VII, no. 343, June 15, 1934, p.6.

¹¹ Mircea Eliade, “Realități Românești” [Romanian Realities] in *Vremea*, VIII, no. 426, June 16, 1935, p. 4.

¹² Florin Țurcanu, *Mircea Eliade. Le Prisonnier de l’Histoire*, Paris, Éditions de la Découverte, 2003, p. 312.

¹³ Mircea Eliade, “România în eternitate” [Romania in eternity], in *Credința*, no. 152/ October 13, 1935, p. 2.

¹⁴ Mircea Eliade, “Popor fără misiune?!” [People without a mission?!], *Vremea*, VIII, no. 512, December 1, 1935, p. 2

¹⁵ For Eliade’s prodigious career, see Mac Linscott Ricketts, *Mircea Eliade. The Romanian roots*, Vol. 2, Boulder, East European Monographs, 1988, p. 713 and passim.

¹⁶ Florin Țurcanu, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁷ Zigu Ornea, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

case of Eliade this kind of presupposition is rather insufficient and it does not explain his later evolutions. Zigu Ornea tried to exonerate Eliade by pointing out that the 1937 involvement and membership in the Iron Guard was a moral duty of a man who considered that the task of his generation was embodied in the spiritual revolution. Relying on primary sources, Ornea disregards the historical context and other possible explanations for this kind of attitude.

Mac Linscott Ricketts provides a historical and textual context in which Eliade chose to join Codreanu's party¹⁸. What is more interesting in this perspective is the interconnection between the anti-democratic trends flowing in the Romanian culture from the 19th century onwards¹⁹. But what singles out Linscott Ricketts from all Eliade's interpreters is the accent he places on the Romanian messianic mission. Starting from a quote from Eliade²⁰, Mac Linscott Ricketts develops this theory of messianic character, but this theory does not explain why Eliade joined the Iron Guard. Rather,

...his beliefs coincided at many points with those of Codreanu. He did not share the Guard's anti-Semitism, but he was able to overlook it as an almost inevitable concomitant of the Romanian nationalism. Undoubtedly, his admiration and friendship for Nae Ionescu – who had been closely associated with the movement since late 1933, though he was never a member – had the effect of drawing him towards the Legion. When he became convinced in the fall of 1936 that the Legion's aims are non-political, that its purpose was to transform life and "resurrect" the nation, and that it was indeed capable of setting a Christian revolution in Romania – Eliade began to lend his moral support²¹.

It is clear that the American exegete of Eliade embraced the traditional core of interpreters who drew a direct connection between Nae Ionescu's intellectual project, imbued with nationalism and the belief in messianic character of the Romanian people. His influence both on the Iron Guard and the young generation determined Eliade to take a final decision regarding the movement. This perspective was embraced by most scholars working on the Romanian Iron Guard²², Eliade and the 1930s generation. This influence of Nae

¹⁸ Mac Linscott Ricketts, *op. cit.*, p. 792 and passim.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 900.

²⁰ "We must create so much and on so many planes that every Romanian will have the consciousness of belonging to a chosen people. We have plenty of evidence that the Romanian people can be a chosen people. It has created, throughout the course of the history, lasting forms of government, it has created a distinctive style of collective rural life, it has been amazingly fertile in folkloric and artistic creations, and in a hundred years of modern life it has produced at least three geniuses of universal structure".

²¹ Mac Linscott Ricketts, *op. cit.*, p. 921- 922.

²² Francisco Veiga, *La Mistica del ultranacionalismo. Historia de la Guardia de Hierro*, Bellaterra, Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1989, p. 230

Ionescu was also highlighted by some other contemporaries²³, but it does not fully explain Eliade's actual decision. Mac Linscott Ricketts seems to forget some other important factors from the interwar Romania. I argue that spiritual revolution and the messianic character of the Romanian people had nothing in common with the ethnic ontology which Nae Ionescu professed. Dissimilar to Mac Linscott Ricketts who spoke about a "Christian revolution" caused by the Iron Guard and in which Eliade believed, I must underline that, although it was messianic and nationalist, as someone can see from Eliade's religious interests²⁴, Orthodoxy never played an important role for him. Accordingly, Nae Ionescu's radical definition of the Romanian ethnicity had no appeal to the young Eliade.

Florin Țurcanu²⁵ in his monograph dedicated to Eliade considered him "a prisoner of history". Țurcanu emphasized a stunning conclusion: Nae Ionescu's legacy was not the only factor responsible for Eliade's later political decision. Rather, Țurcanu assembles some neglected explanations for Eliade's political behavior. Beside Ionescu's infectious charisma or the Romanian messianic feeling, there were other decisive factors for joining the Iron Guard. Political opportunism²⁶, the friendship with Mihai Polihroniade²⁷ and the ideal of new political elite²⁸ were important factors in taking the final decision. Another decisive moment for joining the Iron Guard was Moța and Marin's death and their funerals in 13 January 1937²⁹ and reflected in the first openly pro-Iron Guard article³⁰ after which nothing could stop him from becoming an active member, involved in the legionary propaganda in Prahova county and elected as deputy on the electoral lists of the Party *All for the Fatherland*³¹.

– 231 & Armin Heinen, *Die Legionen "Erzengel Michael" in Rumänien, Soziale Bewegung und Politische Organization. Ein Beitrag zum Problem des internationalen Faschismus*, München, R. Oldenburg Verlag, 1986, p. 293.

²³ Please see Mircea Vulcănescu, *Nae Ionescu așa cum l-am cunoscut* [Nae Ionescu how I met him], Bucharest, Humanitas, 1993, p. 56.

²⁴ Florin Țurcanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83–85; in these pages the Romanian author has point out that Eliade religious interests went from religious indifference in the mid-1920s to Buddhism in the beginning of the 1930s.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 326 and passim.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 344.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 346.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 347.

²⁹ "I have joined the Iron Guard because of Moța and Marin's deaths" [my translation] in Mircea Eliade, *Europa, Asia, America... Corespondență* [Europe, Asia, America... Corespondence] Vol. 3, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2004, p. 475.

³⁰ Mircea Eliade, "Ion Moța și Vasile Marin" [Ion Moța and Vasile Marin], *Vremea*, January 24, 1937.

³¹ For more details, please see Armin Heinen, "Die Legionen *Erzengel Michael*" in *Rumänien, Soziale Bewegung und Politische Organization. Ein Beitrag zum Problem Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.*

From this stance of writing in the support of a “new legionary aristocracy”³² to advocating for a legionary regime was just a step.

His later political career leaves no doubts about Eliade’s involvement in the legionary regime before and after 6th of September 1940. After the murder of Codreanu in November 1938 and his imprisonment at Moroieni³³, Eliade became a cultural attaché at the Romanian legations in London and Lisbon where he continued to hope for a nationalist/fascist victory over the Soviet Union during the war. His admirations for Salazar, the authoritarian leader of Portugal, his conviction that England and the democratic powers should lose the war are enough proof of the fact that Eliade’s involvement and contamination with the fascist doctrine was genuine³⁴.

Emil Cioran’s rapprochement to the fascist movement is another case of a Romanian intellectual seduced by the Iron Guard that later preferred to hide his fascist past. Although 4 years younger than Eliade, Cioran entered under the same spell of Nae Ionescu whose student he also was in Bucharest University and became a fanatic supporter of the Iron Guard, although he never entered officially in the movement. As Marta Petreu has pointed out³⁵, his fascination with Fascism began in 1933 when he was in Germany³⁶. The deep impression provoked by the Nazi seizure of power, the desolating political landscape of his home country, his deep attraction towards totalitarianism and towards the vitality of the Nazis all played along in his choice. The integration of intellectuals like Martin Heidegger and Ludwig Klages to the fascist goal was another striking feature of Fascism which had convinced him that Fascism was the best alternative for the Romanian political specter.

He expressed his fascination with Hitler and Germany in a series of articles. The most representative³⁷ expressed his admiration towards the Third Reich and its nationalist revolution, although in a moderate sense. As in Eliade’s case, Cioran chose to enter the Iron Guard as a member of the Criterion circle. Influenced by Mihai Polihroniade, Cioran discovered the Iron Guard and he became a “heretical” sympathizer whose commitment for the Guard’s leader and movement were linked with a deep inclination for a totalitarian regime or

des internationalen Faschismus, Munich, Oldenbourg, 1986, p. 306.

³² Please see Eliade’s article “Noua aristocrație legionară” [New Legionary Aristocracy] in *Vremea*, IX, nr. 522, January 23, 1938.

³³ Zigu Ornea, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

³⁴ Sorin Alexandrescu, *Mircea Eliade despre Portugalia*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2006.

³⁵ Marta Petreu, *An Infamous Past. Emil Cioran and the Rise of Fascism in Romania*, Chicago, Ivan. Dee, 1999, p. 8.

³⁶ Sorin Antohi, *Imaginaire culturel et réalité politique dans la Roumanie moderne. Le Stigmat et l’utopie*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 1999, p. 111.

³⁷ Emil Cioran, “Aspecte germane” [German aspects] in *Vremea*, VI, nr. 314, November 19, 1933.

dictatorship as contemporary Germany and Italy had³⁸. There is another track to follow and that was presented by Sorin Antohi in his *Civitas imaginalis*. Speaking about Cioran in terms of cultural stigmata characterizing a Transylvanian Romanian coming from his ethnical elite who had to acknowledge himself as being inferior to his German, Jewish and Hungarian colleagues whom he met in the time of his highschool years in Sibiu, Cioran developed a psychological obsession regarding Romania's cultural insignificance. His despair as depicted in his books and articles and his frustration towards the immobility of the Romanian state in developing an authentic cultural path towards its destiny in history paved the way for his inclination towards extremist solutions to these matters as Marxist, Nazism, Fascism or dictatorship³⁹. This sense of personal anguish led him eventually to the Romanian fascist movement seen as a possible salvation for Romania. Sorin Antohi's hypothesis is very seductive and explains much of the future political adventure of Emil Cioran. Nevertheless, his optimism and his need for struggle rather different from Eliade's efforts: Cioran believed that he had found in the Legion a consequence and a direct copy of the Nazis and the Italian fascists.

Confronted with schematized political ideologies, unlike Eliade who has accepted entirely the legionary code except for the anti-Semitic doctrine, Cioran accepted anti-Semitism⁴⁰, but rejected the legionary political doctrine thoroughly, including Iron Guard preference for Orthodox mysticism. Cioran took into consideration Orthodoxy as a moral code which was supposed to provide an ethic framework for the nation. He denied Orthodoxy the capacity of being the ferment of a future spiritual revolution of the Romanian nation.

What Cioran had in mind when he joined the Iron Guard was a kind of synthesis between political conservatism and radical Fascism which went far beyond the most optimistic expectations of the Iron Guard's ideologues. Zigu Ornea has accurately noticed that there was a clear incompatibility between what Cioran wanted from the Iron Guard and what the Iron Guard had to offer⁴¹. Cioran believed the Iron Guard to be an organization as strong as the Nazis or the Italian fascists through which he hoped he could reshape a colonial, backward, small culture as the Romanian. Thus never mentioned in the text of his famous *Transfiguration of Romania*, his target was to impose to the Iron Guard movement a specific fascist tempo in a revolutionary and conservative

³⁸ Marta Petreu, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

³⁹ Sorin Antohi, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁴⁰ For Cioran anti-Semitism and its functions please see Leon Volovici, *Nationalist Ideology and Anti-Semitism: the case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930's*, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1991, p. 111; Alexandra Gruzinska, "(Anti-) Semitism 1890s/1990s: Octave Mirabeau and Emil Cioran" in *Rocky Mountains Review of Language and Literature*, 55, no. 1 (2001), p. 18.

⁴¹ Zigu Ornea, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

manner⁴². Mixing, in a provocative manner, different political trends, Cioran rejected modernity as the Romanian fascists did, but he crossed over the strong boundaries of the Legionary political creed because he was disappointed with the lack of political interest inside the Iron Guard⁴³. His involvement in the Romanian fascist movement was rather seen as unsubstantial and regardless of his numerous meetings with Codreanu, Cioran chose to leave the country and settle down in Paris⁴⁴. Before he left the country he told Mircea Eliade: “What would I do if I stay in this country? As I cannot actively join the nationalist movement, there is practically nothing for me to do in Romania”⁴⁵.

A comparison between the Romanian 1930s fascist generation and the intellectuals under the fascist dictatorships can be undertaken. As James McGregor points out, Fascism became something like a generalized critique of the modern legacy of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution (1789) and the intellectuals who became fascists were deeply revolted against this problematic heritage⁴⁶. Together with problems like modernization and the emergence of the Communist parties in Europe, the issue of democracy and democratic rights transformed for many intellectuals all across Europe into a political chimera. Again, there was this kind of political and economical crisis of the *petite bourgeois* which described best all the European countries before and after 1918⁴⁷. The middle class lived a strange paradox: although it was against the proletariat and its claims for political power, they were advocating for political and economical progress which eventually led to social tensions and a certain feeling of discontent among the masses. These tensions had tremendous consequences over the political scene which was always shifting from left to right and backwards⁴⁸. In these circumstances, the intellectuals had to choose quickly and to set their minds for either the left or the right⁴⁹.

⁴² Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine, *Cioran, Eliade, Ionescu. L'oubli du Fascisme*, Paris, PUF, 2002, p. 97.

⁴³ Marta Petreu, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴⁴ Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁴⁵ Mircea Eliade, *Mircea Eliade si corespondenții săi* (Mircea Eliade and his correspondents), Bucharest, Minerva, 1933, vol. 1, p. 193.

⁴⁶ See James Gregor, *Mussolini's Intellectuals. Fascist Social and Political Thought*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 6.

⁴⁷ Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers. The Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe from the Enlightenment to the Great War*, New York, Harper & Collins, 2006, p. 66.

⁴⁸ Please see, Dirk Berg-Schlosser & Gisele du Meur, “Conditions of Democracy in Interwar Europe: A Boolean Test of Major Hypothesis” in *Comparative Politics* Vol. 26, No. 3 (1994), p. 261.

⁴⁹ Please see, Roger Griffin, *Fascism in Roger Griffin (ed.), International Fascism. Theories, Causes and the New Consensus*, London, Arnold Publishing House, 1998, p. 37.

The option of these intellectuals for Hitler or Mussolini and their strong support for a totalitarian regime had different motifs. If in Germany Martin Heidegger believed he can “lead the Leader” (führen den Führer)⁵⁰ and they thought that Nazism was the correct answer for the fulfillment of Germany’s destiny in history, in Italy the intellectuals backed the regime because they feared the Left and they were convinced that Mussolini was a opened spirit towards the development of arts and culture⁵¹. There was this feeling of Nazi modernism which attracted the elite⁵². The experience of the trenches and the feeling of a mutilated victory, or expansionist political views were other trends which lead the intellectuals in the welcoming hands of fascists⁵³. In the case of Romania one must argue that, although there are striking similarities between the cases, the differences are strong and present. The intellectuals’ decision to join Fascism under the influence of Nae Ionescu or Nichifor Crainic represented at that certain age the next step in developing an interwar nationalism.

The interwar debate between traditionalists and modernizers, who advocated that the future path of Romania should be built according to western standards, was a cultural one. The emergence in 1927 of the Iron Guard and its highly inflammatory rhetoric about the Romanian nation offered to some of the 1920s intellectuals the possibility to enter the political arena, to influence a certain movement which wanted to become and to take by storm the Romanian parliamentary regime. In the context of the great depression, of the bankruptcy and unemployment of the graduated students, some of these young intellectuals started to think whether the Iron Guard could be the providential party sent from above to save Romania from collapse. Together with the influence coming from Italy and Germany on the one hand and from Russia on the other hand, the issue of choosing transformed in a dilemma of taking sides with the lesser evil. For 1930s generation Iron Guard was the only party, who offered them more than a future, the illusion of a higher spiritual meaning and that was the greatest deceit to which Codreanu and his followers could apply in order to gather new followers⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ Please see his preface to the original edition of the “Introduction into Metaphysics” in Mark Lilla, *The Reckless Mind. Intellectuals in Politics*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2003.

⁵¹ For this please see James Gregor, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁵² Paul Betts, “The New Fascination with Fascism: Nazi Modernism” in *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 4 (2002), p. 551.

⁵³ Aristotle Kallis, “To expand or not to expand? Territory, Generic Fascism and the Quest for an ideal ‘Fatherland’” in *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 2 (2003), p. 238–243.

⁵⁴ See Stephen Fischer-Galați, „Codreanu, Romanian National Traditions and Charisma” in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* Vol. 7, No. 2, 2006, p. 245–250 or Constantin Iordachi, *Charisma, Politics and Violence: The Legion of the ‘Archangel Michael’ in interwar Romania*, Trondheim, Trondheim Studies on East Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

3. Nichifor Crainic and Lucian Blaga after 1948. *Glasul Patriei*

After a short period of Stalinization in Romania during Gheorghiu-Dej dictatorship there was a certain feeling of rapprochement between the nationalist creed and Communist ideology. In the wake of a de-Stalinization campaign initiated by Moscow, the Romanian regime had only one alternative left: to play the nationalist card and develop an independent stance towards Moscow. Especially at the beginning of the 1960s the claim became even more urgent because of the international problems in the Communist block. Tito's dissident regime in Yugoslavia and the conflicts between Soviet Russia and Maoist China ensured the Romanian leaders of the fact that Soviet Russia will not tolerate any act of independence or ideological deviation inside the surrounding countries⁵⁵.

The nationalist discourse was atypical for the Communist states, communism being an ideology based on internationalism with no connection to nationhood. Another huge problem for the Romanian communists was the origins of nationalist ideology⁵⁶. Because they did not operate with any of the concepts used by the nationalist movements, it was an ethical problem inside the party if they were to use an ideology commonly labeled as Fascism by the communist party. Furthermore, the inexistence of proper intellectual elite capable to use an academic language and the concepts of nationalism in a direct connection with the Communist ideology became rather problematic. Most of the intellectual elite were imprisoned and some of them were even deceased at that time.

The nationalist project of the Communist Party involved former-legionary members or sympathizers like Constantin Noica, Ioan Dumitrescu-Borșa or Radu Gyr, Orthodoxist nationalists like Nichifor Crainic or Dumitru Stăniloae, historians with strong ties with the right wing movement like Virgil Căndea or Constantin C. Giurăscu and some other intellectuals who were imprisoned during the first years of the Communist regime⁵⁷. They made a living by joining hands in the attempt of the Romanian state to building a

European Cultures and Societies, 2004.

⁵⁵ Please see Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, p. 13.

⁵⁶ Please see Vladimir Tismăneanu, "The Revival of Politics in Romania" in *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 38, No. 1, The New Europe: Revolution in East – West Relations, 1991, p. 85–99.

⁵⁷ Trond Gilberg, *Nationalism and Communism in Romania. The Rise and Fall of Ceausescu's personal Dictatorship*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1990, p. 48; the Communist regime from Romania used "those elements of the political discourse left out of the official speeches and documents."

national definition of Romanian ethnicity. Rejecting the Russian impositions, these intellectuals had as main task a certain revitalization of the Romanian history and culture⁵⁸. They were all grouped under the roof of the journal *Glasul Patriei* [Fatherland's Voice] which was designated to be the journal of the Romanians abroad. Through the ideas conveyed in this journal the Romanian regime wanted to show the world that there was no political discrimination in Romania and the civil rights of the former fascists and enemies of the people were respected. Association with the former elite was thought of as legitimating the communist regime in Romania. It was a bold maneuver coming from the part of the Romanian state and the purpose was both to impress the foreign democratic countries and to silence the strong Romanian emigration which decried the unfair destiny of those who could not escape across the borders and were imprisoned for their political activities.

This section of the journal had a simple structure: on the first page there was always an important political matter (a Party meeting, a foreign official visiting Romania, etc.). The second page was always reserved for culture and here one can find all the aforementioned intellectuals who were trying to put the nationalist project once again on the road. The third page was devoted to economical and agricultural issues and the last was dedicated to sports and other miscellanea. It seems that *Glasul Patriei* was a perfect resume of Romania for a Romanian living abroad. The issue of the publicity for the regime never arises in the pages of the newspaper, but the reader has a feeling that there is a message behind the lines and that message presents Romania as a developed and prosperous country which treats well all his repented sons.

Nichifor Crainic's contribution to the newspaper starts in early 1960s. After the Communists took power in 1947, he became an enemy of the state and he was condemned in 1952 for plotting against the legal order. Nichifor Crainic was released in 1962 and soon afterwards he became an active member of the *Glasul Patriei*'s editors until his death in 1972.

If one takes a look at his articles, one would see that his activity in the pages of this newspaper was forcing to do something quite different from what he advocated in the interwar period. For example, in an article from 20 august 1965⁵⁹ Crainic praised the implication of the State in the education of young children and believed that no progress was possible in education and in culture without the control of the State. Another issue which seemed to keep Crainic's frontline was the fact that culture was now more cheap and economic: "I took today an old book from the library and it has cost me 90 lei. I took the same

⁵⁸ Katherine Verdery, "Beyond the Nation in Eastern Europe", in *Social Text*, No. 38 (1994), p. 1-19.

⁵⁹ Nichifor Crainic, „Cultura la îndemâna tuturor” [Culture available for everybody] in *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere*, an X, no. 25 (351), August 20 1965, p. 2.

book which was edited today and it has cost me 6 lei. In the actual regime, the cheapness of the cultural materials is the guiding principle for the maximum spiritualization of the masses”⁶⁰. The difference between the Nichifor Crainic who was writing during the interwar period at *Gândirea* and the Communist Crainic is important: in the interwar period Crainic was more interested in finding and cultivating an authentic Romanian culture which was not destined to be consumed by the Romanian masses. In this case, when the culture was in the hand of the State which also controlled the public education all that remained for him was to praise the activity of the state and to advocate for a popular culture and not a culture of the elite.

In another article from the same year⁶¹, although Crainic is narrating one of his trips to a Romanian cave famous for its beauty, he praises the great achievements of the Romanian Communism in a small village from Oltenia. But his most striking comments were made in some particular articles⁶². It was obvious that Crainic was recuperating important figures from the interwar period and he was accommodating them with the new socialist realities. For examples, Goga is depicted by Crainic as the peasant’s poet and his zeal to write about the sufferings of the peasant who was oppressed by the landlords. Crainic did not mention the political role played by Octavian Goga and his proto-fascist government from 1938. This kind of Communist reinterpretation of the symbolical values or personalities can be seen when he approached other

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

⁶¹ „Peștera Muierii” in *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere*, an X, no. 27 (353), 10 September 1965, p. 2.

⁶² „În amintirea lui Constantin Nottara” [In the Memory of Constantin Notara], *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere* X, no. 31 (357), October 20, 1965, p. 2; „Retrospectiva Francisc Șirato” [Francisc Șirato’s Retrospective], *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere*, X, no. 32 (358), November 1, 1965, p. 4; „Nicolae Iorga. Omul și animatorul” [Nicolae Iorga. The Man and the Animator], X, no. 34 (360), November 20, 1965, p. 1-4; „Ioan Creangă în documentele de arhivă” [Ioan Creangă in archival documents] in *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere*, X, no. 1 (364), January 1, 1966, p. 2; „Amintirea lui Ion Minulescu” [The Memory of Ion Minulescu], *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere* X, no. 2 (365), January 10, 1966, p. 2; „D. G. Chiriac și cîntecul popular” [D. G. Chiriac and the folkloric song] in *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere* XI, no. 9 (372), March 20, 1966, p. 2; „Octavian Goga” in *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere*, XI, No. 11 (374), April 10, 1966, p. 2.; „N. Tonitza – pictor al vieții” [Nicolae Tonitza, painter of life] in *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere*, XI, no. 12 (375), p. 3.

important topics like Romanian folklore⁶³, but also the Romanian village which is the most poignant article written by Crainic in the pages of *Glasul Patriei*⁶⁴.

I will attempt to compare the conception of Nichifor Crainic from this text with his conception as reflected in *Gândirea*. The first statement from the text seemed to be copied from the interwar books of Crainic, but with a certain modification: “from ancient times, the city, but especially the village confers specificity to the Romanian landscape”⁶⁵. If in the interwar period the village played the major role for establishing a national culture, now, according to the Communist social harmony, there is no conflict between the rural and the urban areas. Even more, stated Crainic, the city is civilizing the village without destroying it. This kind of interdependence between the village and the city was a part of the Communist utopia which was exported by the proletariat to the village in order to destroy the peasantry and to make possible the last stage of the Marxist revolution. The *conversion* of Nichifor Crainic to national Communism together with other former nationalists and legionaries represented an intelligent coup administrated by the Communist regime to the Romanian dissidence. Internally, Crainic’s efforts were only the beginning of a communist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu who wanted to regain his strength via a nationalist mobilization of the Romanian people. In searching for a new cultural canon the Communist elite had to find the continuity between the historical moment when they came to power and the ages before them. The only available stratagem they could find was to recruit some former *enemies of the people* who knew how to develop a nationalist discourse in the language of the elite.

Another striking example of intellectual who assumed a cultural approach of the Orthodoxy was Lucian Blaga. Marginalized until 1960 by the Communist regime, he was allowed to publish only translations and no original text. However, in 1961, in the year of his death a collection of his articles was published under the name *Isvoade. Eseuri, Conferințe, Articole*⁶⁶. What is striking is the fact that this collection of articles by Lucian Blaga presented to its reader a traditionalist approach in which traditionalism, Orthodoxy and the Romanian character are framed into a consistent discourse, almost as in *Gândirea*. The first article from the book entitled suggestively “Elogiu satului românesc”⁶⁷ [Praise of the Romanian village] is a direct resume of the traditionalist position from the interwar period. Lucian Blaga stated in this

⁶³ “Folclorul” [The Folklore] in *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere*, X, no. 34 (360), November 20, 1965, p. 2.

⁶⁴ Nichifor Crainic “Satul de azi și de totdeauna” [The village from today and from always] in *Glasul Patriei. Organ al Comitetului Român pentru Repatriere*, X, no. 1 (364), January 1, 1966, p. 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Lucian Blaga, *Isvoade. Eseuri, Conferințe, Articole* [Documents. Essays, Conferences, Articles], Bucharest, Minerva, 1972.

⁶⁷ Lucian Blaga, „Elogiu satului românesc” in *op. cit.*, p. 33-48.

article that “our village is built near the church from which God irradiates”⁶⁸ and that Romanian village “is worthy in an exceptional manner of the epithet named authenticity”⁶⁹. Accordingly, as the old cultures of the world, the folkloric art of the Romanian village with its “minor” art is the most important premise for a future “major” culture shaped from the folkloric art.

In another text included in the same volume called “Isus-pământul”⁷⁰ [Jesus – the land] Lucian Blaga established a direct connection between the Romanian-ness, Orthodoxy and the peasant character of the Romanian people. Speaking about confessional conflicts and attempts of proselytism tried by the Protestant churches in Transylvania during the 16th century Lucian Blaga came to a strange and challenging conclusion:

Deprived by any political rights and nobility which have benefited for social benefits, Romanian people did not raise to a high intellectual level. With the other peoples, they were slaves even from the time of the Hungarian royalty. The rights, freedoms and privileges which had opened the access to learning, Romanian people could obtain only by renouncing at their language and conscience as a people. In their majority Romanians preferred a minor existence, their ethnic life in the spiritual categories of an orthodoxy which was reduced to the murmuring of the ‘creed’ and the compliance according to the Christian calendar of the liturgy⁷¹.

In this passage, as Crainic in his texts from the interwar period, Lucian Blaga connected Orthodox confession with the peasant condition of the Romanian people attempting to issue a certain definition of the Romanian nation in the context of the 16th century religious plurality from Transylvania. The way in which Blaga is writing is striking because the book was published before Crainic started his collaboration with *Glasul Patriei*.

In the age when Crainic was writing subordinate articles towards the regime Lucian Blaga chose to reframe his interwar discourse, although I have personally the feeling that some of his articles were excluded from this selection and only the one with a certain nationalist idea were printed. On the other hand, the fact that Lucian Blaga’s texts were written and published after he deceased, represent another interesting issue regarding the nationalist character of these texts. I think that in Lucian Blaga’s case the state agreed to publish this collection of articles for two reasons: first, the author was not alive and, accordingly, the selection of the articles was arbitrary.

4. Final Conclusions

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 212-217.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 213-214.

The finality of the traditionalist projects from the interwar period remains unfortunately insufficiently tackled with by the scholars in the field of historical studies. If in the case of Nae Ionescu's legacy which was recollected and deposited by the 1930s generation in the Iron Guard the things are starting to become clearer, in the case of Nichifor Crainic's rapprochement with the Communist propaganda during the late 1960s puts the credibility of its project into question. Although the legionary myths inspired by Nae Ionescu were used by different Romanian intellectuals including Mircea Eliade, Constantin Noica, Emil Cioran, Petre Țuțea it seems that Ionescu's legacy was characterized by certain discretion. Involved in the Iron Guard because of Nae Ionescu's influence, active members and after that escaped in the West or imprisoned the continuation of the interwar project of Nae Ionescu was never taken seriously. Furthermore, all the late disciples of Ionescu chose to keep silence about their Mentor and his influence in transforming them in prototypes of the fascist new man. Eliade's case is the most famous of all and probably the death in 1991 of Professor Ioan Petru Culianu at Chicago is nothing more than another piece of this puzzle in which after 1948 the Romanian secret police and the former legionaries shook hands in order to punish or to keep under close surveillance any attempt to dig up this final secret.

Nichifor Crainic had a more *successful* career. His project was taken up by the Communist regime in a desperate attempt to create a national cultural canon. Because of his longevity and his disposition for a compromise, Crainic had the chance to enter in legality during his life time, being one of the key-architects of nationalist Communism. Through his influence and writing, all the common motifs of the interwar period entered the official language of the Communist propaganda and created a veritable nationalist discourse which was designed to be a reply to the internationalist Communist appeal coming from Moscow. By striking a deal with the Communist propaganda, Crainic joined hands in a project which in many respects was similar with the interwar fascist dream: a new man, a new intellectual, a new cultural canon. The only difference between the interwar Crainic and the Communist Crainic was that he lost his autonomy and he became a docile puppet in the hands of a criminal regime. Despite Ionescu's legacy, Crainic's heritage was poor and he had no followers to his match. Both of these projects continued to live in seclusion until 1990s when they were once again reinvented by different political parties.

The use of Lucian Blaga's works in favor of the official nationalist ideology of the regime represents another face of this Communist project of producing a nationalist and, in the same time, a Communist definition of the nation. Publishing a collection of texts in which none could tell the criteria in selecting Lucian Blaga's text and the fact that these texts contained sufficient nationalist references I think it means that it was attempted a linkage between the traditionalism of the interwar period and the Communist age. Lucian Blaga

was used by the Party's propaganda because, although he was involved in the debates regarding the character of the Romanian nation from the interwar period, he was one of the few major intellectuals who refused any collaboration with the Iron Guard. His intellectual legacy, though it was bourgeois by origin, it was considered secure enough to be published in its original form.

**FROM ROMANTIC NATIONALISM TO NATIONAL COMMUNISM.
MARX, ANTI-RUSSIANISM AND THE ROMANIAN CAUSE
IN 1855 AND 1964**

Octavian Silvestru,

Central European University, Budapest

***Abstract:** The article analyzes the 1964 Romanian edition of Karl Marx entitled *Notes on the Romanians* in the attempt to recover its contexts and significance. For that, it focuses on two distinct historical moments. First, it analyzes from a genealogical perspective Marx's annotations on the Romanians and detects their origin in the Romanian Romantic nationalists' historical narrative concerning the politics of tsarist Russia vis-à-vis Romanian Principalities in the nineteenth century. Secondly, it examines the instrumentalization of these annotations by the Romanian official historiography at the beginning of the 1960s, focusing on the new political stakes that were in play at that particular moment in the Communist block. Spanning almost two centuries of charged history and various intellectual spaces and traditions, the article methodologically recovers a case of 'entangled history' – or 'histoire croisée' – that eschews attempts of unilateral appropriation.*

***Keywords:** nationalism; communism; Karl Marx; historiography.*

In 1964, the edition of some previously unknown annotations by Karl Marx entitled *Notes on the Romanians* was published in Bucharest under the aegis of the Academy of the Popular Republic of Romania¹. Although short and issued in a relatively small print run of approximately 20,000, this book created a deep impression on the Romanian educated public of the time and eventually brought the Communist regime on the brink of diplomatic scandal with its mighty eastern neighbor and ideological ally, the Soviet Union.

What was so important about this edition? What could Marx possibly write in order to cause such reactions a hundred years later? In the following pages, I will provide an answer to these questions. This article focuses on two distinct historical moments. First, it analyzes the genealogy of Marx's annotations on Romanians and their sources in the broader mid-nineteenth century historiography concerning the politics of tsarist Russia vis-à-vis the Romanian Principalities. Second, it examines the context in which Romanian official historiography instrumentalized these annotations at the beginning of the 1960s, focusing on the high political stakes that were in play at that

¹ Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre români (manuscrite inedite)* [Notes on the Romanians (unpublished manuscripts)], Bucharest, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1964).

particular moment in the Communist block. Spanning over almost two centuries and various intellectual spaces and traditions, this study recovers methodologically a case of ‘entangled history’ – or ‘histoire croisée’² – that eschews attempts of unilateral appropriation. At the same time, it offers an illustration for the intricate relation between Romanian historical discourse and European politics, or more generally, for the chronic and ineluctable political instrumentalization of history.

From East to West: a genealogy of Marx’s notes on the Romanians

For a less focused reader, the 1964 Romanian edition of Marx’s manuscripts would lead to the impression of a pertinent, although sketchy, vision on the history of the Romanian principalities in the first half of the 19th century. In a few pages, Marx seems to offer an account of the political and social evolutions in the region from approximately 1806 to 1850, using a rather original idiom that indiscriminately amalgamates words from French, German and English altogether. Several themes are particularly accentuated. Tsarist Russia’s constant and noxious interference in the internal affairs of Moldova and Wallachia is highlighted and condemned. Especially the 1812 annexation of Bessarabia³, half of Moldova, is deemed illegal, having no legal justification except the pragmatic international politics of Russia. Further on, his notes, although continuing to review the history of the Romanian principalities, are almost entirely concerned with the alleged reactionary politics of Russia in the region and explicitly rebuke Russian protectorate over Romanians and everything it implies from the imposition of organic laws in 1831-1832 to the repression of the 1848 revolution⁴. Some passages concerning the Principalities’ social structure and economic situation are indeed present but the main focus always falls on the political history exposing the abuses of the Russians in reprehensible cooperation with local Phanariotes, that is the descendants of rich Greek families originally residing in Phanar, appointed by the Ottomans as Hospodars (Voivodes or Princes) of Romanian Principalities throughout the 18th century until 1821⁵.

² For the methodology of *histoire croisée*, implicitly used here, see Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, eds. *De la comparaison à l’histoire croisée*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2004, 15-49.

³ Cf. Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre români*, p. 30-31.

⁴ *Ibidem*, passim.

⁵ The Phanariotes appointed to rule the Danubian Principalities infiltrated the class of local boyars and some of them were acculturated. In this sense their influence over Romanian political and cultural life spans beyond 1821. For a succinct presentation of the Phanariotes’ activities in the 19th century in general, see Misha Glenny, *The Balkans. Nationalism, War and the Great Powers, 1804-1999*, New York, Penguin Books, 1999, p. 1-70. For an analysis of their role in the Romanian Principalities, see

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

A closer examination of the book's content determines a different perspective on Marx's demarche. The editor, Andrei Oțetea⁶, specified in the introduction, albeit in an undertone, that the hitherto unpublished manuscripts of Marx "contained reading notes and excerpts from a work by the French historian Elias Regnault"⁷ entitled *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés Danubiennes* [Political and Social History of Danubian Principalities] published in Paris in 1855. A few lines below, Oțetea hurried to add that Marx interprets Regnault's material "in a scientific manner, from the point of view of scientific materialism" and therefore the annotations "express, on all the broad issues to which they refer, the point of view of Marx himself"⁸. However, a close comparison between Marx's texts and Elias Regnault's work leads to a slightly different conclusion. As it will be proved below, the annotations *do not* 'contain' reading notes and excerpts from Regnault; they *are exclusively* that.

Elias Regnault (1801 – 1868) was born in England from a French father and an English mother. Educated in England, he later moved to France and made a brilliant career as a historian, lawyer and government official during the 1848 Revolution and the Second French Republic. His prolific historical work includes books on a wide range of topics: Ireland (published in 1846), England (1846), Napoleon I (1846-1847), Antilles and other French colonies (1849), the Provisional Government of 1848 (1849-1850), the Polish Question (1862) etc⁹. Besides this, he also published numerous essays and pamphlets dealing with contemporary political subjects from a liberal perspective, was the redactor in chief of the newspaper *L'Avenir national* and even translated Thomas Carlyle's works in French¹⁰.

In 1855, during the Crimean war, Regnault published a book¹¹ on the history of the principalities Moldova and Wallachia, which constituted one of

also Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne* [Between Orient and Occident. Romanian Principalities at the beginning of the modern epoch], Bucharest, Humanitas, 1995, *passim*.

⁶ Andrei Oțetea (1894-1977) was a reputed and talented Marxist historian, member of the Romanian Academy and director of the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, the most important historical research institution of the country, between 1947-1948 and 1956-1970.

⁷ Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre români*, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 14, 23.

⁹ Alfred Dantès, *Dictionnaire biographique et bibliographique, alphabétique et méthodique des hommes les plus remarquables dans les lettres, les sciences et les arts chez tous les peuples, à toutes les époques*, Paris, Aug. Boyer et C^{ie}, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1875, p. 840.

¹⁰ See Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains*, Paris, Payot, 1918, p. 158.

¹¹ Elias Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés Danubiennes*, Paris, Paulin et le Chevalier, 1855.

the theaters in the incipient phases of the war and represented significant stakes on the political agendas of the actors involved. As his correspondence with Friederich Engels proved, Karl Marx was a fervent reader of Regnault's works. In a letter from 1865, Marx admits his keen interest on the national struggle of the peoples from Central Eastern Europe and the value of Regnault's oeuvre as a source of information on that¹². His annotations on Romanian history are exclusively reading notes on the French historian's book from 1855. Some examples will clarify this.

One of the most read passages of Marx's *Însemnări despre Români* was dealing with Russia's annexation of Bessarabia in 1812. In the original edition, Marx wrote: "Traité du 28 Mai 1812, Porte surrenders Bessarabia. Turkey had no power to cede, what did not belong to her; for at no time had the Ottomane Porte been sovereign of the Rouman countries". On the next page: "Whd ihrer letzten occupation in d. princip. Les Russes se sont révélés; d. spoliation u. occupation v. Bessarabien a dissipé toutes illusions. Aussdem d. Russ. complice d. Phanarioten"¹³.

In Regnault's work, one finds the same text structure and even an identical, if not a more drastic, semantic formulation:

Aux yeux du droit et de la morale, la cession accomplie par le traité de Bucarest, demeure radicalement nulle. La Turquie ne pouvait céder ce qui ne lui appartenait pas; car jamais elle ne fut souveraine des pays roumains.

On the next page it is written:

Pendant leur dernière occupation, les Russes se sont révélés; les libérateurs ont repris leur véritable caractère, celui de spoliateurs, et l'occupation de la Bessarabie a dissipe toutes les illusions; les haines ont succédé aux sympathies, la terreur à l'espérance. Le Russe n'est-il pas d'ailleurs le complice des Phanariotes, le protecteur de cette race maudite associée à toutes les douleurs du Roumain?¹⁴.

¹² "Ad vocem Poland, I was most interested to read the work by Elias Regnault (the same who wrote the *Histoire des principautés danubiennes*), *La Question Européenne, faussement nommée La Question Polonaise...*" in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, volume 42, New York, International Publishers, 1987, p. 161. In fact the correct title of Regnault's work is *La Question Européenne improprement appelée polonaise. Réponse aux objections présentées par MM. Pogodine, Schédo-Ferroti, Porochine, Schnitzler, Solowiew, etc., contre le polonisme des provinces lithuano-ruthènes et contre le non-slavisme des moscovites*, Paris, Dentu, 1863.

¹³ Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre români*, p. 30-31. In English, this would mean: "During their last occupation of the Principalities, the Russians showed their real face: the pillage and the annexation of Bessarabia dashed all the illusions. Besides, the Russian is in the league with the Phanariotes".

¹⁴ Elias Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés*, p.107, 109.

Referring to the sufferance caused by repeated Russian invasions of the Danubian Principalities in the first half of 19th century, Marx once again reproduced in his own notes Regnault's affirmations: "D. paysan, qui avait le plus souffert de l'occupation, il n'avait pour le Mouscal [Moscovite] que des paroles de haine"¹⁵. Commenting the excesses caused by the 1828 occupation of Principalities, Regnault gives a catastrophic account:

In their complaints over the Turkish occupation, Russia was feeling sorry for the misfortunes of the country [that is the Principalities]. In 1828 she would prove the value of her complaints. They were only frustrated for not being able to inflict herself the pain for which she blamed others. She needed the exclusive privilege of cutting throats and plunder. The Turks at least came as enemies and did not have any qualms in persecuting an unfaithful race. The Russians come as friends and turn into the executioners of their brethren. It is impossible to describe the horrible abuses of the invaders...¹⁶.

In spite of the acknowledged difficulty of the task, Regnault offers three more pages of detailed and vivid descriptions of the Russians' crimes. Among them, it is claimed that "more than thirty thousands Romanians were dragged out of their fields to serve as beasts of burden. The luckiest ran in the mountains where they had nothing to eat except tree bark"¹⁷. In a rather exalted Romantic style, Regnault concludes that the benefits promised by the Tsar to the inhabitants of the Danubian Principalities were "robbery, famine and plague", a veritable "moscovite trinity offered to the adoration of Romanians"¹⁸.

¹⁵ "The peasant who suffered the most because of the occupation, didn't have anything but hate for the Russian soldier". Marx, *Însemnări despre români*, p. 33. Regnault's text is identical, cf. Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés*, p.114.

¹⁶ "Dans ses réclamations, en 1826, contre l'occupation turque, la Russie s'apitoyait sur les malheurs du pays; elle prouva, en 1828, la valeur de ses doléances. Ce n'était autre chose que le dépit de ne pas faire elle-même le mal qu'elle reprochait aux autres. Il lui fallait le privilège exclusif de la rapine et des égorgements. Les Turcs au moins s'avançaient en ennemis, et n'avaient pas scrupule à persécuter une race d'infidèles; les Russes se présentent en amis, et se font les bourreaux de frères en religion. Il est impossible de raconter les horribles excès des envahisseurs." In Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés*, p. 159.

¹⁷ « Plus de trente mille Roumains furent arrachés à la culture, pour servir de bêtes de somme. Les plus heureux s'enfuyaient dans les montagnes, où ils n'avaient d'autre nourriture que des écorces d'arbres. » Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés*, p. 160.

¹⁸ "Tels étaient les bienfaits promis par Wittgenstein, au nom de son auguste maître: le brigandage, la famine et la peste, trinité moscovite, offerte à l'adoration des Roumains", *ibidem*, p.161.

Although in a sober style, more appropriate to his German education, Marx summarized very accurately this picture:

Begehen des horribles excès. Contributions de toutes sortes, denrées, fourrages, bestiaux, corvées, vol, meurtres etc. Hommes et femmes furent accouplés aux chariots, ayant pour conducteurs des cosaques, qui ne ménageaient ni le bâton, ni le pointe de leur lances...¹⁹.

Regnault had a quasi-negative opinion concerning the organic laws adopted under the direct influence of Russian authorities represented through the general Pavel Kiseleff, *de facto* governor of the Principalities between 1829 and 1834. In spite of some apparent improvements, he claimed that everything is deceitfulness in the so-called constitutions since each line conceals a trap²⁰. Following closely Regnault's account, Karl Marx notes that at that time the Russians had robbed the Principalities' right to autonomy by surreptitiously introducing an article in the organic law that annulled any act legally adopted by the local institutions if the protector [that is the Tsarist Court] wanted so. Copying the French historian, he qualifies this action as forgery²¹.

In Regnault's terms, the organic laws imposed to the Romanians were "la charte de la misère du peuple, élaborée au plus grand bénéfice des boyars". Marx accurately used his very detailed analysis of the peasants' situation and the agrarian conditions of the Principalities, not only in his annotations, but also in the first volume of *Das Kapital* from 1867. There, the Organic Law is viewed as a veritable "code of *corvée*", "the positive expression of the greed for superplus-labour which every paragraph legalized"²². Russia is again accused of having made legal the *corvée* with the large concourse of local boyars, for the first time in the history of the Principalities. "Thus Russia conquered with one blow the magnates of the Danubian provinces and the applause of liberal cretins throughout Europe"²³. To back his statements, Marx cites Elias Regnault's work written in 1855. Ironically, Regnault himself was a liberal, but he clearly had a different vision on the recent history of Romanian Principalities and on the Russian interference in the Balkan politics.

¹⁹ Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre români*, p. 41.

²⁰ "Du reste, tout est tromperie dans cette prétendue constitution", "Chaque article du règlement, chaque ligne est une embûche". Elias Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés*, p. 171, 175.

²¹ "Selbst in dsr. Versammlg fand Kiss. nöthig d'introduire subrepticement un article communiqué à aucun des signataires (un faux en écriture publique). Sur le dernier quart de la dernière page hereingeschrieben d. flegde article qui ravit au pays le droit d'autonomie". Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre români*, p. 43.

²² Karl Marx, *The Capital*, (edited by Friederich Engels), New York, International Publishers, 1967, p. 237-238.

²³ *Ibidem*.

How could Regnault arrive to such conclusions and how can the significant amount of data and facts brought in to justify them be explained? As already mentioned, Regnault was a very prolific writer. He did not know Romanian language and definitely did not research primary historical sources on Romanian history, and yet his work is very rich in details and put forth straightforwardly and well-argued interpretations. Such a performance was made possible by his talent in compiling and structuring the available French works on the subject. At the time, a fair number of books and smaller studies on the history of the Principalities by the Romanians, as well as French publicists existed.

The defeat of the 1848 revolution in Moldavia and Wallachia forced local patriots to seek refuge in exile. Sons of boyars themselves, the 1848 Romanian revolutionaries were mostly educated in Western Europe, especially France, and praised the cultural and political values made manifest at the time in countries like France or England²⁴. Throughout the 1840s and more intensely after 1848, they tried to lobby the idea of a Romanian state and expressed their national aspirations to the European public opinion. Eventually they managed to make influential friends in the circles of Parisian intellectuals. As a result, historians like Jules Michelet and Edgar Quinet, for instance, advocated the Romanian cause in their books²⁵. Elias Regnault was not alone in his demarche and his efforts enforced and at the same time built on a powerful Romanian propaganda in Europe and France especially.

²⁴ Notably, the filo-French attitude of educated Romanians of the time was extremely intense. Some of them like C.A. Rosseti, Ion and Dimitrie Brătianu or Nicolae Bălcescu took part in the revolution that emerged in Paris in February 1848 and later came to Bucharest to do the same thing. Moldavian poet Vasile Alexandri frankly declared that he was « français du coeur et adore la France comme sa propre patrie » and many others surely shared similar views. See Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains*, 137.

²⁵ See for instance Jules Michelet, *Légendes démocratiques du Nord*, Paris, Garnier Frères, 1854 and Edgar Quinet, « Les Roumains » in *Revue de Deux Mondes*, 15 January and 1 March 1856, republished in a revised version in *Œuvres Complètes. Tome VI. Les Roumains*, Paris, Pagnerre, 1857. Edgar Quinet, professor at Collège de France as Michelet, was besides married with the daughter of the Moldavian publicist Gheorghe Asachi. Romanian patriots sponsored his edition of *Œuvres Complètes* in 1857. See Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains*, 143 and Dan Berindei, “Edgar Quinet: „Va exista o Românie...” [Edgar Quinet: “Romania will exist...”], *Magazin Istoric*, no. 1, 1999. Also, for an account of the relation between Romanian 1848 revolutionaries and French intellectuals, see E. Djaparidze and N. Kabakova, “La révolution de 1848 dans le principautés Danubiennes et la République Française”, *Études Balkaniques*, issue 1, 1991, p. 95-105 and Dan Berindei, *1848 în Țările Române* [1848 in Romanian Principalities], Bucharest, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1984.

The materials published by the exiled revolutionaries themselves constituted the main source of inspiration for all these authors. Elias Regnault mentioned almost exclusively in the footnotes of his work on Danubian Principalities the titles recently written by Romanian authors like Nicolae Bălcescu²⁶, Ion Ghica²⁷, Ion Heliade Rădulescu²⁸, or Jean Alexandre Vaillant²⁹. As it will be shown below, his adaptation of the material found in these sources rests minimal.

Referring to the 1812 annexation of Bessarabia, Ion Heliade Rădulescu ironically qualifies it as an act indeed “worthy of a cosaque protectorate” which manifested its influence through its protégés, the Phanariote beys³⁰. The Russian invasion of 1828, which he nevertheless witnessed, is emphatically described in a Romantic manner emphasizing the misery and losses suffered by the

²⁶ Nicolae Bălcescu (1819-1852) took part in the 1848 revolution in Paris as well as in Bucharest. His work *Question économique des Principautés Danubiennes*, Paris, 1850 supplied via Regnault most of the economic data and some interpretations for Marx’s picture of Romanian *corvée* in *Das Kapital*. See Gheorghe Zane, *Marx și Bălcescu* [Marx and Bălcescu], Iassy, Institutul de Arte Grafice și Editura Viața Românească, 1927. Otherwise, Zane is the first to emphasize, albeit in a slightly over-enthusiastic tone, the links between Karl Marx and Romanian Forty-Eighters.

²⁷ Descendant of a great family of Wallachian boyars, Ion Ghica (1817-1897) was educated in Paris and became a liberal economist. He also took part in the 1848 Wallachian revolution and published under the pseudonym G. Chanoi the essay *Dernière occupation des principautés Danubiennes*, Paris, J. Dumaine, 1853, intensely cited by Regnault in his work.

²⁸ Publisher, autodidact, translator from French, journalist, prolific though contested cultural figure and revolutionary with a moderate position, altogether a protean personality, Heliade-Rădulescu (1802-1872) wrote several works on the recent history of Romanian Principalities in French: *Le Protectorat du Czar, ou la Roumanie et la Russie, nouveaux documents sur la situation européenne*, Paris, Comon, 1850, *Mémoire sur l’histoire de la régénération roumaine ou sur les événements de 1848 accomplis en Valachie*, Paris, Librairie de la Propagande Démocratique et Sociale Européenne, 1851, etc.

²⁹ Though French, Jean Alexandre Vaillant deployed much of his activity in Bucharest and was naturalized in 1864 at the same time as his compatriots and pro-Romanian activists Paul Bataillard and Jean Henri Abdolonyme Ubicini. Teacher, political activist, historian and linguist, Vaillant wrote several works on Romanians supporting their national cause and condemning Russian politics in the region in the name of the principles of romantic nationalism: *La Roumanie ou Histoire, langue, littérature, orographie, statistique des romans*, Paris, Arthus Bernard, 1844, *Turkie et Russie, en réponse à la lettre d’un anonyme*, Paris, Imprimerie de A. Guyot et Scribe, 1854, *Nationalité et patriotisme, en réponse à MM. De Feuille et Peyrat*, Paris, E. Dentu, 1855, *Réponse à la lettre de M. de Nesselrode en date de 12 juin 1855*, Paris, Imprimerie Pilloy, 1855.

³⁰ Heliade-Rădulescu, *Le Protectorat du Czar*, p. 13-14.

Romanians³¹. The same style is also adopted by J. A. Vaillant who did not forget to mention a long enumeration ordeals suffered by the locals: plague, forced labor and deportation in Bulgarian territory during the military campaigns, famine, exile, epizootic diseases, and innumerable material losses³². The immense hate felt by the local peasants for the Russian invaders, later mentioned by Marx, *via* Regnault, was first avowed by the Romanian Ion Brătianu, the future prime minister and leader of the National Liberal Party, in 1853³³. In Rădulescu's opinion, the Organic laws were illegally adopted and had robbed the principalities' right to autonomy through a single insidious article³⁴. Vaillant adopts a more radical tone. Inspired by the "Russian spirit", the Organic law generated "a monstrous lie and monstrous inequity"³⁵. Heliade-Rădulescu's work ends with a significant paragraph: "Voici la description abrégée des souffrances de ces deux pays et des services rendus à la Russie par les Roumains depuis Pierre le Grand jusqu'à 1828. Nier ces sacrifices (et la mauvaise foi de la Russie), c'est nier l'histoire même"³⁶.

Elias Regnault denied neither the sacrifices of Romanians nor the dishonesty of Russia. In his work, so much appreciated by Marx, Regnault faithfully reproduced all the elements of the Romanian Romantic nationalist narrative on the history of the Danubian Principalities. The exiled Romanian revolutionaries of 1848 had strong reasons to oppose and condemn the politics of the Russian Empire since they viewed it as reactionary and inflexible. Strategically, they preferred the protectorate of the weaker Turkey, already "the sick man of Europe", to that of the Russians who only offered gloomy

³¹ « Cette campagne coûta à la Valachie plus de 200,000 hommes morts sur le champ de bataille, ou employés comme du bétail à transporter sur leur dos les provisions de guerre à travers les marais et pendant la rigueur du froid, décimés par la famine et contraints à se nourrir de l'écorce des arbres, tandis qu'ils cédaient leur froment et leur maïs à leur oppresseurs. », *ibidem*, 17. The episode of the peasants forced to feed with tree bark in order to survive was in the epoch a leitmotiv of almost all the literature on the Russian invasions in the Principalities.

³² J.A. Vaillant, *La Roumanie ou Histoire, langue, littérature, orographie, statistique des romans*, tome II, 1844, p. 348-349.

³³ « Le paysan roumain hait le Russe et son tzar et le sang du Romain et du Dace en les veines de la nation n'est point tari. » in Armand Lévy, *La Russie sur le Danube*, Paris, Comptoir des gens des lettres, 1853, p.13-14.

³⁴ Heliade-Rădulescu, *Le Protectorat du Czar*, p. 23.

³⁵ « L'esprit russe s'y cachant sous le style valaque comme la tête du loup sous la mantille de Gillot, il n'a produit que ce qu'il pouvait produire, un monstrueux mensonge, une iniquité monstrueuse; et l'on peut affirmer que si le pays a néanmoins progressé, c'est en dehors de ce statut, contre ce statut, malgré tout et par la seule force des choses. », Vaillant, *Réponse à la lettre de M. de Nesselrode*, p. 8.

³⁶ Heliade-Rădulescu, *Le Protectorat du Czar*, p. 60.

perspectives for the national aspirations³⁷. In the context of the outburst of the Crimean war as yet another instance of the Oriental crisis, their contestation became more vigorous and has eventually drawn the attention of a wider public in Western Europe. This accelerated the discursive shift as regards Romanian territories. If in the first half of the century, the region was mainly neglected when not placed in the sphere of a distant and exotic Orient³⁸, the escalation of the conflict opposing Russia and the British and French Empires, called for a radical reevaluation of this perception.

Regnault's *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés Danubiennes* fully testifies to this cultural phenomenon. His evident Russophobia ended up enforcing a rampant sympathy for the Romanians. A negative image of Russia was already present in the 19th century Occidental discourses of alterity³⁹. Several authors and publications disseminated the idea that the Russians had an 'Asiatic character', equating them with ancient "nomadic barbarians, always on the move, pegging their tents on the outskirts of Europe"⁴⁰. Consequently, some believed that Russian imperial politics represented a danger to the European security and civilization.

The actors involved in the Romanian history writing were imbued with these ideas and could not abstain from expressing them in their works. Drawing on the conclusions of contemporary Parisian newspapers, J.A. Vaillant, for instance, considered "Russian intrusive tendencies and ambitions" as "more fatal for Europe than a new barbarian invasion"⁴¹. This opinion is further

³⁷ Solid contemporary analyses of the tensed relationship between Russia and Romanian Principalities in the first half of 19th century are offered, among others, by Barbara Jelavich, *Russia and the Formation of the Romanian National State, 1821-1878*, Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1984 and Apostol Stan, *Protectoratul Rusiei asupra Principatelor Române: 1774-1856. Între dominație absolută și anxietate* [The Russian protectorate over the Romanian Principalities: 1774-1856. Between absolute domination and annexion], Bucharest, Saeculum, 1999.

³⁸ The 'orientalism' of Western observers has been analyzed in the well-known works of Edward Said and Maria Todorova. An interesting perspective on the Russian but also Western perception of Romanian principalities is offered by Victor Taki, "Moldavia and Wallachia in the eyes of Russian observers in the first half of 19th century", *East Central Europe/L'Europe du Centre-Est*, vol. 32, no. 1-2, 2005, p. 99-125.

³⁹ Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: The "East" In European Identity Formation*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 65-112.

⁴⁰ Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other*, p. 91.

⁴¹ «Ce n'est donc pas à tort que les journaux, se sont imposé la tâche de révéler l'ambition et les tendances envahissantes de la Russie, plus fatales à l'Europe qu'une nouvelle invasion de barbares, car le tzar, qui préside avec tant d'autorité et de despotisme aux chanceuses destinées de son empire, a donné à l'Europe de tels exemples de loyauté et de modération que le public européen ne saurait trop se mettre en garde contre ses moindres actes, contre sa diplomatie belligérante, contre ses conquêtes diplomatiques, contre ses intentions si pures, si paisibles, si civilisatrices

supported by the fact that a genuine Russian nation did not exist, the only reality being that of a repressed, subhuman and superficially Christianized multitude of serfs resulted from former nomads⁴². Jules Michelet too characterized the Russian armies with starving swarms of grasshoppers, referring to the same idea⁴³.

In the book about the history of the Romanian Principalities, Regnault also employed Russophobic themes. For him the Russian Czars are an always shifting combination of German and Muscovite traits, i.e. of a civilized European and an awful, brutal and cruel nomad. Their politics is deemed dishonest and the pan-Slavic ideology hypocritical⁴⁴. In these conditions, the Occident must assume the mission to stop once and for all the threatening actions of the Russians in Europe. In the conclusions of his book, Regnault urges the creation of strong buffer nation-states at the borders of Russia. Consequently, he desires the unification of all the Romanians into a single state placed under the rule of a prince from a European hereditary family and the replacement of the Russian protectorate with a collective guarantee of all the Great Powers⁴⁵.

Regnault's demarche is significant since it operates a discursive shift towards the objectivation of a rather liminal symbolic space. The Romantic

qu'elles paraissent par le talent qu'il a de les présenter telles; car sa diplomatie ne consiste qu'à diviser pour conquérir sans bataille, et ses guerres n'ont d'autre but que de conquérir pour arriver à dominer sans diplomatie. », Vaillant, *Turkie et Russie, en réponse à la lettre d'un anonyme*, p. 20-21.

⁴² « Cette multitude de serfs, autrefois nomades, n'a réellement de l'homme que la forme et le nom, et de chrétien que le signe. (...) Non, dans l'état moral des choses de ce pays, il n'y a pas de nation russe, il y a cinquante millions de serfs organisés, colonisés, enrégimentés, knoutés par soixante mille familles de parvenus de la cuisine au salon. », Vaillant, *Turkie et Russie, en réponse à la lettre d'un anonyme*, p. 21.

⁴³ « L'Occident, dans son égoïsme, a ignoré les calamités qui enveloppaient l'Orient. Les sauterelles dévorantes s'étaient abattues sur les champs de la Moldavie, de la Valachie. C'est de ce nom que les Roumains désignent les armées russes; armées affamées, mendiants; où elles passent, rien ne reste », Jules Michelet, *Légendes démocratiques du Nord*, p. 322.

⁴⁴ Elias Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés Danubiennes*, p. 166-167.

⁴⁵ « La solution sera facile, si le congrès ne perd pas de vue sa principale mission, qui est d'arrêter à jamais l'action menaçante de la Russie sur l'Occident. Il faut que des barrières soient élevées, solides et infranchissables; et les meilleures barrières seront des populations fortes et homogènes. La diplomatie des gouvernements a fait preuve de toute son impuissance, même alors que les soldats de ces gouvernements faisaient des prodiges. La masse des notes et des protocoles échangés depuis un an n'a pas arrêté un seul coup de canon. Il est temps que l'Europe confie les garanties de son repos au bras robuste des nationalités régénérées. Voilà quel doit être le sens du congrès futur, ou il n'en aura pas. », *Ibidem*, p. 534.

nationalist discourse of the Romanians is thus instrumentalized to fit the pragmatic, and certainly not less imaginary, opinions of French intelligentsia on the European geopolitics⁴⁶. Significantly, these ideas are shared and reinforced by Romanian patriots themselves, speculating the enmities created by the Crimean war. In 1853, for instance, while demanding French support for the idea of an autonomous Romanian nation-state, Ion Brătianu promised in an elated style to transform his future country in a shield against the “new barbarian menacing the European civilization”, i.e. Tsarist Russia⁴⁷. Further evolutions would prove that such discursive practices were very effective in the eve of the 1856 peace conference held in Paris.

When reading and summarizing Regnault’s text, Marx certainly had a different motivation. He was searching for arguments to support his general theory. His reading notes are still very faithful to the original and do not offer Marx’s own opinions on the topic. Through Regnault, acting as a kind of ‘proxy’, Marx was familiarized with the Romanian Romantic nationalists’ historical narrative of the recent developments in the Romanian Principalities. Contrary to what the editor asserted regarding *Însemnări despre români*, his eventual sympathy for the Romanian national cause is not evident. Certainly, Marx manifested several times anti-Russian tendencies and even acknowledged his sympathy for Frantiszek Duchinski’s theory of the non-Slavic, Turanian origin of the Great Russians in a letter to Engels⁴⁸. On the other hand, his opinion on nationalism is ambivalent at least. Following the analysis of Roman Szporluk, the founders of Communism had “no rational explanation” regarding the rise of national movements of the “Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, Romanians, and Ukrainians”⁴⁹. Instead Marx and Engels seemed to be in favor of big

⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the inconsistency of the perception on Romanian territories was still visible. Along with his pro-Romanian attitude, Regnault also proliferated the stereotypes of a patronizing perception of Romanians and Balkans in general. For example, in several instances in his work, Romanian women are described as extremely beautiful but slightly immoral, always ready “d’ouvrir à l’officier russe ou turc la porte de son alcôve, et le boyar devient l’esclave de l’étranger qui le déshonore”, Regnault, *Histoire politique et sociale des Principautés Danubiennes*, 269. Significantly, Marx took the pain to summarize in a brief and amusing line this idea: “Dabei Einfluss d. Boyarenfrauen, d. öffnen leurs alcoves d. officier russe ou turc”, Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre români*, p. 55.

⁴⁷ « Que l’Europe, que la France seule nous dise: À vous, Roumains ! L’Europe vous regarde, la France est pour vous ! Et nous vous jurons sur l’honneur de nos ancêtres, sur l’amour de notre patrie, que la Roumanie retrouverait son antique valeur pour combattre victorieusement le nouveau barbare qui menacerait la civilisation européenne », cited in Armand Lévy, *La Russie sur le Danube*, p. 6.

⁴⁸ “I wish that Duchinski were right and at all events that this view would prevail among the Slavs.”, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, volume 42, p. 161.

⁴⁹ Roman Szporluk, *Communism and Nationalism. Karl Marx versus Friederich List* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 170.

centralized states. The national movements of the East European peoples found no place in the Marxist schema of historical progress and therefore had nothing progressive⁵⁰.

To conclude it is all the more difficult to assess Marx's own views from the analysis of his notes on Elias Regnault's work. By means of a thorough contextualization it is only possible to trace the sources of the latter's work and emphasize the multiple historiographical transfers and entanglements taking place on the intellectual scene of in mid 19th century Europe.

Marx as the advocate of Romanian national-communism in the 1960s

Little of this mattered when Marx's *Însemnări despre români* was published in 1964. For a public already bored by the aggressive publicity of Marx in the Communist *langue du bois* of the regime, this text came as a shock. Certain passages like "These Provinces withered under the shadow of Russian protection" or "To be suspected of entertaining patriotic sentiments was equivalent to being excluded from public employment; subservience to Russian interests was the sure title of promotion"⁵¹ automatically gave rise to analogies with the contemporary situation. It was for the first time after the Communists' *Machtergreifung* in 1945 that critical remarks vis-à-vis Russia were made public with the support of the regime. Previously, in the spirit of the orthodox Stalinist historiography, Russia was described as the centuries old friend and selfless ally of the Romanians; abruptly, this image was shattered and, crowning all, this historiographic immolation was done invoking Marx! The perceptive readers immediately realized the political stake of this act. It marked a change in the Romanian Communist regime's attitude towards the Soviet Union⁵².

At the beginning of the 1960s the political relation between Soviet Union and Romania was gradually deteriorating. The immediate reason for this state of affairs was a proposal to make complementary (by unilateral specialization) the economies of the member states of the COMECON (Council for Mutual Assistance) and to develop a transnational central planning. Known as the Valev plan, after its author, a professor of economics at Moscow University, the proposal, directly influenced by Khrushchev himself, suggested that Romanian (and Bulgarian) relatively underdeveloped economy should specialize in the production and exportation of primary products and import

⁵⁰ Cf. *Ibidem*, p.172-174.

⁵¹ Marx, *Însemnări despre români*, p. 97-98.

⁵² Florin Constantiniu, *De la Răutu și Roller la Mușat și Ardeleanu* [From Răutu and Roller to Mușat and Ardeleanu], Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2007, p. 274-277. See also the testimony of an important dignitary of Romanian Communist Party, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, *O istorie traită*, 2nd edition, vol. 1 [A Lived History], Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2002, p. 276-279.

more sophisticated manufactures from its more industrialized COMECON partners instead of attempting to develop a high-tech industrial base of its own⁵³. Romanian Communists vehemently protested and, in the context of the aggravation and officialization of the Sino-Soviet rift, used the Chinese formula of equality of all socialist states to justify their own autonomous policies⁵⁴. The position of the Romanian regime was formally legitimized in the *Statement on the Stand of the Romanian Workers' Party Concerning the Problems of the World Communist and Working Class Movement*, an official political declaration of autonomy issued at the end of April 1964⁵⁵. This act should not be interpreted however as a sign of liberalization of the regime. On the opposite, it codified the hard-core Stalinist convictions of the Party leaders in Bucharest, unhappy with the 'sanitized' Communism proposed by Khrushchev and reluctant to any form of change in their ruling style⁵⁶. By differentiating between an ever-desirable Soviet model and the Soviet Union, a distinct political entity, the Romanian Communists were in fact seeking the auto-conservation of the local regime. In that context, the Party leaders considered emancipation from Moscow as a necessary policy in order to remain in power⁵⁷.

Khrushchev's removal on 14 October 1964 offered Romanian Communist leaders a further chance to consolidate their break with Moscow. Among other actions, as the official request to Soviet Union to withdraw its KGB counselors from Romania, the closing of the Russian Institute in Bucharest and the elimination of Russian as a compulsory school subject, the regime also envisaged a radical historiographical shift.

In a scenario worthy of Orwell's *1984*, historians were urged to purge the positive references to Russia from the *Treatise of Romanian History*, which was to be published shortly under the aegis of the Romanian Academy⁵⁸. The edition of Marx's notes on Romanians was part of the same action plan. A version of the edition had already been finished since 1961, but, aware of the political impact of the text, the regime authorized the publication only after Khrushchev's removal, in late October 1964⁵⁹. At the same time, in the tradition

⁵³ Cf. Mihai Bărbulescu, Dennis Deletant, Keith Hitchins, Șerban Papacostea, Pompiliu Teodor, *Istoria românilor* [The History of Romanians], Bucharest, Univers Enciclopedic, 1998, p. 525-528. Also Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe. Crisis and Change*, 2nd edition London, Routledge, 2007, p.495.

⁵⁴ It seems that Romania even received Chinese diplomatic backing for the rejection of the COMECON plan. See Bărbulescu, Deletant, Hitchins, Papacostea, Teodor, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

⁵⁵ See Bărbulescu, Deletant, Hitchins, Papacostea, Teodor, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

⁵⁶ Florin Constantiniu, *De la Răutu și Roller la Mușat și Ardeleanu*, p. 271.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 273.

⁵⁹ Referring to this, the general secretary Romanian Workers' Party, Gheorghiu-Dej allegedly said: "It is time to publish this. The Soviets are now busy with other things

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

of Soviet scholasticism, a letter from 1888 by Engels to one of his Romanian socialist admirers was published in which Russian empire is chastised for its interference in Romania⁶⁰.

These acts irritated the Soviet authorities who sensed not only the imminence of a political rift between the two Communist countries but also the danger of a territorial dispute over the Soviet Moldova. Khrushchev admitted in his memoirs the “bitter taste” he felt when realizing that the Romanians were still resentful over the loss of Bessarabia⁶¹. This bitterness can be explained in ideological terms. Much earlier, the Soviet Union identified itself with the interest of Russia. As Szporluk maintains in his analysis of the Soviet-Yugoslav rift, Lenin had been the first national Communist, a source of inspiration for future leaders⁶². Under Stalin, Soviet Union drifted, at least historiographically, more and more towards a nationalist phase⁶³.

When irritated by the Soviet interference in what was perceived as Romanian internal affairs, local Communists appealed to the same discursive practices. The Soviets proved no less inertial when reacting to the critiques on Tsarist Russia, thus assuming a past previously abhorred by the founders of Communism. Paraphrasing Szporluk, this case did not represent a conflict between international Communism and nationalism, but one between two Communist nationalisms in power, one big and the other one small⁶⁴.

Marx (as well as Engels, to a certain extent) served as an advocate of the rise of Romanian national Communism. When Romanian historians published his reading notes of Regnault’s book, they assumed and perpetuated the ‘bourgeois’ Romantic nationalist agenda of the mid-nineteenth century. By

and cannot deal with us”, see Paul Niculescu-Mizil, *O istorie trăită*, vol. 1, p. 283.

⁶⁰ “You, the Romanians, must have known the Tsarism; you have suffered enough because of Kiseleff’s Organic Laws, because of the repression of 1848 revolution, of the twice repeated seizure of Bessarabia, of numerous invasions, as if the country was only a Russian halt on the way to Bosphorus, because of the apprehension that Romanian national independence would disappear once the tsarist dream, the conquest of Constantinople, comes true” cited in Florin Constantiniu, *De la Răutu și Roller la Mușat și Ardeleanu*, p. 280.

⁶¹ By evoking in bitter words the 1812 annexation of Bessarabia by Tsarist Russia, Marx’s edition triggered the inevitable parallel with the 1940 annexation of Bessarabia by Soviet Union. At that time, the Romanian Communist Party was the only political organization to support the takeover.

⁶² Roman Szporluk, *Communism and Nationalism. Karl Marx versus Friederich List*, p. 231-232.

⁶³ Cf. Alter L. Litvin, *Writing History in Twentieth-Century Russia. A view from within*, New York, Palgrave, 2001, p. 117-129. See also Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului* [Scientific Mythology of Communism], Bucharest, Humanitas, 2005, p. 90-108.

⁶⁴ Roman Szporluk, *Communism and Nationalism. Karl Marx versus Friederich List*, p. 232.

ascribing this discourse to Marx, they strategically managed to fuse nationalism with Marxist theories, in which they continued to believe. By striking the chord of strong Russophobia felt by many Romanians at the time, the political rift with Moscow attracted popular support for the Communist regime. Putting a distance between the local Party and its Soviet master increased the popularity of the regime and, equally important, did not suppose any major ideological deviation from the hardcore Stalinist doctrine. Thus, in 1960s, the nationalist appropriation of the discourse of Romanian Romantic patriots was mediated by the reference to Marx since references seemed to prevail on the message itself. History writing happens in mysterious ways, which involve, as this example demonstrates, ideological bias, entangled appropriations, and political instrumentalization.

**ISTORIE ECLEZIATICĂ, ISTORIE ECONOMICĂ ȘI
POLITICĂ /**

**ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
HISTORY**

FOREIGN ETHNIC GROUPS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE MEDIÉVAL KINGDOM OF HUNGARY: THE CASES OF TEMESVÁR/TIMIȘOARA AND SZEGED

István Petrovics ,

University of Szeged, Hungary

***Abstract.** The paper consists of four parts, of which the first serves as an introductory “chapter”, dealing with the role of foreign ethnic groups, mostly Latins and Germans, in the process of urban development in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. It also examines the term *hospes*, stressing that the meaning of this word went through profound changes in the eleventh to the thirteenth century. The second part of the paper discusses the history of Temesvár/Timișoara, centre of Temes county, located south of the River Maros/Mureș and about 80 kms from Szeged. The author stresses that Temesvár was originally a comital castle, where Charles I, King of Hungary found a temporary residence between 1315 and 1323. Nevertheless, the development of the town was severely impeded by the Turkish victory at Nicopolis in 1396, which resulted in Temesvár/Timișoara and the region around it becoming the permanent target of Ottoman onslaughts. The third part of the paper deals with the history of Szeged, located at the confluence of the rivers Tisza and Maros/Mureș. The development of Szeged, which had become by the late fifteenth century one of the richest and most populous royal towns of Hungary, may serve, according to the author, as an analogy, in several respects, to the history of Temesvár/Timișoara. In the fourth part, containing the conclusions, the author states that no populous communities of Walloons, Germans or other foreign ethnic groups played an important role in the development of the towns of Szeged and Temesvár/Timișoara in the Middle Ages. The author also stresses that the Hungarian burghers of these towns spread the urban way of life and urban institutions in general, among the non-Hungarian peoples (Serbs, Romanians) of the southern regions of the realm and even beyond its borders.*

***Keywords:** Hungarian history, Middle Ages, Urban development, Walloons, Germans, Saxons, Romanians, Szeged, Temesvár/Timișoara.*

General features of medieval urban development in Hungary

It is a frequently cited statement of Hungarian urban historical research that foreign settlers (*hospites*) contributed to a great extent to the establishment of medieval towns in the Kingdom of Hungary. These urban settlements took shape around the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries, and can be regarded - as a result of the appearance of money economy and royal privileges - in fact as *real towns*¹.

¹ For the summary of the question see the contributions of Erik Fügedi, “A városok

The *hospites* in the 11th and 12th centuries came to the Kingdom of Hungary primarily from Flanders, North-France (*Walloons*), Lorraine and Lombardy. As they were Romance speaking people, the Hungarian sources referred to them as *Latini* (*Latins*), or *Gallici* and *Italici*². They were followed in the 12th and 13th centuries by the Germans - *Teutonici* and *Saxones*, respectively. From the second part of the 13th century German ascendancy became obvious in most of the towns of the Hungarian Kingdom³.

These *hospites*, who belonged to diverse ethnic groups and came from different regions of Europe, arrived in Hungary in several waves. They brought with them their own legal system, which at many points was more developed than that of the Hungarians. The legal system of the *hospites* (*libertas/ius hospitum*) formed the basis of town laws in Hungary. It means that municipal liberties in Hungary grew out of the privileges of the foreign guests, and can be regarded as the expanded versions of the *libertas hospitum* that was applied to urban branches of professions. Town laws in Hungary should not be treated as solely based on German law, since Latins constituted a considerable part of the *hospites*. Nevertheless, it was the Germans (Saxons) who contributed decisively to the creation of town laws in Hungary⁴.

kialakulása Magyarországon” (The making of towns in Hungary) and “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok” (Medieval Hungarian urban privileges), in Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek* (Mendicant friars, burghers, nobles), Budapest, Magvető, 1981, p. 238-335; László Gerevich (ed.), *Towns in medieval Hungary*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó; N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1990; Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* (The reign of the last Árpadian kings), Budapest, Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1993, p. 50-61, 223-276; Gyula Kristó (ed. in chief), *Korai magyar történeti lexikon*, (9-14. század) (Early Hungarian historical lexicon. 9-14th centuries), (Further on *KMTL*), Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, s.v. *város, hospes*. See also István Petrovics, *Foreign ethnic groups in the towns of southern Hungary in the Middle Ages*, (forthcoming).

² An illustration of the question is presented - among others - by the following scholars: Erik Fügedi, György Györffy and György Székely; Erik Fügedi, “A befogadó magyar királyság” (Hungary as a welcoming kingdom), in Erik Fügedi, *op. cit.*, p. 398-418; György Györffy, “A székesfehérvári latinok betelepülésének kérdése” (The settling down of Latin guests in Székesfehérvár), in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai* (The centuries of Székesfehérvár), vol. II, Székesfehérvár, 1972, p. 37-44; György Székely, “A székesfehérvári latinok és vallonok a középkori Magyarországon” (The Latins and Walloons of Székesfehérvár in medieval Hungary), in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai*, p. 45-72; *KMTL* s.v. *vallonok, olaszok*.

³ András Kubinyi, Zur Frage der deutschen Siedlungen im mittleren Teil des Königreichs Ungarn (1200-1541), in: *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*, (ed.) Walter Schlesinger, Sigmaringen 1975 (Vorträge und Forschungen 18), p. 527-566; Erik Fügedi, *op. cit.*, p. 406-418; *KMTL* s.v. *németek, szászok*.

⁴ István Petrovics, “A korai magyar városfejlődés és az idegen jog” (Medieval *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.*

The study of privileges bestowed by Hungarian kings upon foreign settlers and urban burghers draws attention to some important facts. The first and most important point is that these guests enjoyed several privileges already in their original homelands which were respected in Hungary as well. In many cases these privileges were essentially expanded by the Hungarian kings. In this respect it is surprising that the *hospites* in Hungary could freely elect their own *judges (iudices)* and *priests*, something that the burghers of most Western European towns could not⁵.

In Western Europe, primarily on the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, as a consequence of the lack of the aforesaid privilege (which secured the free election of the judge) a strange situation arose: the activity of town administration on the one hand, and that of passing sentences on urban burghers on the other hand became separated from each-other. This meant in practice, that the towns were directed by two officials: 1) the *judge (imperial schulteis)* appointed by the monarchs whose task was to pass sentences, and 2) the *lord mayor (magister civium, Bürgermeister)* who was elected by the burghers of the town. It should be noted that it was the mayor who politically and economically administered the settlement⁶. The townsfolk desperately strove to change this unfavourable situation. The most important imperial towns like Nürnberg, Frankfurt and Regensburg finally redeemed the right to freely elect the judge in the 14th and 15th centuries. And this was, even then, connected to a payment of a considerable amount of money⁷.

In contrast to this, in Hungary it was the *judge (iudex)* elected by the urban burghers who was the real headman of most Hungarian towns. The judge together with the *aldermen (iurati cives)*, who were also elected by the burghers, passed sentences, administered the town, and directed the economic activity of the settlement. The passage of sentences by the judges was done, however, "in the name of the king"⁸.

Nevertheless, as a result of Austrian impact, in the towns of Western Hungary and in the *oppida* which were located in their vicinity, *Bürgermeister-s* could be found as leaders of the settlements⁹.

Hungarian urban development and foreign law), in *Régi és új peregrináció Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon* (Old and new peregrination, Hungarians abroad, foreigners in Hungary. Papers of the IIIrd International Congress on Hungarian Studies), vol. I, Szeged, Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság, Scriptum, 1993, p. 267-271; *KMTL s.v. hospesjog, városi jog*.

⁵ Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek*, p. 280-287, 300-305.

⁶ András Kubinyi, *Városi szervezetek a középkori Magyarországon* (Urban organizations in medieval Hungary), *Honismeret*, 21, 1993, No. 6, p. 16-17.

⁷ András Kubinyi, *A középkori Magyarország városfejlődése* (The Urban development of medieval Hungary), *Rubicon*, 4 (1993), Nos. 8-9, p. 17.

⁸ Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek*, p. 281-300.

⁹ András Kubinyi, *Városi szervezetek a középkori Magyarországon*, p. 16.

The same situation can be observed in the case of the *Saxon towns* in Transylvania. This is explained by the fact that the practice according to which the *royal judge* (*iudex regius/regalis*) was not elected by the Saxons themselves, but rather appointed by the king, survived until the late 15th century. It was only in 1477 when King Matthias ordered that from that time on the royal judges (*judices regales*) were to be freely elected by the Saxons¹⁰.

The document first referring to the free election of the priests is also associated with the Transylvanian Saxons. This document is named *Andreanum* after King Andrew II, who issued it for the Saxons in 1224¹¹. It was *Dietrich Kurze*, the outstanding German legal historian who called attention to the fact that though the *Andreanum* spoke about the free election of the priests for the first time, the Saxons could not bring this privilege with them to Hungary. This was for the simple reason that at the time of their migration this privilege was not practiced by them in their original homeland. Consequently, this privilege - together with the one which secured the election of the judge - was granted to the Saxons by the Hungarian kings¹². It is equally important to stress that the

¹⁰ For the Saxon towns see, for instance György Granasztói, "Társadalmi tagozódás Brassóban a XV. század végén" (Social stratification in Brassó at the end of 15th century), in *Századok*, 106, 1972, p. 350-399; Paul Niedermaier, *Siebenbürgische Städte. Forschungen zur städtebaulichen und architektonischen Entwicklung von Handwerksorten zwischen dem 12. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Köln, Böhlau, 1979; Maja Philippi, *Die bürger von Kronstadt im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Sozialstruktur einer Siebenbürgischen Stadt im Mittelalter*, Köln-Wien, 1986; Otto Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, Aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. v. Ernst Wagner, Köln-Wien, Böhlau, 1988; Konrad Gustav Gündisch, *Das Patriziat Siebenbürgischer Städte im Mittelalter*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 1993; István Draskóczy, *Az erdélyi szász városok* (The Saxon towns in Transylvania), *Rubicon*, 4 (1993), Nos. 8-9. p. 17; Paul Niedermaier, *Der mitteralterliche Städtebau in Siebenbürgen, im Banat und Kreischgebiet, Teil I, Die Entwicklung vom Anbeginn bis 1241*, Heidelberg, 1996; Idem, *Städtebau im Mittelalter. Siebenbürgen, Banat und Kreischgebiet (1242-1347)*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2002; Idem, *Städtebau im Spätmittelalter. Siebenbürgen, Banat und Kreischgebiet. (1348-1541)*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2004.

¹¹ Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. I, Hermannstadt, 1892, p. 32-35.

¹² Dietrich Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gemeinde und des Niederkirchenwesens. Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht*, Bd. 6, Köln-Graz, 1966; Idem, "Zur historischen Einordnung der kirchlichen Bestimmungen des *Andreanums*" in *Zur Rechts- und Siedlungsgeschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Siebenbürgisches Archiv, Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Dritte Folge, Bd. 8), Köln-Wien, 1971, p. 133-161; Dietrich Kurze, "Hoch- und spätmittelalterliche Wahlen in Niederkirchenbereich als Ausdruck von Rechten, Rechtsansprüchen und als Wege zur Konfliktlösung", in R. Schneider, H. Zimmermann (eds.), *Vorträge und Forschungen.*, Bd. XXXVII, Sigmaringen, 1990. Kurze's views were made known in Hungary primarily by András

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

libertas hospitum in Hungary generally comprised the privilege of electing the priests. Consequently, this privilege emerges not only in settlements inhabited by Saxons, but for all of the *hospites* in general¹³. Speaking about towns, for the sake of comparison, it is worth mentioning the case of the Holy Roman Empire, where out of the 3000 towns only 380 (i.e. slightly over 10%) enjoyed this privilege, in contrast to Hungary, where it was a widely spread practice¹⁴.

After settling in the Hungarian Kingdom the way of life and legal system of the newly arrived guests and those of the Hungarians mutually influenced each other. This mutual relationship is also evidenced by the terminology of the primary source material. Suffice it to mention here just one example: in Hungary the term (*libera*) *villa* - due to the influence of the language of the Walloon settlers - roughly until the mid-14th century referred not to villages, but rather to urban-type settlements¹⁵. Speaking about terminology it is worth remarking that the same phenomenon can also be observed in the *Hungaro-Romanian context*. This means that many Romanian words concerning urban life are Hungarian loan words: *oraş* < város, *pîrgar* < polgár, *bâlcu* < búcsú/vásár, *vamă* < vám etc¹⁶.

Nevertheless, the term *hospes* should be treated very carefully, as its meaning changed over time. In the law-books of the 11th century this term referred to both *foreign* knights and clerics, and also alluded to peasants (serfs/villeins) who migrated to Hungary in the early Árpáadian age. From the 13th century onward the term *hospes* primarily referred not to *foreign immigrants*, but to such persons who during the process of colonisation

Kubinyi. See András Kubinyi, *Plébánosválasztások és egyházközösségi önkormányzat* (Election of parish priests and selfgovernment of church communities), Aetas, 1991, No. 2, p. 26-45. Idem, "Egyház és város a késő középkori Magyarországon" (Church and town in late medieval Hungary), in Ilona Sz. Jónás (ed.), *Társadalomtörténeti tanulmányok a közeli és a régmúltból. Emlékkönyv Székely György 70. születésnapjára* (Essays published in honour of György Székely on the occasion of his 70th birthday), Budapest, Elte BTK, 1994, p. 74-87, especially p. 75-76.

¹³ András Kubinyi, *Egyház és város a késő középkori Magyarországon*, p. 75.

¹⁴ Cf. Dietrich Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter*, p. 436-438; András Kubinyi, *Városi szervezetek a középkori Magyarországon*, p. 17.

¹⁵ Erzsébet Ladányi, "Libera villa, civitas, oppidum. Terminológiai kérdések a magyar városfejlődésben" (Questions of terminology in Hungarian urban development), *Történelmi Szemle* (Historical Review), 23, 1980, p. 450-477. The article was also published in German in *Annales Universitatis Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio Historica*, 20, 1977, p. 3-43. Also cf. András Kubinyi, "I. Lajos király és kora" (King Louis I and his age), in Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga (eds.), *Művészet I. Lajos király korában. 1342-1382* (Art in the age of King Louis I. 1342-1382), p. 29.

¹⁶ László Makkai, *Magyar-román közös múlt* (Hungarian-Romanian common past), Budapest, Héttorony Könyvkiadó, 1989, p. 52.

acquired a special legal status¹⁷. This fundamental change meant that anybody enjoying that special legal status - regardless of ethnic origins - could be referred to as a *hospes*. This means that in addition to the Latins and the Germans, Hungarians, Armenians and Slavic people were also among the hospites. As the guests comprised both peasants and artisans (merchants), their *libertas* had an impact, on the one hand, on the formation of the *libertas* of the social class of dependant peasants (Latin: *iobagiones*, Hungarian: *jobbágyok*), who enjoyed a more or less uniform legal status. On the other hand, the foreign guests also had a profound influence on the evolution of town laws¹⁸. Consequently, it is not by chance that in Hungarian documents in the Latin language it is the term *hospes* and not *civis* that initially referred to urban burghers. From the middle of the 13th century on the members of the social class of dependant peasants (*jobbágyok*) were frequently named hospites, a new term needed to be created to distinguish between them and the urban burghers. This new term was: *civis*. This circumstance explains why the most commonly used phrase of the charters referring to urban burghers was: *cives et hospites*. Nevertheless, the term *civis* (*cives*) was first used in a narrower sense, as it alluded solely to the most influential group of urban society, i.e. primarily to the *iurati cives*. This duality is well exemplified by the expression *cives et concives*, in which the latter refers to the *ordinary burghers* of the town¹⁹.

Temesvár in the Middle Ages

Temesvár (today: Timișoara, Romania) is located south of the River Maros/Mureș, about 80 kilometres from Szeged. As its Hungarian name suggests, the town was built on the bank of the river Temes, the suffix *-vár* ('burg', 'castle') indicating that it was originally a comital castle, the centre of Temes county. The town itself appears first in written sources in the mid-twelfth-century description of Al-Idrisi. The Sicilian Arab geographer described Temesvár as a splendid town, abounding in great richness, and located south of the river Tisza. Between 1315 and 1323 Charles I found a temporary residence here. The development of the town was severely impeded by the Turkish victory at Nicopolis in 1396, which resulted in Temesvár and the region around it becoming the permanent target of Ottoman onslaughts. By the early fifteenth century, Temesvár assumed the role of a border castle. From the point of view of urban autonomy, the most disadvantageous developments were that in 1369

¹⁷ Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek*, p. 403, 525-526; Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, p. 33-39; *KMTL s.v. hospes*.

¹⁸ Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, p. 208-222; *KMTL s.v. polgár, városi jog*.

¹⁹ András Kubinyi, *Budai és pesti polgárok családi összeköttetései a Jagelló-korban* (Family connections of the burghers of Buda and Pest in the Jagellonian period), in *Levéltári Közlemények* (Publications of the Hungarian National Archives), 37, 1966, p. 228-242; *KMTL s.v. polgár*.

the authority of the ban of Vidin was transferred to the *comes Temesiensis*, and furthermore from the late fourteenth century the Ottoman advance led to the authority of the *comes* being significantly strengthened. Consequently, Temesvár could not become a royal free town, since its autonomy was seriously restricted by the *comes Temesiensis* and his *vicecomes* who both had their seats in the town. Nevertheless, Temesvár can still be regarded in the Late Middle Ages as the most important town of the region bordered by the south-eastern part of the Great Plain, the Maros, Tisza and lower Danube rivers and historic Transylvania – in short, the Danube-Tisza-Maros region²⁰.

In the present stage of research - based on published and unpublished documents - it can be stated that the first charter using a collective designation referring to the burghers of Temesvár (today: Timișoara, Romania) was issued by the chapter house of Arad (today: Arad, Romania) in 1341²¹. The charter dated on May 19 uses the term *hospites de Temeswar*. Less than a year later, on February 9, 1342 the chapter house of Csanád (today: Cenad, Romania) issued a charter in which mentioned the *cives de Temeswar*²². A distinct part of the townsfolk in Temesvár, namely the merchants, *mercatores de (nostra civitate) Themeswar*, appear in King Sigismund's charter issued on January 13, 1415 and also in the charter of Nicholas Csáki, voivode of Transylvania, issued on September 15 in the same year²³. The first burghers of the town who are unequivocally known by their names emerge in documentary evidence in 1361²⁴. The charter issued by Queen Elisabeth on August 31, 1361 in Visegrád refers to two burghers from Temesvár, *Valentinus filius Michaelis et Vehul (Utul?) dictus de Somplijo cives de Themeswar*, who became victims of a

²⁰ For the medieval history of Temesvár see István Petrovics, "The fading glory of a former royal seat: the case of medieval Temesvár", in Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebök (eds.), *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 1999, p. 527-538; István Petrovics, „Urban development in the Danube-Tisa-Mureș Region in the Middle Ages”, in *Analele Banatului*, Serie nouă, *Archeologie-Istorie*, IX, Timișoara, Muzeul Banatului, 2001, p. 389-394; István Petrovics, "A középkori Temesvár. Fejezetek a Bega-parti város 1552 előtti történetéből" (Medieval Temesvár. Chapters from the history of Temesvár prior to 1552) in *Capitulum IV*, , Szeged, JatePress, 2008.

²¹ *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvárváros történetéhez*, másolta és gyűjtötte Pesty Frigyes, a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia tört. bizottsága rendeletéből sajtó alá rendezte Ortway Tivadar, I. 1183-1430, Pozsony, 1896, Temesvármegye és Temesvárváros története IV. (Charters to the history of Temes county and the town of Temesvár. Vol. I, 1183-1430. Collected by Frigyes Pesty, edited by Tivadar Ortway, further on *Temes*), p. 69-71.

²² *Temes*, p. 71. See also István Petrovics, *The Burghers of Medieval Temesvár/Timișoara*, p. 318 and István Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár*, p. 54.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 492-495.

²⁴ *Herceg Batthyány család levéltára Körmenten* (Archive of the Batthyány family in Körment), *Miscellanea Heimiana*, No. 172.

violent trespass. In the charter Valentinus and Utul confirm that magister Benedictus filius Pauli filii Heym, the landlord of Blasius Rufus, the tributarius who had taken away, by force, the things belonging to Valentinus and Vehul, gave them everything back.

From the 15th century onwards the number of such documents in which the burghers of Temesvár are mentioned specifically by name increases. In these cases, the Christian name of the burghers emerged in conjunction with that of their fathers', or with the designation of their profession. The aforesaid two variants - either separately or together - were sometimes also combined with the name of the town of Temesvár, for example: *Valentinus filius Michaelis et Vehul (Utul?) dictus de Somplijo cives de Themeswar (1361)*, *Sebastianus Georgii de Themesuar (1400)*, *Johannes corrigiator de Themeswar (1411)*, and *Andreas de Themeswar (1446)*²⁵. When examining either the collective designations or the individual names of the burghers, the question arises as to whether there were any foreign ethnic groups that played a significant role in the urban development of Temesvár in the Middle Ages?²⁶

In contrast to an earlier assertion²⁷ I find it doubtful that there had been a Walloon colony in Temesvár, for the simple reason that the first emergence of the patrocinium of *St. Eligius* is rather late (1394)²⁸. Not to mention the fact that the parish church in Temesvár was the only *ecclesia* in medieval Hungary to have had St. Eligius as patron saint, though there were several urban type settlements in Hungary where Walloon *hospites* had lived in significant numbers.

As far as I can determine, it is the Anjou period of the history of Temesvár, in which the veneration of St. Eligius originates. It is a well-known fact that Charles I of the Anjou dynasty had his court in this town from 1315 to 1323, when it moved to Visegrád²⁹. Among the secular and ecclesiastical lords of the royal court, were several Italians, who might have had a role in spreading the cult of St. Eligius in Hungary. Based on the fact that a hospital dedicated to St. Eligius worked in Naples in the 14th century, it can be stated that Eligius

²⁵ *Ibidem*; *Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár* (Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatic Archives), No. 53063; *Temes*, p. 439; Lukcsics Pál, *A XV. századi pápák oklevelei* (Papal charters from the 15th century). vol. II, Budapest, 1938, No. 929.

²⁶ István Petrovics, *Foreign ethnic groups*.

²⁷ Kálmán Juhász, *A csanádi püspökség története* (The history of the bishopric of Csanád). vol. IV, Makó, 1947, p. 115.

²⁸ For this problem see István Petrovics, "Was there an ethnic background to the veneration of St. Eligius in Hungary?", in Ladislaus Löb, István Petrovics, György E. Szőnyi (eds.), *Forms of identity. Definitions and changes*, Szeged, Attila József University, 1994, p. 77-87.

²⁹ István Petrovics, *Royal residences and urban development during the reign of the Anjou kings in Hungary*, *Historia, Urbana*, Tomul V, 1997, nr. 1, p. 39-65.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

was a popular saint in that town as well³⁰. On the other hand, it is also worth mentioning that Charles I established a Franciscan monastery in nearby Lippa (today: Lipova, Romania), dedicated to his uncle, *St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse*. St. Louis, whose cult spread rapidly in Hungary, was canonized in 1317³¹. This fact draws attention to the circumstance that the veneration of St. Eligius in Temesvár might have also been spread either by Charles I himself, or by someone else belonging to his court. Nevertheless, one cannot rule out that the veneration of St. Eligius in Temesvár was rather in connection with the goldsmiths. Due to the monetary reforms of Charles I, the role of goldsmiths and silversmiths had become increasingly significant. Their most famous workshops could be found at the royal courts, in major towns and probably in monasteries. As a result of widening political and cultural contacts in the Anjou period, Hungarian goldsmiths and silversmiths found themselves in the mainstream of European Gothic art. A thriving international exchange required the constant sending of gifts. Apart from producing gifts the goldsmiths took part in minting and in the carving of seals. The veneration of St. Eligius was so widespread among goldsmiths of many nationalities in Hungary that it is hard to believe that his church in Temesvár should have had anything to do with Walloon settlers³².

In the 13th and 14th centuries very intensive economic and cultural contacts existed between Italy and Hungary³³. Thus, I have good reason to believe that several Italians appeared in Temesvár, especially in the royal court, in the first part of the 14th century. Their numbers, however, might have drastically dropped when the royal court moved to Visegrád in 1323. It was characteristic of the Italians showing up in Hungary in the 14th century that besides acting as merchants they were basically engaged in the financial and mining administration of the kingdom. It is true, however, that at the end of the 14th century inactive Italian businessmen could hardly compete with German entrepreneurs who quite unexpectedly invaded the field³⁴. Some Italians who

³⁰ Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái emlékek az Anjou-korból. Acta extera Andegavensia*, (Diplomatic documents related to Hungary from the Anjou period), Vol. I, Budapest, 1874, p. 257.

³¹ *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, Edendo operi praefuit Emericus Szentpétery, Vol. I, Budapestini, 1937, p. 491. The relevant part is from the *Illuminated Chronicle (Chronicon Pictum)*. Also cf. Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum. II. Commentarii. 2. Ab anno 1301 usque ad annum 1487*, Composuit Elemér Mályusz, Adiuvante Julio Kristó, Budapest, 1988, p. 58.

³² István Petrovics, „Was there an ethnic background to the veneration of St. Eligius”, p. 85-87.

³³ Dénes Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a középkorban* (Italian-Hungarian trading contacts in the Middle Ages), Budapest, 1941.

³⁴ Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon* (King Sigismund's reign

started their career in Hungary as merchants, later became feudal lords (barons)³⁵. I refer here to one such person, Filippo Scolari. Born in the vicinity of Florence, and having moved to Hungary he became King Sigismund's most active and triumphant general. Filippo Scolari's Hungarian name was Pipo Ozorai. His life and military activity was closely connected with Temesvár as he became the royal officer in charge of Temes county (*comes Temesiensis*) in 1404³⁶.

After the overwhelming Turkish victory at Nicopolis in 1396 Temesvár and the region around it became the permanent target of Ottoman onslaughts³⁷. It was basically the task of the baron holding the office of *comes Temesiensis* to establish an effective defense-system in this area against the Turks. Pipo Ozorai and Pál Kinizsi, who were *comites Temesiensis*, played an outstanding role in the defence of the southern parts of Hungary. János Hunyadi, voivode of Transylvania also must be mentioned, who between 1441 and 1456 had one of his seats in Temesvár³⁸.

The situation in which Temesvár became a so-called *border castle* by the early 15th century, evidently hindered its urban development, despite the fact that Pipo Ozorai and János Hunyadi launched significant construction works here. Since these building operations primarily focused on fortifying the castle and the town, they could not also promote urban development. At the same time the administrative functions of Temesvár were enlarged, since the salt deposit belonging to Keve (today: Kovin, Serbia) was operated by Pipo Ozorai in

in Hungary), Budapest, Gondolat, 1984, p. 158-168.

³⁵ István Draskóczy, *Életpályák a Magyar pénzügyigazgatásban a XV. század első felében* (Careers in Hungarian financial administration in the first half of the 15th century), Thesis for a candidate's degree, Manuscript, Budapest, 1994.

³⁶ Pál Engel, "Ozorai Pipo", in Ferenc Vadas (ed.), *Ozorai Pipó emlékezete*, Szekszárd, 1987, p. 53-88.

³⁷ Ioan Hațegan, "Pippo Spano și lupta antiotomană în Banat în primele decenii ale secolului al XV-lea", in *Studii și comunicări de etnografie-istorie*, 2, 1977, p. 389-401; Ioan Hațegan, "Banatul și începuturile luptei antiotomane (1389-1426). Rolul lui Filippo Scolari", *Revista de Istorie*, 31, 1978, p. 1031-1032; Ioan Hațegan, "Das mittelalterliche Schloss von Temesvár und die von Filippo Scolari im Banat gebauten oder renovierten Schlösser", in Juan Cabello (ed.), *Várak a későközépkorban* (Castles in the Late Middle Ages), *Castrum Bene* 2/1990, Budapest, p. 268-275.

³⁸ Ferenc Szakály, "Phases of Turco-Hungarian warfare before the battle of Mohács (1365-1526)", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 33, 1979, p. 72-85; Pál Engel, "Magyarország és a török veszély Zsigmond korában (1387-1437)" (Hungary and the Ottoman menace under the reign of King Sigismund), in *Századok* (Centuries) 128, 1994, p. 273-283; István Petrovics, "John Hunyadi, Count of Temes/Timiș", in *Extincta est lucerna orbis. John Hunyadi and his Time*, eds. Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly, Alexandru Simon. (Mélanges d'Histoire Général. Nouvelle Série, I, 2), Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 217-222.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

Temesvár³⁹. This change was achieved in order to make the defence system more effective, as Ozorai, for a while, simultaneously held the office of *comes Temesiensis* and that of *comes camerarum salium regalium*. The son of the patrician of Korčula, Matko Tallóci, together with his three brothers operated the salt deposit belonging to Keve also in Temesvár⁴⁰. The Tallóci brothers were also significant figures in the anti-Ottoman struggles. At the time of King Sigismund's death, the Tallóci brothers supervised the southern line of border fortresses, stretching from the Adriatic coast to the fortress of Szörény and comprising some fifty castles⁴¹. The role, Temesvár played in the distribution of salt, may explain the fact that Pero Rossi of Florence, *camerarius salium regalium* from Torda (today: Turda, Romania) had a *sessio* in Temesvár, that he possessed in return of a debt⁴².

Though in the early 15th century the Ottoman advance definitely hindered its development, it did not immediately halt the urban development of Temesvár. It is certified, for instance, by a charter surviving from 1413. A Ragusan merchant (i.e. a citizen of Dubrovnik, Croatia) who died in Temesvár⁴³ is mentioned in the document.

There is also documentary evidence proving that Temesvár played an important role in the Transylvanian cloth trade in the afore-mentioned period. This activity was so significant that the town council of Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt (today: Sibiu, Romania) seriously worried about it. It also happened that some burghers of Hermannstadt were manhandled in Temesvár⁴⁴. Even the name of Temesvár's first *iudex* known by name: Mihály

³⁹ Elemér Mályusz, "A négy Tallóci fivér" (The four Tallóci brothers), in *Történelmi Szemle* (Historical Review), 23, 1980, No. 4, p. 531-576, especially p. 542.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 542-543.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, also cf. Pál Engel, "Magyarország és a török veszély Zsigmond korában (1387-1437)" p. 283-284, and Idem, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban* (Relationship of royal power to aristocracy under the reign of King Sigismund) 1387-1437, *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből*, Új sorozat 83, Budapest, 1977, p. 78-81.

⁴² Zsigmond Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei* (The minutes of the convent of Kolozsmonostor) 1289-1556, Vol. I, Budapest, 1990, p. 258, no. 277; also cf. István Draskóczy, *Életpályák a magyar pénzügyigazgatásban a XV. század első felében*, p. 100-101.

⁴³ Ragusa (today Dubrovnik, Croatia) was one of the most flourishing commercial towns of the Adriatic coast. See, for instance Bariša Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th centuries: a city between East and West*, (The Centers of Civilisation Series, Vol. 30), Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.

⁴⁴ István Petrovics, "Temesvár és Nagyszeben. Megjegyzések egy oklevéltöredék kapcsán", (Temesvár and Nagyszeben. Comments on fragments of a charter), in László Koszta (ed.), *Kelet és Nyugat között. Történelmi tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére* (Between East and West. Historical studies published in honour of Gyula Kristó), Szeged, 1995, p. 401-413.

Posztós (*Mychael dictus Poztos*) refers to the weight this town had in the cloth trade⁴⁵. The Hungarian name, Posztós refers to a person who was engaged either in producing or selling cloth. Mihály Posztós who shows up in written sources first in 1390, creates, at the same time, a contact with the Romanians in this region. We know from the testimony of charters that Romanians settled in the Danube-Tisza-Maros region in the fourteenth century. There is documentary evidence proving, for instance, that in 1359 six members of an illustrious Romanian family from Wallachia settled down in the Temesköz, the flatland part of the Danube-Tisza-Maros region after having left all their possessions and goods in Wallachia (*relictis omnibus possessionibus eorum et bonis in dicta terra Transalpina habitis, nostre maiestati semet ipsos obtulerunt fideliter servituros*). The Hungarian king, Louis I donated 13 villages to them in order to enable them to accommodate their entourage. Six years later another five landed estates were donated to them⁴⁶.

The different way of life and customary law of the constantly increasing Romanian population led to several conflicts with the Hungarians in Transylvania and in the southern parts of the territory. Therefore King Louis I journeyed to Transylvania in 1366 to settle the problem. This is how the first legal regulation of the Hungaro-Romanian co-existence took place⁴⁷.

King Louis I did his best in order to protect the Romanians even after the legal regulation of 1366. This royal intention is clearly demonstrated, for example, in a charter which was issued on January 5, 1373: "*Nos Ludovicus Dei gratia rex Hungarie ... vobis magistris Petro et Nicolao filiis Pauli filii Heem, item Andree dicto Turma castellano de Mihald, necnon keneziis, officialibus et servientibus vestris universis firmis damus in preceptis, quatenus Ladislaum filium Lehach, Naan et Ladislaum filios Kene Olachos nostros,*

⁴⁵ *Temes*, p. 195. Also cf. István Petrovics, "Egy 14. századi temesvári bíró: Posztós Mihály" (A 14th century mayor of Temesvár: Michael Posztós), in *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae, Acta Historica*, CIII, Szeged, 1996, p. 91-99. See also István Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár*, p. 60-64.

⁴⁶ Documentary evidence for the appearance of the Romanians in this region are collected, for instance, in *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum*, Curante Emerico Lukinich et adiuvante Ladislao Gáldi ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai, Budapest, 1941, *Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale*, 29. (further on *Doc. Val.*). The relevant charter is published *in extenso* in *Temes*, p. 87-89, while an abridged version can be read in *Doc. Val.*, p. 141-142. Also cf. László Makkai, András Mócsy (eds.), *Erdély története, vol. I, A kezdetektől 1606-ig* (A History of Transylvania. Vol I. From the beginnings up to 1606), Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986, p. 341-342.

⁴⁷ *Doc. Val.*, p. 199-200. The charter is published *in extenso* in Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Georg Müller, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. II, Hermannstadt, 1897, p. 256-259. Cf. László Makkai, *Magyar-román közös múlt*, p. 60.

*possessionesque, jobagiones et res ipsorum interim quousque nos personaliter ad Temesuar accedemus, nec intra nec extra iudicium audeatis perturbare...*⁴⁸.

The above mentioned Mihály Posztós, judge of Temesvár had got involved in a law suit with the Romanians living on the possessions of Kispala and Nagypala (*possessiones Kyspala et Noghpala in districtu de Hathzag*), of which Mihály Posztós claimed to be owner by royal donation⁴⁹. The cases of Kispala and Nagypala well illustrate the situation how under the leadership of Romanian *kenezii* (as a result of deforestation and colonization) free villages (*liberae villae*) came into being. Many of these were in the district of Hátszeg (today: Hațeg, Romania)⁵⁰. The point to stress here is that the "*ius kenezorum*" acquired during the process of colonization in itself did not mean that the *kenezii* actually owned these free villages. It happened frequently that the kings donated these villages, and in such cases the *kenezii* were subjected to the new landlords. On the other hand, several examples illustrate that the Hungarian kings confirmed many *kenezii* in the possession of these free villages until the end of their lives, evidently because these *kenezii* had earned distinction in royal service. In more than one case it happened that by royal favour the *kenezii* could even inherit the free villages. Even in such cases the common Romanians of the free villages could preserve their liberty. In other words they did not become simple peasants, for henceforward sentences on them were passed by the *judicial bench of the district*, on which the Romanian commoners also had the right to sit⁵¹. Another characteristic feature was that in contrast to the Szeklers (Latin: *Siculi*, Hungarian: *Székelyek*) who personally fulfilled military service to the kings, among the Romanians it was only the *kenezii* who had this duty. With the Ottoman advance, the military role of the *kenezii* increased significantly. It is not by chance that a large number of *Romanian kenezii* became members of the Hungarian nobility in the early 15th century. In this respect the activity of János Hunyadi, governor of Hungary (1446-53), was of great importance. As a descendant of a kenez-family, Hunyadi knew very well this ambitious social stratum.

Szeged in the Middle Ages

It is highly probable that the question, whether there were any foreign ethnic groups that played a significant role in the urban development of

⁴⁸ *Doc. Val.*, p. 247.

⁴⁹ *Temes*, p. 185-188, 195-198, 318-323. Also cf. István Petrovics, *Egy 14. századi temesvári bíró: Posztós Mihály*, passim.

⁵⁰ László Makkai, *Magyar-román közös múlt*, p. 62-68; Radu Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu Românesc. Țara Hațegului* (The beginnings of the Romanian Middle Ages. Țara Hațegului), București, Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1988; *KMTL*, s.v. *Hátszeg*.

⁵¹ László Makkai, *Magyar-román közös múlt*, p. 63-64; *Temes*, p. 319.

Temesvár, cannot be answered exclusively on the basis of different types of personal names. Evidently other kinds of primary sources and also the application of special methods (e.g. settlement and legal history) are required when investigating this complex question. Moreover, the case of nearby Szeged, a town located at the confluence of the Tisza and Maros rivers, with which Temesvár had close contacts, may offer an analogy to the study of the past of Temesvár⁵². Szeged was the most important town of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages. It grew at the confluence of the rivers Tisza and Maros. Due to its favourable geographical location Szeged was easily accessible from all regions of the kingdom. While the river Maros connected Szeged with Transylvania, the Tisza created a link with the southern and northern parts of the realm. Moreover, from Szeged's busy ford, important land routes led to the western and north-western localities of the kingdom.

The name of Szeged shows up in the written sources as early as 1183, but the *hospites* of Szeged are mentioned in documentary evidence for the first time only in 1247. They are referred to - as were the guests of Temesvár - with a collective denomination: *hospites de Zegedino*⁵³. The appearance of these *hospites*, who in all probability were ethnic Hungarians, demonstrates that the transformation of pre-urban Szeged into a real town took place after the Mongol invasion. In contrast with other parts of the kingdom, no foreign ethnic groups seem to have played a role in this process. The influx of Latin guests to Hungary took place mainly prior to the thirteenth century, and then mostly outside the area of the Great Plain⁵⁴. It was the same with the Germans who succeeded the Latin guests: they preferred the administrative centers or the mountainous regions of the kingdom. The lack of place names like Olaszi, Szászi, Németi and so on in the Great Plain confirms this. The first document associated with Szeged that can be analyzed from a demographic and ethnic point of view is the tithe-list from 1522⁵⁵. Prior to that year only a few charters

⁵² Gyula Kristó (ed.), *Szeged története I. A kezdetektől 1686-ig*. (The history of the town of Szeged. Vol. 1. From the beginnings up to 1686), Szeged, 1983. Henceforth *Szeged története*. The relevant parts were written by László Szegfű, István Petrovics and Péter Kulcsár. See also István Petrovics, *Foreign ethnic groups in the towns of southern Hungary*.

⁵³ János Reizner, *Szeged története* [The history of the town of Szeged], vol. 4, Szeged, 1900, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Pál Engel, *The realm of St. Stephen: A history of medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, London and New York, I. B. Tauris, 2001, p. 60–61, 69, 111–115, 267–269; Gyula Kristó, *Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon* (Non-Hungarian peoples in medieval Hungary), Budapest, Lucidus, 2003, p. 162–165, 176–177.

⁵⁵ Sándor Bálint, *Az 1522. évi tizedlajstrom szegedi vezetéknevei* (Surnames of people living in Szeged according to the tithe-list from 1522), *A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság kiadványai* (Proceedings of the Hungarian Association of Linguists), No. 105 Budapest, 1963; *Szeged története*, vol. 1, p. 448–460; Péter Kulcsár, “Az 1522-es Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, *Târgu-Mureș*, XII/2009.

and other types of source material exist in which references one can find references to persons who belonged to different ethnic groups. Thus mention is made of one Antonius Bolonia in 1429, of Valentinus Italicus in 1460 and of Michael Theutonicus also in 1460. The latter two appear in the fifteenth-century miracle collection of Saint John of Capistrano, while Antonius Bolonia is mentioned in a charter from the year 1429 as the victim of a violent trespass⁵⁶. Such foreign persons were soon assimilated by the burghers of Szeged and became Hungarians, as in the case of Valentinus Italicus, also known by his Hungarian name, Valentinus Olasz. Benefiting from a royal salt deposit and a thriving commerce, the bases of which were large-scale cattle- and horse-breeding together with wine production in the Szerém region, Szeged was clearly an attractive region for foreigners, especially Italians who were primarily engaged in the financial administration of the realm. Their number in Szeged, however, was never very high.

As it has been stated above, the first mention of Szeged in the sources that can be analyzed from a demographic and ethnic point of view occurs in the tithe-list from the year 1522. This important document enumerated 1,644 mostly independent families in Szeged and, according to scholars who made their estimation on the basis of this tithe-list, the number of inhabitants of the town might have reached 8000 - or according to another opinion 9500 - at that time. This shows that Szeged was one of the most populous towns of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom in the Late Middle Ages. In the same period Buda, the medieval “capital” of the realm had 12-15 000, while Pest, the second largest town had 10 000 inhabitants at the end of the fifteenth century. The other important conclusion to be drawn from the data of the tithe-list is that the population of Szeged was able to preserve its Hungarian character even in the first half of the sixteenth century⁵⁷.

On the basis of the tithe list and charters it can be stated that the Cumans formed the most numerous foreign ethnic group in Szeged. Due, however, to the preponderant number of the Hungarians, the Cumans soon lost their ethnic identity and were assimilated among the burghers of Szeged. That the main occupation of the citizens of Szeged was animal husbandry contributed greatly to the speed of their assimilation⁵⁸.

szegedi tizedjegyzék mint történeti forrás” (The tithe-list of Szeged from 1522 as a historical source), in *Tanulmányok Csongrád megye történetéből* (Essays on the history of Csongrád County), vol. VIII, Szeged, Csongrád megyei Levéltár, 1984, p. 5–27.

⁵⁶ *Szeged története*, vol. 1, p. 385, 410–411, 433, 450, 458.

⁵⁷ István Petrovics, “Urban development during the reign of King Matthias: the cases of Szeged and Debrecen”, in Attila Bárány and Attila Györkös (eds.), *Matthias and his legacy. Cultural and political encounters between east and West*, Debrecen, 2009, p. 217-219.

⁵⁸ *Szeged története*, vol. 1, 448-460; István Petrovics, *Foreign ethnic groups*.

Conclusions

Urban growth in the southern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom differed to a certain extent from the general pattern of Hungarian medieval town development. Though several other examples could be referred to from the medieval histories of Temesvár and Szeged, based on the above discussed questions, it can already be stated with a high degree of probability that in contrast to other towns of the realm in Temesvár, just as in the case of Szeged, the majority of the inhabitants was constituted by Hungarians. Consequently, no populous communities of Walloons, Germans or other foreign ethnic groups played an important role in the development of these towns in the Middle Ages. At the same time it also should be stressed that individuals coming from outside the Kingdom of Hungary settled down both in Temesvár and Szeged quite frequently, and as royal officials or merchants contributed to forming the histories of these towns and the region around them. It is also important to note that the Serbs and the Romanians, who had migrated to the southern parts of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, were not attracted by the urban way of life: they were mostly soldiers and transhumant herdsmen. Nevertheless, many villages in the Danube-Tisza-Maros region, inhabited exclusively or preponderantly by Romanians had reached the rank of market towns by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The medieval histories of Szeged and Temesvár unequivocally show that the Hungarian burghers of these towns spread the urban way of life and urban institutions in general, among the non-Hungarian peoples (Serbs, Romanians) of the southern regions of the realm and even beyond its borders.

There is documentary evidence clearly demonstrating that the Ottoman advance caused a great shift in the ethnic make-up of the population of the Temes region. Many of those Hungarians who had survived the brutal Ottoman onslaughts migrated to the central parts of the realm, and in their place, from the fifteenth century on, a large number of Romanians and Serbs arrived⁵⁹. The immigrants used, further on, the original Hungarian place-names of the area in question, but obviously adapted them to their own language, as it is shown by the analysis of the Turkish state-tax returns (*defters*) from the late sixteenth century⁶⁰. The above changes taking place in the Temesköz in the Late Middle Ages also had an impact on the ethnic make-up of the town of Temesvár itself, but in lack of secular and/or ecclesiastical tax rolls no precise evaluation can be

⁵⁹ Cf. Pál Engel, *A temesvári és moldovai szandzsák törökkori települései* (The settlements of the sanjaks of Temesvár and Moldova under the Ottoman rule) 1554-1579, Szeged, Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 1996, p. 5-18. For the Serbs see Ferenc Szakály, "Serbische Einwanderung nach Ungarn in der Türkenzeit", in *Ethnicity and Society in Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Glatz. Études historiques hongroises, vol. 2, Budapest, 1990, p. 21-39.

⁶⁰ See the place-names of the data bank in Pál Engel, *A temesvári és moldovai szandzsák törökkori települései*, p. 21-153.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

given concerning the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century ethnic composition of the inhabitants of Temesvár. Nevertheless, on the basis of settlement history, sporadic names preserved in documentary evidence, different data concerning urban administration, and the geographical location of the town it seems highly probable that the *hospites* and the inhabitants of Temesvár prior to 1552 were *preponderantly* Hungarians. This is confirmed by the *defter* produced in 1554 that proves that among the inhabitants of the town, even two years after its fall to the Ottomans, the Hungarians still constituted the majority⁶¹.

⁶¹ János Hóvári, “A török Temesvár” (Temesvár under Ottoman rule), *Élet és Tudomány*, 67, 1992, No. 24, p. 744-745.

**VON DER SPITZE DER SELBSTÄNDIGKEIT
AN DIE SCHWELLE DER „RENTNERSCHAFT“
DER WEG EINER UNTERNEHMERFAMILIE AN DER WENDE
VOM 16. ZUM 17. JAHRHUNDERT**

Glück László,

Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

***Abstract: From the Peak of Self-employment on the Waves of Pension. The Way of an Entrepreneurial Family at the End of the 16th to the Beginning of the 17th Centuries.** The study introduces the history of a family, which was raised to the social stratum of renters based on the income from its economic enterprise, around the turn of the 16th-17th centuries. Their family name was Poncz, and they lived in Sighetu Marmăției (Máramarossziget), in the north-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin. The town served as the centre of handicraft industry and the market-place of its vicinity. Sighetu Marmăției was not developed into a real, urbanized city surrounded by walls. It had a rustic character, and was under seigniorial power. Nevertheless, its society, due to its economic role mentioned above, bore strong resemblance to that of real cities, as the determining social stratum was that of independent craftsmen and merchants. In the second half of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century two consecutive heads of the family, Simon and his son, Tamás were dealing with extensive sheep-breeding, together with trading in sheepskin and wool, from which they made a considerable amount of fortune. For some time, both of them were Lord Chief Justices (főbíró) of Sighetu Marmăției. The fact that Tamás, by means of his fortune, could rise above the other citizens of his town dealing with craftsmanship or commerce is well indicated by his marriage, which was rather unusual amongst independent craftsmen-merchants, as he married into a local intellectual-bureaucrat family possessing a letter of nobility, although without landed property. (Tamás himself was not even a noble at that time.) Consequently, the Poncz family may be categorized into that narrow upper class of the wide independent social stratum living in Sighetu Marmăției at the end of the 16th century, which showed a spirit of enterprise based on the general economic upswing during the 16th century, and as a result of that acquired an income being outstanding as compared to what was considered to be ordinary in its own social environment. Tamás was ennobled at the very beginning of the 17th century, but he did not abandon his economic activities. His son, György, with the help of his marriage being even more of rank than his own father's one even acquired some landed property for his family. (The family of his wife was a one which rose into the squire hierarchy as a reward for service as a clerk in the court of the prince of Transylvania.) Having dissociated himself from the economic carrier, György lived the life of the gentlemen: he belonged to the surrounding of Count István Bethlen (the proprietor of the estate of Huszt also incorporating Sighetu Marmăției), while also holding office in the leadership of Maramureș county, the regional community of the nobility. The marriages contracted by the other family members in the 17th century also bear testimony of the fact that what they considered to be their appropriate social environment by that time constituted of domainial and county office-holders and the lower part of the landed gentry. The*

carrier model discussed herein (the utilization of the position acquired by economic activities to become a member of the nobility and to switch over to the lifestyle of gentlemen) was typical in Hungary during the last decades of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century. The research carried out so far has already explored several similar cases, although the background of this phenomenon was not properly dealt with. The family introduced in this present study turns the readers' attention to the fact that in a geographical sense this phenomenon prevailed much widely than it was previously thought so, and every now and then, in case of certain families it may have occurred in territories where one would not expect it to happen according to the information gathered so far. Socially speaking, however, only the uppermost circle of the independents had a chance for such a take-off: those, who started their enterprises yielding above-average income.

Keywords: *social history; urban history; merchants; family history; social mobility.*

Aufgrund der Ergebnisse der historischen Forschungen der vergangenen Jahrzehnte, die die Gesellschaft des ehemaligen Ungarns betreffen, zeichnet sich die Bedeutung der letzten Jahrzehnte des 16. und des Anfangs des 17. Jahrhunderts allmählich immer deutlicher ab. In diesem Zeitalter entfalten oder verwurzeln sich Phänomene, die insgesamt gesehen die bedeutendste Zäsur innerhalb der Geschichte der Ständegesellschaft bilden. Bei diesen Erscheinungen handelt es sich – um nur die besser erforschten oder zumindest bekannten Beispiele zu nennen – um Folgende: um die „ewige“ Bindung eines Teiles der Leibeigenen an ihre Herren, um die Gewährung verschiedener Erleichterungen für einen anderen Teil der Leibeigenen gegen bestimmte Dienste (wie z. B. grundherrliches Soldatentum, Brachialgewalt, Kurierdienst und Handwerk), um die Entstehung einer neuen Schicht, die gegen Wehrpflichtleistung eine partikuläre Nobilität erhält (die Haiducken des Haiducken-Distrikts), um die rasche Zunahme von Erhebungen in den Adelsstand, um die plötzliche Beschleunigung der Bildung von Zünften und der Verleihungen des Titels „königliche Freistadt“, um die Ausbreitung der Kompetenzen, des Wirkungskreises und des Verwaltungsapparates der territorialen Vereinigungen des Adels (*vármegyé*), um das Zustandekommen einer erblichen Aristokratie bzw. die Bildung eines separaten Oberhauses im Landtag, um die Krise der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion und des damit verbundenen Außenhandels, um den Rückgang des internationalen Güterverkehrs, um die Expansion der östlichen Kaufmannschaft, um die Ausweitung der Fronwirtschaften des Großgrundbesitzes und schließlich um den Einbruch der demographischen Entwicklung. In erster Linie aber handelte es sich im Bereich der Preisverhältnisse, die in der internationalen Geschichtsschreibung als das primäre Anzeichen der gesellschaftlichen Vorgänge materieller Art betrachtet werden, um den steilen Anstieg und anschließenden Fall der Getreidepreise¹.

¹ Siehe hierzu insbesondere Zimányi, Vera, *Economy and Society in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Hungary (1526-1650)*, (Studia historica Academiae Scientiarum Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai“, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

Dieser Aufsatz befasst sich nur mit einem Teil der damaligen Gesellschaft, nämlich mit denjenigen, die völlig – oder zumindestens im Wesentlichen – von seiner eigenen Arbeit bzw. der Arbeit der eigenen Familie und nicht als Bedienstete lebte, der also einen selbständigen Betrieb führte, und insbesondere mit der unter grundherrschaftlicher Macht stehenden kleinstädtischen Handwerker- und Kaufmannsschicht. Wir können hier allerdings nicht die Zusammenhänge der oben geschilderten Veränderungen oder Vorgänge, die den Entwicklungsrahmen gerade für diese Gesellschaftsschicht bilden, im Allgemeinen erörtern. Unser Ziel ist es vielmehr, mit einem weiteren Fallbeispiel und den daraus zu ziehenden Schlüssen eine zuverlässige Grundlage für spätere allgemeine Darstellungen zu schaffen. Einige Bemerkungen, die in Verbindung mit unserer Familienhistorie anhand der Literatur zurzeit gemacht werden können, wird der Leser am Ende des Textes finden.

Das Lebensumfeld unserer Familie bildete die Stadt Máramarossziget (damals nur Sziget genannt) im Komitat Máramaros (heute Sighetu Marmăției, Rumänien) des historischen Königreichs Ungarn. Dieses Komitat, das sich im nordöstlichen Teil des Landes befand, fiel gerade mit dem Tal im obersten Abschnitt des Flusses Theiss und seiner Nebengewässer zusammen und bildete so eine geographische Einheit. Sziget entstand im 13./14. Jahrhundert, zusammen mit den übrigen vier Siedlungen des Komitats, die über ein Stadtrecht verfügten, nämlich mit Huszt (heute Hust, Ukraine), Visk (heute Vischkove, Ukraine), Técső (heute Tjatschiv, Ukraine) und Hosszúmező (heute Cîmpulung la Tisa, Rumänien). Die fünf Orte bildeten bis zur hier behandelten Zeit einen Städtebund und verfügten über gleiche Rechte. Diese Siedlungen, selbst das am stärksten urbanisierte Sziget, entwickelten sich in dieser kaum bevölkerten, weit abliegenden ländlichen Gegend nicht zu wirklichen, mit Mauern umgebenen Städten. Abgesehen von Sziget waren die Orte überwiegend agrarisch geprägt und einer von ihnen, nämlich Hosszúmező, war tatsächlich ein Dorf².

Die von uns behandelte Familie führte den Nachnamen Poncz. Ihr erstes bekanntes Mitglied war Simon (gestorben 1584)³, die dominierende Persönlichkeit der folgenden Generation war sein ältester Sohn Thomas

Hungaricae 188), Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987, und die dort zitierte Literatur. Die oben angeführte Vorgänge vollzogen sich, abhängig von ihrer inneren Kausalität, manchmal in sehr verschiedenen Zeitabschnitten innerhalb der zweiten Hälfte des 16. und der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts.

² Zur Geschichte der Máramaros im Zeitalter ihrer Besiedlung siehe Bélay Vilmos, *Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetiségei. A megye betelepülésétől a XVIII. század elejéig*, (Település- és népiségtörténeti értekezések 7), Budapest, 1943, und Popa, Radu, *Țara Maramureșului în veacul al XIV-lea*, București, Editura Academiei RSR, 1970.

³ Siehe hierzu den Anhang.

(*Tamás*, gestorben 1621)⁴. Beide gingen ähnlichen wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten nach, so dass es sich lohnt, sie gemeinsam zu behandeln. Dies ist auch deshalb sinnvoll, weil es manchmal nur im Fall von einem der beiden möglich ist, gewisse Aspekte ihrer unternehmerischen Tätigkeiten mit Fakten zu belegen.

Der Name Varga, d.h. Schuhmacher, mit dem die Familie in ihrer Umgebung anstelle ihres eigentlichen Nachnamens bezeichnet wurde, verweist vielleicht auf ihre ursprüngliche Betätigung. Als Beweis dafür darf aber der Name alleine keineswegs angesehen werden. Sicher ist nur, dass ein solcher Name zur Zeit seiner Entstehung tatsächlich mit dem betreffenden Beruf in Zusammenhang stand. Ob dieser Zusammenhang auch für spätere Generationen gilt, ist aber weitgehend fragwürdig⁵. Am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts beschäftigte sich unsere Familie bereits mit der Schafzucht sowie mit dem Schaf-, Woll- und Lederhandel. Darauf verweist ein Urteilsbrief aus dem Jahre 1592, der im Zuge des Prozesses zwischen der Witwe von Simon und ihrem Sohn verfasst wurde und eine Erbfrage betraf⁶. Der Streitgegenstand von 550 Forint, die Simon seiner Frau hinterlassen hatte, lag – wie der Sohn bei der Verteidigung vorbrachte – nicht in Form von Bargeld vor, sondern war teilweise für Schafe, teilweise auf Ledersäcke (*tömlő*) verwendet worden⁷. Die Aufgabe, die Summe in Bargeld zu besorgen, war dem Sohn vom Vater übertragen wurden. Laut der Anklage – die von Thomas zurückgewiesen wurde – hatte er mit dem Erbe Handel getrieben. Die Witwe, die sich auf diesen Sachverhalt berief, forderte nun auch den Gewinn, der aus dem Kapital stammte.

Das Ausmaß der Unternehmung wird durch die investierte Summe, die allem Anschein nach gar nicht den gesamten Betrag darstellte, klar vor Augen

⁴ Slovenský Národný Archív (Bratislava), Archiv der Familie Bárczay, Verwandte Familien, Familie Poncz (im Folgenden: Poncz) p. 51-52. Die übrigen Kinder von Simon wurden, als Thomas schon erwachsen war, noch als minderjährig bezeichnet. Siehe hierzu den Anhang.

⁵ Zur Interpretation der Personennamen siehe: Solymosi László, „A helytörténet fontosabb középkori forrásainak kutatása és hasznosítása”, in *Történelmi Szemle* 19 (1976) p. 137-141, und Gulyás László Szabolcs, „Középkori mezővárosi foglalkozásneveink forrásértékéről”, in *Századok*, 142 (2008), p. 437-462, bzw. die dort zitierte Literatur.

⁶ Siehe hierzu den Anhang. Der Urteilsbrief gelangte wahrscheinlich mit dem Archiv der Familie Poncz in die Hände der Nachfahren weiblicher Linie, nämlich zuerst in das Familienarchiv der Szerencsy und danach in das Archiv der Familie Bárczay, wo er uns überliefert ist.

⁷ „ki berbeczre, ki teomleo arra volt ki oztwa”. Siehe den Anhang. Das Wort *tömlő* bezeichnet die als Ganze abgezogene Haut eines Schafes, die entsprechend bearbeitet wird und schließlich als Gefäß dient. Im Urteilsbrief handelt es sich später ebenfalls um das Einkommen aus dem Verkauf von Wolle und *tömlő* („az hatwan neg’ forintot az jwhnak az gyapiabeol elseo lehozas teomleobul helyere allasa”). Siehe auch den Anhang.

geführt. 550 Forint entsprachen damals dem Preis von ungefähr 60 Ochsen oder 800 Kübeln Weizen⁸. Auf den Umfang der Zuchtwirtschaft verweist ferner die Angabe, dass Simon Heu für seine Schafe im Wert von 64 Forint erworben hatte. Aufgrund der damaligen örtlichen Preise deckte diese Summe die Kosten für 128 Fuder oder 32 Klafter Heu⁹. Da in der Máramaros eine Wiese in der Größe von einem oder zwei Mader (*kaszás, falcastrum*) – abhängig von der Qualität – ein Fuder Heu produziert¹⁰, dürfen wir die Menge des Futters für die Schafe auf einen Ertrag von 128 bis 256 Mader Wiese schätzen. Als Vergleich kann angeführt werden, dass nach dem – in diesem Zusammenhang besten – Verzeichnis der Stadt Sziget aus dem Jahre 1701 der durchschnittliche Wiesenbesitz 22 Mader und der größte Besitz 150 Mader betrug. (Der zuletzt erwähnte Besitz war in den Händen eines begüterten Adligen, nämlich von Joseph Szerencsy, von dem wir noch hören werden)¹¹. Zahlenmäßig können wir den Viehbestand in der Zeit von Thomas genau bestimmen: Nach dem Urbarialverzeichnis der Herrschaft Huszt aus dem Jahre 1600, die auch die Stadt Sziget einschloss, verfügte Thomas über 600 Schafe. Damit war er damals der bedeutendste Züchter in der Stadt¹².

Hier soll ein kurzer Blick auf die Schafzucht geworfen werden. Die Heimstätte der massenhaften Schafhaltung im Karpatenbecken war zum einen die wenig bevölkerte Große Tiefebene (*Alföld*), zum anderen die Hochgebirgsgegenden. Das historische Máramaros-Gebiet lässt sich in dieser Hinsicht in zwei mehr oder weniger klar abgrenzbare Regionen unterscheiden: Die nieder gelegenen Landschaften entlang der Theiß (wo auch Sziget liegt) unterscheiden sich mit ihren verhältnismäßig fruchtbaren Äckern, mit ihren Buchen- und Eichenwäldern sowie mit ihren Weidegebieten, die auf Brachfeldern, freigestellte Hegen und Waldgebieten lagen, deutlich von den übrigen Teilen des Komitats. Letztere galten mit ihren ständigen Almweiden als typische Gebiete für die Schafzucht. Auch die ethnischen Verhältnisse der beiden Gebiete waren unterschiedlich. Die ungarischen und sächsischen (deutschen) Siedler bevorzugten nämlich aufgrund ihrer Lebensform das erstere Gebiet, das letztere war von Anfang an von Ruthenen (in der nördlichen Hälfte des Komitates) und von Rumänen (im Süden) bewohnt. Entlang der Theiß

⁸ Für den Preis des Ochsen siehe: Dányi Dezső, Zimányi Vera, *Soproni árak és bérek a középkortól 1750-ig*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989, p. 128-131. Für die Weizenpreise siehe den Rechnungsauszug des Provisors der Herrschaft Huszt aus den Jahren 1600/1601. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hoffinanz Ungarn, RN. 73, Konv. Juli 1602, fol. 53-57.

⁹ 1 Klafter (*orgia*) kostete 2 Forint, 1 Fuder (*plaustrum*) 50 Denar. *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ Siehe die betreffende Angaben der Verzeichnisse von 1715 und 1720, MOL N 78 30, téka C. Marmarossiensis passim, MOL N 79 31. téka passim.

¹¹ Arhivele Naționale, Direcția Județeană Maramureș (im Folgenden: AN-DJM), Prefectura județului Maramureș, Acte financiare nr. 12.

¹² Magyar Országos Levéltár (im Folgenden: MOL), E 156, fasc. 174, no. 25.

beschäftigten sich nur wenige Wirte mit der Schafhaltung, sie verfügten aber über bedeutende Herden. Diese Situation war für die Tierhaltung übrigens landesweit charakteristisch: Während die anderen Vieharten (Rind, Pferd, Schwein und Geflügel) gleichmäßiger auf die Wirtschaften verteilt waren, konzentrierte sich die Schafzucht am meisten auf speziell darauf ausgerichtete Wirtschaften¹³. Im Sommer hielten die Züchter, die in den niedrigeren Teilen des Komitats lebten, ihre Herden in den höher gelegenen Gebieten, d.h. sie ließen sie in den Gemarkungen anderer Siedlungen gegen eine Abgabe weiden. Die Schafzüchter von Sziget trieben ihre Herden zum Beispiel auf die Weiden der Herrschaft Bocskó, was sich anhand der Zehntliste der Herrschaft aus dem Jahre 1573 gut nachweisen lässt. Diese Quelle enthält auch den Namen von unserem Simon, der damals zusammen mit einem Mitbürger eine Sennerei (*esztina*) in dieser Gegend besaß¹⁴. Die Herden wurden im Sommer offensichtlich von angeworbenen Schäfern beaufsichtigt. Deswegen, aber auch im Zuge von Handelsgeschäften, kamen die Bewohner der Kleinstadt am Gebirgsfuß mit den ruthenischen und rumänischen Einwohnern der höher gelegenen Dörfer in Kontakt. Im Falle von Thomas kann dies anhand der Quellen belegt werden: Bei seinem Tod hatte er bei dem „wallachischen“ Cosmas aus Felsöróna (heute Rona de Sus, Rumänien), der übrigens in seinen Diensten gestanden hatte, Schulden¹⁵. Die Schuld ist durch Ankauf von Waren auf Kredit entstanden. Wir dürfen annehmen, daß Thomas gerade Schafe von einem Züchter auf dem Lande, der auch in seinen Diensten gestanden hatte, gekauft hatte. (Die Schulden wurden auch von der Witwe u.a. durch 32 Lämmer beglichen.) Die Familie beschäftigte sich also möglicherweise auch mit dem Auf- und Weiterverkauf der Viehbestände von ländlichen Züchtern. Dies war übrigens ein typisches Phänomen beim Handel mit lebendem Vieh¹⁶.

Die Prozessakte aus dem Jahre 1592, die dank des sozialen Aufstiegs der Familie erhalten geblieben ist, sowie die anderen bruchstückhaften Angaben überliefern uns schriftlich – bei aller Unvollkommenheit – Gegebenheiten, die

¹³ Auch die Angaben über den Viehbestand im Urbarialverzeichnis der Herrschaft Huszt aus dem Jahre 1600 spiegeln diese Erscheinung wider. *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ MOL, E 159, C. Máramarosiensis 1573/1. Da aus unserem Komitat nur wenige bruchstückhafte Zehntlisten erhalten geblieben sind, sind wir nicht in der Lage, die Schafzucht von Máramaros anhand dieser Quellengattung weiter zu verfolgen. Unter den Gemarkungen der fünf Städte erstreckte sich übrigens nur diejenige von Sziget auf eine Almweide, nämlich auf die Flur *Kóhát* in der südwestlichen Ecke der Gemarkung.

¹⁵ „nehay nemzetes Varga Thamas attiankia vött volt hitelben neminemeő marhakott, kiknek az araval ados volt, es azon kivölis akarminemeő adossagy voltanak melliekell szegeni Varga Thamas atiankia tartozot volna Felseőronay Kozma neveő embernek, ki szolgaltais szegeni Varga Thamas attiank fiatt”. Poncz p. 49-50.

¹⁶ Szakály Ferenc, „Balázs deák gyöngyösi kereskedő üzleti könyve. Adalékok a hódoltság terület kereskedelmi kapcsolatainak történetéhez a XVI. század végén”, in *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 14 (1972), p. 356-386.

so selten schriftlich verewigt wurden. Im Zeitalter der Ständegesellschaft war es nämlich unter den Selbständigen nur im Falle von Krämern, die einen Laden besaßen, oder manchmal auch von Naturproduktgängern üblich, ihre geschäftlichen Tätigkeiten regelmäßig schriftlich festzuhalten. (Dieser Personenkreis verfügte oftmals über die Fähigkeit, zu schreiben.) Auf ein derartiges Quellenmaterial stößt man in Ungarn selbst im Kreise der „Rentiers“ nur bei den Großgrundbesitzern¹⁷. Auch wenn der Urteilsbrief und die übrigen Angaben nicht dazu geeignet sind, ein Geschäftsbuch zu ersetzen, so verraten sie doch Wesentliches zur Charakterisierung der unternehmerischen Aktivitäten unserer Familie.

Obwohl das behandelte Geschäft mit Schafen den Grund für den materiellen Aufstieg unserer Familie bildete, so ist es doch auch nötig, zudem die ergänzenden Tätigkeitsbereiche in Betracht zu ziehen. Simon dürfte sich auch mit Schweinen beschäftigt haben. Laut seinem Sohn ließ er Johann (*János*) Nyerges zehn Schweine kaufen¹⁸. Dabei handelte es sich aber um keine bedeutende Stückzahl. (Bei bäuerlicher Haltung galt ein Bestand von 30 bis 40 Schweinen als groß)¹⁹. Wichtiger ist, dass die Angabe keine regelmäßige Tätigkeit bescheinigt. Thomas verfügte gemäß dem Verzeichnis der Herrschaft Huszt aus dem Jahre 1600 neben Schafen auch über ein Pferd und vier Kühe. Ebenfalls in dieser Quelle treten ein Simon und ein Martin (*Márton*) Varga als selbständige Hausbesitzer in Erscheinung, die vielleicht mit den im Jahre 1592 noch als minderjährig erwähnten Brüdern von Thomas identisch sind. Sie verfügten über einen ähnlichen Bestand: Der erstere hatte ein Pferd und eine Kuh, der letztere verfügte über drei Pferde, vier Kühe und fünfzehn Schweine²⁰.

¹⁷ Zum Beispiel: Kerekes György, „Kalmár Gergely deák regestumja kereskedéséről 1574-82“, in *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* 10 (1902) p. 71-94; Idem, „Nemes Almásy István kassai kereskedő és bíró 1573-1635“, in *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* 10 (1902) p. 145-247, 300-368. (besonders p. 199-214); Idem, *Polgári társadalmunk a XVII. században. Schirmer János (1625-1674) kassai kereskedő üzleti könyve alapján*, Kassa, 1940; Szakály Ferenc, *Balázs deák*, Neben den Prozessakten bietet manchmal auch das Nachlassmaterial eine Möglichkeit, etwas Licht in die Betriebe der Selbständigen in der prämodernen Epoche zu bringen, wie dies Ferenc Szakály am Beispiel des Nyírbátori Gemischtwarenhändlers Péter Somogyi gezeigt hat: Szakály Ferenc, „Egy XVI. századi szponzor és gazdasági háttér“, in Idem, *Mezőváros és reformáció*, (Humanizmus és reformáció 23), Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 1995, p. 388-412. Für die Schriftkundigkeit der Händler verweist ihre Bezeichnung als *litteratus* oder *deák*. Zur Quellenlage bezüglich der niedrigeren Schichten der gutsherrlichen Gesellschaft siehe: Wellmann Imre, „A köznemesség gazdálkodása a XVIII. században“, in *A Nógrád megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve* 7 (1981) p. 61-85.

¹⁸ Siehe hierzu den Anhang.

¹⁹ N. Kiss István, *16. századi dézsmajegyzékek*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960; Makkai László, *I. Rákóczi György birtokainak gazdasági iratai, 1631-1648*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954.

²⁰ MOL, E 156, fasc. 174, no. 25. Die Identifizierung der beiden mit den Brüdern von Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai“, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

Die Familie beteiligte sich auch nicht am Salzhandel, der damals einigen Landwirte, die über Fuhrwerke verfügten, in unserer Gegend ein festes Einkommen verschaffte. In den Rechnungsbüchern, die damals in der königlichen Salzkammer von Rónaszék (heute Coștiui, Rumänien) über den Salzverkauf geführt wurden, tauchen die Mitglieder der Familie als Käufer nämlich nur sehr selten auf: Thomas tritt nur einmal mit einer bescheidenen Menge hervor, aber auch der erwähnte Simon und Martin Varga sind nur sporadisch zu finden²¹.

Über den Grundbesitz von Simon (Vater von Thomas) in der Gemarkung der Stadt stehen uns keine Angaben zur Verfügung. Im Falle von Thomas findet auch nur eine einzige Wiese, die sich auf 12 Mader erstreckte, Erwähnung²². Interessanter ist die Angabe, dass er diese Wiese normalerweise von Szlatinäern (heute Solotvino, Ukraine) mähen ließ. Thomas beschäftigte also Tagelöhner²³. Seine Äcker – wenn er solche überhaupt besaß – bestellte er ebenso nicht selbst, weil er, wie erwähnt, über kein Pfluggespann verfügte.

Als ersten Schritt in Richtung eines Daseins als „Rentier“ kann der Besitz von Mühlen betrachtet werden. (In Sziget gab es in der Regel drei bis vier Mühlen, die sich größtenteils in den Händen von begüterten Adeligen, die Ämter ausübten, befanden. Aber auch bei wohlhabenden Nicht-Adeligen war der Mühlbesitz keineswegs ausgeschlossen.)²⁴ Ein derartiger Besitz ist erstmals im Fall von Thomas nachweisbar. Thomas erwarb im Jahre 1607 einen Teilbesitz an der Mühle auf dem Róna-Bach von einem Mitglied des Stadtrates, nämlich von Johann (*János*) Szijus, als Pfand im Wert von 50 Forint und im Jahre 1620 verschaffte er sich einen Teilbesitz an einer anderen Mühle als Pfand für 10 Forint und eine Kuh²⁵.

Abschließend wollen wir noch einen kurzen Blick auf die Liegenschaften im Stadtinneren werfen. Wir sind in der Lage, das Grundstück, auf dem die Familie zu Lebzeiten von Thomas wohnte, zu lokalisieren. Sziget bestand aus einer einzigen Straße, die in ostwestlicher Richtung verlief, sich in der Mitte etwas verbreiterte und durch zwei einander gegenüberliegende Grundstücksreihen begrenzt war. Das Grundstück der Familie befand sich in der

Thomas ist im Fall Simons etwas zuverlässiger, da er gerade das Grundstück besaß, das in der Nachbarschaft des Hauses von Thomas lag. Die Gleichsetzung der beiden Martin Varga nur aufgrund des Namens ist weitgehend fragwürdig.

²¹ Diese Rechnungen sind für den Zeitraum von 1599 bis 1605 erhalten geblieben. MOL, E 210, Salinaria 7. tét. no. 18, 31, 37, 46, 52, 59; MOL, E 206, 31. cs. fol. 137-164.

²² Poncz, p. 158.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ Glück László, „Máramarossziget mezőváros helyrajza és társadalma 1600 táján”, in *Diszciplínák határain innen és túl*, (Fiatal Kutatók Fóruma 2. – 2006.), Budapest, MTA Társadalomkutatató Központ, ed. Balogh Margit, 2007, p. 433.

²⁵ Poncz, p. 44, p. 48.

südlichen Reihe, in unmittelbarer Nähe zum Markt, der im mittleren Teil der Hauptstraße lag. (Östlich vom Markt, in etwa gegenüber dem Eingang des heutigen Ethnographischen Museums)²⁶. Auf dem Grundstück befanden sich – wie im Jahre 1670 festgestellt wurde – zwei Häuser unter ein und demselben Dach, eines von beiden hatte auch einen Keller. (Der Wert des unterkellerten Hauses wurde im Jahre 1670 auf 100 Forint geschätzt)²⁷. Die Häuser selbst waren wohl einfache Gebäude mit maximal zwei Räumen. Gemäß den natürlichen Gegebenheiten in unserer holzreichen Gegend bestanden sie aus Eggebalken und hatten ein Schindeldach. Damals wohnten selbst diejenigen Familien, die über das größte Ansehen verfügten, in derartigen Wohnbauten²⁸. In Sziget waren die Höfe üblicherweise so ausgerichtet, dass die Häuser auf dem vorderen Teil der langen, schmalen Grundstücke standen, wo sie die Hauptstraße berührten, allerdings verliefen sie nicht parallel zur Straße, sondern entlang einer der beiden langen Seiten²⁹.

Abgesehen von ihrem Vermögen ist über die Familie wenig bekannt. Das Ansehen von Simon und Thomas und ihre Teilnahme am öffentlichen Leben ihrer Gemeinde können durch die Tatsache klar belegt werden, dass beide die Ämter von Oberrichtern in der Stadt bekleideten³⁰.

Welche Position nahm unsere Familie in der Gesellschaft von Sziget ein? Diese Frage kann nur dann beantwortet werden, wenn man auch die anderen ansässigen Familien bzw. die ganze Gesellschaft der Stadt untersucht. Auf der Grundlage unserer diesbezüglichen Forschung, deren Ergebnisse wir hier leider nicht umfassend aufführen können, werden wir hier den Versuch wagen, eine knappe Antwort zu geben. Obwohl Sziget eine kleinere, marktstellenartige Stadt ohne Stadtmauern war und überdies unter Grundherrschaft stand, ähnelte die Zusammensetzung ihrer Gesellschaft – im Gegensatz zu den übrigen vier Marktstellen von Máramaros – dem für die alte europäische Stadt mustergültigen Typus. Ihr wesentliches soziales Merkmal

²⁶ Zur topographischen Identifizierung der Verzeichnung von 1600, auf der obige Ausführungen basieren, siehe: Glück László, *Máramarossziget*, p. 428-431.

²⁷ Poncz, p. 420.

²⁸ Dieser Sachverhalt wurde von uns am Beispiel einer Familie aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts dargelegt: Glück László, *Máramarossziget*, p. 429. Siehe auch Glück László, „Az öt máramarosi város lakosságának elnemesedése a 17. században“, in *Urbs* 3 (2008) p. 105-106.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ Auf die frühere Amtsführung von Simon wurde in einer Akte aus dem Jahre 1586 verwiesen. MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865. no. 34. Thomas wurde in Jänner 1603 als Oberrichter des vorigen Jahres erwähnt: Kolosváry Sándor – Óváry Kelemen, *A magyar törvényhatóságok jogszabályainak gyűjteménye*, vol. I-V, Budapest, 1885-1904, vol. III, p. 576-577. Der Oberrichter war ansonsten nicht nur für die Rechtsprechung, sondern auch für die Verwaltung verantwortlich, er nahm also allgemeine Führungsaufgaben wahr, da er der alleinige Vorstand der Stadt war.

war, dass der bedeutendste Teil der Bewohnerschaft aus denjenigen Selbständigen bestand, deren überwiegende Mehrzahl im Handwerk tätig war, eine Minderheit aber vom Handel lebte. Diese Handwerker- und Händlerschicht, die den Charakter der Orte prägte, wurde in derartigen Städten damals meistens noch durch Ackerbürger, durch Angestellte (Gesinde, Tagelöhner) und durch einen begrenzten Kreis von Intellektuellen und „Rentiers“ ergänzt, die allerdings alle von untergeordneter Bedeutung waren. Auch in den Körperschaften der örtlichen Gemeinschaft waren in erster Linie die Meister und Kaufleute vertreten. Diese Beschreibung trifft auf Sziget besonders gut zu. Sziget ähnelte so im gesellschaftsgeschichtlichen Sinne weit mehr den tatsächlichen, urbanisierten Städten desselben Typs, als solchen Städten, deren Gesellschaften sich aus anderen Gruppen zusammensetzten oder in denen diese Gruppen andere Proportion aufwiesen, auch wenn sie hinsichtlich ihres ländlichen Charakters und ihrer rechtlichen Lage Sziget ähnlich waren. Wir können also letztendlich behaupten, dass die Familie Poncz (Varga) der breitesten und maßgeblichsten Schicht der Gesellschaft von Sziget zuzurechnen war, also der Schicht der gewerbe- und handeltreibenden Selbständigen. Innerhalb dieser Schicht gehörte sie allerdings zum – ziemlich kleinen – obersten Kreis, dessen Mitglieder solche Unternehmungen wagten, die die gewöhnliche handwerkliche und kaufmännische Tätigkeit hinsichtlich der Einkünfte überstiegen. Gerade dieser Kreis kann demnach als vornehmlicher Nutznießer der Konjunktur des „langen“ 16. Jahrhunderts angesehen werden.

Von Thomas wurde der Bruch herbeigeführt, der später hinsichtlich der lange Zeit unveränderten sozialen Lage seiner Familie eintrat, als er den Adelstitel erwarb. Die Kanzlei von Sigmund Rákóczi, Fürst von Siebenbürgen, fertigte am 29. September 1607 eine Urkunde aus, mit der der Fürst Thomas *Poncz alias Vargha* aus Sziget, seinen jüngeren Bruder Simon *Poncz alias Warga* ebenfalls aus Sziget sowie die Kinder von Thomas (Anna, Katharina, Elisabeth, Georg und Stefan) in den Adelsstand erhob, nachdem der habsburgische Herrscher – als König von Ungarn – dies zuvor schon einmal getan hatte³¹. Thomas und seinen Verwandten war also der Adelstitel schon von Kaiser und König Rudolf verliehen worden. Der Text der Urkunde, die über die letztere Adelserhebung ausgefertigt wurde, ist uns leider nicht bekannt, so dass wir den Zeitpunkt der eigentlichen Erhebung in den Adelsstand nicht bestimmen können. Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass Thomas im Jahre 1602 noch immer das Amt des Oberrichters von Sziget bekleidete (das Komitat Máramaros stand allerdings nur bis Herbst 1604 unter zeitweiliger Herrschaft der Habsburger), können wir behaupten, dass das fragliche Datum wohl zwischen

³¹ Poncz, p. 42-43. Die Urkunde ließ Thomas auch in das Abschriftenbuch der Kanzlei eintragen: MOL, F 1, vol. VII, p. 1816. Tatsächlich taucht er als Adelige schon früher auf, nämlich im Juni 1607, Poncz p. 44.

den beiden zuletzt erwähnten Zeitpunkten lag. Der spätere, durch den Fürsten von Siebenbürgen ausgestellte Adelsbrief wurde auf der Versammlung des Komitats Máramaros am 4. Dezember 1607 verkündet, womit er vollständige Rechtskraft erlangte³².

Durch die Erwerb des Adelstitels verließ Thomas seine Siedlungsgemeinschaft, der er selbst und der auch sein Vater vorgestanden hatte, denn der Adel der Stadt bildete spätestens seit dem Jahre 1618 eine besondere Gemeinschaft³³. Die Tatsache, dass die Erhebung in den Adelstand im Fall von Thomas keinen Wechsel der Lebensformen bedeutete, geht klar daraus hervor, dass er zur Zeit seines Todes (1621) durch Viehaufkauf entstandene Schuld hinterließ und auch dem erwähnten Cosmas von Felsöróna, mit dem er aufgrund der Schafzucht gelegentlich in Verbindung gestanden hatte, Geld schuldete. (Letztere wurde schließlich von seiner Witwe durch die Übergabe von 32 Lämmern beglichen)³⁴.

Von den beiden Söhnen des Thomas war allem Anschein nach Stefan der ältere, da die Quittungen für die Schuldentilgung bald nach dem Tode seines Vaters nicht nur auf den Namen der Witwe, sondern auch auf seinen Namen lauteten³⁵. Vielleicht war es die Absicht von Thomas gewesen, seine wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit von Stefan fortsetzen zu lassen, während Georg eine Ausbildung durchlaufen sollte. Stefan wurde nämlich auch Varga genannt, wie es im Fall seines Vaters und Großvaters üblich gewesen war³⁶. Sein Bruder Georg benutzte demgegenüber ausschließlich den eigentlichen Nachnamen der Familie, den völlig bedeutungslosen Namen Poncz. Darüber hinaus trug er noch die Bezeichnung *litteratus*, der zweifellos auf seine Schulbildung verwies³⁷. Stefan verstarb vermutlich früh, denn er taucht in den Quellen nicht wieder auf und hinterließ auch keine Nachkommen³⁸. Stammhalter der Familie wurde somit Georg.

Unter Georg (gestorben zwischen 1644-1646)³⁹ gelangte die Familie an jene Station in ihrer Geschichte, als sie nicht nur aus der rechtlichen Kategorie

³² Poncz, p. 42-43. Im Archiv der Familie wurde allem Anschein nach nur der Siebenbürger Adelsbrief aufbewahrt.

³³ MOL, F 15, vol. XX, fol. 78r. Früher war ich fälschlicherweise der Meinung, dass die städtische Adelsgemeinschaft im Jahre 1622 zustande kam. Glück László, *Az öt máramarosi*, p. 102.

³⁴ Poncz, p. 49-50.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ Zum Beispiel MOL, F 1, vol. XXVII, fol. 244v.

³⁸ Dieser Sachverhalt ist dadurch genügend belegt, dass das Haus von Thomas nur zwischen seinen drei Töchtern und seinem Sohn Georg aufgeteilt wurde. Poncz, p. 417, 420.

³⁹ 1644 im Leben: MOL, F 1, vol. XXVII, fol. 244v. 1646 schon Verstorbene: MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865. no. 33. p. 12.

der Nicht-Adeligen, sondern auch aus der wirklichen gesellschaftlichen Entität der Selbständigen bzw. Unternehmer heraustrat. Dieser Schritt war in keiner Weise durch eine Orientierung an den Lebensformen der Gebildeten motiviert, sondern an denjenigen der „Rentiers“ und – darunter – der „Herren“ (*úr*) – wie wir diese Schicht entsprechend ihres damaligen Ansehens und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Sonderstellung bezeichnen können. Georg erwarb die Güter der Familie mittels Ehe. Diese Güter waren die erste Besitzungen adeligen Rechts der Familie. Die Enkelin von Georg, Sophia, sowie ihre beiden Verwandten, Peter und Sophia Keresztúri, besaßen im Jahre 1694 das gesamte Dorf Sztojkafalva (heute Stoiceni, Rumänien) sowie einen Teil von Árpástó (Branștea, Rumänien) und Szitafalva (Sita, Rumänien), alle im damaligen Komitat Belső-Szolnok⁴⁰. Sztojkafalva war eigentlich Besitz der Familie Bartos, aus der die Gattin von Georg Poncz stammte und mit der die Familie Keresztúri ebenfalls in weiblicher Linie verwandt war. (Die Frau von Georg Poncz, Sophia Bartos, und die Frau von Andreas Keresztúri, Elisabeth Bartos, waren Geschwister. Aus der Ehe der letzteren gingen die Kinder Sophia und Péter Keresztúri hervor, wobei Sophia Poncz die aus der ersten Ehe stammende Enkelin war)⁴¹. Da die Familien Poncz und Keresztúri in keinem unmittelbaren Verwandtschaftsverhältnis standen, können wir annehmen, dass der gemeinsame Besitz der beiden Familien in Árpástó und Szitafalva auch auf das Erbe der Bartos zurückzuführen ist. Von der Familie Bartos ist auch ein adeliges Grundstück in Sziget in den Besitz der Poncz übergegangen. Dieses diente ihnen wahrscheinlich als neuer Wohnort, da wir im Jahre 1675 nur diesen einzigen adeligen Fundus in den Händen des damaligen Oberhauptes der Familie, von Caspar, finden⁴². (Dieses Grundstück lag in der nördlichen Reihe der Hauptstraße, auf der nördlichen Seite des Platzes zwischen der reformierten Kirche und dem späteren Komitatshaus, also westlich vom heutigen Lyzeum Klára Leőwey)⁴³. Wir können uns aber nicht sicher sein, dass diese Liegenschaften schon zu Lebzeiten von Georg in die Hände der Poncz gelangt waren, da Sophia Bartos ihren Mann überlebte. Darüber hinaus hängt diese Frage auch von den inneren Verhältnissen in der Familie Bartos ab. Die Tatsache, dass Georg selbst ein anderes Leben führte, als seine Vorfahren, zeigt

⁴⁰ Poncz, p. 189.

⁴¹ MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865, no. 13; no. 30, p. 47-50; no. 33.

⁴² MOL, E 148, fasc. 1436, no. 27. In Ungarn konnte ein Grundstück durch eine Exemptionsurkunde des Herrschers ebenso „geadelt“ werden, wie eine natürliche Person. Damit wurde das Grundstück zu einem Besitz adeligen Rechts.

⁴³ Zur Lokalisierung des oben erwähnten Grundstückes siehe auch: Glück László, *Máramarosziget*, p. 428-431. Zur Tatsache, dass es eine Erbe der Familie Bartos war: MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865, no. 33. Der Fundus war auch im 18. Jahrhundert in den Händen der Nachkommen der weiblichen Linie. *Ibidem*. Georg lebte aber wahrscheinlich noch im selben Haus, wie sein Vater, da er die Besitzteile dieses Hauses von seinen Töchtern aufgekauft hatte. Poncz, p. 417.

sich darin, dass er im Jahre 1640 als Servitor des Grafen Stefan Bethlen (von 1618 bis 1648 Besitzer der Herrschaft Huszt und Obergespan des Komitates Máramaros) auftauchte und in den Jahren 1642/1643 das Amt des Stuhlrichters (*szolgabíró*) des Bezirks Sziget⁴⁴ bekleidete. Schliesslich tritt er im Jahre 1644 als Assessor des Komitatsgerichts in Erscheinung⁴⁵. Vielsagend ist außerdem die Tatsache, dass die Familie seitdem stets den Namen Poncz und nicht mehr den Namen Varga trug⁴⁶.

Der Wandel, der in der Zeit der drei einander folgenden Generationen erfolgt war, offenbart sich am deutlichsten anhand der Person der drei Frauen. Den Familiennamen von Ursula (*Orsolya*), der Ehefrau von Simon, kennen wir gar nicht. Sie stammte also offenbar nicht aus einer höhergestellten Schicht, als ihr Mann⁴⁷. Thomas brachte seine günstige Vermögenslage, die ihn von den „normalen“ gewerblich-kommerziellen Selbständigen absetzte, auch bei der Wahl seiner Ehefrau ins Spiel. Er heiratete nämlich Katharina Szigeti Szabó,⁴⁸ deren Familie schon Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem nicht-adeligen Stand zur „kürialen“ Nobilität (die nur über ein adeliges Grundstück, nicht aber über Leibeigene verfügte) aufgestiegen war. Dieser Schritt war der Familie aufgrund der Dienste gelungen, die ihre Mitglieder als schriftkundige und gebildete örtliche niedere Beamte leisteten. Georg ging noch einen Schritt weiter, als er Sophia Bartos zur Frau nahm⁴⁹. Ihre Familie war aufgrund ihrer Leistungen im Beamtendienst in die Reihen des begüterten Adels aufgestiegen, allerdings am Hofe des Fürsten von Siebenbürgen⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ Der Stuhlrichter war eigentlich der höchste gewählte Würdenträger des Komitates, bis dieses das Recht der Vizegespan-Wahl erwarb. In den Komitaten fungierten – mit einigen Ausnahmen – vier Stuhlrichter, wobei normalerweise jeder für einen gewissen Bezirk des Komitates verantwortlich war. Neben der Rechtspflege waren sie auch in verschiedenen Bereichen der Verwaltung tätig.

⁴⁵ 1640, MOL, P 204, capsă II, fasc. 11, no. 18; 1642-1643, AN-DJM, Prefectura județului Maramureș, Documente ordonate pe probleme no. 1; 1644: MOL, F 1, vol. XXVII, fol. 244v.

⁴⁶ Die einzige Ausnahme, Poncz p. 417. Es kommt auch vor, daß Thomas unter dem Namen Varga, seine Kinder aber unter dem Namen Poncz, in demselben Aktenstück auftauchen, Poncz, p. 420.

⁴⁷ Siehe hierzu den Anhang.

⁴⁸ Poncz, p. 49-50 és 51-52. Hier wurde sie nur unter dem Namen Szabó erwähnt. Dass sie aus der Familie Szigeti Szabó stammt, steht aber außer Zweifel, da ihr Mann, Thomas Varga, im Jahre 1620 durch Franz Szigeti Szabó als sein Schwager bezeichnet wurde. Poncz, p. 48. Offenbar wegen ihrer adeligen Abstammung suchen wir die Frau vergeblich in dem erwähnten Adelsbrief ihres Mannes.

⁴⁹ Zum Beispiel: MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865, no. 33.

⁵⁰ Hier ist es leider unmöglich die Geschichte der Familien Szigeti Szabó und Bartos zu erörtern.

Ferner charakterisieren auch die weiteren Ehen die Position, die unsere Familie allmählich erlangte. Von den Ehemännern der Schwestern von Georg kennen wir zwei. Katharina heiratete zuerst Melchior Szepsi, den kalvinistischen Priester im Marktflecken Visk (ab 1629 war er Propst des Seniorats von Máramaros), später Stefan Buday von Bölse, einen begüterten Adligen, der auch das Amt des Gespans der Salzkammer von Máramaros bekleidete⁵¹. Der Mann von Elisabeth war Stefan Kólya, ein Adelliger aus Sziget, über den aber weiter nichts bekannt ist⁵². Nach dem Tod von Georg heiratete Sophia Bartos noch zweimal. Ihr zweiter Gatte war Georg Székely (alias Rettegi), ein begüterter Adelliger aus dem Komitat Kolozs, der im Dienste von Graf Stefan Bethlen stand. Der dritte Mann von Sophia war Johann Debreczeni, von 1647 bis 1668 Kammergespan der Máramaroser Salzkammer⁵³. Caspar, der Sohn von Georg Poncz und Sophia Bartos, heiratete Katharina Farkas⁵⁴. Über deren Familie ist uns aber leider nichts bekannt.

Caspar (*Gáspár*) selbst (gestorben nach 1675)⁵⁵ war wie sein Vater ein gebildeter Mann, wovon die Titel *litteratus* und *deák* zeugen. Er wurde später allerdings geisteskrank⁵⁶ und spielte vermutlich deshalb keine Rolle mehr. Da er keine Söhne hatte, starb die männliche Linie der Familie aus.

Der Ehe seiner Tochter Sophia schenken wir noch eine kurze Zeit unsere Aufmerksamkeit. Joseph Szerencsy, der an der Wende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert in Sziget allem Anschein nach zur herausragendsten Persönlichkeit der Herrenschicht wurde, fand nämlich mit dieser Heirat Einlass in die Gesellschaft von Sziget. Er bekleidete verschiedene Ämter im Dienst des Ärars (im Salz- und Dreißigstwesen) und des Komitats (Stuhlrichter, Zahlmeister). In Sziget verfügte er über eine außerordentliche große Wirtschaft. (Im Jahre 1701 besaß er beispielsweise Ackerboden für 150 Kübel, Wiesen für 150 Mader, 16

⁵¹ Als die Frau von Szepsi, Poncz, p. 417. (Zur Person von Szepsi, *Zoványi Jenő*, A tiszántúli református egyházkerület története, vol. I-II, Debrecen, 1939, p. 184.), danach als die Frau von Buday: MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865, no. 33, p. 12. Zu Buday als Salzkammergespan im Jahre 1618: MOL, F 15, Prot. K majus (vol. XX), fol. 71v-72r, bzw. in 1621, Szilágyi István, „A máramarosi helv. hitvallásu egyházmegye és egyházközségek rendezete a 17. század elején”, in *Sárospataki Füzetek*, 2 (1858), p. 389-390.

⁵² Poncz, p. 420.

⁵³ Als die Frau von Rettegi bzw. zur Person von Rettegi, MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865, no. 33, p. 13-14; als die Frau von Debreczeni, Poncz p. 101, 106-108, 417. Zu Debreczeni als Salzkammergespan in 1647, 1654, 1666, 1668: MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865, no. 45, p. 21-24, fasc. 957, no. 21, 28, MOL, P 204, caps II, fasc. 16, fol. 349, 356; seine Instruktion aus 1655: MOL, P 204, caps II, fasc. 11, no. 26.

⁵⁴ Poncz, p. 158.

⁵⁵ Zu seiner letzten Erwähnung siehe: MOL, E 148, fasc. 1436, no. 27.

⁵⁶ MOL, E 148, fasc. 1865, no. 33, p. 15-16.

Ochsen, 10 Pferde, 16 Kühe, 70 Schweine und 70 Schafe)⁵⁷. Dieser Besitz wurde durch seine Leibeigenen, die in den nahe gelegenen Dörfern lebten, bewirtschaftet. (Wir müssen noch betonen, dass er einen beträchtlichen Teil seines Vermögens außerhalb seiner Ehe erwarb.) Diese Heirat sowie die übrigen Heiraten des 17. Jahrhunderts zeigen, dass die Familie, die sich einst mit Schafzucht befasst hatte, die riskante Welt der nicht-adeligen gewerblich-kommerziellen Selbständigen eindeutig und endgültig hinter sich gelassen hatte und nun fest in die Reihe der Herren integriert war, der allein das biologische Aussterben oder die Konfiszierung ihres Besitzes drohte.

Unter den Ergebnissen der bisherigen Forschungen befinden sich drei, die als Kontext der Geschichte unserer Familie ausgeführt werden sollen. Hierbei handelt es sich um die Karriere von Sebastian Tököli, um den Aufstieg der Rinderhändler von Raab (Győr) gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts sowie um die Geschichte der Familie Szegedi aus Mezöszeged. Tököli war wahrscheinlich der bedeutendste Händler in Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert. Er stammte aus der Großen Tiefebene (*Alföld*), die das Zuchtgebiet für den wichtigsten Exportartikel Ungarns, nämlich von Rindern, war. Er lebte in diesem, unter türkischer Herrschaft stehenden Landesteil bis zu seinem Umzug 1568/1569 nach Nagyszombat (heute Trnava, Slowakei). Nagyszombat und Umgebung stellten damals den wichtigsten Umschlagsort für ungarische Rinder nach Westen dar. Wie Tököli behauptete, kaufte er jährlich für 60.000 bis 70.000 Forint Rinder und ließ diese nach Wien treiben. Im Gegenzug importierte er dann gewerbliche Erzeugnisse. (Diese Art der Tätigkeit spiegelt übrigens den Charakter des westlichen Außenhandels Ungarns ganz allgemeinen wider.) Tököli wurde im Jahre 1572 vom König geadelt. Wenig später verschaffte er sich mittels seines Vermögens – als Pfand – die Herrschaft über die Burg von Vöröskő (heute Červený Kameň, Slowakei), womit er eine allgemeine Überraschung auslöste. Die Regierung verhinderte zwar letztlich dieses Geschäft, es gelang ihm später aber, die Herrschaft Késmárk (heute Kežmarok, Slowakei) als Pfand zu übernehmen, wodurch er Großgrundbesitzer wurde. 1580 heiratete er in eine hochadelige Familie ein und 1593 erwarb er den Titel Freiherr. Er regierte die Stadt Késmárk mit harter Hand. In seinem Testament ermahnte er seinen Sohn, die Fronwirtschaften weiter auszubauen. Sein Sohn wandte sich allerdings vom Handel ab und führte ein Leben als „Rentier“. Ebenso verhielten sich auch die nachfolgenden Generationen⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ AN-DJM, Prefectura județului Maramureș, Acte financiare nr. 12.

⁵⁸ Zimányi Vera, „Adalékok Thököly Sebestyén és partnerei kereskedelmi tevékenységének történetéhez”, in *Történelmi Szemle* 27 (1984) p. 61-66.; J. Újváry Zsuzsanna, „A ponyvásszekértől a közjó szolgálatáig. Thököly Sebestyén pályafutása”, in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 105 (1992) 3. p. 75-93.; Geccsényi Lajos, „Bécs és a hódoltság kereskedelmi összeköttetései a 16. században (Thököly Sebestyén felemelkedésének hátteréhez)”, in *Századok* 129 (1995) p. 767-790.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

Die Stadt Raab (Győr) wurde in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts – neben Nagyszombat – zum wichtigsten Umschlagsort für ungarische Rinder in Richtung Westen, nachdem die Kaufleute, die unter der Osmanenherrschaft lebten, im Jahre 1556 aus Wien ausgeschlossen worden waren. Aus den Zuchtgebieten, die in den 1540er Jahren größtenteils unter osmanische Hoheit gerieten, wurden die Rinder nur noch in die Umgebung der beiden Städte getrieben. Dort wurde das Vieh von lokalen Händlern erworben, die ihre Ware nach Westen und Nordwesten weiter vermittelten. Nach der Eroberung der Festung Sziget (heute Szigetvár, Ungarn) durch die Osmanen im Jahre 1566 wurde auch der Warenverkehr der südlichen, nach Italien führenden Straßen des Rinderhandels in die Gegend von Raab umgeleitet⁵⁹. Ein Teil der Einwohner von Raab erhielt dadurch die Möglichkeit, sich in dieses lukrative Geschäft einzuschalten. Diesen Schritt wagten allerdings zumeist nicht jene Personen, die sich auch schon zuvor mit – andersartigen – Handelstätigkeiten beschäftigen hatten, sondern in erster Linie Fleischer, die ohnehin mit dem Rinderhandel in Verbindung standen. Diese reichen Geschäftsleute spielten auch in der Stadtführung eine Rolle. Einige von ihnen erwarben gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts einen Adelstitel und sogar ländlichen Besitz mit Leibeigenen oder verödete Dörfer. In der Führung des Komitats traten sie als Stuhlrichter (*szolgabíró*) bzw. Vizegespan (*alispán*) in Erscheinung, oder sie übernahmen als Provisoren eine Funktion bei der Verwaltung der Güter des Bischofs von Raab. Da die Nobilität in Raab in einer Gemeinschaft mit den Nicht-Adeligen verblieben war, waren sie auch in der Stadtführung weiterhin tätig. Allmählich starb aber die Generation der Jahrhundertwende aus. An die Stelle der Väter traten nun Söhne, die eher die Lebensform von ämterführenden und begüterten Komitatsadeligen wählten. Dementsprechend schied diese Gruppe auch aus der Interessenvertretung der Stadt aus⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Zum handelspolitischen Hintergrund siehe: Gecsényi Lajos, „Az Edlasperg-ügy. A magyar kereskedők bécsi kapcsolatai a 16. század első felében“, in *Történelmi Szemle* 35 (1993) p. 279-295.; Idem, *Bécs és a hódoltság*. Zur Position der Stadt Raab und seiner Umgebung in dem Reinderhandel siehe: Szakály Ferenc, „A Dél-Dunántúl kereskedelmi útvonalai a XVI. század derekán“, in *Somogy megye múltjából* 4 (1973) p. 97-101.; Gecsényi Lajos, „Gazdasági és társadalmi változások Győrött a 16-17. század fordulóján“, in *Tanulmányok Győr és vidéke történetéből*, Győr, Ed. Gecsényi Lajos, 1978, p. 5-21.; Idem, „Győr kereskedelmi szerepének változása a 16. században“, in *Arrabona* 26-30 (1984-1991) p. 23-43. Siehe auch: Idem, „Győr kereskedelmi kapcsolatainak történetéhez a XVII. században“, in *Győri tanulmányok* 13 (1993) p. 103-118.; Idem, „Gazdálkodás és társadalmi mobilitás a 'győri pusztán' a XVII. században“, in *Arrabona* 31-33 (1994) p. 78-94.

⁶⁰ Eine grundlegende gesellschaftsgeschichtliche Fallstudie zum neuartigen Verhalten der Selbständigen bzw. Unternehmer in der letzten Phase der Epoche bietet: Gecsényi Lajos, *Gazdasági és társadalmi*, p. 14-18.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai“, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

Die Familie Szegedi aus Mezőszegeđ lebte ursprünglich tatsächlich in der Stadt Szeged und übte einen Kaufmannsberuf aus. Sie beschäftigten sich insbesondere mit der Einfuhr von Textilien, die einen herausragenden Importartikel für Ungarn bildeten. Entsprechend ihrer Betätigung trugen sie eigentlich den Nachnamen Kalmár (d.h. Kaufmann). Der erfolglose Versuch der christlichen Truppen im Jahre 1552, Szeged von den Osmanen zurückzuerobern, zwang die Familie dann zur Flucht. Nach einigen vorläufigen Aufenthaltsorten siedelten sie sich in Kecskemét an, wo die Familie bald in die vornehmen Schichten der Stadt aufstieg. Schließlich zogen die Szegedis nach Nagyszombat bzw. Kassa (heute Košice, Slowakei), wo sie ihre Handelstätigkeiten weiter pflegten. Im Jahre 1579 wurde ihnen der Adelstitel verliehen und später kauften sie auch adelige Liegenschaften auf. Wenngleich einige Mitglieder der Familie sich auch später noch mit Handel beschäftigten, verschmolzen sie durch ihre Heiraten im 17. Jahrhundert weitgehend mit den begüterten Adeligen der Gegend bzw. mit einigen höheren Würdenträgern der lokalen Finanzverwaltung der Habsburgermonarchie⁶¹.

Verglichen mit der Laufbahn unserer Familie brauchen diese Geschichten eigentlich keine weitere Erklärung. Eines soll aber doch noch besonders hervorgehoben werden. Die Lebensläufe von Tököli, der mit Rindern handelnden Metzger von Raab, der Familie Szegedi und der Máramaroser Schafzüchter-, Schaf-, Leder- und Wollhändlerfamilie (die wahrscheinlich auch in der Lederverarbeitung tätig war) weisen nicht nur gewisse Ähnlichkeiten auf. Sie spiegeln gleichzeitig verschiedene Ebenen derselben strukturellen Phänomene wider, wobei die verschiedenen Ebenen teilweise einen spezifischen Informationswert für die Phänomene selbst haben. Während in solchen Fällen die „ganz oben“ stehenden Fallbeispiele – z.B. wegen der besseren Quellenlage – eine eingehendere Beschreibung der einzelnen Erscheinungen ermöglichen und damit auch als Analogien zur Interpretation anderer Fälle dienen, stellt sich

⁶¹ Reiszig Ede, „A mezőszegeđi Szegedy-család ősei“, in *Turul* 36-39 (1918-1921) p. 20-31.; J. Újváry Zsuzsanna, „Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfózisa (A mezőszegeđi Szegedi család)“, in *Óra, szablya, nyoszolya. Életmód és anyagi kultúra Magyarországon a 17-18. században*, (Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok 9.), Budapest, MTA Történettudományi Intézet, Ed. Zimányi Vera, 1994, p. 33-85.; Idem, „Egy hajdanvolt mezővárosi polgárcsalád, a mezőszegeđi Szegedi család házassági-társadalmi kapcsolatai a 16-17. században“, in *Mezőváros, reformáció, irodalom*, (Historia Litteraria 18.), Budapest, Universitas Könyvkiadó, Ed. Szabó András, 2005, p. 99-112.; Szakály Ferenc, „Szegedi diaszpórák a XVI. századi Magyarországon“, in Idem, *Mezőváros és reformáció.*, p. 196-204. Siehe auch: J. Újváry Zsuzsanna, „Kassa város polgársága a 16. század végén és a 17. század első felében“, in *Történelmi Szemle*, 22 (1979), p. 577-591.; Idem, „Polgár vagy nemes? A kassai patrícius-polgárok házassági-társadalmi kapcsolatai a XVII. században“, in *Ezredforduló - századforduló - hetvenedik évforduló. Ünnepi tanulmányok Zimányi Vera tiszteletére*, Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter katolikus Egyetem, Ed. J. Újváry Zsuzsanna, 2001, p. 395-426.

die Rolle der Beispiele „unten“ ganz anders dar: Wir sind aufgrund dieser Exempel in der Lage festzustellen, wie stark diese Phänomene in der Gesellschaft wirkten, wir können sozusagen ihre Ränder austasten.

In unserem Fall geht es um die Möglichkeiten, die die „konjunkturelle“ Phase in der europäischen Geschichte zwischen 1460 und 1610 für die gewerblich-kommerziellen oder sonstigen Selbständigen eröffnete, bzw. um das neuartige Verhalten dieser Schicht in der letzten Phase der Epoche. Wie die oben aus der Literatur zitierten Fälle und die Geschichte unserer Familie zeigen, spiegeln sich die verschiedenen Einkommensniveaus der einzelnen Unternehmer in der Vielfalt der damit erreichten herrenhaften Lebensformen wider. Die Familie Poncz (Varga) aus Sziget steht in dieser Hierarchie auf einer ziemlich niedrigen Stufe. Nachdem wir die Gesellschaft der fünf Märkte im Allgemeinen untersucht haben, können wir außerdem feststellen, dass der – mittels wirtschaftlicher Betätigung eingeschlagene – Weg, der von der nicht-adeligen Gesellschaft, die von ihrer eigenhändigen Arbeit lebte, zu einer Lebensweise als „Rentier“ im Herrenstil führte, in dieser Gegend einzigartig war und nur von unserer Familie eingeschlagen wurde. Was können wir, wenn wir auch diese Tatsache in Betracht ziehen, über die sozialen Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten feststellen, die sich hier für die Selbständigen im langen 16. Jahrhundert ergaben? In erster Linie ist zu konstatieren, dass der Aufstieg zu einer herrschaftlichen Lebensform unternehmerische Aktivitäten erforderte, die die gewöhnliche handwerkliche oder kaufmännische Tätigkeit deutlich überragten und so mit einem außerordentlich hohen Einkommen verbunden waren. Diese Bedingung erfüllte in unserer Region nur der Handel mit lebendem Vieh und mit Tierprodukten. Handwerker, die in Städten nahe der Tierzuchtgebiete oder der Handelsrouten lebten und die aufgrund ihrer Gewerbetätigkeit mit Tieren und Tierprodukten befasst waren, befanden sich in einer günstigen Situation, um den Einstieg in diesen Wirtschaftszweig zu schaffen. Selbständige, die den übrigen Berufssparten angehörten (Handwerker, die keiner Handelstätigkeit nachgingen, Krämer, Salzhändler, Ackerbürger usw.), waren nicht in der Lage, einen derartigen Weg einzuschlagen. Die bekannten allgemeinen Verhältnisse des 15./16. Jahrhunderts schufen zwar günstige Bedingungen auch für diese Schichten, sie blieben aber diesseits der Wasserscheide, an die sie an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert gelangten. Sie sahen sich daher gezwungen, ihre bisherige Lebensform, bestenfalls bewaffnet mit einem Adelsbrief oder mit einer Grundstücksexemption, fortzuführen.

Anhang⁶²

⁶² Die Abkürzungen haben wir in eckige Klammern ([]) gesetzt. Die unleserlichen Teile des Textes haben wir so gekennzeichnet: [...]. Auf die Korrekturen des Verfassers *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.*

**Urteilbrief der Schiedsrichter Peter Ígyártó, Michael Ígyártó, Blasius Kósa und
Andreas Borbély**

Máramarossziget, 18. Februar 1592. Original.

Slovenský Národný Archív (Bratislava), Archiv der Familie Bárczay, Verwandte
Familien, Familie Poncz p. 34-41 (MOL Mikrofilmsammlung Rolle 12703).

[p. 38.] My fogot hwtheos zemelyek aggywk emlekezetre mindeneknek az kik [!] illik
jelenaloknak es az uthan keovetkezendeoknak. Twdni illik Igiartho Peter, Igyarto
Myhaly, Kosa Balas, Barbely Andras.

Mikor az Varga Simon maradeky es az ew felesige Orsolya azzony az ew harom
giermeke kepeben, Varga Tamasal es az Nikos Emreh felesigevel, Ilona azzonyal, az
attia teotte testamento[m] tetelin meg nem alkothattanak volna, Zyws Janostul az feo
birotul kikeovetwen eg' akaratbol hywanak az ew hazokhoz hog' keozteok a my lelky
ertelmunk zerint minden dolgot teorwen szerint ell igazitanank. Azert ez dologhoz illien
modal fogtunk ez felol meg mondotat zemieliek kezeket be attak negywen forint keotel
alat. Varga Simonne az ew harom arway kepekben hog' azokis meg alliak, tudni illik,
Marto[n], Simon, es Anna kepekben. Ennekuthanna mindeneket keoztek el igazittunk
[!], a mi teorvenyunk az azzonnak mindeneket keziben hagiot akaratunk zerint
maraztattunk volt zaz forintot hatra az giermekeknek eleomentekre

[p. 34.]

P[ro]po[sitio] relictæ Simonis Varga p[ro] [...]neⁱ
p[er]sona Joannes Fanczykay p[ro]cu[...]ⁱⁱ

Azt kerdem en Thamas uram elseoben kegelmedtwl: hogi ha teorveni szere[n]t akarode
aszszoniomnak az arvakval egiete[m]ben keszebe[n] adni, az flo hatod fel szaszath
avagi neme.

R[esponsum] ugi akarom.

Actor

P[ro]testalok errol. 1584 eszte[n]döben: mikoro[n] az en uram meg hala: illien
testame[n]tomoth tett vala: Zyus Janos elöt, Nemes Vargane es Herebe Neste elöth:
hogi ha ezt az testame[n]to[m]ot valaki meg fejtene,⁶³ mind az földekerth, es mind az
pensz felölis. tehatt az mindgiarast beczyn maradgio[n] az pensznek, avagi földnek: az
kin meg haborodnanak: az meg haborodas pedig illien ok alath leszen s vagionis: hogi
Varga Thamas teörvény szere[n]th akarja meg adni Varga Simonnenak es az harom
arvaknak az flo: hatod fel szaszath: kyerth azt mo[n]dgiuk ha az keg[yelme]tek teörvenie
mutattia: hogi Varga Thamas annak az flo hatod fel szasznak beczyn el maradoth: oka
esz merth teörvenyel akarja meg adni: de az en ura[m] ne[m] törveniel hane[m] törveni
nelkwl hatta, hogi meg adgia.

Attract[us]

Im hallo[m] mith felel: igaz hogi attia[m] hatta, hogi keszebe[n] adgiam en azt az flo 6
fel szazat aniamnak: de en eszerth ne[m] attam keszebe[n] törveni nelkwl, hogi az en

verweisen wir nicht gesondert. Die Reihenfolge der Blätter wurde teilweise vertauscht.
Wir geben den Text selbstverständlich in seiner ursprünglichen Ordnung aus.

⁶³ D.h. „antasten“, „verletzen“. Siehe *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár*, vol. VIII,
București, Kriterion, Ed. Vámszer Márta, 1996, p. 524-525.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

attiam ew neki elegseges költsegeth hagioth volth ez időre az kibe[n] meg most vagiu[n]k: merth flo 100 es flo 10 hagioth volth neki: Mas oka esz az mierth rajta el ne[m] maratta[m]: merth az en attiamnak testame[n]toma tartya eszt, hoga iol nem ilne vele, tehath keszebe[n] ne adgiam: de az nylva[n] vagio[n], hoga iol ne[m] elth vele ki meg teczik onnet, merth mar szaz tisz forintyat el költötte ez azert[...]ⁱⁱⁱ az oka hoga neki kezehez nem attam
[p. 35.]

Actor

Esz elle[n] azt mo[n]dgiuk: hoga atta volna keszemhesz czyak elseoben Thamas fiam azt, az kit enneke[m] az en uram hagioth volth: es ha gonoszul elte[m] volna vele, az utan vette volna ell bator twle[m]: de kesze[m]be[n] sem advan elegtelen okval me[n]ti magath: Aszerth: ugian azt mo[n]do[m] hoga ell maradoth rajta az becen.

Attract[us]

Eszerth nem attam, merth ez ideig mind ell költh volna, es az arvaknak igen igen keves iutoth volna benne: avagi semmi sem. mas oka ez: merth edgiewt sem volth, hane[m] mind szellel azerth eszve kelliet először gewlni, s ugi adhattam volna meg osztan az penz masut volt ne[m] keszze[n] volth az ki keszze[n] volt azt oda atta[m].

Actor

Attad volna keszemben cziak, szabad voltam volna vele, az hova en tette[m] volna: te pedig meg menekettel volna minde[n] keresettwl.

Iurisdictio

Meg ertve[n] ez kett feleleteketh ez dologba[n] illie[n] törve[n]th tettwnk: hoga Thamas meg eskedgiek eze[n] ew maga hog az penz azerth nem athatta keszehez: merth az hagioth napra,^{iv} swt meg mind esz ideigis eszve nem giwthette. masodszor eszerth sem atta keszehez, hoga ne[m] iol elt vele azzalis az kit keszehez adoth volth. Es ha eszen meg eskedik Thamas az keresettől meg menekedik: de ha eszen Thamas meg nem merr eskedni: szaz harmincz haro[m] pensze[n] el maradoth.
[p. 36.]

Actor

Azt mo[n]dom hoga asz meli 6 fel szaz forinth Thamas ura[m]nal volth: valahul iartatta: de mi annak hasznath: ha mit vele kereskedeth meg kevanniuk ha törveni esmeri.

Attract[us]

En meg biszonito[m], hoga hasznat en ne[m] vettem sewtt meg ez ideig nala[m] sem volth kit meg biszonitok.

Actor

Jol tudgiuk, hoga nala ninchie[n], de az hul mind az altal ew iartattia, hasznat veszi annak.

Attract[us]

Ugian nem vettem en annak semi hasznath, merth ugian mostanis oth vagio[n] az az pe[n]z az hul akkoro[n] volth: mikoro[n] attia[m] meg holt ha pedig szinte[n] hasznat vette[m] volnais, eleget busongotta[m] erette, kit azerth fel ne[m] vette[m] volna ugian azt mo[n]dom azerth: hoga többet en rajtam annal ne[m] kereshet, az kit attia[m] neki hagiott.

Iurisdictio

Errol ez az teörven[...]^v hoga mierth hoga Thamas az aszonnak keszehez nem atta az kit be veth: azerth egi birsago[n] marasztotta Thamast az mi törvenieonk flo 100 & d[enarios] 33. Az kereskedesre pedig semmit ne[m] itiltwnk, merth ebben semi

fogiatkoszasa sem eset az aszonnak: merth ew nekye szaz forinth volth keszeben: es ew is kereskedhetet volna azzal.

Actor

Illien szonk vagio[n], ho[...]vi az meli szaz tisz forinth ma[...]dtvii volth ew kegelme miath Thamas miatt: abbanis flo 13 vesztettwnk ell, merth valami disznot vett volt ura[m]: kit ith meg perlettek, es azt talaltak, hogi oroszot marha volth: azerth az az flo 13 Thamas miatt lette, merth az ew feleleti miatt czialatkosza[n]k mi meg.

Attract[us]viii

[p. 37.]

Im ertem mit mo[n]d: ugi vagio[n] hogi Nyerges Janost kwlte vala apam diszno venni: de igaz marha venni: azerth oka ne[m] vagiok ennek: merth az meli marhat hoszot volt lopotth volth: merth az pensze[n] igaz marhat kelliet volna hoszni: az koros⁶⁴ e[m]berek pedig az ew marhajokath meg talalva[n] el vettek: kinek ne[m] en vagiok oka: hogi ollian bajos marhatt vett az az attia[m] e[m]bere: hane[m] ew: osztan az az penszis az sommához valo volth es ennivel az sommanak hyaval keli lenni az menit az 10 diszno erth volna. Aszerth az mit en oda fizette[m], azt ania[m]nak viszza keli adni.

Actor

Aszerth kevanjuk Thamas ura[m]tul az flo 13 merth Thamas azt felele Nyerges Janoshoz hogi tudva[n] vette ew azokath az lopot disznokath: azerth ezzel az mo[n]dasval ves[...]e^{ix} el teölem az flo 13.

Attract[us]

Ugian azt mo[n]dom, hogi az az e[m]ber az oka enek, az kit attia[m] el kwldöt az diszno venni. Swt ha meg itilte volna az teörvenis eszt, ne[m] vehette[m] volna meg a' Janoso[n]: mert szegeni.

Jurisdictio

Erröl ez az teörvény hogi miért hogi ez az dolog keöszeönseges volth mind az kett fell keöszeött: ez kett karr: eszve hajtassek es Thamasis tew[...]x az felet az karnak: mint az aszzony oka esz: merth Thamas keöszeönsegeskeppe[n] mu[n]kalkodoth es faradoth ebben, az kösze[...]nseges^{xi} dologban: es ha mitt vesztet edg[...]ewt^{xii} vesztet: mint hogi ha nyerth volnais az nieresseg köz lett volna.

Az flo 9 pedig tartozzek ki adni az sommához oka ez: merth ennek go[n]dviseliset az attia ew rea hata kinek ew is akkor ellene nem mo[n]doth. [p. 39.] De aztis ur peczitevel es ur ereyvel ki vötte kezunkbeol imar az is kezizhez ment.

Wegezetre utholzeor volt vetekezis hett tomleo felol kit adot volt az annyanak. Kywanak hog' eztis teorwen szerint ell igazitanok. Varga Tamas tamazta elonkbe eleo eleven bizonsagokat kik ott voltak az attia testamentom halgatasaban. Elseo bizonsag Zabo Mihali, ky hwti uthan mi eleottunk illien vallast tun, hog' Varga Simon testamentomban ezt monta, hogy az jwhokat Tamasnak haggya, de az jwhoknak wott ugy mint hatwan neg' forint arra zenat, Az hatwan neg' forintot az jwhnak az gyapiabeol elseo lehozas teomleobul helyere allasa, annakuthanna az somma az kit Orsolia azzonnak hagiöt azzal tellyk ki. Nikos Emrehne ugyan ezeket valla hut zerint. Herebe Neste azzonis ugian ezent valla hut zerint. Azert my az bizonsagoknak uthanna illyen teörwent talaltunk hog' ew az bizonsagok melle meg eskeggyek, hog' azzal teölt ki [p. 40.] az hatodfel zaz forint, es mi eleottunk Varga Tamas le teotte az huteot.

⁶⁴ Also Benachteiligte (*káros*).

Myvelhog' ke[gyelme]tek ezt ig' erthe meg hog' az hatod fel zaz forint nem egywt volt az kit sommaban Varga Simon hagiót volt, hanem ki berbeczre, ki teomleo arra volt ki oztwa, de annak az bezedeset hatta volt Varga Tamasra hog' begywthe^{xiii} es aval telliesicze ki az sommat.

Mikor ezis Varga Tamasnak terhes leott volna es panazolkodasa leott elöttunk, hog' ew azokat be nem vehetneye affelolis teorwent kiwanvan tulunk, azrais illien teorwent talaltunk volt, hog' az kit el tagadnanak hwt szerint my eleottunk meg mongia es aval az somma alab zallion. Azert hatodfel forint talaltatot kit be nem vehetet volna. Azert az az arvak kara leött.

Azert my ez felol meg mondatat fogot zemiliek valliwk, hogy az myvel tartozot Varga Tamas Warga Simonnenak mind az hatodfelzaz forintot meg fizetet es mind[en] dolgok koztok el igazottanak. [p. 41.] En Warga Simonne Orsolia azzony ugian ezen meg iratot szemylek eleott vallom hog' mindenekbul ell egyenesettem es meg elegitet mindenekrul Varga Tamas engemet.

Annak okaert valaky ezeket meg nem allana tehat maraggion az negy fogot embereknek diokon ugy mint f. 40 az a' neg'ven forint [...].^{xiv} Ezt pedeg vegeztwk Zaz Georgy birasgaban Szent Balint nap uthan valo penteken Zigetén 1592.

Iid[em] qui supra.

[Notiz:] En Lakatos Marton erthem latom hogi aniamat [...] ^{xv} battiam megh elegitete en soha w kegielmet soha [...] ^{xvi} nem haborgato[m] sem w magat sem giermeket. [...] ^{xvii} re^{xvii} keze[m] [...] ^{xviii} adom [...] ^{xix} Irta[m] Viski [...] ^{xx} Giorgi eleot, [...] ^{xxi} Janos eleot, Z[...] ^{xxii} cz^{xxii} Boldisar eleot, [...] ^{xxiii} Janos eleot.

ⁱ Der Anfang des Wortes ist wegen eines Risses unleserlich.

ⁱⁱ Das Ende des Wortes ist wegen eines Risses unleserlich, offenbar *procurator*.

ⁱⁱⁱ Das Ende des Wortes ist wegen eines Risses in der Länge von einem Buchstaben unleserlich.

^{iv} Danach steht irreführend „az“.

^v Das Ende des Wortes ist wegen eines Knicks in der Länge von einem Buchstaben unleserlich.

^{vi} Das Ende des Wortes ist wegen eines Knicks unleserlich, offenbar *hogy*.

^{vii} Das Wort ist in der Länge von einem Buchstaben wegen eines Flecks unleserlich, offenbar *maradt*.

^{viii} Irreführend wiederholt auf Seite 37.

^{ix} Das Wort ist wegen eines Knicks in der Länge von einem Buchstaben unleserlich, offenbar *vesze*.

^x Das Ende des Wortes ist wegen eines Knicks unleserlich, wahrscheinlich *tewrje*.

^{xi} Das Wort ist wegen eines Knicks in der Länge von einem Buchstaben unleserlich, wahrscheinlich *köszeönseges*.

^{xii} Das Wort ist wegen eines Knicks in der Länge von einem Buchstaben unleserlich, offenbar *edgiemt*.

^{xiii} Verschreibung statt *begywthe*.

^{xiv} Das letzte Wort des Satzes ist unleserlich.

^{xv} Der Text ist ungefähr in der Länge von einem Wort unleserlich.

-
- ^{xvi} Der Text ist ungefähr in der Länge von einem Wort unleserlich, wahrscheinlich *megh*.
- ^{xvii} Der Anfang des Wortes ist unleserlich.
- ^{xviii} Der Text ist ungefähr in der Länge von einem Wort unleserlich.
- ^{xix} Der Text ist ungefähr in der Länge von drei Wörter unleserlich.
- ^{xx} Der Text ist in der Länge von einem Wort unleserlich.
- ^{xxi} Der Text ist in der Länge von einem Wort unleserlich.
- ^{xxii} Das Wort ist in der Länge von zwei Buchstaben unleserlich, wahrscheinlich *Zeocz*.
- ^{xxiii} Der Text ist in der Länge von einem Wort unleserlich.

**ARTIZANII IEZUIȚI AI UNIRII CU ROMA ȘI CUNOAȘTEREA
IDENTITĂȚII RELIGIOASE A ROMÂNILOR ARDELENI LA
ÎNCEPUTUL SECOLULUI AL XVIII-LEA.
PERCEPȚII STEREOTIPALE ȘI REALITĂȚI ISTORICE**

Carmen Maria Dorlan,

Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș

***Abstract.** Jesuit Artisans of the Union with Rome and the Transylvanian Romanians' Religious Identity at the Beginning of the 18th Century. Stereotypical Perceptions and Historical Realities. Based on some of the Jesuit sources elaborated during the years of the ecclesiastical union with Rome (1697-1702) the present article intends to reflect on the main components of the image perpetuated in the Jesuit media on the religious identity of the Transylvanian Orthodox Romanian communities. The elaborated discourse is the result of a double process of religious communication, its polemical content being more or less stressed according to the subjects of the promoted message. In both cases the role attributed either to the clergy or to the Jesuits involved in the process of implementation of the union with Rome is essential. The «easterners»' profile reflects the tridentine principles that define the Jesuits' activity and their stereotype perception on local religious realities, and it is meant to facilitate and legitimate its social implementation. The projected Romanian clergy would assure the re-education and reorientation of the believers' conscience, a long-lasting process that transforms them into the main agents of the new confessional identity construction. The union project as revealed is associated with an operation of correction of the errors perpetuated by the „schismatics” or as part of the negative influence resulted from the cohabitation with the Protestant confessions. Explanation and education in order to enlarge the access to religious knowledge are some of the main elements proposed in order to forge the new confessional identity, discipline the believers and consolidate the union. Similarities between Catholic and Orthodox identity, mainly aspects regarding the religious life of the community, are also used. The image resulted from the Jesuits' religious preoccupations is subordinated firstly to the politics formulated by their superiors, the selective criteria and the representation of the information transmitted depending on these. Much more important is the fact that these sources promote a source of knowledge in the circuit periphery – center – periphery and that their authors do not merely reveal an observed reality. Instead they suggest and formulate, according to the Habsburg and post-Tridentine Catholic politics, viable strategies with a view of their distribution and offer the necessary information to their elaboration.*

***Keywords:** Jesuits; religious identity; agents of confessional identity construction; religious otherness.*

Necesitatea reconstituirii componentelor discursului pe care un grup social îl construiește în interacțiune cu alteritatea s-a impus în atenția studiilor istoriografice relativ recent, în paralel cu interesul manifestat pentru formarea

identității comunităților și reconsiderarea efectelor interconexiunilor, de natură culturală sau religioasă, pe care le presupune experiența istorică a coabitării unui spațiu social, temporal, religios, economic sau de altă natură¹. Nu lipsite de influența rezultatelor cercetării istorice de la nivel european, îmbunătățite și prin reluarea contactelor cercetătorilor din fostele țări comuniste cu arhivele occidentale, investigațiile românești de acest tip susțin o perspectivă pluridisciplinară și comparativă, extinsă spațial și temporal, care facilitează accesul la un alt tip de cunoaștere istorică a realităților trecute din spațiul central și est-european. Contribuțiile de ordin documentar nu exclud însă re-evaluarea retrospectivă a suportului documentar utilizat deja în cadrul scrisului istoric românesc. Semnificative în acest sens sunt studiile variate realizate în vederea elucidării implicațiilor diverse ale momentului acceptării unirii cu Biserica Romei de către reprezentanții clerului românesc transilvănean la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea care au ca punct de plecare re-interpretarea documentelor cunoscute ale unirii². Considerați actori cu aport definitoriu în perfectarea unirii, în contextul procesului de reorganizare politică, administrativă și mai ales de promovare activă a principiilor Catolicismului pre-modern³ în zonă⁴, Curtea,

¹ Vezi de ex. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 2001, p. 123.

² O succintă reconstituire istoriografică din această perspectivă poate avea ca punct de plecare studii precum: Greta Monica Miron, „... poruncește, scoală-te, du-te, propoveduește ...” *Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania. Cler și enoriași (1697-1782)*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004; Remus Câmpeanu, *Biserica Română Unită între istorie și istoriografie*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003; Laura Stanciu, *Între Răsărit și Apus. Secvențe din istoria bisericii românilor ardeleni (prima jumătate a secolului al 18-lea)*, Cluj Napoca, Argonaut, 2008; Daniel Dumitran, „Unirea religioasă a românilor transilvăneni în viziunea Stărilor transilvănene”, în *Apulum*, XLV, Alba Iulia, 2008, p. 421-428; Mihai Săsăujan, „Instituții și persoane implicate în unirea bisericească (1701-1761) și opoziția împotriva ei”, în *AUA*, 6/II, Alba Iulia, 2002, p. 81-94; Marionela Wolf, „Ordinul iezuit și unirea bisericească a românilor din Transilvania”, în *AUA*, 6/II, 2002, p. 47-54; Ovidiu Ghitta, „Pânea pruncilor” – context istoric și discurs”, în *Pânea Pruncilor sau Învățătura credinții creștinești, strânsă în mică șumă. Care o au scris în mici întrebăciuni și răspunsuri ungurești cinstitul Pater Baroneai Laslo Parochușul besearecii catholicești de la Bălgrad și s-au întorsu în limba românească de Duma Ianeșu de la Borbanți în anii Dom. 1702*, Ed. îngrijită de Florina Iliș, St. ist.-teol. de Ovidiu Ghitta, St. filol. de Florina Iliș, Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut, 2006, p. 7-35 etc.

³ Recent tinde să se generalizeze utilizarea termenului *Early Modern Catholicism*, propus de John O'Malley, în detrimentul unor termeni precum *Catholic Reformation* sau *Counter-Reformation*, considerat a fi mult mai adecvat pentru a releva realitățile din spațiul catolic. Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism. 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999, p. 5-6.

⁴ Mathias Bernath, *Habsburgii și începuturile formării națiunii române*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 1994; Jean Bérenger, *Istoria Imperiului Habsburgilor. 1273-1918*, Trad. de Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

misionarii iezuiți, stările transilvănene, clerul și credincioșii români s-au aflat permanent în atenția istoricilor români. Problematika beneficiază recent de o reorientare a investigațiilor spre o mai bună contextualizare istorică și teologică a momentului unirii cu Biserica Romei, prin revizuirea de ordin tematic a cunoașterii evoluției întregului proces. Înțelegerea semnificației acordate conceptului de unire de către cei implicați în proces, explicarea atitudinilor manifestate în perioada 1697-1701, momentul în care trebuie plasată apariția unei realități ecleziastice noi, raportul dintre intenționalitate și realitate istorică la acest nivel, care necesită un demers analitic subordonat duratei, sau criteriile de diferențiere religioasă aflate în curs de formulare, identificabile printr-o investigație multiplă, în funcție de factorii cu rol de inițiere a diferențierii, sunt doar câteva dintre acestea⁵.

Subiecții întreprinderii de față sunt câțiva reprezentanți ai ordinului iezuit⁶, familiarizați cu realitățile și complexitatea procesului de extindere și revitalizare a Catolicismului în spațiul central-est european, circumscris cu precădere monarhiei habsburgice, dar și cu dezideratele și politicile formulate la Roma. Activitatea desfășurată de către aceștia în vederea distribuirii sociale a proiectului unirii cu Biserica Romei, atât în spațiul transilvănean, cât și în interrelaționarea cu forurile superioare de autoritate ecleziastică și politică cu rol determinant în acest proces are o importanță considerabilă. Ea facilitează cunoașterea modului de concepere, implementare a unirii și definitivării cadrelor în limitele căreia aceasta este proiectată. Documentele utilizate în acest caz datează, în mare majoritate, din perioada 1697-1702⁷ și permit accesul la o reconstituire a elementelor componente ale imaginii persistente în mediul iezuit cu privire la identitatea religioasă a comunităților ortodoxe românești în contextul sfârșitului de secol XVII. Selecția documentară operată are legătură și cu încercarea de a plasa investigația istorică mai aproape de realitățile contemporane procesului avut în vedere și necesitatea resimțită de a identifica sau reafirma natura percepțiilor produse cu privire la alteritatea religioasă, care constituie obiectul proiectului asumat de către reprezentanții ordinului iezuit și a criteriilor de diferențiere formulate de către partea iezuită între aderenții la unire și restul comunității creștine. Se urmărește astfel reconstituirea unui mod de

Nicolae Balotă, București, Universitas, p. 261-265; Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire. 1526-1918*, London, University of California Press, 1980, p. 66-68.

⁵ Vezi Laura Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁶ Părintele Ladislau Baranyi, Andreas Freyberger, Rudolph Bzenszky, etc.

⁷ Vasile Rus, *Operarii in vinea Domini. Misionarii iezuiți în Transilvania, Banat și Partium (1579-1715)*, Vol. II, *Fontes*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2008, p. 131-157, 159-168, 187-220; Andreas Freyberger, *Relatare istorică despre unirea Bisericii românești cu Biserica Romei făcută în anul 1701 și despre cele ce au urmat în problema unirii până în noiembrie 1702*, Versiune rom. și st. intr. de Ioan Chindriș, Cluj-Napoca, Clusium, 1996; *Pânea pruncilor sau Învățătura credinții creștinești, strânsă în mică sumă*, ed. cit., p. 57-189.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

reprezentare a alterității, ca reacție la interacțiunea operată între spații cultural-religioase diferite și modul în care aceasta a fost promovată prin intermediul scrierilor sau relatărilor epocii. Imaginea rezultată are validitate istoriografică nu atât prin relevarea unei realități istorice ca obiect al observației și punct de plecare în vederea elaborării textelor utilizate, cât mai ales pentru intenționalitatea acesteia, felul în care este instrumentată de autorii iezuiți în vederea susținerii și argumentării propriului concept de unire⁸. La acestea se adaugă semnificația esențială care revine rapoartelor și relatărilor formulate cu privire la viața religioasă a comunităților locale pentru elaborarea strategiilor și politicilor ecleziastice de către autoritățile centrale ale catolicismului roman și facilitarea cunoașterii procesului de transformare a percepțiilor asupra realităților locale la nivelul factorilor de decizie, recunoscută în istoriografie⁹. Demersul analitic al acestui suport documentar este justificat și de perspectivele oferite de identificarea recentă a existenței în arhiva Congregației de Propaganda Fide a unei copii a declarației finale de unire semnată de mitropolitul Teofil, în numele întregului cler românesc, la 21 martie 1697¹⁰ și a unui exemplar din puținele cunoscute al *Historico relatio Unionis Valachicae cum Romana Ecclesia* a lui Andreas Freyberger, redactată în 1702, în Arhiva Societății Iezuiților din Roma¹¹, alături de alte contribuții documentare, confirmându-se astfel atenția sporită cu care s-a urmărit evoluția procesului de realizare a unirii cu Biserica Romei în cazul românilor transilvăneni.

Încadrabile istoriei ecleziastice sau literaturii religioase instrumentate în vederea consolidării identității catolice, aceste surse documentare sunt relevante în primul rând ca producții ale unei modalități de cunoaștere a realităților religioase din spațiul central-est european și canale de comunicare ale acesteia. Atât Andreas Freyberger, cât și Rudolph Bzenszky se încadrează prin scrisul istoric oferit cu privire la evoluția catolicismului și a unirii clerului românesc cu Biserica Romei în coordonatele generale ale istoriografiei

⁸ Marionela Wolf vorbește, în acest sens, despre „funcționalitatea unui anumit construct politico-confesional, al unei anumite imagini în epocă, efectele acesteia asupra motivației acțiunii politice”. Marionela Wolf, *art. cit.*, în *loc. cit.*, p. 53.

⁹ István-György Tóth, *Politique et religion dans la Hongrie du XVII^e siècle. Lettres des missionnaires de la Propaganda Fide*, Paris, Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2004, p. 57.

¹⁰ Greta-Monica Miron, „... poruncește, scoală-te, du-te, propoveduește ...” *Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania. Cler și enoriași (1697-1782)*, cf. n. 21, p. 39. Laura Stanciu prezintă o analiză detaliată a diferențelor de conținut între cele trei versiuni și menționează, în ceea ce privește arhivarea documentului la Roma încă din același an, un *Proces verbal* al ședinței ținute pe 4 iunie 1697, unde s-a discutat scrierea trimisă de nunțul vienez prin care se anunța „... trecerea făcută de episcopul grec schismatic al valachilor din Transilvania de la greșelile *Schismeii la Sfânta Credință Catolică* împreună cu întregul său cler și cu multe mii de persoane.” [s. a.] Laura Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 77-80.

¹¹ Greta-Monica Miron, *op. cit.*, cf. n. 2, p. 13.

secolului XVII, pentru care nararea și descrierea au ca principal obiectiv transmiterea cunoașterii, mai degrabă decât a realității. Este un discurs istoric care pune accent pe relatarea, într-o formă retorică a lucrurilor și acțiunilor „demne de ținut minte, adevărate, mărețe și publice și așa cum sunt/ așa cum s-au întâmplat”¹². În egală măsură, proveniența și formația autorilor, cadrele stabilite în vederea reglementării activității desfășurate de membri ordinului iezuit și-au pus amprenta asupra scrisului istoric elaborat. În ceea ce privește problematica vizată, semnificația acestuia nu poate fi înțeleasă fără o perspectivă globală asupra rolului care revine tuturor factorilor cu rol determinant în procesul de unire în intervalul avut în vedere¹³. Analizând aspecte ce țin de evenimentele contemporane, de istoria trăită, activitatea lor este subordonată în mod necesar politicii de consolidare imperială¹⁴ și de susținere a proiectelor catolicismului pre-modern, elemente caracteristice istoriografiei practicate în spațiul monarhiei habsburgice¹⁵. Aplicând ca metode istorice erudiția, citarea riguroasă și exactă a izvoarelor istorice, ei practică o istorie interesată nu numai de elitele sau factorii cu rol predominant în procesul istoric urmărit, ci și una extinsă social, incluzând și categoriile comunităților rurale în obiectivele lor.

Dacă textele de față stau sub semnul contemporaneității autorilor, modalitățile de realizare și de transmitere a cunoașterii sunt tributare evoluției eforturilor de revitalizare a catolicismului în spațiul transilvănean din perioada anterioară. Nu trebuie uitat că realitățile confesionale din Principat, în ciuda faimei de care se bucura ideea toleranței religioase transilvănene în Europa, sunt în multe privințe o mare necunoscută în centrele occidentale, mai ales la Roma, de unde și importanța acordată obținerii și verificării informațiilor primite din spațiul transilvănean pe tot parcursul secolului al XVII-lea¹⁶. În ceea ce privește problema convertirii în perioada post-tridentină, în tot spațiul central-european, misionarismul catolic desfășurat s-a văzut obligat să elaboreze o strategie diversificată care distinge între două tipuri de spații confesionale. Pe de o parte, realitățile și implicațiile relaționărilor cu confesiunile rezultate de pe urma Reformei din secolul al XVI-lea și, pe de altă parte, problemele determinate de particularismele lumii ortodoxe, intrate de foarte devreme în atenția acestuia¹⁷ și

¹² Edit Szegedi, *Tradiție și inovație în istoriografia săsească între baroc și iluminism*, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2006, p. 45.

¹³ E. Chr. Suttner, „Die Anfänge und das Durchsetzen der Siebenbürgener Kirchenunion sowie die Widerstände gegen sie (von der Eroberung Siebenbürgens durch Österreich bis zum Jahr 1761). Teil A (Gemaß dem Thema der ersten Begegnung): die das Handeln tragenden Institutionen und Personen und ihre hauptsächlichen Motive”, în *AUA*, 6/II, 2002, p. 11-28.

¹⁴ Marionela Wolf, *art. cit.*, în *loc. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁵ Edit Szegedi, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

¹⁶ István-György Tóth, *op. cit.*, p. 13-57.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

fundamentate pe un alt tip de politică prozelită. Cadrul general de desfășurare al acestuia era bazat încă din perioada pontificatului lui Paul al V-lea pe aplicarea principiilor conciliului tridentin¹⁸, doar începând cu a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea operându-se modificări în coordonatele strategiilor de promovare și revitalizare a catolicismului¹⁹. Cât privește luarea celor mai eficiente măsuri pentru implementarea principiilor tridentine pe o scară socială mai largă în spațiul central-est european acestea vor fi luate cu precădere după 1660 și își vor dovedi eficacitatea doar în secolul următor, existând și un puternic catolicism tradițional interesat în menținerea privilegiilor și formelor tradiționale de manifestare ale devoțiunii²⁰. Tot după 1660, iezuiții, ca principali agenți ai procesului de extindere a catolicismului, vor reuși să facă progrese constante în spațiul ungar intrat în sfera de interes a politicii Casei de Habsburg, reluându-și politica de înființare de școli și programele misionare stabilite cu un secol înainte²¹. Promotori inițial doar a politicilor Contrareforme, ei vor ajunge să fie instrumentați pentru interesele habsburgice doar treptat, și de cele mai multe ori ca transmițători ai intenției politice mai degrabă decât agenți ai puterii²².

Comunitățile ortodoxe de aici vor reveni în sfera lor de interes dar orice încercare de a destabiliza sentimentul puternic de apartenență la o comunitate a

¹⁸ „[...] perché la somma della disciplina ecclesiastica consiste nell'observatione del Concilio Tridentino”: Cf. Silvano Giordano, „Aspetti di politica ecclesiastica e riforma religiosa nelle istruzioni generali di Paolo V”, în *Kurie und Politik. Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturbereichsforschung*, Herausgegeben von Alexander Koller, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag 1998, p. 240.

¹⁹ Cf. instrucției introduse de Congregatio de Propagande Fide în 1669, se opera o schimbare a strategiilor aplicate de agenții misionarismului catolic, încercând să simplifice modalitățile de aderare la catolicism. Se promova ideea acceptării noului calendar, pentru a se ajunge la o uniformizare a timpului sărbătorii și se focaliza atenția asupra problemelor de natură dogmatică, considerate de catolici mai puțin ireconciliabile pentru partea răsăriteană. De acum încolo, pentru a facilita convertirile, se acorda misionarilor dreptul de a oferi dispense pentru „ignoranță”, facilitare de natură strategică asumată rapid de iezuiți, cu riscul acuzării ulterioare de flexibilitate din partea catolicilor adepți ai metodelor tradiționale de prozelitism. Paul Shore, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Există tendința de a nu mai considera activitatea de atragere la catolicism drept o operațiune de corectare a greșelilor sau a transformărilor introduse de partea ortodoxă și se face o diferențiere clară între problemele de credință și cele de natură disciplinară bisericești. Vezi E. Chr. Suttner, *Schisme: ceea ce separă și ceea ce nu separă de biserică*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2006, p. 105-107.

²⁰ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal. 1540-1770*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 74.

²¹ Paul Shore, *Jesuits and the Politics of Religious Pluralism in Eighteenth-Century Transylvania. Culture, Politics and Religion. 1693-1773*, London, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2007, p. 27.

²² Marionela Wolf, *art. cit.*, în *loc. cit.*, p. 49.

dogmei, tradiției și liturghiei ortodoxă a trebuit să țină cont de implicațiile percepției persistente în mediile ortodoxe cu privire la Biserica catolică, văzută nu numai ca un rival, dar și ca o sursă a ereziei²³. Reprezentările identităților religioase asumate de ambele părți își pun astfel amprenta asupra acestor relaționări, de unde și obligativitatea iezuiților de a revizui modalitățile de realizare și justificare a misionarismului. Menționate tangențial, dar constant, în relatările și rapoartele trimise la Roma pe toată perioada post-tridentină care a precedat realizarea unirii de la sfârșitul secolului XVII²⁴, informațiile referitoare la comunitățile ortodoxe ale spațiului fostului Regat al Ungariei au conturat cadrele-reper ale imaginii identității ortodocșilor din mediul catolic și au facilitat perpetuarea formulelor stereotipale care fundamentează perceperea acestora. Întregul proiect de atragere la catolicism și politicile elaborate în vederea materializării acestuia vor avea ca punct de plecare această imagine, expresie a unui proces de cunoaștere tributar cu precădere instrucțiunilor elaborate de Congregatio de Propaganda Fide și chestionarelor generalizate, mai ales începând cu a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea, în vederea centralizării modalității de raportare față de Roma²⁵. Elemente ale acesteia pot fi identificate inclusiv la susținătorii ai formulei integraționiste a unirii²⁶ cum este iezuitul Francisc Ravasz, autorul schiței unirii elaborată în anul 1687²⁷, la cererea primatului Ungariei, Leopold Kollonich, redactată în spiritul principiilor conciliului tridentin. Acesta formulează modalitățile de formare ale „adevăratului unit” plecând de la coordonatele imaginii care circula în mediul catolic cu privire la preoții ortodocși și nivelul de viață religioasă al credincioșilor. Este o imagine marcată de „suspiciunea și neîncrederea lor față de unit, virtualul «infidel» ce ignoră dogmele Bisericii catolice, tentat să se reîntoarcă la ortodoxie”²⁸, programul de unire elaborat având ca principal obiectiv remedierea acestei situații.

*Relatio de Ecclesia Transylvania*²⁹, redactată la Cluj la sfârșitul anului 1701 de către Rudolph Bzenszky și trimisă într-o primă formă superiorului său

²³ Paul Shore, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

²⁴ *Litterae missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania. 1572-1717*, Ed. de István-György Tóth, Roma-Budapest, vol I-IV, 2002, 2003, 2005; *Relationes Missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania (1627-1707)*, Ed. de István-György Tóth, Roma-Budapest, 1994 passim.

²⁵ Pentru un exemplu de chestionar generalizat în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea ca model pentru rapoartele trimise la Roma la Congregatio de Propaganda Fide vezi: István-György Tóth, *op. cit.*, p. 59-65.

²⁶ Greta-Monica Miron, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁷ Idem, „Adevărații uniți sau preoții români din Transilvania secolului al XVIII-lea între unire și ortodoxie”, în *Tentația istoriei. În memoria Profesorului Pompiliu Teodor*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003, p. 563-567.

²⁸ *Eadem*, p. 563.

²⁹ Vasile Rus, *op. cit.*, p. 131-157.

Gabriel Hevenesi³⁰, ca parte dintr-o lucrare redactată în mai multe etape între 1699 și 1709, cuprinde informații referitoare atât la activitatea desfășurată de iezuiți în Transilvania, cât și de altă natură din perioada 1687-1701³¹. Analizând factorii cu rol important în revitalizarea catolicismului, Rudolph Bzenszky amintește importanța considerabilă a activității anterioare depuse de călugării franciscani și dominicani pentru menținerea și consolidarea catolicismului în partea răsăriteană a Transilvaniei, unde catolicismul se afla într-o stare mai bună³², și primele rezultate ale aplicării politicii de atragere la catolicism a membrilor altor grupuri religioase din Principat. Printre acestea se numără armenii, care după venirea lor din Moldova, în timpul episcopului lor Minas „au renunțat la erorile lor eretice”, au recunoscut Biserica catolică și au obținut dreptul de a se stabili în anumite locuri din Transilvania³³. Pentru R. Bzenszky sprijinul cel mai important în vederea îmbunătățirii situației catolicismului în Transilvania îl reprezintă „unirea episcopului Valahilor [mitropolitul Teofil, n.n.], care împreună cu clerul lui foarte numeros a făcut publică mărturisirea de credință, a renunțat la schisma Grecilor, ba chiar și-a dat toată silința până acum ca fiecare valah până departe în multe locuri din Transilvania să se unească cu Biserica Romană bucurându-se de titlul de arhiepiscop”. El menționează în acest context cererea făcută de a se tipări un catehism în limba română, care era așteptat și în Moldova³⁴ și consecințe imediate ale actului acceptării unirii: persecuțiile nenumărate declanșate de către reformați împotriva reprezentanților clerului român, care au fost încarcerați, puși în obezi, strânși în lanțuri, despoiați sau surghiuniți³⁵. El confirmă, de asemenea, rolul deosebit care revine iezuiților în acțiunea de negociere și reconciliere cu Biserica catolică desfășurată în spațiul din afara zidurilor Alba Iuliei, unde se afla sediul permanent al „episcopului valahilor de rit grec”, reușind ca „un număr mare de clerici să se unească cu Biserica Romei”³⁶ și, totodată, sprijinul considerabil al lui Leopold

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 129.

³¹ Conform acesteia, iezuiții și-au reluat în condiții dificile activitatea în Transilvania începând cu anul 1687, în calitate de misionari și capelani militari. Utilizând veșmintele albăstrui ale preoților romano-catolici aceștia s-au infiltrat în orașele Cluj, Odorhei, Alba Iulia, Sibiu și altele reușind să înființeze mai multe școli. Dintre orașele transilvănene doar Sibiu oferea condiții mai favorabile pentru desfășurarea activității lor. *Ibidem*, p. 144, 134.

³² Vezi Edit Szegedi, „Reforma în Transilvania. Constituirea identităților profesionale”, în *Istoria Transilvaniei*, Coord. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas András, II (*De la 1541 până la 1711*), Cluj-Napoca, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2007, p. 258-261.

³³ „[...] eioratis haereticis erroribus in gremium Catholicae Ecclesiae suscepti stationes in Transylvania stabiles obtinuerunt [...]”. *Ibidem*, p. 137.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 138.

³⁶ „[...] Hic extra muros urbicos fixam habet sedem Graeci ritus episcopus Valachorum, qui opera patrum S<ocietatis> J<esu> Ecclesiae Catholicae reconciliatus, negotio Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

Kollonich și Ștefan Apor pentru desfășurarea acesteia, mai ales în împrejurimile Alba Iuliei, unde au renunțat să mai utilizeze veșmintele albastre în favoarea celor negre, specifice ordinului³⁷.

În ceea ce privește cunoașterea criteriilor de diferențiere confesională în cadrul comunităților românești transilvănene, Rudolph Bzenszky operează o distincție clară la 1701 între ortodocși, valahi de rit grec și aderenți la unirea cu Biserica Romei sau români care se convertesc la romano-catolicism și face nuanțări cu rol de comunicare evidente cu privire la diversele posibilități de misionarism la care erau expuse comunitățile ortodoxe din Transilvania. Relevant în acest caz este conflictul pe care îl menționează în Făgăraș unde comunitatea laicilor se detașează clar de clerul românesc în materie de opțiuni confesională și posibilitate de îmbunătățire a situației social-politice. Altfel spus, conflictul opune „sacerdoțiul schismatic al valahilor de rit grec” și „laicii valahi calvini”, care și-au creat propriul cler. În acest context, „episcopul valahilor unit recent cu Biserica romană, Athanasius” a trebuit, în cursul anului 1699, să reabiliteze clerul acuzat de nelegiuire a lucrurilor sfinte, acțiune materializată cu ajutor militar prin rehirotonisirea acestuia. Pentru Bzenszky „Biserica Valahilor de rit grec” de aici avea o mare importanță, dar „acești valahi uniți cu romano-catolicii” erau prea nestabili în atașamentul lor religios³⁸. În altă ordine de idei, orașului Brașov i se acordă o importanță aparte în discursul lui Bzenszky datorită amplasării strategice care facilitează contactul cu lumea ortodoxă extracarpatică și pentru cunoașterea modului de raportare la aceasta. El menționează existența unei puternice comunități ortodoxe, care locuiește în suburbii, numărul mare de biserici și înaintează propunerea de a înființa aici un gimnaziu și un seminar. Nivelul ridicat al calității învățământului practicat în limba germană și latină, faptul că avea ca obiectiv aproape exclusiv educarea copiilor negustorilor „valahi, greci, bulgari, armeni și alți orientali”³⁹ și în general a celor veniți din spațiul ortodox de peste munți, se încadrează nu numai politiciii de extindere a catolicismului, dar reflectă și instrumentarea educației în interesul catolicizării. Înțească ca acțiune întreprinsă pentru „corectarea erorilor ereticilor orientali” (*per quod haeretici orientatici errores sensim corrigantur*), propunerea îndrepta atenția factorilor implicați în acest proces asupra puternicii comunități de negustori ortodocși care activau în zonă. De altfel, după cum rezultă și din ultima parte a textului de față⁴⁰, unirea astfel înțeleasă și proiectată era și o materializare a dezideratului exprimat de

authoritatem et efficaciam addente eminentissimo principe Leopoldo cardinali a Kollonicz numerosum sibi comissum clerum Ecclesiae Romanae univit et spem fecit.”
Ibidem, p. 141.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 141.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 149.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 144-145.

⁴⁰ „XIII. *Votivus in prasentibus circumstantiis*”. *Ibidem*, p. 153-157.

primatului Ungariei, Leopold Kollonich, de a introduce între responsabilitățile iezuiților și pe cea „a îngrijirii de sufletele orientalilor” (*mittitur orientales curare animas*)⁴¹. Ea reflectă importanța definitorie acordată comunităților ortodoxe în procesul de extindere a catolicismului, care îi va transforma pe iezuiți în „păstori sufletești a besearecii unite”⁴².

Cât privește informațiile cu privire la viața religioasă a comunităților românești, acestea pun în evidență atât similitudinile, cât și diferențele față de creștinătatea catolică. Sunt oferite informații cu privire la modul de organizare și funcționare a bisericilor românești, care asigură controlul social doar pe baza „datinei”, nivelul incult și grosolan al credincioșilor. Există însă posibilități de remediere ale acestei situații, preoților revenindu-le rolul cel mai important în acest sens. Sunt amintite aici promovarea tainelor credinței la credincioși și liturgiile oficiate care sunt însoțite de predici. Pentru Bzenszky acestea din urmă constituie și un prilej de declarare în public a aderării la Sfânta Biserică Catolică, contribuind astfel la îmbunătățirea situației catolicismului în Principat.

O imagine mai cuprinzătoare față de posibilitățile iezuiților de a modifica coordonatele nivelului de cunoștințe religioase și de formare a identității profesionale poate fi reconstituită plecând și de la jurnalul lui R. Bzenszky, care cuprinde „programul” activităților unui prelat militar (*castrensis capelanus*), pe parcursul unei luni, redactat după 1687 la Brașov. Chiar dacă acestea nu sunt destinate exclusiv comunităților românești, informațiile cuprinse aici sunt reprezentative pentru modul de înțelegere a misionarismului și principiile care stau la baza aplicării locale a acestuia. O importanță deosebită este acordată elementelor cu rol catalizator al atașamentului religios în comunitățile în care activează membri ordinului iezuit. Încercarea de generalizare a sărbătorilor catolice, intensificarea manifestărilor de devoțiune, sub stricta supraveghere a iezuiților, asistența socială și medicală, convertirile obținute prin practicarea conversației, orele de cateheză organizate în afara cadrelor temporale ale serviciului divin, rolul definitoriu care revine predicii, supravegherea celor reconverși la catolicism și evitarea oricărei forme de deviere religioasă, efectuarea de muncă fizică alături de condamnați sau tendința de a generaliza practica explicării sfintelor taine, ca formă de pregătire pentru asistarea la oficierea serviciului divin următor sunt relevante pentru diversele fațete ale acțiunii iezuiților și ca formă de prezență în comunitatea religioasă. Există și o preocupare mai accentuată pentru explicarea mesajului religios⁴³, modificând astfel nivelul conștientizării participării la viața religioasă a comunității și pentru asigurarea vizibilității acestuia. Acestui deziderat i se încadrează mențiunea lui Bzenszky cu privire la mutarea la Cluj, nu fără

⁴¹ “[...] *mittitur orientales curare animas*”, *Ibidem*, p. 154-155.

⁴² Ovidiu Ghitta, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁴³ Vezi *Annotatio Menstrua in modum diarii mensis augusti 1709*, în Vasile Rus, *op. cit.*, p. 171-179.

sprijinul lui Leopold Kollonich și bunăvoința unui nobil român, a unei icoane a Fecioarei Maria, făcătoare de minuni, de la una din bisericile sărăcicioase românești din împrejurimile Clujului⁴⁴. Un episod asemănător are loc în Făgăraș, unde Bzenszky menționează miracolele unei icoane a Fecioarei Maria și importanța acestora pentru „stârpirea ereziei”⁴⁵. O activitate la fel de intensă a fost desfășurată în partea răsăriteană a Transilvaniei unde sunt menționate diverse congregații înființate, acte de penitență, împărtășiri ale mulțimilor de credincioși (*communicantium multitudo*), grija deosebită acordată pentru pregătirea și administrarea sfințelor sacramente, participarea la procesiuni⁴⁶. Este vorba de momente în care sunt angajate un mare număr mare de persoane, permițându-se astfel participarea și implicarea colectivă în actele de devoțiune a catolicilor, dar și a protestanților și a *ortodocșilor*, caracteristica lor evidentă fiind ne-practicarea exclusivismului religios. Adăugate la măsurile luate pentru a promova educația, practica discursurilor solemne, promovarea muzicii, reprezentărilor dramatice⁴⁷, acestea sunt reprezentative pentru strategiile misionare iezuite elaborate în vederea consolidării sentimentului de apartenență la comunitatea catolică creștină și solidificarea identității religioase nou-asumate. Dacă pentru celelalte confesiuni acest tip de acțiune se încadrează efortului de recatolicizare sau chiar de catolicizare, în cazul comunităților ortodoxe ele evidențiază politica susținătorilor unirii de a instrumenta nivelul ridicat al religiozității manifestate la ortodocși și interesul acestora manifestat mai degrabă față de imaginea și obiectul religiozității, decât pentru problemele subtile de credință. În egală măsură, ele se încadrează unei politici de promovare sau reprezentare publică a identității religioase, de extindere a vizibilității acesteia în cadrul vieții comunitare căreia i se adresează, întărindu-i prin momentele cu participare colectivă coeziunea și uniformitatea.

Imaginea astfel reconstituită a comunităților ortodoxe românești este rezultatul principiului selectiv care a determinat selecția acțiunilor și faptelor urmărite. Comportamentele și atitudinile, acolo unde apar menționate stau sub semnul generalizării, totalizării și servesc pentru a promova imaginea colectivității, deși principiul care a stat a baza promovării unirii este cel al contactelor personale. Există puține cazuri în care se manifestă interes pentru individual. Diferențe apar în legătură cu informațiile legate de existența altor opțiuni confesionale în mediile românești, însă ca scriere focalizată pe evoluția generală a activității iezuite în Transilvania, imaginea identității ortodoxe reprezintă un obiectiv secundar al istoricului, interesul asupra realităților acesteia fiind limitat la discutarea importanței care îi revine pentru revitalizarea

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 140; Andreas Freyberger, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 148.

⁴⁶ Informații precizate de Bzenszky cu privire la comunitățile din zona Odorhei. *Ibidem*, p. 142.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 143.

catolicismului în general. Comunitățile ortodoxe apar aici ca parte a unui mediu multi-confesional, intrat în atenția activității misionare, asupra căruia se acționa în vederea consolidării identității religioase asumate. Scrisul său istoric, ca dare de seamă și excurs istoric în trecutul regiunii, fundamentat pe perspectiva multi-confesională aplicată în cunoașterea și transmiterea informațiilor, îi permite însă elaborarea propunerilor cu privire la principalele direcții pe care trebuia insistat în vederea consolidării unirii, și, în consecință, a catolicismului, perioada îndelungată de ședere a lui R. Bzenszky în Transilvania fiind definitorie în acest sens. Cât privește mijloacele retorice instrumentate în promovarea discursului său, acestea pun mai puțin accent pe polemica întreținută cu adversarii catolicismului. Interesul său este centrat pe oferirea unei perspective cât mai obiective asupra situației catolicismului în principat.

După cum rezultă și din *Historica relatio unionis Walachicae cum Romana Ecclesia*, redactată de Andreas Freyberger în anul 1702⁴⁸, principalul obiectiv care revine iezuiților este de a se asigura de permanetizarea aderării la Biserica Romei. Numărul mare și amplasarea lor pe tot cuprinsul Transilvaniei și posibilitățile de renovare a catolicismului oferite de această permanetizare justificau măsurile propuse⁴⁹. În acest caz, având în vedere că evoluția procesului de realizare a unirii cu Biserica Romei reprezintă obiectivul central al scrierii sale, Freyberger oferă o imagine mult mai diversificată și mai detaliată asupra românilor ortodocși din Principat. Componentele imaginii reconstituite au ca principală intenționalitate justificarea implementării programului tridentin de reformare a vieții religioase. Acestui deziderat îi este subordonată și imaginea transmisă cu privire la nivelul de educație al clerului românesc și la aspectele principale ale vieții religioase ale comunităților ortodoxe românești, comparabil cu celelalte confesiuni transilvănene. Un popor simplu, aflat în stare de ignoranță generală, marginalizat social și amplasat cu precădere în zona rurală a Transilvaniei, în schimb foarte numeros, nu putea oferi alte posibilități de acționare decât prin intermediul clerului. Acesta trebuia reformat, după principiile catolice tridentine și în consecință imaginea sa era menită să puncteze căile de acces pentru realizarea acestei reformări. Profilul reconstituit al acestuia, pe baza aceluiași principiu al generalizării, care perpetuează și un mod de percepere stereotipal, reflectă nu atât un proces de cunoaștere a realităților locale, sau manifestare a unui astfel de interes, cât, mai degrabă o apreciere calitativă acestuia, pe baza mentalității tridentine cu privire la cler în general. Imaginea astfel reconstituită pune accent cu precădere pe aspectele legate de prezența preotului în comunitate și felul în care se realizează această prezență. Fie că este vorba despre nivelul de cultură, posibilitățile de îmbunătățire ale acesteia, profilul lor moral, modul în care își îndeplinesc obligațiile impuse de funcția ecleziastică deținută sau aspecte legate de

⁴⁸ Pentru bibliografia și activitatea acestuia vezi Marionela Wolf, *art. cit.*, în *loc. cit.*

⁴⁹ Andreas Freyberger, *op. cit.*, ed. cit., p. 33.

mentalitatea acestora în general, acuzându-se astfel imobilismul și rezistența la inovații, interesul este de a urmări felul de interacționare al acestuia cu comunitatea credincioșilor în calitatea lui de principal agent al transmiterii informației religioase către credincioși. În egală măsură, având în vedere că textul este redactat la puțină vreme după momentul prezenței la Viena a episcopului Atanasie și poartă amprenta programului precizat aici, imaginea clerului românesc era menită să legitimeze acest program.

Pe de altă parte, informațiile referitoare la viața religioasă a comunităților, se încadrează tiparului general pe care s-a bazat extinderea catolicismului pre-modern, bazat pe instrumentarea în folosul consolidării noii identități religioase a similitudinilor existente între cele două comunități, în materie de viață religioasă și exploatarea momentelor de manifestare colectivă a religiozității. Instrumentarea disponibilității manifestate în rândul acestora corespunde, totodată, interesului manifestat de reprezentanții Contrareformeii pentru adaptarea catolicismului la mentalitățile populare, într-o încercare de limitare a impactului diferențierilor sociale existente⁵⁰ și o extindere pe verticală a cunoștințelor religioase.

Aceluiași deziderat i se încadrează una din primele materializări de natură tipografică a politicii iezuite de consolidare a sentimentului de apartenență la comunitatea catolică a uniților și, totodată, un important instrument pentru facilitarea promovării pe verticală a unirii. Este vorba de *Pâinea pruncilor sau Învățătura credinții creștinești, strânsă în mică șumă*, apărută în 1702, compilată de László Bárányi și transpusă în românește de Janos Duma din Borobanți⁵¹. Inițiativa, cerută în mediile catolice încă din perioada primelor demersuri pentru realizarea unirii⁵², este caracteristică

⁵⁰ Daniel Tollet, „Cohabitation, concurrence et conversion dans la Confédération Polono-Lituanienne au tournant des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles”, în *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities. 1400-1750*, Ed. de Eszter Andor, István-György Tóth, Central European University, European Science Foundation, Budapest, 2001, p. 71.

⁵¹ Pentru analiza conținutului și semnificației apariției catehismelor în Transilvania, *Partium* și Ungaria Superioară vezi Ovidiu Ghitta, *op. cit.*, p. 7-35; Idem, „The First Greek Catholic Catechisms in Hungary and Transylvania”, în *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*, Ed. de Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, Graeme Murdock, London, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2002, p. 153-164; Simona Floruțau, „Aspecte ale mesajului catehetic la începutul secolului XVIII. Pâinea Pruncilor (Bălgrad, 1702)”, în *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane “Gheorghe Șincai”*, 2, Târgu-Mureș, 1999, p. 80-91.

⁵² Vezi în acest sens politica editorială promovată de Leopold Kollonich în Ungaria Superioară, *Partium* și Transilvania în ultimii ani ai secolului al XVII, în urma căreia se știe că au fost tipărite catehisme transpuse în limbile vorbite în regiune: latină, ungară, slovacă sau catehisme pentru greco-catolici. Există informații despre apariția unui catehism în limba română cu alfabet chirilic, în 1696, re-editat în 1726 și unul cu caractere latine apărut la Sibiu în 1709 sub atenta supraveghere a iezuitului Ferenc

modului de operare a iezuiților, bazat pe instrumentarea posibilităților oferite de transpunerea modelului confesional susținut în limba vorbită a comunităților religioase vizate. Dacă nu se acordă importanță diferențierii statutului unitului în cadrul acestei comunități⁵³, unirea recent acceptată este consemnată când se enumeră eforturile importante depuse de cardinalul Kollonich căruia îi este închinată apariția sa editorială⁵⁴. „Noao roade” poate fi aici mai degrabă exprimarea eforturilor făcute de promovare a catolicismului, propagandă înțelească ca element definitoriu pentru credința catolică, ca extindere a „adevăratei credințe”. Mențiunea este relevantă și pentru modalitatea de înțelegere a unirii. Considerându-se „păstori sufletești” ai uniților se invocă atribuțiile și responsabilitățile care le revin iezuiților în cadrul catolicismului, pentru care enoriașii sunt principalul obiectiv al activității întreprinse. Noii aderenți la unire se află poziționați astfel pe același nivel cu restul membrilor comunității catolice exercitându-se asupra acestora rolul lor de misionar, predicator și de agent al îmbunătățirii situației catolicismului în general.

Pe baza acestui mod de înțelegere a unirii se acordă în prima parte a textului, *Despre credința creștinească*, o importanță semnificativă definirii criteriilor de apartenență la comunitatea catolică, purtătoare a „credinței adevărate”. Unitul este creștin, membru al creștinătății catolice, ca urmare a primirii botezului și a mărturisirii de credință și, în consecință, necesitatea care se impune este de a preciza modalitățile de diferențiere ale comunității catolice față de restul comunității creștine. Confirmarea apartenenței la catolicism a membrilor ordinilor franciscan și dominican⁵⁵ era menită probabil să anuleze efectele eventualelor confuzii în comunitățile românești asaltată, concomitent, de activități pastorale din diferite direcții, cu alt specific și intenționalitate față de cele ale ordinului iezuit. Efortul de definire și precizare îi vizează în principal pe reprezentanții confesiunilor protestante⁵⁶ și are implicații sociale importante. Prin urmare, ca text destinat utilizării pentru uniți, precizările de acest gen sunt menite să favorizeze cunoașterea alterității religioase pentru a consolida sau contribui la formarea sentimentului de apartenență la comunitatea catolică, „cea

Szunyog. Nu trebuie uitată și promisiunea mitropolitului Atanasie la Viena, în cursul anului 1701, de a distribui în rândul clerului său o lucrare similară. Ovidiu Ghitta, „The First Greek Catholic Catechisms in Hungary and Transylvania”, în *loc. cit.*, p. 157.

⁵³ Uniții apar menționați în text doar cu prilejul semnării „Epistoliei închinătoare”, care precedă textul catehismului: „Capelanii cei smeriți ai Eminenței tale, păstori sufletești a besoarecii unite dinu Ardealu”. *Pânea Pruncilor*, ed. cit., p. 60. Simona Floruțau, *art. cit.*, în *loc. cit.*, passim; Ovidiu Ghitta, „Pânea pruncilor” – context istoric și discurs”, în *Pânea Pruncilor*, ed. cit., p. 19-20.

⁵⁴ „cu noao roade sufletești să îmbogățească și să înfrumusețează, cu care sufletele ceale până acum flămânde le înnoești și le saturi spre lauda lui Dumnezeu și spre spăsenia sufletelor lor, și spre bucuria și veselii Eminenții tale”. *Ibidem*, p. 60.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 64-65.

⁵⁶ Ovidiu Ghitta, *op. cit.*, p.24.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

adevărată”. Sunt punctate diferențele existente în materie de credință și disciplină ecleziastică între catolici și adepții confesiunilor protestante. Aceștia nu sunt excluși din comunitatea creștină, dar sunt plasați în afara „adevăratei credințe” și orice deviere de la sistemul doctrinar duce la pierderea acesteia și, în consecință, a statutului de creștin. Este condamnată recunoașterea ca bază doctrinară doar a Sfintei Scripturi și se reafirmă importanța Tradiției, a „țeremoniilor”.

Cele patru puncte negociate pentru acceptarea unirii subliniate în textul de față, oferă alte oportunități de îmbunătățire a formelor de cunoaștere ale alterității religioase, protestante în acest caz și facilitează perceperea criteriilor de diferențiere confesională. Astfel, explicarea rolului care revine Purgatoriului relevă separarea comunității credincioșilor între „drepții” și „păgubiți”. „Ereticii” ca „păgubiți” apar menționați în legătură cu Judecata de Apoi, căreia îi sunt supuse „toate păcatele” și „despre taine”, inclusiv „faptele bune”, pentru a stabili dacă au fost „bune au rele”⁵⁷. Ei „în veciia veacului nu vor vedea fața Domnului”. Sortiți condamnării veșnice fără posibilitate de mântuire, protestanții sunt făcuți responsabili și de ruperea unității bisericii⁵⁸, a „adevăratei credințe”, o altă confirmare a faptului că „ereticitura” era „un păcat foarte mare”. Atât modelul explicativ utilizat aici, cât și precizarea implicațiilor acesteia justifică recomandarea făcută de evitare a oricărui tip de contacte cu „ereticul”, identificat social și definit clar în persoana calvinilor și luteranilor. Explicarea textului rugăciunii *Tatăl Nostru* constituie un alt prilej de accentuare a raportării la alteritatea religioasă⁵⁹, menționarea „pocăinței ereticiilor, și hicleanilor” și „înturnarea din păcate” ca modalități de sfințire a lui Dumnezeu reprezentând trimiteri evidente la responsabilitatea care revine creștinului catolic, odată ce se obține acest statut. Ideea primatului papal servește ca modalitate de raportare la lumea ortodoxă și oferă ocazia de a confirma statutul unitului prin afirmarea apartenenței sale la „biserica sfântă de la Roma”, „muma altor beseareci, că HC i-au dat să fie cap altora”⁶⁰.

Alte precizări legate de identificarea „adevăratului creștin” apar în legătură cu explicarea *Celor zece porunci*. Sunt excluși dintre aceștia cei care manifestă un comportament deviant în materie de credință sau susținătorii oricărei forme de îndoială⁶¹ și cei care refuză să recunoască identitatea religioasă asumată confrunțați cu obligativitatea manifestării publice a acesteia. Precizarea este importantă dacă se are în vedere rolul important atribuit mărturisirii de credință, a manifestării publice a formei de credință asumată și ea trebuie să încurajeze permanentizarea în rândul uniților a atașamentului nou

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 80, 84.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 100.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 88.

⁶¹ „în credință rătăcesc și să îndoiesc”. *Ibidem*, p. 122.

asumat în modalitatea de activare în spațiul public. O permanențare a reprezentării identității religioase proprii, o altă modalitate de consolidare a unirii, care ține cont și de recunoașterea frecventă a puternicului atașament față de formele tradiționale de viață religioasă ortodoxă. În acest context, încurajarea menținerii atașamentului individual putea servi și pentru consolidarea unirii la nivelul conștiințelor colective prin inter-relaționarea socială de la nivelul comunității. La fel, sunt excluși cei care citesc cărțile ereticilor, cei care practică „farmeciile, descântecile și alte boboane”. Sunt vizate aici orice forme și practicanți ai superstițiilor, magiei, cel mai probabil un grup social destul de numeros în societatea românească de la sfârșit de secol XVII, descântecile pentru vindecarea de boale, cele considerate dăunătoare pentru cei care luptă, etc. De asemenea, sunt condamnate ghicitul, încrederea în vise sau practici care afectau funcționarea normală a căsătoriei. Toate sunt considerate păcate foarte mari și persistența în practicarea lor după atenționarea venită din partea bisericii, atrăgea după sine condamnarea veșnică. Precizarea legată de existența anterioară a interzicerii acestor practici deja de către biserică trebuie să fi fost considerată necesară dacă se are în vedere nemulțumirile sociale colective pe care aplicarea lor le puteau declanșa în comunități, periclitând astfel stabilitatea unirii⁶².

Existența mai multor sisteme doctrinare în cadrul comunității creștine, este considerată o modalitate eficientă de consolidare a propriei identități religioase, prin misiunea rezultată de recuperare a lor pentru catolicism și prin obligativitatea afirmării și permanențării propriului atașament religios⁶³. „Ispitirea” sau tot ce poate dăuna vieții creștinești este utilă pentru că permite consolidarea conștientizării propriei credințe⁶⁴, favorizează conștientizarea vulnerabilităților („slăbiia”). Rezultă de aici că în mediile iezuite, și nu numai, era puternic conștientizat pericolul reprezentat de contactele și oportunitățile oferite de confesiunile protestante. De aici și atenția manifestată pentru precizarea modalităților de contracarare ale acestora: rugăciunea, frecventarea bisericilor, respectarea cultului Fecioarei Maria și al sfinților, cunoașterea prevederilor „adevăratei credințe” cu privire la moarte, judecata de apoi și mântuirea⁶⁵, altfel spus cunoașterea programului tridentin. Identificarea socială a „Celui rău”⁶⁶ și cererea repetată de evitare a contactelor cu acesta, ca purtător

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 122-123.

⁶³ „au pre bintătuiala păcatelor au pre cercarea direpților” *Ibidem*, p. 67.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 106.

⁶⁶ „oamenii răi” sau „mădularile dracului”, „felnicii”, „blăstemătorii, suduitorii și cu giurătorii strâmb”, „defăimătorii”, „cei care vorovesc cuvinte în deșert”, cei care ascultă cu bucurie „cuvintele în deșert și cântecile iubostătoare și hulitoare”, „carii lu apucă de grumazu pe Elu”, „eriticii”, cei apropiați de „foalele” lui Satana, „nesățioșii”, „carii pre sătulu mânâncă și beau”, „cinătorii de băsău” și „mânioșii” sau „cei iuți spre tot rău”. *Ibidem*, p. 107.

al unui comportament imoral și al unor atitudini religioase reprobabile, nu trimit aici numai la protestant, cât mai ales la tot ce ține de comportamentul în colectivitate, viața în comun cu efecte asupra integrității vieții creștinești. Elementele acestui comportament sunt printre altele: înjurăturile, calomnierea, zeflemeaua și sunt condamnați atât autorii lor, cât și cei care asistă la acest comportament. Cu alte cuvinte, trimiterea este făcută clar la necesitatea revizuirii întregului comportament social al creștinului catolic, a formei lui de prezentare și acționare în raport cu restul comunității în care își desfășoară existența. Intenționalitatea de bază a textului era să favorizeze cunoașterea și înțelegerea elementelor de credință, de unde și efortul de precizare și explicare a conținutului acestuia. El poartă amprenta unirii făcute. Ca lucrare transpusă pe românește ea avea ca principali destinatari pe cei care acceptau unirea, o mărturiseau public și trebuia să servească pentru formarea noii identități religioase.

Discursul iezuit elaborat asupra identității religioase a comunităților ortodoxe transilvănene este rezultatul unui proces dublu de comunicare religioasă, componenta polemică a acestuia fiind mai mult sau mai puțin accentuată în funcție de destinatarii mesajului promovat. În ambele cazuri este evident rolul definitoriu cu care este investit preotul, pe de o parte, și iezuitul pe de alta. Perceput din perspectiva prevederilor tridentine, fără de care nu poate fi înțeleasă activitatea pe ansamblu a iezuiților, atât profilul clerului, cât și al credinciosului era menit să faciliteze și să legitimizeze aplicarea acestora la nivel local. Clerului îi revenea sarcina de a re-educa și reorienta credincioșii⁶⁷, un proces de durată, prin care ei deveneau principalii agenți ai construcției identității confesionale unite, bazată, ca în restul spațiului central-european, pe o conștiință politico-confesională⁶⁸. El relevă, totodată, asocierea proiectului de unire cu o operațiune de corectare a erorilor perpetuate de „schismatici” sau a celor preluate ca urmare a influenței negative a confesiunilor protestante. Explicarea și educarea în vederea lărgirii accesului la cunoștințele religioase sunt printre principalele elemente ale programului de formare ale unitului. În acest caz, tiparul este instrumentat pentru a asigura formarea noii identități confesionale, disciplinarea credincioșilor și pentru a susține acțiunile care vizau permanetizarea unirii în rândul credincioșilor. Imaginea identității religioase a românilor transilvăneni promovată de câțiva reprezentanți ai iezuiților implicați direct în procesul de unire, este rezultatul unui efort de cunoaștere care depășește cu mult preocupările lor de natură religioasă și care este subordonat în primul rând politicilor formulate de superiorii lor. Semnificativ este faptul că ele promovează în circuitul periferie – centru – periferie o sursă de cunoaștere și că

⁶⁷ Vezi comparativ evoluția Contrareforme și rolul deținut de iezuiți în spațiul monarhiei Habsburgice. Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

⁶⁸ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *op. cit.*, p. 74-75.

autorii lor nu acționează ca simpli transmițători ai unei realități observate. Ei mai degrabă sugerează, formulează, ținând cont de politicile habsburgice și ale catolicismului post-tridentin, modalități de acțiune pentru punerea lor în aplicare și suportul de informații necesar pentru elaborarea acestora⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ "Investește în oameni!" doctorand bursier în „Proiect cofinanțat din Fondul Social European prin Programul Operațional Sectorial Dezvoltarea Resurselor Umane 2007-2013”.

Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș, XII/2009.

CONSIDERAȚII PRIVIND STAREA AGRICULTURII ȚĂRĂNEȘTI DIN CÂMPIA TRANSILVANIEI ÎN SECOLUL AL XVIII-LEA OGLINDITĂ ÎN DOCUMENTELE VREMII

Ioan Chiorean,

Institutul de Cercetări-Socio Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”,
Târgu-Mureș

Abstract: Considerations Regarding the State of the 18th Century Peasants' Agriculture in the Transylvanian Plain Reflected in the Documents of the Time. If we establish a number of 19 sub-zones in the Transylvanian Plain depending on the geographical situation of the localities, they can be grouped according to quality of the soil in the Western part of the Plain, with a fertile soil, and the Eastern part, less fertile. The cultivated land, with the exception of a small number of localities (8 villages with a "mediocre" and "poor" soil, and 2 localities with a "poor" soil), was generally favorable to the cultivation of the plants known in Transylvania. It is not by chance that the Plain was called the "granary of Transylvania".

Keywords: 18th Century; Transylvanian Plain; peasants' agriculture; "granary of Transylvania".

În evul mediu, formarea satului și a hotarului acestuia a fost opera comunității sătești. El s-a realizat prin eforturile comune, susținute, ale mai multor generații în condițiile pedoclimatice istoricește concrete. În secolul al XVIII-lea în Câmpia Transilvaniei continua să persiste organizarea și exploatarea tradițională a câmpului asemănătoare cu cele din alte zone agricole ale marelui principat, provincie care făcea parte din sistemul agrar multiseclar din Europa.

Câmpia Transilvaniei prezintă totuși specificități sub aspectul organizării și exploatării câmpului prin faptul că în satele aparținătoare scaunelor Mureș și Arieș, respectiv districtului Bistrița, acestea au evoluat în condițiile persistenței dreptului comun al comunităților sătești asupra pădurilor, pășunilor și chiar asupra unor pământuri arabile, respectiv al fânețelor.

În secolul al XVIII-lea agricultura și creșterea animalelor din Câmpia Transilvaniei a avut loc pe moșiile alodiale ale stăpânilor de pământ, pe de o parte și pe pământurile proprietate particulară ale nobililor mici fără sau cu 1-2 țărani aserviți, ale țăranilor liberi și târgoveților, respectiv pe pământurile aflate în folosința țăranilor iobagi și jeleri pe de altă parte. În primul caz este vorba de *agricultura domeniială*, iar în cel de-al doilea de *agricultura țărănească*. În acest studiu ne vom referi doar la dezvoltarea agriculturii țărănești în Câmpia Transilvaniei în secolul luminilor.

Pe aceste temeuri, ne-am propus - folosind numeroase documente arhivistice - să corectăm și unele puncte de vedere eronate, în special ceea ce

privește sistemele de cultivare a pământului bazate pe asolamentul bienal, trienal etc., respectiv informațiile furnizate de documentele contemporane privind calitatea solului și recolta concret obținută. Pe de altă parte, analizând tehnologia cultivării pământului, vom constata că încă la începutul și la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea în majoritatea localităților din Câmpia Transilvaniei se practica un sistem de organizare a câmpului bazat pe asolamentul bienal, indiferent dacă în documentele vremii țăranii vorbeau de două sau trei *fordulașe*, iar în unele sate și cătune exista un asolament seminomad.

Documentele vremii din anii 1713-1720, 1750, 1785, 1790 (toate aflate la Arhiva Națională Maghiară din Budapesta), precum și conscripțiile particulare din arhivele familiale Teleki, Toldalaghi, Wesséleny etc. (din Arhivele naționale, Direcția Județeană Cluj, respectiv Mureș), ne oferă informații prețioase despre această organizare. Astfel, de pildă, țăranii din Chețani, Hădăreni, Albeștii Bistriței, Grindeni, Moișa, Băla, Budiul de Câmpie (azi Papiu Ilarian), Râciu și Socolul de Câmpie au declarat conscriptorilor că au „trei Fordulașe”¹, de unde s-ar putea trage concluzia că practicau asolamentul trienal. Se impun totuși câteva precizări. Prin noțiunea de *asolament bienal*, înțelegem sistemul de exploatare al suprafețelor arabile din care jumătate erau lăsate „să se odihnească”, iar pe cealaltă jumătate țăranii cultivau culturile de toamnă și de primăvară. În cadrul *asolamentului trienal*, o treime din pământul arabil era lăsat să se odihnească, și două treimi era cultivat cu culturile de toamnă și de primăvară.

Examinând mai atent conscripțiile vremii, îndeosebi cele din 1750 și cele din 1785, cu privire la suprafața agricolă însămânțată cu culturile de toamnă și de primăvară, putem afirma cu certitudine că localitățile câmpenești practicau în această perioadă un *asolament bienal* clasic, indiferent dacă vorbeau în fața conscriptorilor de două sau trei „fordulașe”, iar în două sate (Agrișu de Sus și Tritenii de Jos) se mai practica încă vremelnic un *asolament seminomad*².

În privința organizării câmpului agricol după 1750, spre exemplu, au apărut totuși unele modificări în sensul că în Bogata de Mureș, Dătășeni, Iclânzul, Lechința, Luduș și Sângeru, alături de menținerea tradiționalului sistem de organizare a câmpului bazat pe asolamentul bienal, țăranii au început să cultive porumbul într-un hotar rezervat în exclusivitate pentru această cultură³.

Analizând comparativ evoluția agriculturii țărănești din această zonă potrivit informațiilor din conscripțiile urbariale și alte documente din anii 1785, 1790, 1820, etc. constatăm următoarele: în 159 de localități din Câmpia

¹ *Magyar Országos Levéltár*, (în continuare MOL), *Erdélyi Országos Kormányhatósági Levéltárak* (în continuare EOKL), F. 50, 27, 24; 30/I/4; 36/I/4; 37/I/4; 39/III/2; 40/IV/3; 75/I/1; 79/I/1.

² *Ibidem*, F 49, vezi Agrișu de Sus și Tritenii de Jos.

³ *Ibidem*, vezi conscripțiile satelor respective.

Transilvaniei se practica asolamentul biennial, în 4 sate un asolament biennial modificat, în 49 de așezări un asolament 2+1, în 43 un asolament triennial, în 7 un asolament triennial modificat, iar în 2 sate un alt sistem. De precizat faptul că din totalul de 276 de localități câmpenești, unui număr de 19 sate le lipsesc datele privind organizarea câmpului.

Stabilind, în funcție de așezarea geografică a localităților, un număr de 19 subzone în Câmpia Transilvaniei, ele se pot grupa după calitatea solului în *partea vestică a Câmpiei*, cu pământ mai roditor, și în *partea de est*, care este mai puțin roditor. Pământul cultivat, cu excepția unui număr mai mic de localități (8 sate cu pământul „mediocru” și „slab” și 2 localități cu pământul „slab”) era în genere propice și roditor pentru cultivarea tuturor plantelor cunoscute la nivelul Transilvaniei.

Din analiza relațiilor de proprietate, categoriile sociale ocupate în agricultura țărănească etc. rezultă că, la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea „moartea neagră” și alte boli contagioase, respectiv foametea ce bântuia și în satele de pe Câmpie a provocat un regres demografic în această zonă, urmat mai apoi de un spor al populației ieșit din comun. Categoriile sociale care trăiau din cultivarea pământului și creșterea animalelor au rămas însă neschimbate pe tot parcursul veacului. Faptul că circa o pătrime din populația agricolă se compunea din nobili mici, țărani liberi și târgoveți liberi a influențat pozitiv evoluția practicilor încetățenite în agricultura țărănească din Câmpie. Țărănimea aservită ocupată în agricultura țărănească se compunea mai ales din jeleri, aceștia formând 70,5%, și iobagi, care constituiau 29,5% din țărani.

Prezentând suprafețele arabile, fânețele etc. aflate în proprietatea, respectiv folosința diferitelor categorii de plugari se poate constata că nobilii mici nu aveau întotdeauna pământ suficient pentru întreținerea familiilor lor. Țăranii libertini, în special cei sași din localitățile aflate în părțile estice ale Câmpiei, erau mai înstăriți decât nobilii mici și țăranii liberi secui din părțile scaunului Mureș.

În ceea ce privește problema refacerii fertilității solului, ea a rămas cea tradițională prin lăsarea pământului „să se odihnească”, adică în „ogor”, existând piedici evidente în trecerea la alte sisteme de refacere a fertilității solului. Totuși, se poate observa un progres și în acest domeniu. La sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea aproximativ 25,7% din localitățile de pe câmpie erau angajate în refacerea fertilității solului prin gunoierie cu gunoi de grajd.

Examinând sistemele de plante cultivate rezultă că țăranii preferau în acest veac grâul de toamnă și grâul secărizat, dar mai cu seamă porumbul. Spre sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea se răspândește cultivarea alacului, care în 1820 era deja cultivat în 65% din sate, având în vedere că alacul era mai rezistent la ger și avea paie mai prielnice pentru acoperișul caselor, față de cele de seară sau grâu. Totodată, a început să se acorde o atenție sporită cultivării tutunului, destinat comercializării, și treptat s-a trecut și la cultivarea cartofului.

Dintr-o analiză ce cuprinde aproximativ 70% din așezările câmpenești se poate stabili că țăranii acordau prioritate cultivării cerealelor (grâul de toamnă, secara, grâul de toamnă amestecat cu secara), care erau considerate cele mai folosite „bucate”.

Plante cerealiere tradiționale, dar inferioare, se mai cultivau doar în satele Sărățel, Sântioana din Valea Șieului, Sângeorzu Nou, Tonciu, Dipșa și Jeica din Valea Dipșei⁴. Porumbul se cultiva în circa 37% din satele de pe Câmpie, îndeosebi pe terenurile din hotarul destinat păioaselor de primăvară⁵. Dintre cerealele furajere cea mai largă răspândire o avea ovăzul, fiind consemnat de conscriptori în mai toate satele de pe Câmpie. Pe o seșime din pământurile arabile se mai cultiva orzul și orzoaica⁶. Între plantele considerate „bucate” țăranii mai includeau meiul (în 18% din sate), dar și mazărea (în circa 13% din așezări) și fasolea (aceasta în doar 3% din localitățile Câmpiei). Plantele legumicole (varza, ceapa, morcovul, pătrunjelul etc.) se cultivau în special în grădinile intravilanelor, dar uneori și pe câmp, ca de pildă în Branăștea, Ungurași, Nireș, Fizeșul Gherlii, Petrești etc.⁷ Deși condițiile pedoclimaterice din perimetrul geografic al Câmpiei nu prea favorizau cultivarea și prelucrarea plantelor textile, căci lipseau apele curgătoare mai mari, cânepa se cultiva totuși în mai toate satele acestei zone⁸. În sfârșit, într-un număr de 77 localități, țăranii au afirmat că mai cultivau și viță de vie și pomi fructiferi, chiar dacă aceste preocupări le solicitau o pricepere și un efort suplimentar, fiindcă presupuneau un alt sistem de munci decât cultivarea plantelor cerealiere.⁹

Având ca bază informațiile extrase din conscripțiile anului 1785 din 257 de localități din cele 276 (la 19 sate lipsesc aceste acte oficiale) am putut stabili opțiunile țăranilor la diferite culturi după cum urmează¹⁰:

Plante cultivate	Nr. loc. în care au fost cultivate	Procente (%)
Grâu de toamnă	249	97,2
Grâu de primăvară	229	89,2
Grâu de toamnă secărizat	223	82
Secară	84	32,7
Ovăz	235	91,3
Orz și orzoaică	72	28
Alac (o specie de grâu)	41	16

⁴ *Ibidem*, F. 49, passim.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*, F. 51, 14/40.

⁸ *Ibidem*, F. 49, passim.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

Mei	16	6,1
Porumb	240	93,5
Viță de vie	77	30
Mazăre	24	9,3
Fasole	68	26,4
Hrișcă	2	0,7
Lințe	5	1,9
Cânepă	254	99,2
În	79	30,7

În tabelul de mai sus lipsesc unele culturi (de pildă cartoful, tutunul) răspândite deja în agricultura țărănească, dar și celelalte plante legumicole precum varza, morcovul, pătrunjelul, țelina etc. care au avut un rol important la hrănirea populației. Aceste plante nu apar în conscripții și nici în tabelele de impunere, căci erau cultivate pe terenuri intravilane pentru a fi scutite de zeciuală.

Ca și în celelalte zone agricole, și în Câmpia Transilvaniei cultivarea pământului necesita și un întreg sistem de lucrări, începând cu pregătirea uneltelor pentru muncile agricole, continuând apoi cu aratul și semănatul pământului, întreținerea culturilor, recoltarea și înmagazinarea lor. Prin natura cultivării pământului, prima fază în sistemul lucrărilor agricole era aratul. Pentru păioasele de toamnă, predomina mentalitatea că erau necesare trei arături (de ogorât, de întors și aratul de primăvară). Pentru păioasele de primăvară și pentru porumb se practicau doar două arături. Ca și în alte zone agricole țărani din localitățile Câmpiei utilizau două tipuri de pluguri: plugul nereversibil și plugul cu cormana schimbătoare. În 1797, Vaida György, un mic nobil din satul Culpiu avea în inventarul său câte două pluguri din ambele tipuri¹¹. Firește, plugul putea fi utilizat doar împreună cu accesoriile lui: cotiga sau teleaga (rotilă, teleguță) și tânăla etc. Boabele destinate însămânțării erau îngropate în pământ cu ajutorul grabei, care după natura solului și după starea materială a plugarului putea să fie cu ghimpe (în cazul pământurilor nisipoase), cu dinți din lemn sau din fier. În 1776, de pildă, țaranul Krakkai András se folosea doar de grapă cu dinți de lemn, în Bandul de Câmpie în 1802¹². În satul Culpiu, însă, plugarii mai înstăriți aveau încă în 1797 grabe cu dinți de fier¹³. Pentru plivitul culturilor de porumb, a cartofilor etc., se folosea îndeosebi sapa.

Întreținerea culturilor, adică ierbicizarea prin plivitul lanurilor de toamnă și de primăvară, respectiv prin prășitul lanurilor de porumb, a tutunului, cartofilor etc., constituia o altă fază în sistemele de munci agricole. Conscripțiile

¹¹ Arhivele Naționale, Direcția jud. Mureș, Arhiva Scaunului Mureș, Sedria Orfanală, N.C. 1069/1797.

¹² *Ibidem.*

¹³ *Ibidem.*

urbariale din 1785 ne dezvăluiau faptul că femeile aveau obligația de a plivi pe pământurile stăpânilor feudali¹⁴. Atât pe terenurilor alodiale, cât și pe pământul aflat în folosința țăranilor se efectuau un număr de două prașile. Tot două prașile se făceau și în intravilanul țăranilor¹⁵.

Cultura viței de vie necesita lucrări specifice care începeau primăvara timpuriu, odată cu dezgropatul butucilor și se încheiau toamna târziu prin culesul strugurilor¹⁶.

La recoltarea păioaselor se folosea secera, uneori și coasa. De regulă, grâul, secera, alacul erau recoltate cu secera, iar ovăzul și orzul fie cu secera, fie cu coasa. Secera mai era utilizată la tăierea tulpinilor de porumb, de tutun, și de cânepă, dar și a trestiei și rogozului destinate construirii acoperișului caselor, acareturilor etc. În exploatarea fânațelor coasa era cea mai importantă unealtă. La îmblătitul păioaselor se foloseau îmblânciul, lopata de vânturat, ciurul, grebla de curățat pleava etc.¹⁷

Cei care se ocupau și cu cultivarea viței de vie, mai aveau în inventarul lor și un teasc, foarfece pentru tăiatul vrejurilor de vie, putine, ciubere, butoaie de vin etc.

Documentele și relatările vremii ne dezvăluie un fapt de netăgăduit: în agricultura țărănească din Câmpia Transilvaniei s-au răspândit în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea din ce în ce mai mult uneltele din fier, care asigurau o mai mare productivitate și deci, recolte mai bune.

Analizând sistemele de lucrări impuse în cultivarea plantelor cerealiere, existente în practica țăranilor aserviți, respectiv a nobililor mici și țăranilor liberi, dar mai ales problema animalelor de jug, a atelajelor folosite la arat, transport etc., constatăm că a avut loc treptat reducerea animalelor de jug. La începutul secolului al XVIII-lea se înhămau, cu mici excepții, 6-10 animale de jug, pentru ca la sfârșitul secolului să se mai utilizeze doar în unele sate 6-8 boi, iar în multe alte localități numărul acestora se redusese între 2-6 animale. În privința uneltelor agricole folosite, se poate observa răspândirea unora mai rezistente, „fercate”, dar și persistența celor fabricate din lemn.

Muncile agricole presupuneau folosirea unor atelaje și unelte specifice nevoilor agriculturii. Carul tras de boi sau căruța cu cai erau utilizate la gunoarea pământului, în transportul uneltelor pe câmp, în transportul recoltei, al fânului, al lemnului de foc, la diverse cărașii. Aceeași funcționalitate o avea și sania. În localitățile din Câmpia Transilvaniei țăranii utilizau două tipuri de căruțe și

¹⁴ *MOL, EOKL*, F. 51, 14/40.

¹⁵ Szabo Miklos, *Adalékok a marosszéki paraszti gazdálkodás történetéhez*, în *Agrártörténeti Szemle*, XXXIX/1992, nr. 1-2, p. 239.

¹⁶ David Prodan, *Problema iobăgiei în Transilvania 1700-1848*, București, 1989, p. 195.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

anume, căruța sălăjeană sau îngustă, cu osie scurtă și căruța ardeleană sau căruța lată, cu osie lungă.

Desigur, nivelul agriculturii țărănești poate fi caracterizat prin mărimea recoltei obținute. Se acorda o atenție respingerii ideii, potrivit căreia cultivarea secarei sau a alacului ar fi o dovadă a înapoierii agriculturii din zona agricolă a Transilvaniei. Prezintă *recolta teoretică* și *recolta practică*, de exemplu, la grâul de toamnă, se poate aprecia obținerea unei recolte medii de 5,2 mierțe după una semănată în pământ negunoit și 6-17,5 mierțe după una în localitățile unde s-a trecut la gunoarea pământului cu gunoi de grajd. Este o recoltă mai mare decât media din Transilvania (3-4 mierțe). În Austria pe la 1790 grâul de toamnă dădea o recoltă de 4 mierțe după una semănată, la fel și în Polonia în anul 1820. În Franța recolta era de 5 mierțe după una semănată la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea, iar în Anglia de 10-15 mierțe după una semănată. Nu în mod întâmplător Câmpia era considerată „grânarul Transilvaniei”.

Dacă ținem cont de faptul că țărani când vorbeau de recolta obținută scădeau întotdeauna cantitatea de cereale pentru semințe, atunci trebuie să reconsiderăm producția la păioase, evaluând-o în 1750 astfel: 6,2 mierțe la grâul de toamnă după una însămânțată, 4,7 mierțe la grâul de primăvară și 7,9 mierțe la ovăz. Prin urmare, recoltele obținute fie în condițiile unui sistem de agricultură bazat pe asolamentul bienal, fie în condițiile asolamentului trienal etc. ne dezvăluiau calea de progres pentru agricultura țărănească din Câmpia Transilvaniei. De subliniat că și țărani care cultivau grâu amestecat și secară, secară și alac, obțineau o recoltă similară cu cea a ovăzului. În cazul meiului în Albeștii Bistriței, Dipșa, Lechința, Sângeorzul Nou, Tonciu și Verniș, țărani au obținut recolte care variau între 15-30 mierțe după una semănată. La porumb, în satele de pe valea Mureșului obțineau o recoltă ce varia între 48-64 de mierțe după una semănată, pe valea Someșului Mic de circa 24 de mierțe, iar pe văile râurilor Luduș, Sârmaș, Șăulia și Frata între 25-40 de mierțe după una semănată¹⁸.

Sistemele de munci agricole impuse de cultivarea plantelor se încheiau odată cu înmagazinarea recoltelor obținute. Depozitarea cerealelor, a porumbului, a fasolei etc., destinate consumului se făcea după posibilitățile materiale ale agriculturilor, în cazul nobililor mici și al libertinilor în condiții mai bune, iar în cazul țăranilor aserviți în condiții săracăcioase. Nobilii mici și țăranii liberi aveau de obicei, în curte, o magazie de cereale sau un grânar, construit din bârne, acoperit cu șindrila sau trestie, eventual cu paie. Fasolea, mazărea, linte, grâul de sămânță, porumbul de sămânță erau depozitate în lăzi mai mari. Porumbul știulete era depozitat peste iarnă în pătule confecționate din nuiile și acoperite fie cu șindrila, trestie, ori paie¹⁹. Țărani aserviți nu aveau

¹⁸ Arhivele Naționale, Direcția jud. Mureș, MU R 578-613, passim.

¹⁹ Arhivele Naționale, Direcția jud. Mureș, Arhiva Scaunului Mureș, Sedria Orfanală, N. C. 1088/1776, 1069/1797, 23/1802.

grânare și nici pătule pentru știuleții de porumb. Din această cauză ei își depozitau „bucatele” în lădoaie și oboroace ținute în pivniță, în șură, în casă, în grădină sau chiar în gropi amenajate în acest scop. Fânul îl țineau în șură sau afară în căpițe, eventual în podul grajdurilor ca și paiele de ovăz²⁰.

Creșterea animalelor de jug avea o prioritate și în mentalitatea plugarilor din Câmpie. Prin animale de jug conscriptorii înțelegeau doar boii. Spre sfârșitul veacului al XVIII-lea, în condițiile vitrege ale epocii, agricultorii au început să treacă treptat la înhămarea în jug și a vacilor, renunțându-se astfel la mentalitățile învechite. Structura șeptelului țărănesc s-a modificat după cultura materială a populației care trăia în acea vreme în Câmpia Transilvaniei. Ca urmare, a început să se acorde o atenție deosebită creșterii oilor, în detrimentul creșterii porcilor. Nu lipsit de importanță este faptul că mase importante de țărani aserviți nu dispuneau de suficiente animale de jug, fenomen care a determinat pauperizarea masivă a plugarilor din Câmpie. În raport cu condițiile specifice din fiecare subzonă agricolă se poate constata existența unor diferențe și în ceea ce privește modul de creștere a unui număr corespunzător de animale de jug, de reproducție, de carne, de lapte, blană.

Viața socială a țăranimii din Câmpie a fost influențată negativ și de lipsa pădurilor, apelor curgătoare, a fântânilor de apă sărată, stufărișelor etc. Țăranii trebuiau să cheltuiască sume mari pentru cumpărarea sării, pentru nevoile gospodăriei, respectiv a animalelor lor. Existau și numeroase localități în care țăranii cumpărau lemne din satele îndepărtate, iar în altele le primeau de la stăpânii de pământ. Existau însă și localități care aveau păduri obștești, stufăriș obștești, în exploatarea cărora obștea sătească ținea „ordinea adecvată”.

Parte integrantă a agriculturii țărănești, intravilanul, era un izvor important de venituri pentru țărani, căci din produsele cultivate pe acest teren nu dădeau dijămă stăpânilor de pământ. Dincolo de acest considerent, intravilanul era exploatat după cultura materială a populației, după componentele culturii alimentare a obștilor sătești. Într-un număr important de localități nu se cultivau zarzavaturile pe intravilan, căci nu se obișnuia să se consume acestea. Mai generală era cultivarea verzei, care era considerată „regina zarzavaturilor”. În unele localități țăranii aveau „grădină de curechi” nu numai în intravilan, dar și pe câmp. După 1750, se poate constata răspândirea cultivării zarzavaturilor într-un număr mai mare de localități. Țăranii mai cultivau în intravilan pomi fructiferi, iar în unele sate țăranii se ocupau și cu comercializarea fructelor. În sfârșit, pe multe terenuri intravilane, țăranii au început să cultive tutun, porumb și cartofi (în special în părțile Clujului). Se poate afirma că intravilanul a avut un rol important în asigurarea traiului zilnic al agricultorilor.

Cultivarea pământului și creșterea animalelor în Câmpia Transilvaniei a evoluat în acest veac încetul cu încetul spre încetățenirea unor modificări promițătoare. În diferite compartimente ale cultivării pământului și creșterii

²⁰ *Ibidem.*

animalelor aceste modificări sunt relativ neesențiale. Prin trecerea la gunoirea pământurilor arabile, prin practicarea apoi a unui asolament modificat bienal, trienal sau „2+1” etc., în urma cărora a crescut substanțial a crescut suprafața cultivată anual, dar și prin înhămarea la jug a unui număr mai mic de animale, prin trecerea la utilizarea vacilor pentru muncile agricole, și prin exploatarea mai intensivă a fânașelor prin cosirea otavei etc. s-a putut obține o productivitate mai mare, îndeosebi la grâul de toamnă, fiind comparativă cu producția unor țări mai dezvoltate din Europa Centrală.

Cultivarea pământului și creșterea animalelor în Câmpie s-a realizat însă într-o zonă agricolă, unde extinderea suprafețelor arabile se făcea în primul rând prin defrișarea pădurilor provocând dispariția într-un număr mare de localități a pădurilor tradiționale „pădure-pășune”, precum și a altor păduri. Totodată răspândirea creșterii oilor în proporții incontrolabile a provocat distrugerea pășunilor care au devenit aride, lipsite de vegetație și care au suferit din ce în ce mai mult în urma ploilor și a apei rezultate din topirea zăpezii, provocând surpări și alunecări de teren într-o proporție neobișnuită.

APLICAREA TRATATULUI ROMÂNNO-BULGAR DE LA CRAIOVA (1940)

Maria Costea,

Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș

Abstract: *The Implementation of the Treaty of Craiova between Romania and Bulgaria (1940)* The Treaty of Craiova was imposed to Romania by Nazi Germany. The Treaty of Craiova was signed on September 7, 1940, between Romania and Bulgaria. Under its terms, Romania ceded the southern part of Dobruđa (the Cadrilater) and the 2 states agreed to participate in the organization of a population exchange. The 108,000 Romanians and Aromanians, were forced to abandon their houses in Southern Dobruđa and resettled in the northern part, while 65,000 Bulgarians of the northern part had to leave their houses and resettle in the Cadrilater (Bulgaria). Under the terms of the Treaty, Bulgaria had to pay 1 million lei to Romania, in order to compensate Romanian important direct investments in Southern Dobruđa. Also, Bulgaria had to respect some Romanian properties in Cadrilater. However, the diplomatic documents used in this article prove that Bulgaria did not respect its obligations.

Keywords: *international relations; the Treaty of Craiova; population exchanges; Southern Dobrogea; Cadrilater; Romania; Bulgaria; diplomacy; Hitler; 1940.*

Pierderile teritoriale grave ale României în vara anului 1940 au fost „rezultatul înțelegerii sovieto-germane din august 1939, manifestată în contextul politicii conciliatoriste franco-britanice vreme de două decenii”, subliniază cu deplin teamei istoricul Viorica Moisuc¹. Sfârâmarea integrității teritoriale a României în 1940, prin pierderea Basarabiei și Bucovinei de Nord, a nordului Transilvaniei și a Dobrogei de Sud, a reprezentat un “triumf al dreptului forței asupra forței dreptului”². În acest context, și Tratatul de la Craiova este rezultatul politicii de forță și dictat a marilor puteri totalitare (Germania lui Hitler, Italia fascistă și Rusia stalinistă), care au hotărât și impus toate cunoscutele amputări ale teritoriului României în condițiile dramatice din 1940. Tratatul româno-bulgar de la Craiova, din 7 septembrie 1940 este în fond o consecință directă a presiunii lui Hitler, care la 31 iulie 1940, a recomandat imperativ României să cedeze Dobrogea de Sud. Negocierile directe româno-bulgare de la Craiova au stabilit doar detaliile privind cedarea Dobrogei de Sud, între care schimbul obligatoriu de populație, transferul de proprietăți,

¹ Viorica Moisuc, *Istoria relațiilor internaționale*, București, Editura Fundației România de mâine, 2002, p.277.

² Ioan Scurtu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, vol. VIII, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, p.565.

despăgubirea pe care Bulgaria să o plătească pentru investițiile românești în Dobrogea de Sud etc.³.

S-au înființat Comisariatul General pentru evacuarea populației din Dobrogea și Comisia mixtă bulgaro-română pentru rezolvarea eventualelor

³ Plamen Pavlov, Iordan Ianev, Daniel Cain, *Istoria Bulgariei*, București, Corint, 2002; Constantin Velichi, *România și renașterea bulgară*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1980; Titu Maiorescu, *România, războaiele balcanice și Cadrilaterul* (ed. Stelian Neagoe), București, Machiavelli, 1995, p.161-240; Ion Bulei, *Atunci când veacul se năștea...*, București, Editura Eminescu, 1990, p.285-292; Mihail Manoilescu, *Dictatul de la Viena, Memorii*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1991, p.117; Alessandru Duțu, Maria Ignat, *1940 Drama României. Rapt și umilință*, București, Universal Dalsi, 2000, p. 273; Dan Cătănuș, *Cadrilaterul. Ideologie cominternistă și irendentism bulgar, 1919-1940*, București, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2001, p.20; Corneliu Mihail Lungu, Ioana Alexandra Negreanu, *România în jocul Marilor Puteri (1939-1940). Documente*, București, Curtea Veche, 2000; Marin C. Stănescu, *Moscova, Cominternul, filiera comunistă balcanică și România (1919-1943)*, București, Silex, 1994; Barbara Jelavich, *Istoria Balcanilor*, vol. II, Iași, Editura Institutului European, 2000, p. 212; Stevan Pavlovitch, *Istoria Balcanilor, 1804-1945*, București, Polirom, 2002, p.269; Jean-Marie Le Breton, *Europa Centrală și Orientală între 1917 și 1990*, București, Cavallioti, 1996, p.134; Viorica Moisuc, *Diplomația României și problema apărării suveranității și independenței naționale în perioada martie 1939 - mai 1940*, București, Editura Academiei, 1971; Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, *Bătălia diplomatică pentru Basarabia, 1918-1940*, Junimea, Iași, 1992; Eliza Campus, *Înțelegerea Balcanică*, București, Editura Academiei, 1972; Cristian Popișteanu, *România și Antanta Balcanică*, București, Editura Politică, 1968; Ion Calafeteanu, *Diplomația românească în sud-estul Europei (martie 1938 – martie 1940)*, București, Editura Politică, 1980; Ioan Scurtu, *România și marile puteri (1933-1940)*, București, Editura Fundației România de Măine, 2000; Aurică Simion, *Dictatul de la Viena*, Ed. a II-a (îngrijită de E. Simion), București, Editura Albatros, 1996; Maria Costea, *România și Bulgaria – diplomație și conflict. Negocierile româno-bulgare privind problemele litigioase în perioada noiembrie 1933 – martie 1940, reflectate în documentele diplomatice românești*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Napoca Star, 2004; Maria Todorova, „Cursul discursului naționalismului bulgar”, în Peter F. Sugar, *Naționalismul est-european*, București, Curtea Veche, 2002, p.50-86; Антонина Кузманова, *От Ньой до Крайова*, Държавно Издателство Наука и Изкуство, София, 1989, p.302-307; Constantin Iordan, *Minoritățile etnice în sud-estul european*, București, Curtea Veche, 2002, p. 149-170; Antonina Kuzmanova, „Dobrudjanskiat vâpros v mejdunarodite otnoseniia 1938-1940”, în *Izvestiia na Instituto po istoriia*, nr. 3, 1990, p. 113-136; A. Kuzmanova, *Balkanskata politika na Rumânia, 1933-1939*, Sofia, Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademia na Naukite, 1984; Blagovest Niagulov, „La question de Dobroudja”, în *Etudes Balkaniques*, Sofia, 1989, nr.4, p. 21-40; Dimităr Sirkov, *Vânșnata politika na Bălgaria, 1938-1941*, Sofia, Izdatelstvo Nauka i Izkustvo, 1979; Ilcio Dimitrov, *Anglia i Bălgaria, 1938-1941*, Sofia, Universitetsko Izdatelstvo „Sv. Kliment Ohridski”, 1996; Nikolai Ghencev, *Vânșnata politika na Bălgaria, 1938-1941*, Sofia, Izdatelstvo Vektor, 1998; Antonina Kuzmanova, *Balkanskata politika na Rumânia, 1933-1939*, Sofia, 1984.

dispute. Tratatul s-a aplicat fără incidente majore, doar cu „câteva sporadice momente de tensiune” intervenite între cele două armate în procesul de evacuare⁴.

România și-a executat imediat obligațiile rezultând din Tratatul de la Craiova. Transferul teritoriului a avut loc între 20-30 septembrie, în perfectă ordine. Cu toate criticile rău-voitoare strecurate prin ziarele din Sofia, oficialitatea bulgară a trebuit să recunoască public corectitudinea armatei, a autorităților și a populației române⁵. Dimpotrivă, Bulgaria nu și-a executat unele obligații din tratat sau unele promisiuni făcute în cursul negocierilor. De pildă, promisiunea făcută de Generalul Popov către Generalul Potopeanu că Bulgaria va rectifica frontiera la punctele Cranova și Pădureni, renunțând la cele două intrânduri în teritoriul român⁶.

Chiar pentru schimbul obligatoriu de populație, de la care nu se putea sustrage, Guvernul bulgar a îngreunat situația. S-a putut crede la București, la un moment dat, că Bulgaria chiar sabota planul de evacuare a bulgarilor din Dobrogea de Nord. Astfel, s-a putut observa că autoritățile bulgare rețineau pe emigranți în stațiile de frontieră, provocând aglomerații și împiedicând evacuarea. De asemenea, erau reținute mai multe zile trenurile românești, ceea ce întârzia transporturile. În același timp, presa bulgară începea o campanie împotriva unor pretinse samavolnicii ale vameșilor români, încercând să acopere intențiile lor cu acest val de injurii aruncat asupra autorităților române.

În rezumat, operațiunile de evacuare s-au efectuat astfel:

1) Aproape toți românii din Cadrilater au fost evacuați de statul român, chiar înainte de transferul teritoriului, adică înainte de 30 septembrie 1940⁷.

2) Bulgarii din Dobrogea de Nord au fost evacuați în termen de trei luni de la schimbul instrumentelor de ratificare, adică până la 14 decembrie 1940.

Pe lângă greutățile arătate mai sus, Guvernul din Sofia a contestat și cifra de 74.000 la care ajunseseră listele întocmite de autoritățile române în vederea evacuării bulgarilor. Contestația se baza pe cifra 56.000 la care Pomenov se opriese în discuțiile sale cu Cretzianu la Craiova, deși tratatul nu prevede vreun plafon. După nesfârșite negocieri, se ajunge la următoarea înțelegere: Bulgaria a cerut și România a admis, fixarea unui plafon de 60.000 pentru bulgarii ce urmează a pleca din județele Tulcea și Constanța; în schimb, bulgarii promit să primească naționali de ai lor și peste cifra de 60.000, dacă rămân pământuri și case disponibile în Cadrilater după instalarea celor dintâi și a refugiaților dobrogeni din Bulgaria (acord din 3 noiembrie 1940)⁸.

⁴ Alberto Basciani, *Un conflitto balcanico...*, Cosenza, Periferia, p.214.

⁵ AMAE, fond Bulgaria, vol. 85, Referat MAE din 11 februarie 1942, întocmit de Scarlat Grigoriu, secretar de Legațiune, pentru Ion Antonescu.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

A doua dificultate ridicată de bulgari, a fost închiderea frontierei înainte de evacuarea celor 60.000 bulgari, pe motiv că această cifră a fost deja atinsă și depășită. Rămâneau astfel câteva mii de bulgari făcând parte chiar din plafonul de 60.000 (circa 2200 bulgari din satele Nuntași și Lunca) pe care Guvernul bulgar nu mai voia să-i accepte decât în schimbul a circa 4700 români din Cadrilater (Turtucaia și Aidemir) și pe care încercase zadarnic să-i treacă forțat peste frontieră în România. Cu toate greutățile intervenite, operațiunile schimbului obligatoriu de populație s-au încheiat în termenul prevăzut de tratat, adică la 14 decembrie 1940. Cum însă rămâneau totuși câteva mii de persoane de o parte și de alta, un protocol din 17 aprilie 1941 a reglementat schimbul suplimentar de populație, care s-a pus în practică între 25 aprilie și 10 iunie 1941, când se încheie efectiv întreaga operațiune a schimbului obligatoriu. Au fost excepțai de o parte și de cealaltă oamenii cu căsătorii mixte⁹.

Nici celelalte obligații esențiale bulgare nu au fost respectate, constata în 1942 Ministerul Afacerilor Externe al României. Așa se face că, după ce au epuizat căile de înțelegere prevăzute în tratat (discuția în Comisia Mixtă și negocierile pe cale diplomatică de la guvern la guvern), în 11 februarie 1942 România și Bulgaria erau în fața arbitrajului, pentru următoarele chestiuni:

- 1) Plata de către Guvernul bulgar a sumei forfetare de un miliard lei
- 2) Soldul recoltelor
- 3) Proprietarii români menționați de art.V al tratatului („cinciștii”)
- 4) Cerința rambursării de către Guvernul bulgar a cheltuielilor de evacuare a bulgarilor din Dobrogea de Nord, cheltuieli care au fost suportate în întregime de Guvernul român,
- 5) Chestiunea bunurilor din Cadrilater ale societăților anonime române, pe care Guvernul bulgar le-a expropriat „în condițiuni echivalând cu o spoliere”.

1) Plata de către Guvernul bulgar a sumei forfetare de un miliard lei

Anexa D a tratatului, intitulată „Acord financiar”, prevede renunțarea ambelor părți la toate pretențiile de ordin financiar de la stat la stat, rezultând din transferul de teritoriu și din schimbul de populațiuni, în schimbul plății de către Guvernul bulgar a unei sume forfetare de un miliard lei, care va fi pusă la dispoziția Ministerului de Finanțe român în două tranșe egale, la datele de 15 ianuarie 1941 și 15 ianuarie 1942.

Ambele termene au trecut, fără ca Guvernul bulgar să fi plătit măcar o parte cât de mică din datoria sa. Pretextul Guvernului bulgar pentru neexecutarea obligațiilor sale a fost că din această sumă forfetară trebuie scăzute mai multe sume reprezentând valoarea unor pretenții bulgare de ordin financiar.

⁹ *Ibidem.*

România a combătut cu energie teza bulgară, arătând că este în contradicție cu textul clar al acordului financiar și – după ce a epuizat căile de înțelegere prevăzute de tratat – a supus întreaga chestiune arbitrajului¹⁰.

2) Soldul recoltelor

Anexa B. a tratatului, intitulată „Acord privitor la modalitățile de evacuare și de transfer a teritoriului”, prevede la punctul 5 („Recoltele de porumb, bumbac și floarea soarelui”) următoarele dispozițiuni pentru recoltele neculese încă, în momentul plecării, de către bulgarii din Dobrogea de Nord, sau de către românii din Cadrilater:

a) Comisia mixtă va însărcina mai multe subcomisii mixte să determine: 1) totalul suprafețelor însămânțate cu porumb, bumbac și floarea soarelui care nu au fost culese și 2) producția medie la hectar.

b) Pe baza acestor constatări, Comisia Mixtă va determina cifrele forfetare corespunzând producției pe hectar nerecoltată până în momentul evacuării.

c) Comisia Mixtă va stabili cantitatea rezultând ca sold în favoarea unuia dintre Guverne.

Aceste operațiuni au dat – după cum era și normal – un sold creditor în favoarea României. Guvernul bulgar nu a remis României nici până în 1942 acest sold de recolte¹¹. Epuizând celelalte căi de înțelegere, Guvernul român s-a văzut deci nevoit să supună și această chestiune arbitrajului.

3) Proprietarii români menționați de art. V al tratatului („cinciștii”)

Alineatul 1 al articolului V al tratatului prevedea că:

Bunurile rurale – proprietăți clădite și neclădite – situate în județele Durostor și Caliacra (în delimitarea lor dinainte de 14 iunie 1925), dobândite potrivit legilor române și aparținând tuturor românilor ce nu sunt cuprinși în transferuri de populațiuni, vor putea fi lichidate liber și nesilit de către proprietarii lor, fără piedici ce ar rezulta din dispozițiuni legislative sau administrative bulgare, într-un termen de 18 luni, cu începere de la schimbul instrumentelor de ratificare ale tratatului de față.

Guvernul bulgar a nesocotit textul acestui articol, în două feluri: 1) împiedicându-i pe proprietarii români să pătrundă în Cadrilater pentru a-și apăra drepturile, pentru a-și administra și lichida bunurile, 2) constituind o comisie bulgară pentru verificarea titlurilor de proprietate ale proprietarilor români, drept ce nu reieșea în nici un chip din litera sau spiritul tratatului¹².

Și această chestiune a fost adusă de România în fața arbitrajului în 1942.

¹⁰ AMAE, fond Bulgaria, vol.85, Referat MAE din 11 februarie 1942, întocmit de Scarlat Grigoriu, secretar de Legațiune, pentru Ion Antonescu.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*.

În plus, Guvernul României considera necesar să se aducă în fața arbitrajului încă 2 probleme nerezolvate:

4) Cerința rambursării de către Guvernul bulgar a cheltuielilor de evacuare a bulgarilor din Dobrogea de Nord, cheltuieli care au fost suportate în întregime de Guvernul român,

5) Chestiunea bunurilor din Cadrilater ale societăților anonime române, pe care Guvernul bulgar le-a expropriat „în condițiuni echivalând cu o spoliere”.

De partea sa, Guvernul bulgar a adus o singură chestiune în fața arbitrajului: propunerea întocmirii unui regulament pentru schimb facultativ de populație, schimb prevăzut de alineatele 2, 3 și 4 ale articolului III din tratat. Pe când Guvernul român dorea ca acest schimb să se facă prin tranșe mici egale, pentru a i se păstra un caracter compensatoriu, Guvernul bulgar considera mai nimerit – din motive politice probabil – să nu se respecte acest paralelism strâmt, compensația urmând a se face la încheierea unui termen mai lung¹³.

În timpul Guvernului Antonescu, diplomația română a reevaluat relațiile româno-bulgare, ajungând la următoarele concluzii:

1) România a cedat Cadrilaterul, în urma „unui arbitraj de fapt”. Când s-a întrunit Conferința de la Craiova, cedarea Cadrilaterului era deja un fapt împlinit.

2) Această situație, precum și iluzia că o atitudine culantă, flexibilă, în tratativele cu Bulgaria ar fi putut aduce României sprijinul puterilor Axei în conflictul româno-ungar, au făcut ca poziția României la Craiova să fie mult slăbită. Diplomații români apreciau că România ar fi putut obține concesiile mai importante de la Bulgaria, dacă negocierile de la Craiova ar fi fost cu adevărat libere și nu ar fi suferit de aceste servitudini de bază.

3) Din puținele obligații asumate de Guvernul bulgar prin Tratatul de la Craiova, cele mai multe nu au fost îndeplinite niciodată, deși România și-a executat întocmai toate obligațiile sale¹⁴.

4) Marele sacrificiu moral și material făcut de România prin cedarea Cadrilaterului, trebuia să-i aducă cel puțin, ca recompensă politică, amiciția Bulgariei. Din păcate, nici la nivelul anului 1942 nu s-a ajuns la raporturi de strânsă prietenie între România și Bulgaria. Pe de o parte, cele două guverne au trebuit să ajungă în fața arbitrilor pentru o serie de chestiuni rezultând din aplicarea Tratatului de la Craiova. Pe de altă parte, se evidențiau „o sumă de manifestațiuni de prietenie bulgaro-ungare”, care îngrijorau România. Guvernul

¹³ *Ibidem.*

¹⁴ *Ibidem.*

Antonescu își exprima zadarnic dorința să purceadă la semnarea unui acord cultural cu Bulgaria¹⁵.

În condițiile dificile ale războiului, arbitrajul prevăzut nu a mai avut loc, problemele rămânând nerezolvate.

Gheorghe Buzatu relevă că Guvernul României a instituit în 1942 un Birou al Păcii (Comisia Mihai Antonescu) și alte structuri politice și tehnocratice menite să pregătească argumentația țării la viitoarea conferință de pace privind Transilvania, Basarabia, Bucovina, Cadrilaterul. Guvernul Antonescu în 1942 nu pretindea să i se restituie Dobrogea de Sud, dar dorea să negocieze cu Bulgaria aspectele conexe, în special financiare¹⁶.

Ioan Chiper demonstrează că, pregătind viitoarea conferință de pace încă din 1942, SUA considera că Dobrogea de Sud trebuia să rămână Bulgariei, spre deosebire de teritoriile iugoslave și grecești ocupate de Armata Bulgară. SUA considera că Bulgaria trebuia să păstreze Dobrogea de Sud, pe care a primit-o cu ajutorul presiunilor Axei, dar și cu aprobarea Marii Britanii și SUA¹⁷.

Istoricul Zbucănea dovedește că cedarea Dobrogei de Sud este de fapt și de drept parte integrantă a Dictatului de la Viena, fiind „inclus ca o simplă anexă a aceluiași act de arbitraj”¹⁸. Pe cale de consecință, anularea Dictatului de la Viena după victoria Națiunilor Unite, ar fi trebuit să implice și anularea cedării Cadrilaterului. Ca act impus sub imperiul forței exercitate de către Germania hitleristă, Tratatul de la Craiova era nul de drept. Această teză se regăsește în documente ale Ministerului de Externe din 1944-1946, semnate de Mihail Manoilescu, H. Grigorescu și Consiliul Juridic al Ministerului Afacerilor Străine. În același sens au pledat reprezentanții „Asociației evacuaților și dăunaților din Dobrogea de Sud” în memoriile adresate Conferinței de Pace de la Paris din 1946-1947. Aceste memorii au fost susținute și de reprezentanților exilului românesc în frunte cu Grigore Gafencu și Constantin Vișoianu. Guvernul Groza și PCR a refuzat să sprijine aceste demersuri. Moscova nu a acceptat să se discute în legătură cu frontierele României, decât problema Ardealului¹⁹.

¹⁵ AMAE, fond Bulgaria, vol. 85, filele, Referat MAE din 11 februarie 1942, București, întocmit de secretatul de legațiune Scarlat Grigoriu pentru Antonescu.

¹⁶ Gheorghe Buzatu, „Biroul Păcii’ (1942-1944) și problemele raporturilor româno-bulgare”, în Florin Anghel, Mariana Cojoc, Magdalena Tiță, *Români și bulgari. Provocările unei vecinătăți*, București, Cartea Universitară, 2007, p.313-318.

¹⁷ Ioan Chiper, „Atitudinea SUA în cursul celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial față de problema frontierei româno-bulgare în Dobrogea”, în Florin Anghel, Mariana Cojoc, Magdalena Tiță, *Români și bulgari. Provocările unei vecinătăți*, București, Cartea Universitară, 2007, p.313-318.

¹⁸ Gheorghe Zbucănea, „Cadrilater = Dobrogea de Sud”, în *Dosarele Istoriei*, an VII, nr. 65, 2002, p. 9.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

Istoricul italian Alberto Basciani, apreciază pe bună dreptate că restituirea Dobrogei meridionale la Bulgaria prin Tratatul de la Craiova a fost unica decizie a Axei în Europa în materie de frontiere, pe care Tratatul de Pace de la Paris din 1947 a confirmat-o în noul context postbelic. Tratatul de la Paris din 10 februarie 1947 a închis definitiv chestiunea graniței româno-bulgare. Problema este simplificată sub aspect geopolitic de „omogenitatea etnică aproape absolută a întregului teritoriu” al Dobrogei de Sud și respectiv al Dobrogei de Nord, în urma schimbului de populație și a emigrării turcilor²⁰.

Această recunoaștere a retrocedării Dobrogei de Sud a fost și „rodul sprijinului politic și diplomatic oferit Bulgariei de U.R.S.S”. Moscova oferea Dobrogea de Sud Bulgariei ca o compensație pentru faptul că Sofia a fost obligată să abandoneze Macedonia și Tracia. Sprijinul Kremlinului urmărea și alte scopuri: legitimarea anexării Basarabiei și Bucovinei de nord la U.R.S.S. cu acordul Germaniei (ca și anexarea Cadrilaterului de către Bulgaria), reafirmarea prieteniei tradiționale ruso-bulgare și întărirea poziției comuniștilor bulgari, în frunte cu Dimitrov²¹.

După instaurarea regimurilor comuniste la Sofia și București, cele două țări au afirmat în nenumărate rânduri că relațiile dintre ele erau „frățești”. Directorul Direcției Tratatate din MAE, Aurel Preda-Mătășaru arată că România și Bulgaria au ajuns la un nou acord cu privire la despăgubirile datorate de Bulgaria României ca urmare a Tratatului de la Craiova. Bulgaria a plătit o mică despăgubire în bumbac²². Apoi, în ianuarie 1962 la Varna, România și Bulgaria încheie un nou acord cu privire la imobilele din proprietatea statului român (inclusiv Castelul de la Balci), care se aflau pe teritoriul Bulgariei. Prin acest acord, România ceda Bulgariei respectivele proprietăți, pentru suma de 6 milioane leva vechi (600.000 leva noi), suma fiind folosită pentru construirea actualei clădiri a Ambasadei României la Sofia. Prin Decretul Consiliului de Stat al Republicii Populare Române, nr. 1057 din 31 decembrie 1962 România a cedat definitiv Bulgariei proprietățile menționate. Ulterior, autoritățile române și-au dat seama că suma stabilită la Varna era mult mai mică decât valoarea proprietăților imobiliare cedate și au încercat să redeschidă discuțiile cu Bulgaria pe această temă, în 1970, 1982, 1984. Desigur, Bulgaria a refuzat, considerând problema încheiată. A fost încă un exemplu de diletantism din partea reprezentanților României²³.

Prin Legea nr. 9 din 1998 privind acordarea de compensații cetățenilor români pentru bunurile trecute în proprietatea statului bulgar ca urmare a aplicării Tratatului dintre România și Bulgaria, semnat la Craiova la 7

²⁰ Alberto Basciani, *Un conflitto...*, p.215.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p.215.

²² Aurel Preda-Mătășaru, *Tratatul între România și Bulgaria semnat la Craiova, la 7 septembrie 1940. Trecut și prezent.*, București, Lumina Lex, 2004, p. 86, 107.

²³ *Ibidem*.

septembrie 1940 statul român a plătit despăgubiri românilor refugiați din Cadrilater. Dar din cauza inflației și a unor prevederi defectuoase, sumele au fost ridicol de mici. Au fost depuse 7500 de dosare și au fost soluționate 1700, restul fiind amenințate de prescripție²⁴.

Considerăm însă că, urmare a Tratatului de la Craiova s-a rezolvat o problemă geopolitică extrem de importantă pentru zona Europei de Sud-Est: în relațiile româno-bulgare s-a pus capăt revendicărilor teritoriale și problemei minorităților din Dobrogea. Problema graniței româno-bulgare este una definitiv rezolvată, ca urmare a schimbului de populație efectuat în 1940 și a confirmării apartenenței Dobrogei de Sud la Bulgaria prin Tratatul de Pace din 10 februarie 1947. Negocierile româno-bulgare din anii 1938-1940 și Tratatul de la Craiova nu au rezolvat însă alte două probleme esențiale: respectarea drepturilor comunității românești („vlahe”) din Valea Timocului și construirea unor relații de prietenie și colaborare eficientă între România și Bulgaria.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p.108-112.