STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ-BOLYAI

Historia

Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Historia

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Foreword

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The current issue is a collection of some of the best articles presented at the 2018 and 2019 editions of the conference of the Graduate School "History, Civilization, Culture". While the conference itself has been an annual event for a number of years, the most recent development is its transformation into an international conference which welcomes students in the field of history from other countries in the world. Bearing this in mind, the organizers have decided to publish some of the papers presented in English as a supplement to the *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Historia*. This explains the wide-ranging topics that compel readers to travel from ancient to the most recent history, while the interdisciplinarity of the graduate school accommodates neighboring fields such as art history, historiography and the history of ideas, ethnography, cultural studies and anthropology. The foreword to this endeavour needs to mention however briefly all the people who have contributed to its successful accomplishment. Thanks are thus due to all our colleagues who supervised these PhD students and to all those who acted as chairs of the various panels and helped select the papers that were to be published. We are particularly grateful to Ion Indolean who helped with the editing of the articles and to Marcela Sălăgean who made their publication possible.

Water Management during the Dacian Period in the Orăştie Mountains. Catchment and Storage of Water

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Abstract: The purpose of this article is to offer a general view over the different systems of catchment and storage of water used during the Dacian antiquity in the Orăştie Mountains area, Romania. The methodology will be based on a dichotomous approach, in an effort that tries to compare the hydrological situation (supported by GIS maps) with the known archaeological discoveries relevant for the subject.

Keywords: water, storage, catchment, cisterns, hydrography, GIS, Dacians.

Rezumat: Scopul articolului este de a oferi o imagine generală asupra diferitelor sisteme de captare şi depozitare a apei folosite de dacii care locuiau în antichitate zona munţilor Orăştiei. Metodologia se va baza pe o abordare în oglindă, anume interpretarea diferitelor descoperiri arheologice relevante în funcţie de situaţia hidrografică specifică (pe baza unor hărţi GIS).

Cuvinte-cheie: apă, captare, stocare, cisterne, hidrografie, GIS, daci.

The geographical aspects always intrigued the researchers of the Dacian civilization in the Orăştie Mountains area. The first extensive study regarding this area subsumed a topographical study made by Constantin Daicoviciu,[1] which focused on the localization of all the known archaeological discoveries. Subsequent articles, like the one by Hadrian Daicoviciu,[2] completed the image with new information and verifications of the previous data. But probably the most complete image was realized when another synthesis was published in 1989.[3] Ştefan Ferenczi, an archaeologist known especially for his field work, published as part of the already-mentioned book a thorough study about the geography of the same area.

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[1] Constantin Daicoviciu – Alexandru Ferenczi, *Aşezările dacice din Munţii Orăştiei* [Dacian Settlements in the Orăştie Mountains], (Bucureşti: Ed. Academiei R.P.R., 1951).

[2] Hadrian Daicoviciu, 'Addenda la "Aşezările dacice din Munţii Orăştiei"' [Addenda to "Dacian Settlements in the Orăştie Mountains"], *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 1 (1964): 111–123.

[3] Hadrian Daicoviciu – Ioan Glodariu – Ştefan Ferenczi, *Cetăţi şi aşezări dacice în Sud-Vestul Transilvaniei* [Dacian Fortresses and Settlements in South-Western Transylvania], (Bucureşti: Ed. Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1989).

Such previous efforts will provide the basis for the geographical aspects of my work (besides, of course, distinctive geographical studies). I will try to complete and verify some of the existing information by means of new techniques in archaeology, like the generation of maps through GIS (Geographic Information System) software.

Hydrography

The area of the Orăştie Mountains covers the north-westernmost part of the Parâng Mountains, which is the most extensive mountain group of the Meridional part of the Carpathians (Fig. 1).[4] This group has its highest peaks on its southern side (with the homonymous Parâng Peak), where the mountain ridge is oriented on an east-west axis.[5] The northern part of the Parâng Group has much lower altitudes, and its many ridges are oriented radially (Fig. 2a).[6] Thus, the more accessible northern part of this mountainous region has its hydrographic basin oriented towards the north (with its rivers draining into the Mureş Valley), while the more inaccessible southern part is drained by intra-mountainous rivers oriented east-west (which drain into the Olt and Jiu gorges, which limit this mountainous group as well).[7] As such, the hydrographic basin of the southern part of the central group of the Meridional Carpathians is divided between the Jiu in the west and the Lotru in the east (Fig.1), the watershed between these two basins being a narrow ridge which also provides the alpine passage towards the northern part of this mountain group.

The north-western part of this group, called the Şureanu Mountains, has a principal ridge, oriented towards the south-east, where we find its highest peaks and which provides the passage towards the Parâng Mountains (Fig. 2a). This ridge divides the principal water basins of the Şureanu Mountains, with the Jiu, Strei, Grădişte, Cugir and Sebeş hydrographic basins converging along this ridge (Fig. 2b). The flow direction of these valleys is different, although they all drain into the Mureş (except Jiu, which we already discussed - Fig. 2b). The Cugir and Sebeş Valleys have a straight-forward north direction of flow towards the Mureş (given the fact that they are situated north-east of the central ridge). But the same cannot be said about their western counterparts, the Strei and Grădişte Valleys. These two valleys have a parallel direction of flow, firstly in an east-west direction, only afterwards

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[4] Petre Coteţ, *Geomorfologia României* [Romania's Geomorphology], (Bucureşti: Ed. Tehnică, 1973], p. 222.

[5] Daicoviciu – Glodariu – Ferenczi, *Cetăţi şi aşezări*, p. 19.

[6] Valer Trufaş, *Hidrografia Munţilor Sebeş* [The Hydrography of the Sebeş Mountains]. PhD Dissertation, Manuscript, Cluj-Napoca, 1971, p. 1.

[7] Coteţ, *Geomorfologia*, p. 223.

reassessing towards the north (Fig. 2c). This peculiarity is given by the fact that they need to sidestep the north-western oriented ridges of the Şureanu Mountains. The difference between the Strei and the Grădişte Valleys is that the first one encloses the mountains on their external periphery, while the second one has an intra-mountainous passage, reorienting towards the north only once it exits the mountainous area, circumvallating the Prisaca Peak at Costeşti, the north-westernmost point of the Prisaca sculptural level (Fig. 2c).[8]

The main ridge of the Şureanu Mountains ends in its north-western part with the Godeanu Peak. This peak represents another focal point regarding the water basins of the Şureanu Mountains (Fig. 2b). On its western side we find the first sources of the Grădişte Valley (through Godeanu valley – which delimitates the hill called Piciorul Muncelului – where the remains of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* are located). On its north-western side we find the first sources of the Sibişel Valley (which will drain later into the Grădişte Valley), while on its eastern side we find the first sources of the Cugir Valley. On the southern side we find the Petros Valley, which will drain into the above-mentioned Strei River.

From now on we will focus on the Grădişte Valley, which has its sources right underneath the Godeanu Peak. The Grădişte Valley is delimitated at its sources by the Muncelului Ridge on its northern side, by Godeanu's main ridge on its eastern side and by the Luncani Plateau on its southern side (Fig. 3a). The first sources of the Grădişte Valley (the Godeanu, the Şesului and the Tâmpu Streams – Fig. 3b) created deep valleys which delimitate two specific mountain feet, the Şesului and the Muncelului. The Şesului is oriented east-west, having a higher altitude and a bigger level difference towards the valleys (Fig. 3d). The second one, the Muncelului mountain foot, protracts from the northern Muncelului Ridge towards the south and turns towards the west around its middle point. It is much more elongated, creating a passage way between the Muncelului Peak and the Grădişte Valley (Fig. 3c). It is delimitated by primary streams, such as Valea Albă, Godeanu and Strâmtosu (Fig. 3b), which form underneath the high ridges, in the forested area. On the Muncelului mountain foot a number of primary water sources appear, these being collected by the delimitating streams (Fig. 3b).

Moving towards the exit of the valley from the mountains, at Costeşti we are faced with a different situation. The northern Prisaca Ridge faces towards the south the Târsa Plateau (part of the Luncani Plateau – Fig. 3a). At this north-western extremity of the Târsa Plateau we find two Dacian citadels

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[8] Lucian Drăguţ, *Munţii Şureanu: studiu geomorfologic* [Şureanu Mountains: Geomorphological Study]. PhD Dissertation, Manuscript, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 45.

watching over the Grădişte Valley, being placed near the confluence of the Faerag and the Grădişte Valleys (Costeşti-Cetăţuie north of the confluence, Blidaru south of it – Fig. 4a). The hydrographical context for these two citadels is distinct. If Costeşti-Cetăţuie is more or less an isolated hill, with sources of water present only at its lower level (Fig. 4a), the case of Blidaru is much different. This citadel is placed on the limits of the Târsa Plateau, on the passageway between the plateau and the Grădişte Valley (Fig. 4a). If on the plateau the water sources are scarce, the situation differs on the limits of the plateau, where, as the maps show, many streams appear. And although the citadel itself is situated on a spur, having no direct water sources, there are plenty around it.

The situation regarding the citadel at Piatra Roşie also differs, as it is located on an isolated hilltop, with no direct water resources available (Fig. 4b).

As such, the hydrographical context of these three specific areas crucially differs. At the Piciorul Muncelului – *Sarmizegetusa Regia* we are facing an area rich in water, located near the sources of the valley (it must be also stressed that the Grădişte Valley has, as opposed to most of the other rivers of the Şureanu Mountains, the main area of water-collection in its upper part of flow).[9] At Costeşti there are still plenty of resources (especially at Blidaru), while at Piatra Roşie the resources are scarce.

Archaeological discoveries

Probably the most important water source attested as used in antiquity is the spring in the sanctuary of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Fig. 4c). During archaeological excavations, a terracotta conduit, probably leading to the source of this stream, was uncovered (Fig. 4d).[10] But despite this, the actual information regarding the tapping of this spring, as well as its exact position are scarce. It is mentioned in a later report about the excavations from the year 1980 that the 'elements of the water-tapping system of the spring on the 11th terrace had been uncovered'.[11] In a later publication it is added that this catchment system was mostly destroyed during the nineteenth century excavations and that only two andesite stone blocks with carved gutters were recovered,[12] which are still visible today at the site. The intervention in this

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[9] Trufaş, *Hidrografia,* p. 39.

[10] Constantin Daicoviciu *et al*., 'Şantierul arheologic Grădiştea Muncelului Costeşti' [Grădiştea Muncelului Costeşti Archaeological Site], *Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice*, 6 (1959): 331–358, p. 340.

[11] Daicoviciu – Glodariu – Ferenczi, *Cetăţi şi aşezări,* p. 168.

[12] Ioan Glodariu – Adriana Rusu-Pescaru – Eugen Iaroslavschi – Florin Stănescu, *Sarmizegetusa Regia. Capitala Daciei preromane* [Sarmizegetusa Regia. Preroman Dacia's Capital], (Deva: Acta Musei Devensis, 1996), p. 107.

area during the restoration project that took place in 1980–1982 (when a new modern catchment system was constructed) complicated furthermore the possibility of new verifications. As such, we have no information regarding the kind of tapping system used in antiquity for this spring.

A much better documented case of water-catchment is attested in the civilian area of the settlement, in the place called Tău, which to this day consists of a marshy area (Fig. 4c, 4e). Here, a complex water-catchment system was found. The water from two springs was collected and transported through terracotta pipes to a central wooden barrel, and then transported further down (Fig. 5).[13] The two springs were collected differently, the first through a small wooden barrel, while the second through a cavity carved in the local rock, with the lower level walled with fragments of local rock, upon which the upper part of a ceramic vessel was placed, which was then covered by a Roman type tile. Both of the basins were connected to the terracotta pipes through a lead pipe, whose ends were bent in order to be attached to the basins (they had, apparently, sieves attached as well).[14] On the way to the main wooden barrel the terracotta pipes had terracotta vents attached (as well as a wooden vent discovered near the terracotta vent on one of the conduits).[15] Both pipes converged in the central wooden barrel from which a third terracotta pipe emerged and transported the water further down.[16] This pipe had a terracotta vent attached to it as well, and was additionally protected by a wooden gutter.

As such, we have attested a complex water catchment system in a marshy area, and the attention given to water purification is to be expected.[17] The sieves and the vents found on the way to the main central basin have as main function a preliminary purification of the water. In the central barrel the necessary volume of water was collected and purified before redistribution.

[13] Constantin Daicoviciu *et al.*, 'Studiul traiului dacilor în munţii Orăştiei (şantierul arheologic de la Grădiştea Muncelului)' [The Study of the Dacian Living in the Orăştie Mountains (Grădiştea Muncelului Archaeological Site)], *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche*, 2/1 (1951): 95–127; Constaintin Daicoviciu *et al.*, 'Studiul traiului dacilor în munţii Orăştiei (şantierul arheologic de la Grădiştea Muncelului)' [The Study of Dacian Living in the Orăştie Mountains (Grădiştea Muncelului Archaeological Site)], *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche*, 3 (1952): 281–307; the information from the publications is completed with information gathered from the excavation records and with observations made on the material artefacts kept in the deposits of the National Museum of Transylvania's History.

[14] Daicoviciu *et al.*, 'Studiul traiului' (1952), p. 296.

[15] Ibid., p. 297.

[16] Orjan Wikander (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (Leiden – Boston – Koln: Brill, 2000), p. 30. It is well attested that in Northern Europe wooden barrels were often reused as water catchment basins or reservoirs.

[17] Ibid., p. 10. The author mentions the fact that swampy areas were used as last resort by the Romans.

The role of the vents along the pipes is ambivalent. They could serve as valves attached to the pipes, in case of overflowing with water. But they had, at the same time, the role of chambers of inspection (given their large diameter), as starting points for the periodical inspection and cleaning of the system. The attention given to the purification of the water suggests human consumption. Other pipe fragments (of different diameters) found next to the intact conduit suggests a number of interventions made upon the system. The Roman type tile covering one of the catchment basins could suggest, as Constantin Daicoviciu assessed since the initial discovery,[18] a later Roman intervention and use of this system of catchment, purification and redistribution of water.

This dual tapping system is well suited for this marshy area. We find at Vitruvius specific instructions about this. He mentions that where one cannot find running water, one should look for underground sources and collect them.[19] Then, when a source of water is found, more should be searched for in the neighbouring area and, through subterranean channels, gathered to a single place.[20]

The effort of constructing such a complex and lengthy system of water catchment, purification and distribution (the conduits heading towards the catchment basins have around 26 m in length each, while the one emerging from the central basin was followed for more than 30 m – Fig. 5) in such a water-resourceful area suggests the high demand of water by the ancient community at *Sarmizegetusa Regia*.

Another archaeological discovery regarding water management at Piciorul Muncelului – *Sarmizegetusa Regia* takes us to the second interest of this article, the storage of water. A cistern had been found inside the fortification (Fig. 6a), on the fourth terrace, having the dimensions of 9.6 × 6.2 m and 1.15 – 1.3 m depth.[21] It was cut into the local bedrock and had a well-conserved wooden floor (which was multilayered, with a clay, wood, clay and gravel layers from up to bottom) and presumably had wooden planking on its walls

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[18] Daicoviciu *et al.*, 'Studiul traiului' (1952), p. 296.

[19] '*Earum autem erit facilior, si erunt fontes aperti et fluentes. Sin autem non profluent, quaerenda ubi terra sunt capita et colligenda*'. Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Liber 8, Caput 1.1. (http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/), accessed on 1 May, 2018.

[20] '*… tum deprimendus est puteus in eo loco et si erit caput aquae inventum, plures ca sunt fodiendi et per specus in unum locum omnes conducendi*'. Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Liber 8, Caput 1.6. (http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/), accessed on 1 May, 2018.

[21] Gabriela Gheorghiu, 'Cisterne descoperite în zona capitalei regatului dac' [Cisterns Discovered in the Area of the Dacian Kingdom's Capital], *Sargetia*, 27/1 (1997–1998): 177–189, p. 180.

and a roofed structure as well (Fig. 6b).[22] On the western side of the cistern, a channel cut in the wall, tapering from the surface until 0.2 m under the level of the floor, was interpreted as a drainage channel, while on the same side of the cistern a gutter made of local rock probably protected the supply pipe of the cistern.[23]

This cistern had mainly a military role, given its location (underneath the higher plateau on which the Dacian citadel is supposed to have been located), as well as its technique of construction which focuses on watertight measures in order to store water for as long as possible. But there is a problem regarding its source of water. Inside the fortification there is no spring, given the higher level. The only possibilities are either the collection of rain water from the upper plateau nearby, or its transport through a long roundabout, which would have taken the water from the north-western ridge, the only upper level area around where there seems to be a spring (Fig. 6a).[24]

But this is not the only cistern discovered around the Orăştie Mountains area. At Piatra Roşie, the remote calcareous hilltop, during archaeological excavation, a pit carved in the rock of the highest plateau was found (having around 2 m in diameter – Fig. 6c).[25] It is placed inside the main precinct of the fortress, and when it was dug, it still preserved water and, on its bottom, archaeological remains were found. It was probably used for collecting rain water. Another big pit, this time natural, is to be found inside the bigger precinct of the fortress (Fig. 6c).[26] Although it is natural, and the discussions regarding it focused more on the interesting archaeological material found inside, I see no reason why one should not consider a possible utilization of this pit as a storage basin. Last but not least, a series of information from the nineteenth century and the local oral tradition suggests the presence of a water pipe on the ridge that connects the hilltop with the rest of the area.[27] If this is the case, probably this pipe would have supplied a cistern at the base of the hilltop, most probably near the tower that overlooks the pathway towards the fortress.

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[22] Gabriela Gheorghiu, 'Cisterna dacică de la Grădiştea de Munte' [The Dacian Cistern from Grădiştea de Munte], *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 33/1 (1996): 375–386, p. 376.

[23] Ibid., p. 375.

[24] Eugen Iaroslavschi, 'Conduits et citernes d'eau chez le daces des Monts d'Orăştie' [Water pipes and cisterns of the Dacians in the Orăştie Mountains], *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 32/1 (1995): 135-143, p. 140. The author mentions as well the possible collection of rain water from the upper plateau or the usage of ground water, unfortunately without developing the latter possibility.

[25] Constantin Daicoviciu, *Cetatea dacică de la Piatra Roşie. Monografie arheologică* [The Dacian Fortress at Piatra Roşie. Archaeological Monography] (Bucureşti: Ed. Academiei R.P.R., 1954), p. 55.

[26] Ibid., p. 66.

[27] Ibid., p. 33.

Returning to the Grădişte Valley, we find the defensive system comprised of the two citadels at Costeşti-Cetăţuie and Costeşti-Blidaru, as well as a number of towers, which are overlooking the entrance in the mountainous valley.

The earlier citadel at Costeşti-Cetăţuie is situated, as we have already mentioned, on a more or less isolated hill, with sources of water appearing at its lower levels (Fig. 4a). Here, during archaeological excavations, two cisterns were discovered. The first and more important one is situated underneath the highest plateau, inside the main rampart of the fortress, near the tower no. 4 (Fig 7a.). It is mentioned that this cistern had wooden planking.[28] The lower level on which this cistern was placed compared to the higher plateau (where smaller pits carved in the local rock were found – probably with the purpose of collecting rain water)[29] could suggest that its supply was determined by a particular source that appeared underneath the highest plateau. Given the level curves that appear on the plan, a stream seems to drain from the area around the cistern. Of course, the cistern could be supplied by rain water as well (or both), although further verifications could prove useful.

The second cistern, placed on the outskirts of the hill, on a lower level, near the tower no. 4,[30] was supplied, most probably, by one of the many springs that are available at this level.

A more impressive situation regarding water management is to be found at and around the Costeşti-Blidaru fortress. Close to the fortress, on the north-western side (Fig. 7b), a cistern was uncovered (with the dimensions of 8 × 6.2 m, 4 m depth),[31] bearing another technique of construction, in the sense that it was built in stone (Fig. 7c), with multiple layers of mortar and other waterproof materials (Fig. 7d), having a stone arch as well (Fig. 7e), considered to be built by either a Greek[32] or a Roman[33] engineer. I will not focus on the details regarding the building technique of this cistern, as it is not the primary aim of this article. Given its character and proximity to the fortress, this cistern had unquestionably a military function (an aspect that has been already assessed before).[34] Its placement underneath the higher plateau of the fortress suggests that it was supplied by a nearby spring, thus the placement of this cistern is, once again, determined by the location of the first accessible water

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[28] Gheorghiu, 'Cisterne', p.178.

[29] Ibid., p. 178.

[30] Ibid., p. 178.

[31] Daicoviciu et al., 'Şantierul arheologic Grădiştea Muncelului' [Grădiştea Muncelului Archaeological Site], *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche*, 5/1–2 (1954): 123–155, p. 141.

[32] Ibid., p. 142.

[33] Ioan Glodariu, *Arhitectura dacilor. Civilă şi militară (sec. II î.e.n. – I e.n.)* [Dacian Architecture. Civilian and Military (2nd century BC – 1st century AD)] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1983), p. 38.

[34] Ibid., p. 39.

source. As Ioan Glodariu rightly pointed out, probably the spring used was the one that appears underneath the ridge that connects the fortress to the rest of the hill, and the water was transported through a terracotta pipe along the western side of the plateau.[35] The discovery of the remains of a terracotta pipe on the western side of the cistern seems to suggest the same.[36]

The Blidaru fortress is placed on the hill slope that provides the passage from the Târsa Plateau to the Grădişte Valley. Besides the fortress, on this hill slope (and along the attested ancient road), a number of towers were uncovered, forming a complex system of defense (Fig. 7b).[37] Around these towers new data regarding water management were identified. A terracotta pipe was found on the ridge that goes to Faeragului Plateau, in the place called Curmătura Faeragului, which probably supplied with water the towers on the plateau (Fig. 7b, Fig. 8a).[38] More recently, a pit identified underneath the plateau may suggest the presence of a cistern that could receive this water (Fig. 8b).[39]

Another discovery was made on the Pârâul Chişetoarei, about 80-100 m uphill from the Grădişte Valley (Fig. 7b).[40] Here, a well conserved cistern made of wood was uncovered. The wooden structure had an almost square form of 2.95 × 3.05 m and over 3 m depth, with the sessile planks that formed the walls having 10 cm thickness and around 30-42 cm width (Fig. 8c).[41] The planks were attached onto corner posts that were provided with gutters for receiving the planks and were stuck 40-50 cm in the rock beneath the cistern floor.[42] The walls were reinforced with two posts on the exterior of each wall (that followed the entire height of the walls) and two on the interior of each wall (that had different sizes though, on the north and south 1.04 m height and 0.24 m width, on the western and eastern walls 1.44 m height, 0.44 m width). These interior posts supported the lower part of the walls, as well as a set of four beams (two longitudinal and two transversal) that supported in turn the walls, being fixed to the exterior posts (Fig. 8c).[43] On the bottom of the

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[35] Ibid., p. 39.

[36] C. Daicoviciu *et al.*, 'Şantierul arheologic Grădiştea Muncelului' (1954), p. 141.

[37] Adriana Pescaru - Gelu Florea - Răzvan Mateescu - Paul Pupeză - Cătălin Cristescu - Cristina Bodo - Eugen Pescaru, 'The Dacian Fortress from Costeşti-Blidaru – Recent Archaeological Research.The Towers from La Vămi, Poiana lui Mihu, Platoul Faeragului (I)', *Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology*, 1 (2014): 1-28, p. 10.

[38] Daicoviciu – Ferenczi, *Aşezările dacice,* p. 24.

[39] Adriana Pescaru- Gelu Florea - Răzvan Mateescu - Paul Pupeză - Cătălin Cristescu - Cristina Bodo - Eugen Pescaru, 'The Dacian Fortress', p. 5.

[40] Daicoviciu – Ferenczi, *Aşezările dacice,* p. 24.

[41] Gheorghiu, 'Cisterne', p. 179.

[42] Ibid., p. 179.

[43] Ibid., p. 180.

cistern only a layer of fine bluish muddy clay was found,[44] that was probably a result of the action of the humidity upon the local rock.[45] Although Gabriela Gheorghiu supposes the existence of a wooden floor which had been destroyed by the action of the water,[46] I tend to disagree with this opinion, as the whole wooden structure had been preserved so well without presenting any traces of extra watertight measures. The cistern had an opening in the wooden wall on the western side and a stone block was found underneath the opening at about 1 m depth from the top of the wooden structure.[47] Between the wooden structure of the cistern and the walls of the carved pit there was a space of about 25 cm left, which was filled with local stone fragments (Fig. 8d).[48] Remains of wooden shingles were found inside the cistern, proving that it was a roofed structure.[49] In the immediate vicinity of the cistern one terracotta tube was found, suggesting that the cistern was supplied by a nearby spring. The cistern was located on the left side of the Chişătoarei Stream, on a small terrace.[50] This stream eroded the terrace, uncovering the cistern and drawing the attention of the archaeologists.[51] Most probably the cistern was supplied by this very stream, the water being diverted with the help of the pipe. The chosen location, aside the streams flowing through, provided better access to the cistern and a more stable ground given the declivity of the terrain (this concern is evidenced by the strengthening efforts visible in the building technique as well).

Although this cistern most probably supplied the needs of the towers nearby, its character reveals, I think, a different aspect regarding the management of water in this area in the Late Iron Age. The cisterns found on the upper plateaus of the fortresses or right underneath them (with different character though – from rudimentary pits carved in the rock on the plateaus, used only for rain water collection, to complex cisterns supplied by spring water located on the terraces underneath the upper plateaus – with the best examples from Costeşti-Blidaru and *Sarmizegetusa Regia)* had as main focus water preservation for a military purpose (with the efforts visible in the watertight measures applied to them). But the case of the latter cistern at Muchia Chişetoarei is quite different. It is placed on a lower level, where perennial springs are plentiful. With such a context, there is no need for

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[44] Ibid., p. 180.

[45] Daicoviciu – Ferenczi, *Aşezările dacice,* p. 25.

[46] Gheorghiu, 'Cisterne', p. 180.

[47] Ibid., p. 180.

[48] Ibid., p. 179.

[49] Daicoviciu – Ferenczi, *Aşezările dacice,* pp. 25–26.

[50] Ibid., p. 24.

[51] Ibid.

building a costly watertight cistern. Simpler, more traditional approaches are far more effective, in the sense that the construction of a sufficiently big reservoir in which the water from the spring can be effectively used is far more appropriate when the resources are this rich. Besides, the construction technique (based on a wooden structure surrounded by a rock layer), which avoids watertight measures, gives this cistern a purification function as well (it is more similar in this way to the function of the wooden barrel at Tău). Although I believe that this cistern serves mainly a military purpose of use, I suppose at the same time that it is an example of the more usual water tapping method employed in this mountainous area, that is still employed to this day (Fig. 8e), as I fortunately stumbled upon a more modest modern example located on one of the valleys of these mountains (it was placed on the first terrace above the valley). These kinds of cisterns probably fulfilled the role of "wells" and were used for tapping the clean water of the mountain springs from the hill slopes, as typical wells with a deep shaft are not needed and hard to obtain given the superficial level of the local rock. The Greek term φρέαρ (frear) means artificial well and is used for both wells and cisterns,[52] although the technical differences in the Greek world were quite clear (while the cisterns were mainly used for surface water tapping, the wells were used for ground water tapping).[53] But probably a more appropriate Greek term for the structure at Muchia Chişetoarei is the κρήνη (krene) – a fountain house, which usually consisted in a roofed structure where the water from a nearby spring was tapped in a basin from which it was accessible for use, either directly from the basin or through a waterspout [54] – later these structures were moved towards the central parts of the cities, with aqueducts supplying them.[55] A couple of archaeological observations suggest a similar interpretation – such as the location, the roofed structure, the presence of a pipe and the upper wooden enclosure, as well as by the opening and stone block on the western side – which served as an entrance. As such, the structure at Muchia Chişetoarei could be associated in some aspects with the archaic Greek "fountain house", although other aspects tend to suggest a local tradition more appropriate for the climate and resources of this mountainous area. Even so, I would not argue against the use of the term "cistern" for this construction, as it is already well-known as such in the archaeological literature, although the non-watertight

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[52] Greek Dictionary Headword. Caput φρέαρ. (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/resol veform?type=start&lookup=frear&lang=greek),
accessed on 9 May, 2018.
[53] Wikander, *Handbook,* pp. 21 – 29.
[54] Ibid., pp. 105 – 110.
[55] Ibid., p. 25.

characteristic of this cistern should be kept in mind. The disproportionate number of watertight type cisterns discovered in the area compared to the non-watertight singular example is probably due to the disproportionate level of research which focused more on the fortresses, while the latter type of cistern seems to be located more remotely.

In conclusion, the situation regarding water catchment and storage in the Orăştie Mountains seems to be modelled after the specific necessities and geographical layouts. As such, we have attested three manners in which water was tapped and deposited. The first belongs only to the military sphere, focusing on collecting rain water (in simpler carved cisterns) and nearby springs (in watertight cisterns placed on the outskirts of the fortresses). The second belongs both to the military and civilian spheres, and uses the rich mountain springs by means of non-watertight cisterns. The third one, found only at Tău – *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, taps the water from an indirect source, by means of intense purification, suggesting the high needs of the community that occupied that water-resourceful area.
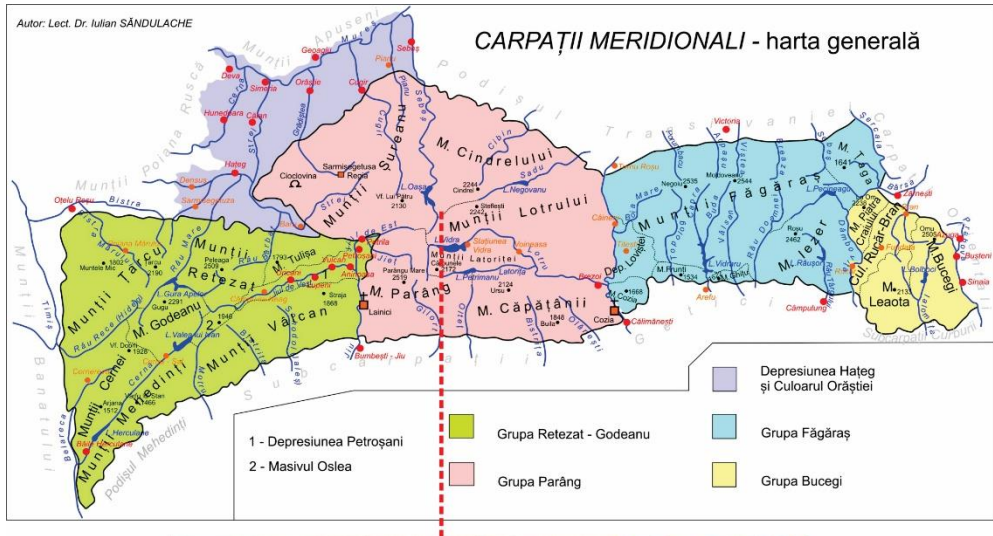
Fig. 1.a. Main groups of the Meridional Carpathians, after http://www.unibuc.ro/prof/sandulache_m_i/img/Carp.Meridionali_jpeg.jpg., accessed on 6.6.2015.

1.b. Main hydrographic basins of the Parâng mountains.

a. Altitudinal representation of the Parâng mountains.

b. Water basins of the north-western part of the
Parâng mountains.

c. Altitudinal representation of the north-western part
of the Şureanu mountains.
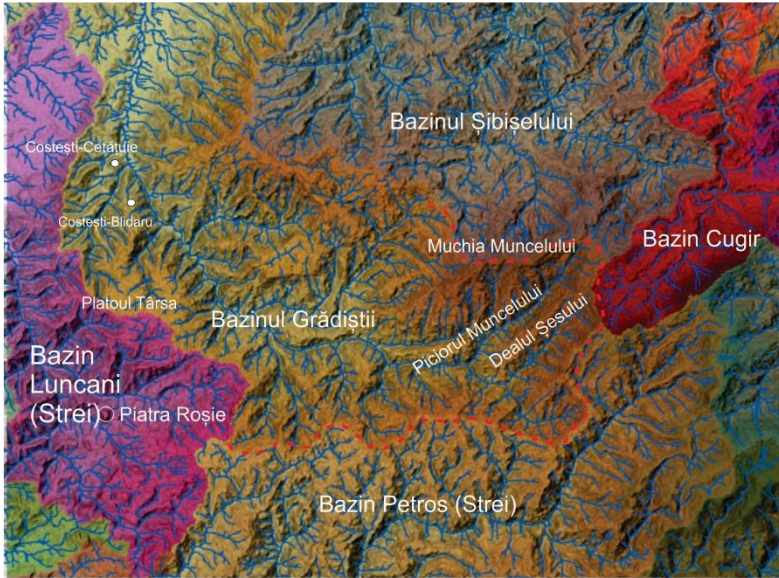
**Fig. 3a. The Grădişte valley and
its neighboring hydrographic basins.**
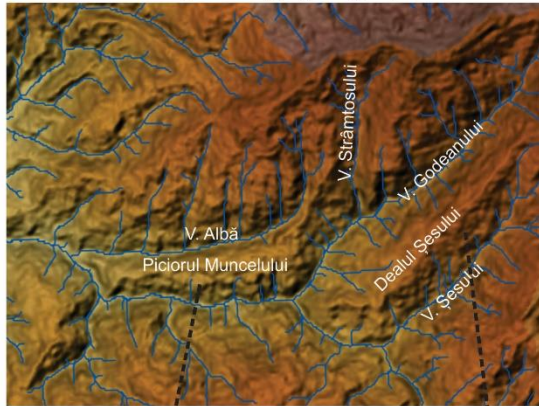
Fig. 3b. Detail with the primary sources of the Grădişte valley.

**Fig. 3c. Elevation profile of the Piciorul Muncelului mountain foot,
after Google Earth, accesed on 01.12.2017.**

**Fig. 3d. Elevation profile of the Şesului mountain foot,
after Google Earth, accesed on 01.12.2017.**

Fig. 4a. The hydrography around the entrance on the Grădiște valley.
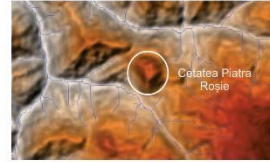
Fig. 4b. The hydropraphy around Piatra Roșie fortress

Fig. 4c. The settlement on Piciorul Muncelului, modified after R. Mateescu, 2012, Fig. 4.

Fig. 4d. Plan of the sanctuary, modified after R. Mateescu, 2012, Fig. 31.

Fig. 4e. Photo of the Tău area by D.M. Teodorescu in 1921 (from of the archaeological sites archives).

Fig. 5. Plan of the catchment system from *Sarmizegetusa Regia - Tău*, based on the documentation of the excavation

Fig. 6a. Plan of the fortification at *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, modified after I. Glodariu, 1996, Fig. 24.

Fig. 6b. Reconstrucion proposal of the cistern, after G. Gheorghiu, 1996, Fig. IV.

The cistern carved in the local rock inside the upper precint

The natural cavity in the second precinct
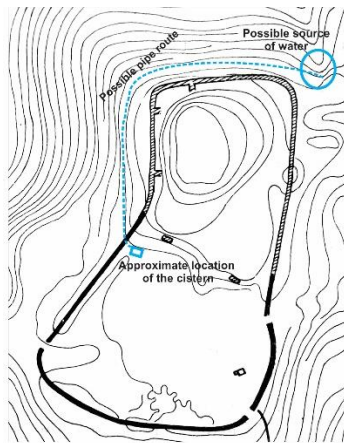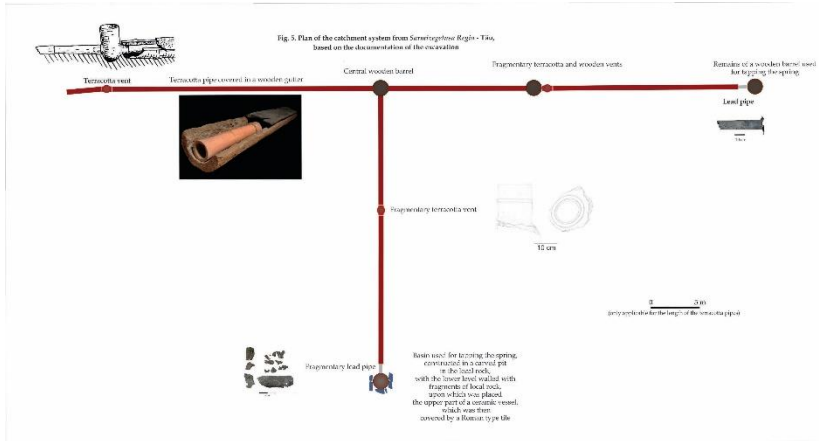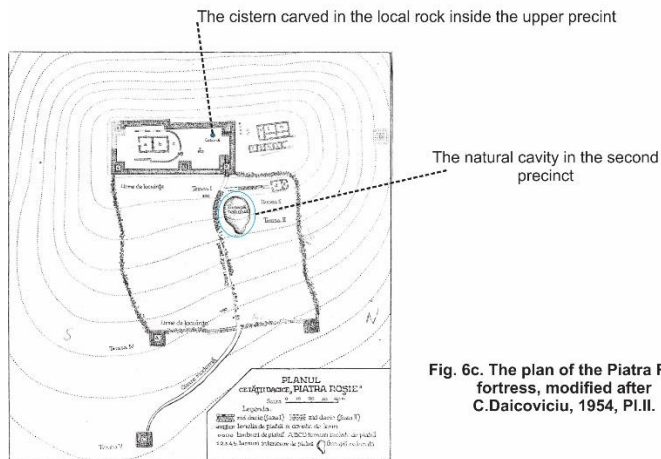
Fig. 6c. The plan of the Piatra Roşie fortress, modified after C.Daicoviciu, 1954, Pl.II.

Fig. 4a. The hydrography around the
entrance on the Grădişte valley.
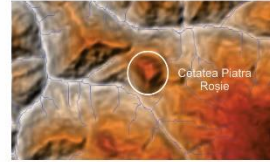
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Fig. 4e. Photo of the Tău area by D.M. Teodorescu in
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The cistern carved in the local rock inside the upper precint

The natural cavity in the second precinct

Fig. 6c. The plan of the Piatra Roşie fortress, modified after C.Daicoviciu, 1954, Pl.II.

Location of the cistern inside the upper precint
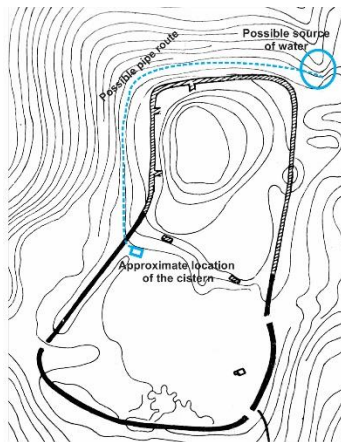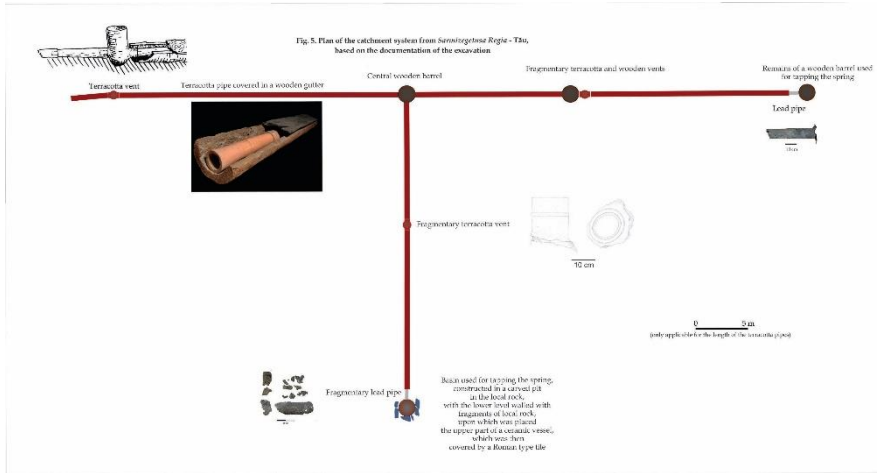
Fig. 7a. Plan of the Costeşti-Cetăţuie fortress, modified after C. Daicoviciu, 1951, Fig. 5.

Location of the lower level cistern

Location of a pit recently identified

Muchia Chişătoarei cistern

Faeragului ridge

Terracotta pipe probably suplying Faeragului ridge

The spring area

Location of the cistern near the Blidaru fortress
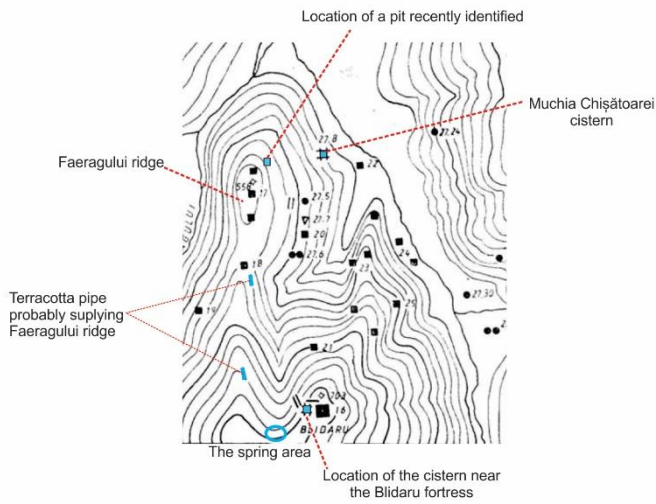
Fig.7b. The area around Blidaru fortress, modified after H. Daicoviciu, 1989, Fig. 40.

Fig. 7c. Drawing of the cistern, after C. Daicoviciu, 1954, Fig. 16.
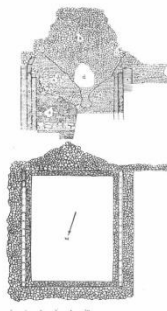
Fig. 7d.Wall profiles of the cistern at Blidaru, after C. Daicoviciu, 1954, Fig. 18, Fig. 19.

Fig. 7e. Photo of the walls and the blocks that remained from the arch of the cistern at Blidaru (from the archaeological sites archives).

Fig. 8a. The terracotta pipe near Curmătura Faeragului, after Pescaru et al., 2014, Fig. 4/1.
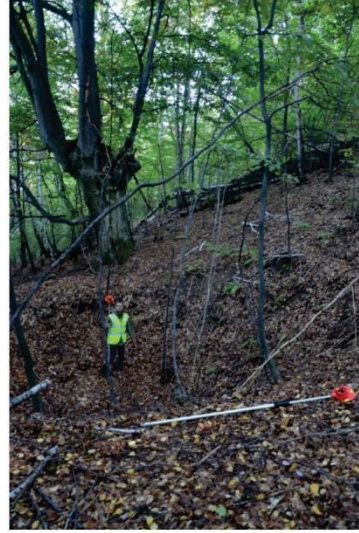
Fig 8b. Pit identified under the Faeragului ridge, after Pescaru et al., 2014, Fig. 4/1.
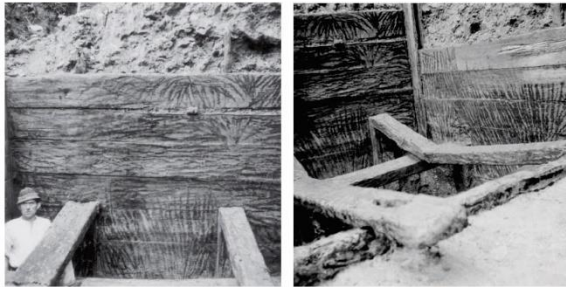
Fig. 8c. The cistern at Muchia Chişătoarei, after Pescaru et al., 2014, Fig. 3/1.
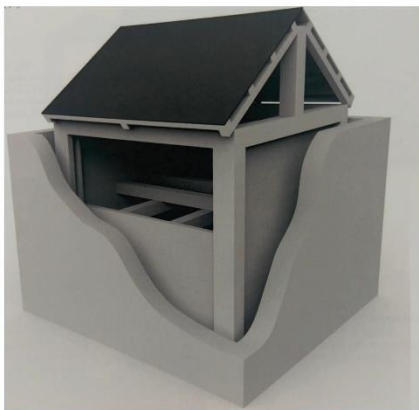
Fig. 8d. Virtual proposal of reconstruction of the cistern at Muchia Chişătoarei, after Neamţu et al., 2015, Ch. X, Fig. 4.

Fig. 8e. Modern cistern found on a nearby valley, personal photo.

The Book as Object of Lay Devotion in Late Medieval Transylvania (Fifteenth – Sixteenth Centuries)

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Abstract: Research on late-medieval religiosity in Central and Western Europe has shown that religious books were not only possessed, but also read, and sometimes even copied or disseminated by laymen. The need for a better definition of the relationship between the laity and the religious text leads to the formulation and intensive discussion of concepts such as *devotional reading*, *culture of religious reading*, or *vernacular theology*. Several examples of works that belonged to late-medieval Transylvanian laymen suggest the opportunity and, at the same time, the need to ask whether similar dynamics of pious behaviour can be discussed in their case. In order to provide a convincing answer, this study proposes an analysis of these books from at least three perspectives: theme, language, formal characteristics. The most interesting information is offered, however, by property notes, which suggest that the devotional potential of the book was not activated by reading, but rather by donation. By offering solutions to the everyday necessities of ecclesiastical institutions, these gifts were designed to ensure personal salvation as well. In order to support this hypothesis, I will also address another category of sources from which mentions regarding this kind of donations can be recovered, i.e. last wills.

Keywords: religious books, devotional practices, pious donations, last wills, laity

Rezumat: Cercetări privitoare la religiozitatea specifică evului mediu dezvoltat şi târziu în centrul şi vestul Europei au demonstrat că dincolo de a fi deţinute, cărţile cu conţinut religios erau citite, iar uneori chiar copiate sau diseminate de laici. Din nevoia unei mai bune definiri a relaţionării laicatului cu textul religios au fost formulate şi îndelung discutate concepte precum *lectură devoțională*, *cultura lecturii religioase* sau *teologie vernaculară*. Câteva exemple de lucrări care au aparţinut în perioada premergătoare Reformei unor laici transilvăneni sugerează oportunitatea şi, deopotrivă, nevoia de a ne întreba dacă se poate discuta în cazul lor despre o dinamică similară a manifestărilor pioase. Pentru a oferi un răspuns concludent, lucrarea oferă o analiză a respectivelor lucrări sub diferite aspecte: tematică, limbă, caracteristici formale. Informaţiile cele mai interesante sunt oferite, însă, de însemnările de proprietate, ce sugerează că potenţialul devoţional al cărţii nu era activat

prin lectură, ci mai degrabă prin donație. Oferind soluții la necesitățile cotidiene ale unor instituții ecleziastice, aceste daruri erau menite să asigure, deopotrivă, mântuirea personală. Pentru a argumenta această ipoteză, voi face apel și la o altă categorie de surse din care pot fi recuperate mențiuni privind asemenea donații – testamentele.

Cuvinte cheie: cărți religioase, practici devoționale, donații pioase, testamente, laici

   The High and Late Middle Ages represented periods of change in religion and faith, leading to more profound involvement of the laity in matters of devotion. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries spiritual guides were composed, offering suggestions regarding the path that laymen could follow in order to engage in religious life without neglecting daily obligations related to family and work. *Vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* were no longer seen as alternatives, or even opposed to each other, but became complementary. Lay people were to "integrate contemplative practice into the rhythms of the active life".[1] Among such instructions, some referred to meditation and religious readership as spiritual exercises. At the same time, religious literature began to be translated and produced in vernacular languages while the laity soon became part of the audience of such works which included prayer books, Bibles, Psalters, hagiographic, as well as moral or catechetic works, postils, calendars and many others. For Western Europe, individual endeavours as well as large research projects – some of them of recent date – have explored the role played by books and devotional literature in the shaping of lay piety, proving that laymen were involved in what has been defined as a "culture of religious reading". For instance, Sabrina Corbelini, coordinator of two important research projects dealing with the engagement of the laity in devotional reading,[2] demonstrated through her studies that laymen owned, sometimes even collected, and read books, while some of them actively participated in the production and transmission of religious knowledge as they copied or even authored texts on such matters.[3]

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[1] Sabrina Corbellini, Margriet Hoogvliet, "Artisans and Religious Reading in Late Medieval Italy and Northern France (ca. 1400 – ca. 1520)", in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 43 (2013): 525.
[2] ERC Grant: *Holy Writ and Lay Readers: A Social History of Vernacular Bible Translations in the Late Middle Ages* (2008-2013); NWO-project: *Cities of Readers. Religious Literacies in the Long Fifteenth Century* (2015-2019).
[3] Sabrina Corbellini, "Beyond Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy: A New Approach to Late Medieval Religious Reading", in Eadem (ed.), *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages. Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit, and Awakening the Passion* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 33 – 53; Eadem, "Reading, Writing, and Collecting: Cultural Dynamics and Italian Vernacular Bible

This phenomenon or complex of developments has also been conceptualized in terms of "vernacular theology", designating a third theological tradition, parallel to the monastic and scholastic one, which can be distinguished from the other two through the language of its diffusion, the authors who formulated it and the audiences it addressed.[4]

Identifying books addressing aspects of faith, which at a certain point of their existence belonged to Transylvanian laymen, suggests the opportunity and highlights the need to ask whether we can talk about similar dynamics of piety and comparable forms of devout expression. The existence of such cases for the region I am dealing with can be traced, for example, through last-wills. The well-known case of Ursula Meister Paulin[5] – a Transylvanian widow, member of a wealthy and influential family from Bistrița (Germ. Bistritz, Hung. Beszterce) – brings the subject to one's attention, mentioning that the woman bequeathed her books to a certain chapel,[6] advising that they should be chained, probably in order to ensure their security as well as their use by clergymen.[7]Additional information regarding the content of a book bequeathed to a church is offered by the last-will of *religiosa domina Anna,* widow of *Jacobus aurifaber,* a citizen of Cluj (Germ. Klausenburg, Hung. Kolozsvár), from 1492, September 1, who provided the altar of St. Catherine from the parish church with a bound printed missal.[8]

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[4] Eliana Corbari, *Vernacular Theology. Dominican Sermons and Audience in Late Medieval Italy* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), esp. pp. 8-11.

Translations", *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93, 2 (2013): 189 – 216; Corbellini – Hoogviliet, "Artisans and Religious Reading", pp. 521 – 544.

[5] An edition of this testament in Friedrich Müller (ed.), *Deutsche Sprachdenkmäler aus Siebenbürgen,* (Hermannstadt: Steinhausen, 1864), pp. 156-159. For a thorough discussion regarding several disputed aspects of this document see Lidia Gross, "Testamentul doamnei Ursula Paulin: Reflecţii pe marginea unui document de la începutul secolului al XVI-lea" [The Will of Mrs. Ursula Meister Paulin: Reflections on the edge of a document from the early 16th century], *Acta Musei Porolissensis,* 36 (2014): 21-34.

[6] Lidia Gross demonstrates that the chapel should be the one dedicated to St. Dorothea, from the parish church. Gross, "Testamentul doamnei Ursula", pp. 28-30.

[7] The text of the last-will specifies: *Item die bucher lass ich zur Capellen, das man sie soll ankettnen an die stüle*. Similar requests are present in other last-wills as well, sometimes offering further explanations in this respect; for instance, a choir master of St. Stephan's Dom in Vienna donated in 1429 a missal and asked for it to be chained in the sacristy, in order to allow its use by poor priests. Gerhard Jaritz, "Die realienkundliche Aussage der sog. Wiener Testamentsbucher", in *Heinrich Appelt (ed.), Das Leben in der Stadt des Spatmittelalters* (Viena: Ost. Akad. d. Wiss.,1980), p. 182, apud Thomas Krzenck, "Books in Late Medieval Wills in Bohemia", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU,* 7 (2001): 187-208, esp.192. On *libri catenati* and their purpose see Philippe Cordez, "Le lieu du texte. Les livres enchaînés au Moyen Age", *Revue Mabillon,* 17 (2006): 75-103.

[8]*Et unum Missale impressum ligaturaque munitum… ad altare sancte Katherine Virginis in Ecclesia beati Michaelis archangeli in hac civitate nostra fundata*. See *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története* [Documents

Last-wills, together with inventories, are among the most frequently cited sources of medieval religious reading in Western Europe. However, for Transylvania only a small number of such documents revealing the last wishes and requirements of laymen offer clues of this nature. Fortunately, several books that were present in this region during the late Middle Ages are still preserved and make available further details. Starting from examples of works with Transylvanian circulation in the period preceding the Reformation, I will question their functionality in relation to lay owners. In order to deal with a manageable corpus of sources, I have only considered the printed books, as the period of their publication coincides with that of a fervent religiosity[9] and as they were also more affordable to the laity, compared to manuscripts.[10]

Although the ownership marks are usually limited to essential information, they are able to reveal interesting details about the possessor and the destiny of a certain book. For instance, a copy of *Sermones Thesauri Novi de tempore* printed in 1484 (See Appendix, nr. 7), bears an annotation on the purchase of the book by *Anthonius de Valle Agnetis* (Rom. Agnita, Germ. Agnethlen, Hung. Szentágota, within the Saxon Seat of Cincu) in 1493 (Fig. 1). As only his name is mentioned, it is not clear whether *Anthonius* was a laymen or not, but it is not impossible, given the fact that members of the clergy usually mentioned their status together with their names. An additional property note (Fig. 2) on the same volume reveals that it belonged to *Ioannis Carpentarii de Cibinio* (Rom. Sibiu, Germ. Hermmanstadt, Hung. Nagyszeben)

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concerning the History of Cluj], ed. Jakab Elek (2 vols, Buda: 1870-1888), vol. 1, doc. CLXXXIV, pp. 300-302.

[9] The subject of late medieval piety was intensively discussed by scholars who emphasized that the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries brought a shift in the way religion was assumed and integrated in people's lives, consisting of a diversification of pious behaviors, an interest in surpassing the limits of "conventional devotionalism" - as Richard Kieckhefer put it - as well as the emergence of various reform movements. Beside the before-mentioned studies regarding lay concern for religious reading, see: Richard Kieckhefer, "Convention and Conversion: Patterns in Late Medieval Piety", *Church History* 67, no. 1 (1998): 32-51; Idem, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion", in Jill Raitt (ed.), *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation,* (New York: Crossroad, 1996), pp. 75-108; Berndt Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[10] Although books remained expensive objects, due to the new technology the production costs lowered together with the prices. See Giovanni Bonifati, *Dal libro manoscritto al libro stampato. Sistemi di mercato a Bologna e a Firenze agli albori del capitalismo* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 2008); Leonhard Hoffmann, "Gutenberg und die Folgen: Zur Entwicklung des Bücherpreises im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, 29 (1996): 5-23; Idem, "Buchmarkt und Bücherpreise im Frühdruckzeitalter", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 75 (2000): 73-81. A recent theoretical and methodological approach of the subject at Francesco Ammannati – Angela Nuovo, "Investigating Book Prices in Early Modern Europe: Questions and Sources", *JLIS.it* 8, 3 (September 2017): 1-25. doi: 10.4403/jlis.it-12365.

legatum per venerabilem virum dominum Paulum Seratoris de Birthalben (Rom. Biertan, Germ. Birthälm, Hung. Berethalom, within the Saxon Seat of Mediaş). The term *venerabilis* could imply that Paul was a clergyman, a fact that would explain the ownership of a sermon collection, but John, the one who receives the book, seems to be an artisan, a carpenter, as his name indicates.[11] Another individual fitting in this social category appears as owner of a religious book, namely *Michael Aurifaber Mediensis* (Rom. Mediaş, Germ. Mediasch, Hung. Medgyes), whose name was written on a theological work, the third part of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologica* (Appendix, nr. 11). In turn, *magister Johannes Myld, aurifaber* or *aurifabri*,[12] received or borrowed a copy of *Postila super epistolas et euangelia* (Appendix, nr. 2a) – bound together with a copy of *Vocabularius utriusque juris* (Appendix, nr. 2b) – in 1508, from his friend, *Nicolaus de Megies* (Mediaş), who seems to have been a priest, according to annotations on other books.[13] The homonymy suggests a possible identification of this character with *Johannes Myld, rector scholae* in Sibiu in 1510 and 1524, notary of the chapter of Sibiu and notary of the town, as well as owner of a Venetian edition of the calendar of Johannes Stöffler von Justingen and Jakobus Pflaumen von Ulm,[14] who might have been a priest and not a

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[11] It is also possible that *Johannes* was the son of a carpenter and not a carpenter himself, as seems to be the case for *Paulus*. As his name is in the Genitive case it is not clear if the Nominative form would be *Johannes Carpentarius,* i.e. John the Carpenter, or *Johannes Carpentarii,* i.e. John of the Carpenter. A single person with the name *Johannes Carpentarius* could be identified so far, in the Account registers of Mediaş for the year 1507, where he is mentioned *in labori civitatis Soluimus*. Joseph Bedeus von Scharberg, "Mittheilungen über ein Medwischer Stadtbuch aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge 3 (1858): 31-123, here pp. 36, 59.

[12] The name is again in the Genitive case, making it difficult to determine whether this person was a goldsmith or not. Searching for an argument in this direction, I identified the name *Johannes Aurifaber* mentioned in the Account registers of Mediaş for the year 1507 as paying 92 dinars *pro avena*. See Bedeus, "Mittheilungen über ein Medwischer Stadtbuch", pp. 36, 59. This record seems to fit very well the context sketched by the ownership mark, written only a year later and mentioning someone from Mediaş as well. Still, the other name of *Johannes* suggests another possible identification, as will be further presented.

[13] His identity is revealed by a detailed annotation on a copy of *Missale secundum chorum almae ecclesiae Strigoniensis* (Venice: Johannes Emericus de Spira, 1498): *1518 Liber iste legatus est testamentaliter per Nicolaum presbiterum de Megyes unacum casula rubea pro aede virginis gloriosae foris civitatem*, Library of the Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu, Inc. 265, Veturia Jugăreanu, *Catalogul colecţiei de incunabule* [The Catalogue of the Incunabula Collection] (Sibiu: Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, 1969), nr. 221 (henceforth: Jugăreanu).

[14] See Karl Schwarz, "Vorstudien zu einer Geschichte des städtishen Gymnasiums A. K. In Hermannstadt", in *Programm des Gymnasiums A. K. zu Hermannstadt* (Hermannstadt, 1859), pp. 3-33, esp. pp. 11, 13; Franz Zimmermann, "Chronologische Tafel der Hermannstädter Plebane, Oberbeamten und Notare in den Jahren 1500 bis 1884. Auf Grund arhivalischer Quellen verfasst", *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde,* Neue Folge 19 (1884): 529 – 578, here p. 532; Friedrich Müller, "Gleichzeitige Aufzeichnungen von Thomas Wal, Johannes Mildt und

layman, given that two charters issued by Volfgangus Flaschner, dean of the chapter of Sibiu, mention him as *reverendus* and *venerabilis*, terms which usually apply to members of the clergy. [15] Still, there are details which do not entirely fit the same profile, supporting the hypothesis that we may be dealing deal with two different persons.[16]

A connection with the administration of Sibiu can be traced for *Laurentius Hon*,[17] whose name and function (*comes Cibiniensis*) appears on a volume containing three texts, two of which addressed the subject of Christian morals: *Donatus moralisatus seu per allegoriam traductus* (Appendix, nr. 4a) and *Barlaam et Josaphat* (Appendix, nr. 4b), while a third one was a historical work (Appendix, nr. 4c). Two volumes containing Raynerus de Pisa's *Pantheologia* (Appendix, nr. 9) belonged to a certain *Petrus Ursule,* a name that can be found among the members of the council of Sibiu in a document issued on the 24th of December 1505,[18] year which luckily coincides with the one mentioned by the ownership note. Likewise, *Caspar Pileus* or *Hwet,* owner of a copy of the extremely popular *Legenda aurea* (Appendix, nr. 3), is mentioned by an annotation on a different volume[19] as member of the urban administration of the same town. This second note (Fig.3) offers further details about him, revealing a link with the ecclesiastical environment. It informs us that *Casparius* was the father of *Martinus Pilladis de Cibinio,* parish priest in *Omlas* (Rom. Amnaş, Germ. Hamlesch, Hung. Omlás, within the Saxon Seat of Sibiu) at that moment and later in Sibiu and Richiş (Lat. *villa Richvini*, *Riquinium*, Germ. Reichersdorf, Hung. Riomfalva), as well as dean of the Sibiu chapter.[20]

einem Heltaueraus den Jahren 1513-1532", *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge 15 (1879): 45-62, here p. 47.

[15] National Archives of Romania, Integrated Information System of the National Archives (henceforth: ANR – SIIAN), SB-F-00011-1-78 and SB-F-00011-1-85 – available on-line: http://arhivamedievala.ro.

[16] It might be worth taking into account that neither the attribute of *magister*, nor that of *aurifaber* or *aurifabri* were mentioned in other sources issued by or referring to *Johannes Myldt/Mildt*. The title of *magister* related to that of *aurifaber* could indicate the position in the guild. Otherwise, it could designate an academic degree. The character who became *rector scholae* is known to have studied in Vienna, but he is only mentioned as *bacallaureus,* even two decades later. In such circumstances, the owner of the above-mentioned book could be a different person.

[17] Gustav Seiwert, "Chronologische Tafel der Hermanstädter Plebane, Oberbeamten und Notare. Erste Abtheilung von 1309 bis 1499", *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde,* 12 (1874-1875): 189-256, here pp. 212-213; Zimmermann, 'Chronologische Tafel',p. 531.

[18] ANR – SIIAN SB-F-00060-1-28 – available on-line: http://arhivamedievala.ro. *Comerţ şi meşteşuguri în Sibiu şi în cele şapte scaune 1224-1579/Handel und Gewerbe in Hermannstadt und in den Sieben Stühlen*, ed. Monica Vlaicu et alii, Sibiu, 2003, 3, no. 84, p. 239-243.

[19] Gregorius I, *Moralia (Expositio in Jobum)* (Basel: Bertold Ruppel, ante 1468), Library of the Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu, Inc. 102, Jugăreanu, no. 162.

[20] Gustav Gündisch, "Die Bibliothek des Sachsengrafen Albert Huet: 1537 – 1607", *Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 4, 68 (1974): 32-51, esp. 38, note 27.

A stronger connection with the ecclesiastical milieu is to be found in the case of *Georgius, vitricus ecclesie beate virginis,* i.e. warden of the parish church from Sibiu. He possessed a sermon collection (Appendix, nr. 6) and donated it to the Dominican convent of the Holy Cross, asking for prayers from the pulpit[21] for the soul of *Georgius*, chaplain of the same church, for as long as the prior of that convent would want (Fig. 4). A copy of a similar work, authored by Leonardus de Utino (Appendix, nr. 5), brings to attention a feminine figure, the widow of a certain *magister Nicolaus,* who made a donation to the same friary, for her and her sons' souls (Fig. 5).

Three other volumes, which are currently part of the collections of the Szekler Museum of Ciuc, might provide further evidence of lay ownership of religious books in Transylvania. The third part of *Summa theologica* (Appendix, nr. 10) was donated to the friars minor from Şumuleu Ciuc by *Georgius de villa Walthidia* (Rom. Valchid, Germ. Waldhütten, Hung. Váldhíd, within the Saxon Seat of Şeica). An almost identical annotation mentions *Laurentius de Wydombach* (Rom. Ghimbav, Germ. Weidenbach, Hung. Vidombák, within Burzenland) as donor of Albertus Magnus' *Enarrationes in evangelium Johannis* (Appendix, nr. 1). And finally, a volume containing the sermons of (Pseudo-) Petrus de Palude, for both Lent and the feasts of saints (Appendix, nr. 8a, 8b), was purchased, according to a note, by *Jacobus de Praschmar* (Rom. Prejmer, Germ. Tartlau, Hung. Prázsmár, Burzenland) in 1492. Unfortunately, since only the names of these possessors are known, their status as laymen is uncertain.

Even if some of these examples need caution, it is clear that we can talk about lay ownership of religious books in Transylvania. In order to better understand their function, some observations concerning the nature of these volumes might be useful. In what concerns the types of works owned by Transylvanian lay persons, it is rather striking that many of them are collections of sermons, both model-sermons and simpler, more exegetical discourses. A question arises here: why would a layman own a homiletic work? The fact is that sermons were always a fluid genre that overlapped with many others.[22] During the Middle Ages it was not uncommon for treatises to be transformed into sermons and for sermons to be developed into treatises.[23]

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[21] Two other cases where the testators ask for masses celebrated from the pulpit are mentioned by Maria Lupescu, "Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schässburg)", *Caiete de Antropologie Istorică*, 1-2 (2004): 93-106.

[22] Anne T. Thayer, "The Medieval Sermon: Text, Performance and Insight", in Joel T. Rosenthal (ed.), *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources,* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 43-58.

[23] Otto Gecser, "Itinerant Preaching in Late Medieval Central Europe: St. John Capistran in Wroclaw", *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 47 (2003): 5-20, esp. 13; Richard Newhauser, 'From Treatise to Sermon: Johannes Herold on the *novem peccata aliena*', in Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green,

Moreover, in the Late Medieval period, above all after the emergence of printing, written sermons were no longer just instruments or handbooks for the clergy. As their content offered explanations of the scriptures, moral examples, teachings and instructions for a Christian life, they became suitable for the needs of those believers who were, as stated before, more and more interested in devotional exercises. In this respect, it is worth mentioning, for instance, that Guilermus Parissiensis in the prologue of his highly popular work *Postilla super epistolas et euangelia* emphasized the expanded addressability of his work, declaring that it was created for the needs of less expert clergy and those starting out as preachers, as well as for all those desiring an explanation of the holy epistles and gospels.[24] Although in theory all these arguments could be valid, a reliable explanation can be drawn only from the information provided by all the cited ownership annotations. A significant aspect is that none of them, not even the most detailed ones, refer to reading, meditation or any spiritual exercise. As Andrew Pettegree has pointed out, the buying of books should be understood as a "culturally complex decision" and reading should not be considered as an unquestionable purpose of these purchases.[25] Their simple presence in the domestic space was sometimes perceived as helpful or protective, speaking, therefore, about a different kind of pious intention.[26] Unfortunately, medieval Transylvanian sources do not provide data in this respect, nor do the ownership marks. What many of the books presented above seem to have in common, is the fact that they were the object of donations to religious establishments, especially friaries of the mendicant orders. From this perspective, their content seems to have suited the profile of these institutions, even if we are talking about homiletic literature or theological works. Another observation can be made concerning the authors. In each and every case, we have to deal with extremely popular medieval figures, whose works were real best-sellers of their time.

Regarding the theme of all these writings, sanctity seems to be very well represented. Most of the sermon collections contain explanatory texts for the feasts of saints, Gaspar Huet owns the most popular hagiographic

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B. M. Kienzle (ed.), *De ore Domini: Preacher and the Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institut Publications, 1989), pp. 185-209.

[24] *Sacrorum euangeliorum ac epistolarum de tempore diebus dominicis et sanctis, etiam super commune apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, virginum, et pro defunctis, expositiones in unum colligere volumen, minus expertis clericis, ac incipientibus predicatoribus per necessarium fore iudicaui (…) ac pro omnibus sacrorum euangeliorum ac epistolarum expositionem cupientibus.*

[25] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 156-159.

[26] Robert Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany: (1400 - 1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 187.

work, *Legenda aurea*, and *Barlaam et Josaphat* tells a story that was also included by Iacobus de Voragine in his book. Sermon collections *de sanctis* could have been even more suitable for devotional reading, creating the occasion of introspection, self-evaluation in comparison with holy models, and meditation. On the other hand, as books were objects of bequests or pious donations, sanctity could have been pursued for its intercessory dimension. Donors' concern for the further use of the gifts assigned to religious establishments, like Ursula Meister's request regarding the chaining of her books, could indicate their belief that usage made those object effective in the process of salvation. The simple care of writing down one's name on these books could suggest the intention of ensuring not only the perpetuation of one's memory, but also the use of that gift in the name of its donor.[27] In this respect, books which honoured the lives of saints might have been conceived as capable of guaranteeing their intercession with God every time the volume was read.

Some formal aspects of these books deserve attention too. First of all, it has to be pointed out that the texts taken into account here were written with no exception in Latin. Returning to the concept of vernacular theology, it was already mentioned that one of its main features is the use of vernacular. The great majority of studies on the topic of devotional reading during the late Middle Ages emphasize the spread of translations and the production of religious literature in vernacular languages. Although within the current holdings of Transylvanian libraries there are also German or Hungarian books written or printed in the first half of the sixteenth century, they bear insufficient evidence of contemporary presence in the hands of Transylvanian lay owners. Could these people read Latin? A positive answer is not impossible, as the urban milieu – characteristic for the identified examples – offered the context for wider use of literacy together with opportunities of acquiring such knowledge, through the schools and gymnasia of the main royal free towns.[28] Moreover, university studies were quite popular among the citizens of the Saxon towns at that moment, students being considered as

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[27] Susan Hagen Cavanaugh underlines that devotional books were perfect gifts in testamentary contexts, because their further use was able to preserve the memory of the testator as well as benefit his soul. Susan Hagen Cavanaugh, *A Study of Books Privately Owned in England 1300-1450* (University of Pennsylvania: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 1980), p. 10, apud Janika Bischof, *Testaments, Donations, and the Values of Books as Gifts. A Study of Records from Medieval England before 1450* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), p. 48.

[28] G. D. Teutsch, "Über die ältesten Schulanfänge und damit gleichzeitige Bildungszustände in Hermannstadt", *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenburgische Landeskunde,* Neue Folge 10 (1872): 193-232; Idem, "Ein urkundlicher Beitrag zur ältesten sächsischen Schulgeschichte", *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenburgische Landeskunde,* Neue Folge 12 (1875): 368-372.

one of the channels of book distribution in Transylvania.[29] Still, in similar conditions other European urban citizens were buying and reading vernacular texts, not the Latin ones. We should ask ourselves again whether these books served the needs of the beneficiaries of these donations, better than those of the donors. Further suggestions could be offered by a rather neglected aspect, namely books' dimensions. Most of the examples presented above are folios (ca. 35-45x25-35 cm), a format that would make an exercise of private reading rather uncomfortable. They were better suited for public reading and were mainly used in church.

The main question to which I return is: What was the function attributed to these books by their lay owners? The ownership notes together with the comments made on the content and the formal aspects of the volumes allow some tentative conclusions. First of all, the manuscript annotations offer information about the profile of books' possessors. All of the examples identified so far belonged to members of Transylvanian Saxon communities. Although more concrete details are sometimes absent, for several cases additional information is available, displaying these book owners as artisans, as citizens involved in the urban administration or as having a certain connection with the ecclesiastical milieu. Besides, women, mainly widows, are also present, being a well-represented social category especially within last wills. For any of these groups religious aspects would have been important and advantageous not only for spiritual benefits, but also in the logic of a proper functioning of the community or in pursuit of social prestige. Another aspect regarding the content of the notes made by all these people on their volumes should be further emphasized in order to clarify how books were integrated in the religious lives of their owners. None of these records mentions reading, nor are there any other sources offering clues about such a concern. Instead, annotations are frequently formulated as short testamentary dispositions or highlight pious donations made for one's remembrance and salvation. In the absence of further data about books being used directly by their owners, any attempt to consider them from the perspective of the sociology of reading, as evidence of a devotional reading culture, could only be regarded as wishful thinking. Clues concerning the belief that the simple presence of religious books in their houses would be beneficial are also absent. In such circumstances, the sociology of books would be more appropriate as it would enable one to explain their integration in a system of relationships forged on the mechanisms of devotionally motivated gifts.[30] As an additional

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[29] Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1979), pp. 37-88; Maja Philippi, *Die Bürger von Kronstadt im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Sozialstruktur einer siebenbürgischen Stadt im Mittelalter* (Köln: Böhlau, 1986), pp. 236-249.

[30] Bischof, *Testaments, Donations, and the Values of Books,* pp. 46-49.

argument in this direction I shall mention that last wills offer evidence that not only books themselves were bequeathed. Sometimes churches were provided with money for the acquisition of certain books. For example, the widow of *Stephanus Pistoris* donated money to the Dominican friary from Sighişoara (Germ. Schäßburg, Hung. Segesvár,) that were to be used for the purchase of parchment needed for two liturgical books, a Gradual and an Antiphonary.[31] Another case is the one of *Dyonisius Weres de Farnas* (Rom. Sfăraş, Hung. Farnas, Cluj County), who bequeathed 12 golden florins to the Franciscan friary from Târgu Mureş (Germ. Neumarkt, Hung. Marosvásárhely or Székelyvásárhely), for the redemption of a Psalter.[32] These examples reveal that the necessities of these churches were known to the donors and bequests came as solutions to these needs. The personal option of the donor was limited, in consequence, to the act itself, while the appropriate gift was suggested.[33] Therefore, even if the available data do not enable us to talk about a profound engagement in appropriating Christian precepts through the practice of reading, concern for piety is not absent. Transylvanian laymen were interested in ensuring the salvation of their souls and religious books met pious intentions while being objects appropriate for donations, needed by clergy and ecclesiastic institutions, the instances which had the greatest authority in terms of *cura animarum*. In this context, books played a multifaceted role, corresponding to the three values identified by Janika Bischof: the use value – as their content was to serve the needs of their recipients; the exchange value – since they were economic goods and, what is more important, they became part of a contractual agreement through which the donor 'bought' himself a chance for salvation; and the symbolic value comprised in their spiritual meaning.[34]

Appendix
List of religious works owned by Transylvanian laymen

1. Albertus Magnus, *Enarrationes in evangelium Johannis* (Köln: Johann Guldenschaff, c. 1478), The Szekler Museum of Ciuc: 6597, Muckenhaupt: II. 1, GW 00612

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[31] Karl Fabritius, "Zwei Funde in der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Schäßburg", *Archiv des Vereins fiir Siebenbürgische Landeskunde,* Neue Folge 5/1 (1861): 1-40, here p. 18.

[32] *Ecclesiae Monastery Beate Marie virginis de Vasarhel pro redempcione Psalterii duodecim florenos in auro* National Archives of Hungary, DL 29277 – available on-line: https://archives.hungarica na.hu/en/charters/165680/.

[33] Maria Lupescu, "*Item lego…* Gifts for the soul in late medieval Transylvania", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 7 (2001): 161-185, esp. 169-170.

[34] Bischof, *Testaments, Donations, and the Values of Books,* pp. 59-69.

- *Memoriale **domini Laurency de Wydombach** pro fratribus in Schick ad locum eis deputatum 1483*

2. **a.** Guillermus Parisiensis, *Postila super epistolas et euangelia* (Basel: Nicolaus Kessler, 14. VIII. 1486), 2º, Brukenthal: Inc. 189, Jugăreanu: 165, GW 11958

   b. Jodocus Erfordensis, *Vocabularius utriusque iuris* (Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 25. XII. 1483), 2º, Brukenthal: Inc. 188, Jugăreanu: 380, GW M12674

   - *Liber Nicolai de Megies*
   - *Liber **Magistri Johannis aurifabri Myldt** amicus domini Nicolai ut supra quem modo accomodat. Anno domini M508*

3. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum sive Lombardica historia* (Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1482), 2º, Brukenthal: Inc. 32, Jugăreanu: 185, GW M11246

   - *Sum Gasparius pileij*

4. **a.** (Pseudo-)Jean Gerson, *Donatus moralisatus seu per allegoriam traductus* (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1472), 4º, Brukenthal: Inc. 130, Jugăreanu: 154, GW 12451 (P. 8)

   b. *Barlaam et Josaphat* (Speyer: Printer of 'Gesta Christi', 1472/73), 2º, Brukenthal: Inc. 132, Jugăreanu: 63, GW 03396

   c. Wernerus Rolewinck, *Fasciculus temporum seu Chronicon-Chronicarum* (Köln: Nicolaus Götz, 1474), 2º, Brukenthal: Inc. 131, Jugăreanu: 271, GW M38682

   - *Liber dominii **Laurencii Hon, comitis Cibiniensis**, contines donatum Moralem fasciculum temporum et historiam Josaphat et Barlaam*

5. Leonardus de Utino, *Sermones aurei de sanctis* (Venice: Johann von Köln et Johann Manhen, 1475), 4º, Brukenthal: Inc. 244, Jugăreanu: 358, GW M17905

   - *Iste liber datus est ab **uxore quondam magistri Nicolai** ex parte anime eiusdem et duorum filiorum eius Johannis et Michaelis Conventui Cibiniensi ordinis predicatorum 1488 ita quod per registrum animarum satifiat pro ipsis* – See Fig. 5

6. (Pseudo-) Petrus de Palude, *Sermones Thesauri novi de Sanctis* (Strassburg: Printer of 'Vitas Patrum', 1484), 2º, Brukenthal: Inc. 167, Jugăreanu: 296, GW M41817

   - *Librum istum dominus **Georgius, vitricus Ecclesie beate virginis,** ad conventum S. Crucis ordinis fratris predicatorum contulit ut in ambone pro anima domini Georgii quondam capellani predicte ecclesie exoretur quamdiu priori pro tempore placuerit* – See Fig. 4

7. (Pseudo-) Petrus de Palude, *Sermones Thesauri Novi de tempore* (Strassburg: Printer of 'Vitas Patrum', 1484), 2º, Brukenthal: Inc. 358, Jugăreanu: 300, GW M41794

   - *Emptum per dominum **Anthonium de Valle Agnetis**. Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo Tercio.* – See Fig. 1

   - *Liber domini **Iohannis carpentarii de Cibinio** legatum per venerabilem virum dominum **Paulum seratoris de Birthallben** cuius anima in deo vivat* – See Fig. 2

8. **a.** (Pseudo-)Petrus de Palude, *Sermones Thesauri novi quadragesimales* (Strassburg: Martin Flach, 1488), 2º, The Szekler Museum of Ciuc: 6211, Muckenhaupt: II. 73, GW M41840

   b. (Pseudo-)Petrus de Palude, *Sermones Thesauri novi de sanctis*, (Strassburg: Martin Flach, 1488), 2º, The Szekler Museum of Ciuc: 6211, Muckenhaupt: II. 74, GW M41806

   - *Emptus est liber iste per dominum Jacobum de Praschmar Anno salutis 1492*

9. Raynerus de Pisa, *Pantheologia seu Summa universae Theologiae* (2 vols, Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1477), 2º, Brukenthal: Inc. 316, Jugăreanu: 267, GW

   - *Iste liber datus est conuenti sancti Crucis Cibiniensis ordinis fratrum predicatorum ab **honesto viro domino Petro Ursul**. ab salutem sui et suorum omnium tam vivorum quam eciam defunctorum anno domini 1505*

10. Thomas de Aquino, *Summa thelogica*, Pars III, (Treviso: Michele Manzolo, 1476), 2º, The Szekler Museum of Ciuc: 6182, Muckenhaupt: II. 81, GW M46501

    - *Memoriale dominy **Georgy de villa Walthidia** pro fratribus in Schik*

11. Thomas de Aquino, *Summa Theologiae pars III* (Venice: Phlippus Pincius, 12. IX. 1493), 4º, Brukenthal: Inc. 75, Jugăreanu: 334, GW M46506

    - ***Michael Aurifaber Mediensis** est possesor hujus libri, quem ex divisione bonorum viduae cuiusdam accepit.*

    - *Michael aurifaber Mediensis 1569.*

Fig. 1. Ownership note of *Anthonius de Valle Agnetis*

Fig. 2. Note mentioning *Johannes carpentarius/ carpentarii* and *Paulus Seratoris*

Fig. 3 Note presenting *Caspar Hwet* as the father of *Martinus Pilladis de Cibinio* and as *villicus* of the same town
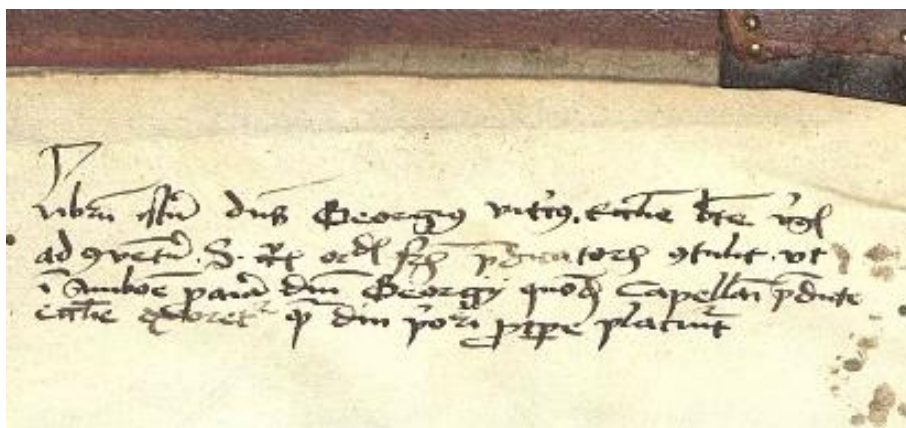
Fig. 4 Note mentioning the donation made by *Georgius, vitricus ecclesie beate virginis*
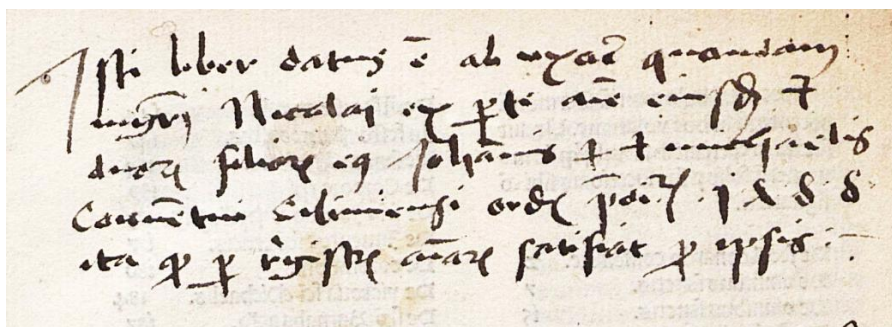
Fig. 5 Note mentioning the donation made by *uxore quondam magister Nicolaus*

The Passion Cycle in the Sanctuaries of the Saxon Fortified Churches in Southern Transylvania

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Abstract: This paper aims to reconstitute the pictorial program of some medieval Saxon churches' sanctuaries, which are Mălâncrav, Curciu, Râşnov and Sibiu, with particular interest on the images regarding the Passion Cycle. The article will try to bring a stylistic and iconographic analysis of the Passion Cycle in the sanctuary, episodes that usually appear on the northern choir wall. Therefore, we aim to highlight the reasons why this Passion narrative was chosen to decorate this part of the sanctuary and what was its role both regarding the place that it occupies, that is near the most sacred place of the church, and also the role it had in the religious services. Given the complexity of the narrative programs and the strong link with the biblical texts, the paintings have a double role, both educational and devotional.

Keywords: Passion Cycles, mural painting, fortified churches, iconography

Rezumat: Lucrarea de faţă îşi propune reconstituirea programului pictural al sanctuarului câtorva biserici medievale săseşti, şi anume Mălâncrav, Curciu, Râşnov şi Sibiu, insistând asupra scenelor care ilustrează episoadele din Ciclul Patimilor. Ceea ce va încerca articolul de faţă va fi analiza stilistică şi iconografică a ciclului Patimilor din zona sanctuarului, episoade întâlnite deja de câteva ori în unele biserici, cu precădere pe peretele nordic al corului. Astfel, dorim să subliniem motivele pentru care naraţiunea privitoare la Ciclul Patimilor a fost aleasă pentru a decora această zonă a sanctuarului şi ce rol avea aceasta atât în raport cu locul pe care îl ocupă, şi anume în vecinătatea celei mai sacre locaţii a bisericii, cât şi rolul pe care aceste scene îl aveau în cadrul slujbelor religioase. Datorită complexităţii programelor narative dar şi a legăturii strânse cu textul biblic, picturile au dublu rol, atât didactic, cât şi devoţional.

Cuvinte cheie: Ciclul Patimilor, pictură murală, biserici fortificate, iconografie

Many of the medieval churches in Transylvania have been decorated both at the interior and the exterior with mural paintings. One of them is the church in Mălâncrav (Malmkrog, Almakerék), patronized for centuries by

the noble Apafi family, stunning for the richness of its decorative program.[1] This church's sanctuary, entirely covered in paintings, raises a series of questions about the way in which this particular space in the church was decorated in general.

The chosen themes for the decoration of the sanctuary are quite diverse, highlighting The Virgin or other saints preferred by the church's patron, and last but not least, Jesus Christ. Between the scenes about Christ's life, we can see a preference towards the Passion Cycle. Thus, we may ask how often these cycles were depicted, if the episodes chosen are the same in all the churches and if all the compositions were similar regarding the structure and the pictural conventions. Lastly, we cannot be indifferent to the messages that these pictorial programs sent and the functions that they had in this sacred space.

Starting from these questions, the purpose of this study is to discuss the Passion cycle from the iconographic point of view, reconstructing this pictorial program, analyzing its characteristics both narrative and spatial, decoding its messages and outlining its function. The approach involves both the identification of scenes and the analysis of the compositional schemes, as well as the identification of textual and visual references.[2]

Such research may be useful because in the previous literature, though abundant, with particular interest in the church of Mălâncrav, the subject has rarely been approached from an iconographic analysis perspective, according to earlier suggestions (Warburg, Panofsky) or later ones (Baschet).[3]

[1] Anca Gogâltan, 'The Holy Hungarian Kings, The Saint Bishop and The Saint King in The Sanctuary of The Church at Mălâncrav', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XII-XIII (2002-2003): 103-121, 104.

[2] For the iconographic method see Erwin Panofsky, *Artă și semnificație* [Meaning in the Visual Arts] (București: Meridiane, 1980) and Jérôme Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008).

[3] Studies regarding the church in Mălâncrav:

Viktor Roth, 'Die Freskomalerein im Chor der Kirche zu Malmkrog', *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 26 (1903): 49-53, 91-96, 109-119, 125-131, 141-144, Vasile Drăguț, 'Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav' [The Mural Paintings in the evangelical church in Mălâncrav], *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, 14 (1967): 79-93, Vasile Drăguț, 'Les peintures murales de l'église evangelique Mălâncrav', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, V (1968): 61-71, Anca Gogâltan, 'The Architecture of The Church in Mălâncrav (Sibiu County)', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, VIII-IX (1998-1999): 125-143, Anca Gogâltan, 'The Church in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) Sibiu District. A Historiographic Overview', *Apulum*, 37/2 (2000): 305-313, Anca Gogâtlan, Dóra Sallay, „The Church of Mălâncrav/Almakerék and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa", *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania*, II (2002): 181-210, Anca Gogâtlan, *Patronage and Artistic Production in Transylvania. The Apafis and the church in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog), Sibiu County in Transylvania*, PhD Dissertation, Manuscript, Department of Medieval Studies, Central Eropean University. Budapest, 2002, Anca Gogâltan, 'The Holy Hungarian Kings, The Saint Bishop and The Saint King in The Sanctuary of The Church at Mălâncrav', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XII-XIII (2002-2003): 103-121, Anca Gogâltan, 'Passion

An inventory of the mural paintings in Transylvanian medieval churches suggests that the Passion cycle is present on the northern wall of the Mălâncrav sanctuary (paintings dated by most historians in 1404-1405, according to a graffiti on the painted surface[4]), on the northern wall of the sanctuary at Curciu (Kirtsch, Küküllőkörös) (paintings dated generally in the fifteenth century[5]) and Râşnov (Rosenau, Barcarozsnyó), (dated in 1500[6]),

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Iconography and Narrative Strategies in the Medieval Frescoes Decorating the Church in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) in Transylvania', *New Europe College, GE-NEC Program, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2006-2007* (2010): 101-152, Doina Elena Crăciun, 'L'image politique comme manifeste? Considérations sur la fresque des saints rois dans l'église (luthérienne) de Mălâncrav (XVe siècle)', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre (BUCEMA)*, 19/2 (2015): 1-19, Dana Jenei, „Les peintures murales de l'église de Mălâncrav. Notes avant la Restauration", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série Beaux-Arts, Tome LII, (2015): 47-76.

[4] This dating is very discussed in literature. Drăguţ in his article 'Picturile murale', p. 79 mentions the dating of Radocsay Dénes, between the last quarter of the 4th century and the beginning of the 15th century, and then that of Vătăşianu, from the end of the 14th century. Drăguţ restricts even more this interval, dating the choir paintings between the end of the 14th century and the year 1404, according to the graffiti on the south-eastern wall of the sanctuary (p. 93). Gogâltan in her study 'The Holy Hungarian Kings', p. 117, based on the same graffiti, dates the paintings between 1390 and 1405, according to the historical, architectonic and iconographic features of space. In another article, 'Passion Iconography', p. 105, Gogâltan mentions again the dating 1405 according to the famous graffiti, while Crăciun in 'L'image politique', p. 11, mentions the same years of 1404/1405, stating that she agrees with this dating. Lastly, Jenei in 'Les peintures murales', p. 59, mentions the same graffiti that dates the paintings of the sanctuary between 1404/1405, thus abandoning her previous hypothesis in which the paintings date from around the peak of Nicholas Apa's career. We also believe that the most accurate dating of the sanctuary paintings would be the years suggested by the graffiti, namely 1404/1405.

[5] We still do not have a precise dating for the paintings in Curciu. Vasile Drăguţ in his book *Arta gotică în România* [Gothic Art in Romania] (Bucureşti: Meridiane, 1979), p. 246 mentions the paintings in Curciu between many other painted churches that date from the end of the 15th century. Kiss Lóránd mentioned them in his article 'Falképek kutatása és helyreállítása az erdély szász evangélikus templomokban', *Certamen*, I (2013): 385-389, stating that they date from the second half of the 15th century (p. 387). Dana Jenei, in her study 'The Passion, Death and Resurrection Murals Painted inside St. Matthias Church în Râşnov', *Studii şi cercetări de Istoria Artei*, Artă Plastică, 4/48 (2014): 9-27, especially p. 11, declares that they date from the first decades of the 15th century.

[6] At the church in Râşnov the dating is certain because of the inscription on the scene *The Resurrection*, which is the year 1500. This date is mentioned in the literature by all the authors who have discussed or have mentioned these paintings: Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Ţările Române: Arta în perioada de dezvoltare a feudalismului* [Feudal Art History in Romanian Countries. The Art in the Period of the Development of Feudalism] (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare România, 1959), p. 774, Vasile Drăguţ, 'Picturi murale exterioare în Transilvania medievală' [Exterior Mural Paintings in Medieval Transylvania], *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, Artă Plastică, 12/1 (1965): 91, in another article by Vasile Drăguţ, 'Consideraţii asupra iconografiei picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania' [Considerations about the Iconography of the Mural Paintings in Transylvania], *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice*, XXXIX/3 (1970): 22, Hermann Fabini, *Universul cetăţilor bisericeşti din Transilvania* [The Universe of the Church Fortresses in Transylvania]

while at Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), (paintings dated 1445[7]) there is only one episode from the Passion but in a very large size, that is the scene of the Crucifixion.

The first step of this analysis is to reconstruct the visual program of the northern wall of the sanctuary where the images of the Passion cycle are displayed. Taking into account the adaptation to the architectural space, we are led to ask what is the articulation of the visual narrative, what are the episodes chosen to be represented, what is their sequence and the meaning of the narrative, and whether there are constants in the manner in which the scenes are composed.

The reconstruction of the Mălâncrav program is easier because the paintings were restored at the beginning of the twentieth century and there is a substantial literature that discussed the identification of the scenes.[8] On the northern wall of the choir, the paintings are displayed in three horizontal tiers, the total number of the episodes being 14 (Figure 1). There are four scenes in the upper tier, five are visible in the middle one, and in the lower tier to the right only two scenes on the right are visible now, while the left side was completely lost. The four top scenes are *The Last Supper*, *The Washing of the Feet*, *The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane* along with *The Arrest of Jesus*, and those below are *The Crucifixion*, *Judas Returning the Money*, *Judas Dead by Hanging*,

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(Sibiu: Monumenta, 2012), p. 235, Dana Jenei, 'Mural paintings around 1500 in Mediaș', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XXII (2012): 56, Dana Jenei, 'Thèmes iconographiques et images dévotionelles dans la peinture murale médiévale tardive de Transylvanie (Deuxième partie du XVe siècle-premier quart du XVIe siècle)', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire d'Art*, Série Beaux-Arts, LI (2014): 29 and Jenei, 'The Passion, Death and Resurrection', p. 9.

[7] As in Râșnov's case, the dating is marked by an inscription on the wall with the year 1445 written above the image of *Vir Dolorum*: Drăguț, 'Considerații asupra iconografiei', p. 22, Dana Jenei, 'Art and Mentality in the Late Middle Ages Transylvania', *New Europe College*, GE-NEC *Program, 2000-2001, 2001-2002* (2004): 16, Maria Crăciun, 'Polipticul și devoțiunea euharistică în Transilvania Evului Mediu Târziu' [The Polyptich and the Eucharistic Devotion in Late Medieval Transylvania], *Caiete de antropologie istorică. Sărbătoare, celebrare, comemorare*, 1/7 (2005): 62, Ciprian Firea, 'Pictura murală *Crucificarea* din biserica evanghelică din Sibiu' [*The Crucifixion* Mural Painting from the Evangelical Church in Sibiu], in Daniela Dâmboiu – Iulia Mesea (eds), *Confluențe. Repere europene în arta transilvăneană. Catalog de expoziție* (Sibiu: Muzeul Național Brukenthal, 2007), p. 29, Ciprian Firea, 'Blazonul breslei pictorilor și urme ale folosirii sale în Transilvania (sec. XV-XVI)' [The Coat of Arms of the Painters' Guild and Traces of its Use in Transylvania (15th and 16th centuries), *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XXI (2011): 71, Jenei, 'Thèmes iconographiques', p. 30.

[8] Regarding the interventions and the restoration works see Gogâltan, 'The Architecture of The Church in Mălâncrav', pp. 49-77 and Jenei, 'Les peintures murales', pp. 47-76. For the reconstitution of the pictorial program, Drăguț has a schematic proposal in 'Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav', pp. 79-92.

The Coronation with Thorns, and *The Mocking of Christ*. In the lower register, on the right, only *The Resurrection* and *Noli me Tangere* are preserved.[9]

The Passion cycle episodes also extend on the north-eastern wall of the sanctuary, where we have in the upper tier *Jesus in front of Ana and Caiaphas*, in the median tier *The Carrying of the Cross*, and in the lower tier *The Ascension*.[10]

As mentioned above, we can see that the narration stretches on the north-eastern wall of the apse too, not just on the northern choir wall. The layout of the scenes is more difficult to determine because it is only apparently linear, progressing from left to right, beginning with the upper left scene, *The Last Supper*, and ending with the lower right episode, *The Ascension*. In fact, on the left side in the middle tier there is a group of scenes that include *The Crucifixion* near the two Judas scenes that match the chronological sequence of events. On the right side the episodes are following the chronology of the events and the layout is always left-right. Anca Gogâltan in her PhD thesis uses Marcia Kupfer's method and formally analyzes the painting: she discusses the decorative stripes that delimit the scenes, the composition of the episodes and the chromatics. Regarding the northern wall, she says that it is a general impression of narrative discontinuity in which the physical suffering of Jesus is emphasized and the scenes *The Carrying of the Cross* and *The Crucifixion* are particularly highlighted, the latter being present once again as a relief just above the tabernacle.[11]

But if we carefully look at how the narrative is adapted to space, we notice that the scenes towards the nave are forming a narrative unit, while the scenes towards the apse form a second narrative unit. Visually there is a feeling that we have two associated programs, rather than a single program that decorates the entire northern wall.

Finally, it should be noted that between the scene of *The Resurrection* and *Noli me Tangere* appears a *Vir Dolorum* whose wound from the right side bleeds into a cup in which the host is also visible, an image decorating the baldaquin from above the niche in which the sacrament was kept. This type of *Vir Dolorum* was named by Dóra Sallay as an Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum*[12] because both the species of the Sacrament, the host and the cup with wine that

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[9] *The Ressurection* and *Noli Me Tangere*: Drăguţ, 'Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav', p. 87, Jenei, 'The Passion, Death and Resurrection', p. 110, Jenei, 'Les peintures murales', p. 67.

[10] Both the episodes in the nave and the sanctuary have been fully identified by Drăguţ in 'Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav', pp. 79-92 and by Jenei, 'Les peintures murales', pp. 47-76.

[11] Gogâtlan, 'Patronage and Artistic Production', pp. 112-125.

[12] Dóra Sallay, 'The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Late Medieval Art', *Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University*, 6 (2000): 45-80.

became the body and blood of Jesus during the Liturgy, appear. This iconographic type was particularly widespread in Central Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the images being mainly found in the tabernacle area,[13] as we see in the church of Mălâncrav. Also, the author associates this type of image with the cult of the Holy Blood relics,[14] the sanctuary of the Mălâncrav church, according to Anca Gogâltan and Dóra Sallay, kept such relics in the niche of the eastern wall of the apse, placed right under another image of *Vir Dolorum*, the sanctuary thus gaining the role of a Holy Blood chapel.[15]

Regarding the church in Curciu, the Passion cycle is also represented on the northern wall of the sanctuary (Figure 2). The pictorial program is distributed in three horizontal tiers, of which only 12 recognisable episodes are still visible today.[16]

Three scenes can be seen in the upper tier: *The Entrance into Jerusalem*, *The Last Supper* and *The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, and only five scenes out of eight are visible in the middle register. From the left to the right are *The Arrest of Jesus*, *Christ in Front of Pilate*, *The Mocking of Christ* and *The Crowning with Thorns*, following with three very damaged scenes where we suppose that it was *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *The Ascent on the Cross* and *The Crucifixion*, the tier ending with *The Deposition*. In the lower tier, there are only three recognisable scenes on the left side, namely *The Entombment*, *The Resurrection* and *The Harrowing of Hell*, following three completely missing scenes. The tier ends with two fragmentary images, the first being *The Saints Cosmas and Damian* and the latter being almost completely lost and that has not been yet identified. The large number of selected episodes suggests a detailed approach of the Passion cycle in a narrative manner, following the chronology of the events.

Unlike Mălâncrav, the layout of the program is much easier to decipher. The images can be read from the left to the right for each tier, starting with the scene from the top left, *The Entrance into Jerusalem* and ending with *The Harrowing of Hell* in the lower tier, that is the last visible scene. The layout of the scenes in the architectural space suggests that the last images, mostly damaged today, may have been included in this extended cycle and may have

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[13] Ibid., p. 51.

[14] Ibid., p. 62.

[15] Anca Gogâltan, Dóra Sallay, 'The Church of Mălâncrav/Almakerék and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa', *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania*, 2 (2002): 197.

[16] There are a few studies that discuss the mural paintings from Curciu because for decades there were only a few fragments visible: Kiss, 'Falképek kutatása', Dana Jenei, *Goticul în Transilvania. Pictura (c. 1300−1500)* [The Gothic in Transylvania. The Painting (c. 1300-1500)] (Bucureşti: Oscar Print, 2016), Raluca Georgiana Cobuz, 'The Mural Paintings of the Fortified Church in Curciu', *Brukenthal Acta Mvsei*, XIII/2, (2018): 209-225.

depicted other episodes about the appearances of Jesus after the Resurrection and perhaps ending with *The Ascension* or even with *The Pentecost*. This discussion may develop in future research, as graphic models must be considered, the Passion cycle being a common theme in the northern Alps at the beginning of the sixteenth century[17] (Albrecht Dűrer, Lucas Cranach) and also the Italian mural paintings from the Franciscan ambiance.

The church in Râşnov also keeps some episodes from the Passion cycle on the northern wall of the choir, but in a much more modest number (Figure 3). Laid in three horizontal tiers, the scenes are much larger in size than those mentioned in the other churches. In the upper tier, *The Last Supper* and *The Crucifixion* are visible, in the median tier the first scene is highly damaged but it is most likely *The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane* or *The Arrest of Jesus*, although the latter has generally more characters, which are not visible in this instance due to the high state of damage. Then there is a fragmentary scene that is probably *The Trial of Christ* (at Ana, Caiaphas, or Pilate, we can not know for sure because of the poor state of conservation), then *The Carrying of the Cross* and *The Deposition*. In the lower tier, the first two episodes are still covered with plaster, the cycle being concluded on the right side with *The Entombment* and *The Resurrection*.[18]

The layout of these episodes is a little different, as it follows a more winding course. It starts from the upper register with *The Last Supper*, descends to the middle tier at *The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, and continues with *The Trial of Christ*. Continuing to the lower tier, the two episodes that are still covered by plaster would be *The Mocking of Christ* and *The Crowning with Thorns*, as we can see in Mălâncrav and Curciu. This hypothesis is also supported by the spatial organization of the program according to the architectural framework. In the right part of the ensemble, the narration continues with *The Carrying of the Cross*, then it goes back to the upper tier at *The Crucifixion*, descends again into the median tier at *The Descent from the Cross*, and finally moves to the lower left tier, at *The Entombment* and ends with *The Resurrection*.[19]

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[17] Angela Haas, 'Two Devotional Manuals by Albrecht Dürer: The "Small Passion" and the "Engraved Passion". Iconography, Context and Spirituality', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 63/2 (2000): 169-170.

[18] For studies that mention the paintings in Râşnov see Drăguţ, 'Picturi murale exterioare', p. 91, Drăguţ, 'Consideraţii asupra iconografiei', pp. 22, 172, Vasile Drăguţ, 'Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania', *Pagini de veche artă românească*, II, (1972): 69, Dana Jenei, *Pictura murală gotică din Transilvania* [Gothic Mural Painting in Transylvania] (Bucureşti: Editura Noi Media Print, 2007), pp. 116-119, Jenei, 'Picturi murale din jurul anului 1500', p. 56, Jenei, 'Thèmes iconographiques', pp. 11, 29 and Jenei, 'The Passion, Death and Resurrection'.

[19] The layout of the episodes in Râşnov has been briefly discussed by Jenei in 'Pictura murală gotică din Transilvania', p. 118 and in 'The Passion, Death and Resurrection', p. 11, works in

The last case study we are referring to is the now evangelical church in Sibiu, where we have a monumental image of *The Crucifixion* on the northern wall of the choir. Even though it is not part of a Passion cycle, this representation of *The Crucifixion* is also to be considered.

A comparison between the visual narratives dedicated to the Passion in the three churches discussed, Mălancrav, Curciu and Râşnov highlights the recurrence of some episodes such as *The Last Supper*, *The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, *The Arrest*, *The Trial of Christ*, *The Carrying of the Cross*, *The Crucifixion* and *The Resurrection*.

The layout of the scenes and their evolution plead for a narrative treatment of the Passion subject which follows the chronology of the events described in the canonical Gospels (Matthew chapters 21-28, Mark chapters 11-16, Luke chapters 19-24 and John chapters 12-20). However, these chapters are not identical; they have a few differences regarding the episodes discussed. Most of them are mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew, in a total number of 18, Luke's gospel has 16 episodes, Mark's gospel has 14 episodes, and finally John with 11 episodes (Figure 4).

In general, all four gospels discuss the same events, but with a few differences. For example, the scene of *The Washing of the Feet* is only found in the Gospel of John, and so is the moment in which Jesus, at the dinner, gives Judas a piece of bread (John 13: 21-26). Also, in the Gospel of John, there is no mention of the moment in which Simon of Cyrene helps Jesus to carry his cross on the way to Golgotha (Matthew 27:32, Mark 15:21, Luke 23:26). In these paintings we see that only the most important and the most suggestive scenes are selected, most likely due to the limited space of the church sanctuary. One way we can identify what are the most important scenes that are chosen is the frequency of their appearance in the churches where the Passion cycle is displayed, but there may be other clues such as their location in the church, their number or size, as we shall see in the following.

Most of the time these images correspond to the events written in the Gospels, with representations of some key moments such as *The Last Supper*, when Jesus gives Judas the bread, an image that can be interpreted as the moment of the revealing of the traitor (John 13: 21-26, at Mălâncrav), *The Trial of Christ* with the moment in which Caiaphas is tearing his clothes apart when he heard Jesus (Matthew 26: 63-65, Mark 14: 61-63, at Mălâncrav), or *The Carrying of the Cross*, when Simon of Cyrene carries the cross of Jesus (Matthew 27:32; Mark 15:21, Luke 23:26, a detail that does not appear in the Gospel of John). The main difference, however, between the texts and the frescoes is the

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which she does not offer many details, stating just that the placement of *The Last Supper* and *The Crucifixion* highlights the Eucharistic meaning between these two events.

insistence on Jesus's suffering. In Matthew's Gospel, for example, in chapter 27, between the 26nd and 35th verses, there are mentioned the moments from the flagellation to the crucifixion, without necessarily emphasizing the way in which Jesus was mistreated, tortured and humiliated. The paintings come here to complete the biblical text, amplifying the violent character of the events, especially in *The Flagellation*, the *Crowning with Thorns* and the *Carrying of the Cross*. Anne Derbes in her book *Picturing Passion in Late Medieval Italy*, an extensive study in which she is analyzing each scene of the Passion, starting with *The Arrest* to the *Nailing on the Cross*, discusses the appearance and evolution of each scene over time. As an example, she mentions Coppo di Marcovaldo's own interpretation of these episodes in the images depicted on the cross in San Gimignano. On the cross there is a crucified Jesus surrounded by small images with different episodes from the Passion cycle, enriched with elements and details that emphasize the torment and suffering Jesus has endured.[20] Derbes states that the insistence of the Franciscans upon the physical suffering of the Savior is due to the *imitatio christi* practice, meaning the imitation of the life of Jesus, and in particular of the Passion, especially the moments of suffering and humiliation.[21]

Sometimes even the visual narratives underline an evolution over time. One may notice the difference between the paintings in Mălâncrav (1405) and in Râşnov (1500) churches. In the first case (Figure 5), in the *Carrying of the Cross* scene, Jesus is standing up, carrying the cross with the help of Simon of Cyrene. This image appears in Italy at the end of the twelfth century and is encountered until the beginning of the next century, when Jesus will carry his cross alone, Simon not being present in the picture anymore.[22] Two similar examples are the work of the Master of Coloswar in 1427, today at the Christian Museum in Esztergom[23] and the scene of *The Carrying of the Cross* by Giacomo Jaquerio in 1430 from the abbey Sant'Antonio di Ranverso in Buttigliera Alta.[24] Unlike the image of Mălâncrav, at Râşnov (Figure 6), Jesus collapses under the weight of the cross, as we can see in the work of Hyeronimus Bosch, *The Carrying of the Cross* from 1480, today at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,[25] in the work of Master of the House Book *The Carrying of the Cross* from around 1480, preserved at the

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[20] Anne Derbes, *Picturing Passion in Late Medieval Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 97.

[21] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

[22] Ibid., p. 122.

[23] The image can be seen at https://www.wga.hu/art/m/master/thomas/3garam.jpg (last access: 13.10.2019).

[24] https://www.wga.hu/art/j/jaquerio/carrying.jpg (last access: 13.10.2019).

[25] https://www.wga.hu/art/b/bosch/1early/12carry.jpg (last access: 13.10.2019).

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam[26] and in the work of Derick Baegert's from 1490, today at the Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster.[27] In all these images we see the dramatic interpretation of *The Carrying of the Cross* episode, a moment that is not much described in the Gospels but for the Franciscans had a major significance.

This insistence of the Franciscans upon the violence and torment of Jesus has its origins in several devotional writings such as *Meditationes Vitae Christi* written by Pseudo Bonaventura, which Hans Belting says is a Bible retelling, enriched with details designed to emotionally touch the viewer and further inviting to empathize and participate emotionally in the episodes represented.[28] Other sources are also mentioned by Anne Derbes, such as the *Office of Passion* of St. Francis, and also writings by Bonaventura: *Lignum Vitae*, *Apologia pauperum*, *Vitis Mystica seu tractatus de passione Domini*, *Meditatione pauperis im solitudine* and *De perfectione vitae ad sorores*, or the work attributed to Anselm *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* and *Meditatione Passionis Christi per septemyia horas libellus* attributed to Bede.[29] In addition to those mentioned above, Maria Crăciun adds *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* of Bonaventura and *Vita Christi* of Ludwig of Saxony.[30] Derbes states that these texts of the Franciscans are directly related to the new narrative programs on the Passion of Jesus, in both cases being highlighted Jesus's human suffering, but also his modesty, poverty and charity.[31] As a result, we can observe an enrichment of the information from the biblical texts with suggestions from the Franciscan literature, an intervention meant to strengthen the didactic and the emotional role that these images had on the public.

As we have discussed, when the Gospel text was put into images, for the Transylvanian case, a selection was made for each of these churches, keeping in mind that at that time some of the Passion cycles were more detailed. Some such examples are Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel in Padua (about 1305), where there are 12 episodes starting with *The Entrance into Jerusalem* and ending with *The Resurrection*, on Duccio's *Maestà* altarpiece (1308-1311) containing 30 Panels with the Passion and Appearances of Jesus' after the resurrection, this being one of the most extensive cycles in Italy or the panel of Hans Memling from 1470-1471, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, kept

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[26] https://www.wga.hu/art/m/master/hausbuch/carrying.jpg (last access: 13.10.2019).

[27] https://www.wga.hu/art/b/baegert/bearing.jpg (last access: 13.10.2019).

[28] Hans Belting, 'The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: *Historia* and Allegory', *Studies in the History of Art. Symposium Papers IV: Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 16 (1985): 152.

[29] Derbes, 'Picturing Passion', p. 22.

[30] Maria Crăciun, 'Attitudes to Religious Art and the Confessional Identity of the Saxon Community', *New Europe College, GE-NEC Program, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2006-2007* (2010): 27.

[31] Derbes, 'Picturing Passion', p. 22.

at the Sabauda Gallery in Turin, in which 23 episodes are visible, starting with *The Entrance into Jerusalem* and ending with some Appearances after the resurrection. In Transylvania, as we have seen, there are 10 episodes in Râşnov, 14 (or 17 if we consider the lost images) episodes in Curciu and 14 episodes in Mălâncrav. That being said, it makes us wonder why only certain episodes were selected to be depicted on the northern wall of the sanctuary.

An inventory of the selected scenes leads us to the conclusion that they were chosen to visually represent the events between *The Entry into Jerusalem* or *The Last Supper* and *The Resurrection*, meaning the events that took place in the Week of the Passion. This draws attention to the adjustment of these representations according to, not just the text of the Gospels but also to the liturgical calendar. The images depict events that took place in a specific time range commemorated annually, beginning with the Palm Sunday and ending on the Easter Sunday. As Maria Crăciun demonstrates in a study dedicated to this kind of representations in Transylvanian altarpieces, the narration coincides with a specific liturgical moment, the *Triduum* office, which takes place in the Passion week, between Thursday and Saturday.[32] This highlights the connection between the pictorial program and the liturgy that took place at the main altar in this well-defined period of the liturgical year. If we read the scenes included in these visual narratives in accordance with the liturgy, we find that at Râşnov the two scenes arranged in the upper register are visually marking the two moments that liturgically delimit the selected time segment, the establishment of the sacrament at *The Last Supper* and *The Resurrection* on Easter Sunday. Dana Jenei emphasizes the Eucharistic character of these two scenes, especially the *Supper*, noting that this is the foundation of the most important mystery of the Church.[33] Although in the Râşnov image these elements can no longer be recognized because of the poor state of conservation, the two species of the sacrament were most likely present on the table: the bread, symbolizing the body of the Savior, and the cup of wine, symbol of his blood. In some cases, such as in Curciu, there may also be on a plate a miniature lamb, symbolizing the sacrifice of Jesus as *Agnus Dei* who will die for the salvation of men. Jenei also identifies an additional element that emphasizes the Eucharistic character of the image, namely the red carpet behind Jesus, its color recalling the Lord's blood, highlighting Jesus, who is placed at the center of the image.[34] *The Resurrection* episode represents the successful fulfilment of the mission, namely the salvation of humanity through his sacrifice. The scenes between these two events, meaning the

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[32] Crăciun, ʾAttitudes to Religious Art', p. 29.
[33] Jenei, ʾThe Passion, Death and Resurrection', p. 11.
[34] Ibid., p. 12.

events that happened from Thursday to Sunday, usually vary from case to case. For example, in the Mălâncrav church there is the *Washing of the Feet* episode or the two scenes with Judas, while at Curciu it probably is *The Elevation of the Cross* (now almost entirely destroyed), *The Deposition* and *The Entombment*. The other episodes remain the same, but we always see the scenes of *The Supper* and *The Resurrection* when it comes to the Passion Cycle. Here, from a formal point of view, the similarity regarding the arrangement of these scenes is remarkable, as they are ordered in a manner similar to the visual narratives in the closed position of Transylvanian altarpieces, where the Passion cycle is often reduced to eight episodes.[35]

The display of the episodes at Mălâncrav is also suggestive. We have already noticed a layout adjusted to the architectural context. A closer look leads us to the conclusion that some of the scenes on the northern wall along with the episodes depicted on the northeastern wall form a liturgical unit, marking the same temporal segment of the Passion. These are the scenes of *Jesus before Ana and Caiaphas* (events which took place on Thursday night) placed in the upper tier of the northeastern wall, a scene that comes after *The Arrest* (also Thursday night before *The Trial*), and the scene from the middle tier, *The Carrying of the Cross*, which follows *The Mocking*, both on Friday, on the day of the crucifixion.

It is noteworthy that such a narration was considered appropriate for decorating the northern wall of the sanctuary. Located in this place, the visual narrative makes an explicit reference to the events re-enacted by the liturgy and, in particular, to the divine services associated with Easter Sunday.[36] It is particularly noteworthy the adding of the episode *The Last Supper* which represents the historical moment in which the sacrament was established.[37]

If we take into consideration the frequency with which certain episodes are represented (Figure 7), we find that the most often represented episodes are, as stated above, *The Last Supper* and *The Resurrection*, followed by *The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, *The Arrest*, *The Carrying of the Cross*, and *The Crucifixion*. *The Trial of Christ*, *The Mocking* and *The Crowning with Thorns*, as well as *The Deposition* and *The Entombment* are also frequently

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[35] Crăciun, 'Attitudes to Religious Art', pp. 28-29.

[36] For further information regarding what missals were used in Transylvania see Karl Reinerth, *Missale Cibiniense. Gestalt, Ursprung und Entwicklung des Meßritus der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirche im Mittelalter* (10 vols, Köln und Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1972). A few such examples can be found in the Brukenthal Museum's Library. We have consulted the Missale 7, code Ms 601, from the church in Cisnădie, which, according to Reinerth, dates from the second half of the 15th century (Reinerth, 'Missale Cibiniense', 9, p. 10).

[37] Gogâltan, 'Passion Iconography', pp. 116-117, Jenei, 'Les peintures murales', pp. 111-112, Jenei, 'The Passion, Death and Resurrection', pp. 11-13, Jenei, 'Thèmes iconographiques', p. 29.

represented. Therefore, there is a predilection for the scenes directly associated with the Passion, especially those that highlight Jesus's suffering, physically and psychologically, as suggested by the episodes of his *Arrest*, *Trial*, *Mocking*, *Crowning with Thorns*, *Carrying of the Cross*, and finally *The Crucifixion*.

But our attention must also be directed towards the particularities of these compositions. Regarding the episode of *The Last Supper*, we usually have a group of characters sitting around a table, sometimes rectangular (Curciu, Râșnov), sometimes circular (Mălâncrav). At Mălâncrav, on the table we can see a plate containing two fish, a circular dish or a round bread, two braided loaves of bread and a knife, while at Curciu we can see two braided loaves of bread and a bowl with something that looks like a miniature lamb. The central figure on the other side of the table is Jesus, surrounded by the haloed Apostles, the only one without a halo being Judas. As in other examples from the Italian space (Giotto di Bondone, *The Last Supper*, 1320-25, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Lorenzo Monaco, *The Last Supper*, 1394-95 from Staatliche Museen, Berlin and Stefano di Giovanni (Sassetta), *The Last Supper*, 1423, the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena) and from the German space (Master of the Housebook, *The Last Supper*, 1475-80, Staatliche Museen, Berlin), Judas is placed on the other side of the table, opposite to Jesus and separate from the other apostles gathered around Christ. Because the rest of the apostles are shown close to Jesus, while Judas is isolated, as in the case of Curciu, it highlights the negative role that Judas has received, not being part of the faithful apostles. In other cases, like at Mălâncrav, we need to look more closely at this episode to figure out which of the apostles is Judas: he is the only one who does not have a halo and is also the only one who receives a piece of bread from Christ. This moment is described in the gospel of John, when Jesus is telling the apostles that his vendor is the one to whom he will give the bread, and then he gave it to Judas (John 13:26), this meaning that in *The Last Supper* scene at Mălâncrav this exact moment is captured. Usually on the table we can see the wine (which in these images discussed here is missing, most likely because of the poor state of conservation) and the bread, the elements which in the liturgical context are the two species of the sacrament, elements that anticipate the events that will follow. Typically, for medieval compositions, in this episode the emphasis is placed on Judas' betrayal. Therefore, at Mălâncrav and Curciu are present two different moments from the same event. If at Mălâncrav the moment when Jesus shares the bread with Judas (Mark 14: 18-20, John 13: 21-26)[38] is particularly emphasized, the latter being seated among the other

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[38] For studies that discuss *The Last Supper* episode in Transylvania see Gogâltan, 'Passion Iconography', pp. 111-112, 116-117, Jenei, 'Les peintures murales', p. 64, Jenei, 'The Passion, Death and Resurrection', pp. 11-13 and Jenei, 'Thèmes iconographiques', p. 29.

apostles and without a halo, at Curciu we may have the moment after Jesus pointed out who the seller is, Judas having the money bag in his hands (John 13: 29-30), here depicted probably at the wrist, where the painting is almost washed out. Here he is represented in the foreground of the composition, but in profile, to emphasize the duplicity of this character, kneeling and isolated by the other apostles. As I have said, in general, we can identify Judas in many ways because he is the only one who does not have the halo, the only one who receives the bread from Jesus, and if none of these two clues are present, as it is the case of Albrecht Dürer's *Supper* from the *Small Passion* series, where none of the apostles have a halo, Judas can be identified by the bag with money.[39]

The following episodes often represented in these cycles are *The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane* and *The Arrest*. The presence of the cup in some representations of *The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane* (Curciu, Mălâncrav) is a direct reference to the biblical texts.[40] In *The Arrest* scene at Mălâncrav, for example, we see the Savior confident and in control of the situation, aware though that he is about to be sacrificed, yet he does not resist his arrest, accepting his fate voluntarily. This was discussed in detail by Anne Derbes, who states that Jesus's voluntary martyrdom is a characteristic symbol of Franciscan ideology.[41]

Next we have *The Trial of Christ*, when the Savior is condemned to death. We have, as we have seen, both the *Trial before Herod*[42] (at Curciu) and *The Trial before Ana and Caiaphas* (at Mălâncrav). According to the gospels, Jesus first reaches Ana, then he is sent to Caiaphas, but in the Passion cycle they are sometimes rendered in the same image,[43] this being a detail promoted by the Franciscans.[44] At Mălâncrav we have this scene, characterized by Caiaphas who is tearing his garment apart in response to blasphemy[45].

According to Anne Derbes, the preference for the detailed representation of the trials, both before the priests Ana and Caiafa, and before the secular authorities Pilate and Herod, is specific to the late Middle Ages

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[39] Angela Haas, 'Two Devotional Manuals by Albrecht Dürer: The *Small Passion* and the *Engraved Passion*. Iconography, Context and Spirituality', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 63/2 (2000): 179-180.

[40] Crăciun, 'Attitudes to Religious Art', p. 26. For more detailed discussions about this episode in Transylvania see Gogâltan, 'Passion Iconography', pp. 117, 147-148, Jenei, 'Les peintures murales', p. 65 and Jenei, 'The Passion, Death and Resurrection', pp. 13-14.

[41] Derbes, 'Picturing Passion', p. 67.

[42] We think it is Herod because of his elegant garments and his crown. We have discussed this detail in a previous study, Cobuz, 'The mural paintings of the fortified church in Curciu', p. 212.

[43] Ibid., p. 72. This type of composition is almost identical to that of *Jesus before Caiaphas* from Giotto's Arena Chapel in Padua.

[44] Ibid., p. 91.

[45] Ibid., p. 74.

and to franciscan influence of these narrative elaborations. The tendency to represent the trials before the Hebrew authorities, priests and the king betrays, in the author's opinion, the anti-Semitic feeling of the ambiance of origin of these images.[46]

The visual narrative is more violent in the episodes of *The Mocking*, *The Crowning with Thorns* and *The Carrying of the Cross*. The rather brief text of the Gospels[47] is enriched in the visual version with details that emphasize violence. However, the most relevant episode, from this point of view, is *The Carrying of the Cross*. If, according to the textual tradition followed especially in Eastern painting, sometimes also in Italy in the context of Byzantine influence, Jesus does not bear his own cross,[48] in the murals here, according to the Western model spread at the end of the Middle Ages, Christ is the one collapsing under its weight.[49] Anne Derbes states that in the middle of the thirteenth century the way in which this scene was represented has radically changed, the one who bears the cross was now Jesus, in this way the Western influence upon this scene is clear.[50] Some of the examples given by the author are the cross painted by Enrico di Tedice, in the church of San Martino in Pisa, and Giotto's *The Carrying of the Cross* in the Arena Chapel, Padova (c. 1304-1306) or that of Giacomo Jaquerio (c. 1410) in the Church of Sant'Antonio di Ranverso, Buttiegliera Alta. The author claims that these images with greater insistence on Jesus's suffering, promoted by the Franciscans, also appeared around those years. In *The Carrying of the Cross*, Jesus is carrying the cross by himself, but he is also helped by Simon of Cyrene, a detail that highlights the weight of the burden,[51] this image being also present in Mălâncrav. Interesting differences can also be seen in the paintings here in the Transylvanian churches. If the image at Mălâncrav shows a barefoot Jesus who is carrying the cross standing, with a clear expression on his face, at Râșnov, Jesus is worn-out under the weight of the cross, while one of the soldiers is preparing to strike him with a stick.[52]

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[46] Ibid., p. 93.

[47] Matthew 27: 26-33, Mark 15: 15-22, Luke 23: 25-33 and John 19: 1-17.

[48] Derbes, 'Picturing Passion', p. 119. Here the author discusses the first version of this image, dating back to the 12th century, of Byzantine tradition, an image that in the early Middle Ages was also transmitted to the Western European space where it continued to be used. The main feature is that Simon of Cyrene carries the cross instead of Jesus. Examples are the Sant'Angelo Church of Formis and the frescoes of Santi Martiri in Cemetery, unfortunately very damaged.

[49] Ibid., p. 121.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., p. 129.

[52] This image is very similar with those from the German area, for example the work of Derick Baegert, *The Carrying of the Cross*, c. 1490, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster.

This interest for the suffering, moral, psychological, and physical details is also part of the spiritual atmosphere promoted by the Franciscans, for whom the imitation of Jesus's suffering was one of the fundamental characteristics of the devotional act.[53]

Therefore, our attention must be directed to the message sent by these compositions. First, the spatial placement of this pictorial program on the northern wall of the sanctuary suggests possible messages associated with the liturgical context. If we return to the Mălâncrav program, we remember that the narrative is interrupted at some point by the presence of an Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* associated with the sacramental niche. This niche is decorated with a small relief that represents *The Crucifixion*. Perhaps the location of the painted image of the Crucifixion in another place in the parietal program can be explained by the fact that, in the eastern area of the northern wall, the Crucifixion was already present, associated with the sacramental niche and a *Vir Dolorum*.[54]

This association is also present at Sibiu, also on the wall where it would normally have been a sacramental niche or a tabernacle. According to Maria Crăciun's demonstration, this „mural altarpiece" has *The Crucifixion* in the central panel and a *Vir Dolorum* in the predella. A *Vir Dolorum* on the northern wall of the sanctuary is also present at Nemşa and Homorod.[55]

The image of Mălâncrav is probably the most eloquent regarding the message. This kind of Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum*,[56] in which Jesus touches his side wound, from which the blood flows into a cup with a host, refers directly to the doctrine of transubstantiation, meaning the moment of the liturgy in which the bread and the wine become the body and the blood of Jesus[57], but it links also to the doctrine of concomitance, meaning that both species of the sacrament (the host and the cup in which the blood flows) contain separately the real body and blood of Christ.[58] According to Dóra Sallay, although there are more types of such representations of Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum*, they all have the role of instructing the believers on these two doctrines established by Christ himself, as well as the role of pointing out the real presence of Jesus in that place.[59]

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[53] Eugene Honée 'Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer: a Historical Perspective', Henk van Os (ed), *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500* (London: Merrel Holberton, 1994), p. 164.

[54] Crăciun, 'Polipticul şi devoţiunea euharistică', pp. 58-62.

[55] Ibid. p. 62-67.

[56] Ibid., p. 59.

[57] Sallay, 'The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows', pp. 63-66.

[58] Ibid., p. 64.

[59] Ibid., p. 66.

Even in the absence of an image with *Vir Dolorum*, the cycle dedicated to the Passion of Jesus makes an explicit reference to the events reenacted during the liturgy and, in particular, to the divine services associated with the Easter season. The inclusion, in a prominent position (in the upper part of the architectural structure that frames the pictorial program, both in Mălâncrav and Curciu and also in Râşnov) of the episode of *The Last Supper*, representing the historical moment in which the sacrament was established is particularly noteworthy. It is therefore not surprising that in *The Last Supper* episodes on the table are usually illustrated the cup with wine and the bread, the future species of the sacrament, used to re-enact the Christian sacrifice during each liturgy. Therefore, the didactic message of these visual narratives is centered on the role of Christ's sacrifice in the process of the salvation.[60]

The fact that the pictorial narrative is represented on the northern wall of the sanctuary may have pragmatic reasons, dictated by its visibility, especially from the donor's perspective, his seat being usually placed in a niche located on the southern wall of the choir, as well as motivations associated with the role of the clergy in the administering of the sacrament. Paul Binsky in his article "*The English Parish Church and Its Art in the Latter Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem*" recalls the theory of the existence of two different social classes, the laity and clergy, the laity participating in religious life only at great feasts while the liturgy was reserved for the clergy alone.[61] Here Binsky emphasizes Eamon Duffy's theory that there was no such separation because the Eucharistic and the devotional language was enriched by a whole set of images,[62] so that means that both of these social classes were, one way or another, involved in the liturgical act.

As a conclusion, we would like to briefly recall the functions of this pictorial program. They are primarily educational. The visual narrative of the Passion cycle gives the public a visual lesson about the events during Passion Week. Secondly, the image is perfectly integrated with the liturgy, has a mnemonic (commemorative) function associated with it, illustrating the text read from the gospels in the same temporal segment, at the same time of the liturgical year.

The decoding of the pictorial program dedicated to the Passion by its textual references, this devotional literature produced predominantly in the Franciscan ambiance, makes us assume that the visual narrative was probably integrated into an elaborate devotional program where the public was invited

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[60] Gogâltan, 'Passion Iconography', p. 122, Crăciun, 'Polipticul şi devoţiunea euharistică', pp. 62, 66.

[61] Paul Binsky, 'The English Parish Church and its Art in the Latter Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem', *Studies of Iconography*, 20 (1999): 9.

[62] Ibid., p. 10.

to contemplation, meditation, and lastly, to identify with the sufferings of Jesus. Therefore, such a program has not only a didactic function but also a devotional one, being from this perspective integrated into the religious practices of the medieval believer.
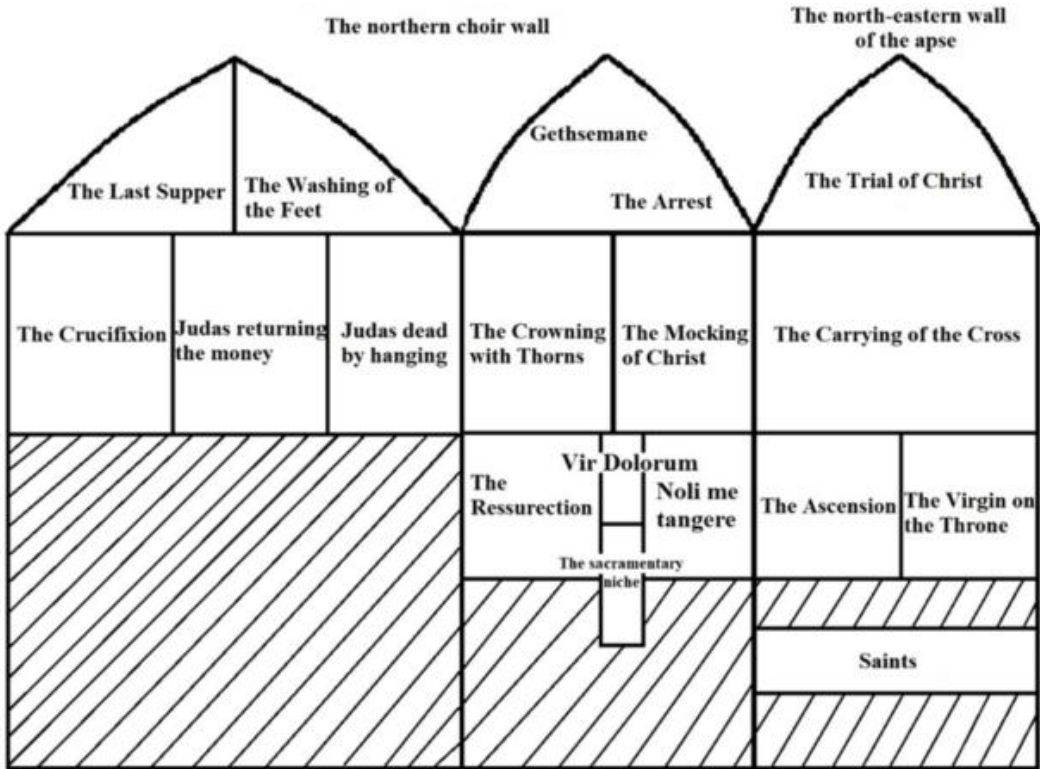
Figure 1. Mălâncrav. Wall paintings scheme
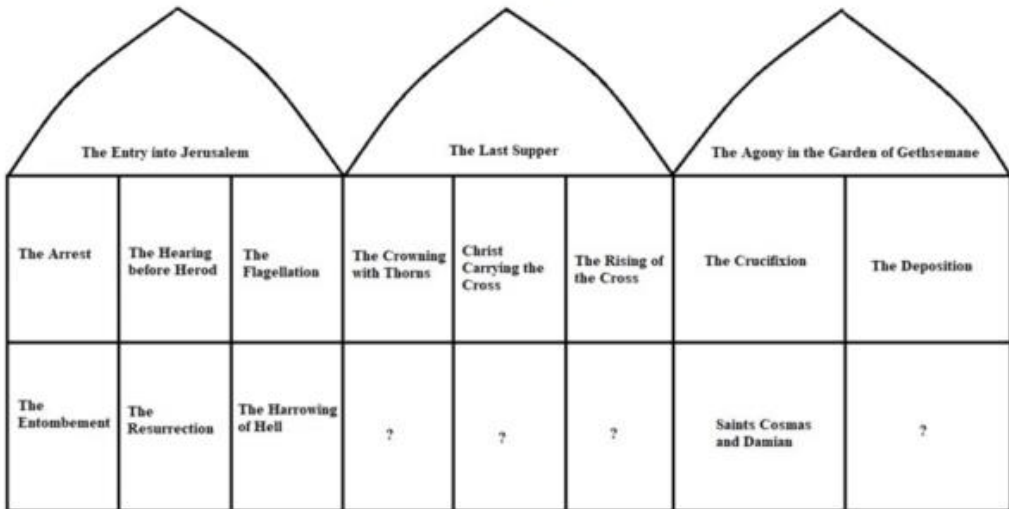
Figure 2. Curciu. Wall paintings scheme
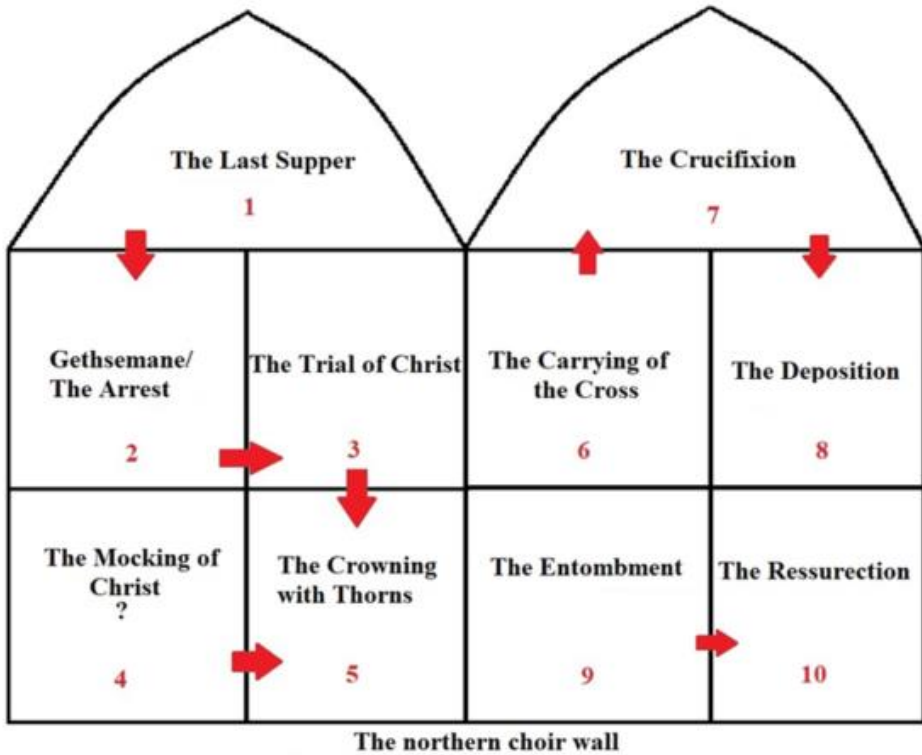
Figure 3. Râșnov. Wall paintings scheme

Matthew	Luke	Mark	John
The Entrance into Jerusalem (21: 7-9)	*The Entrance into Jerusalem* (19: 35-37)	*The Entrance into Jerusalem* (11: 7-9)	*The Entrance into Jerusalem* (12: 12-15)
The Last Supper (26: 26-29)	*The Easter Feast* (22: 7-20)	*The Last Supper* (14: 22-25)	*The Washing of the Feet* (13: 4-10)
Gethsemane (26: 36-46)	*The Revealing of the Seller* (22: 21-23)	*Peter's Notice* (14: 26-31)	*The Arrest* (18: 1-11)
The Arrest (26: 47-56)	*Which One is the Greatest?* (22: 24-30)	*Gethsemane* (14: 32-42)	*Jesus Before Ana and Caiaphas* (18: 12-27)
Jesus Before the Council (26: 57-68)	*Peter's Notice* (22: 31-38)	*The Arrest* (14: 43-52)	*Jesus Before Pilate* (18: 28-38)

Peter's Denial (26: 69-75)	*Gethsemane* (22: 39-46)	*Jesus Condemned by the Council* (14: 53-65)	*Jesus and Barabbas* (18: 39-40)
Jesus is Brought to Pilat (27: 1-2)	*The Arrest* (22: 47-53)	*Peter's Denial* (14: 66-72)	*Jesus is Given to the Jews* (19: 1-16)
The Regret and the Death of Judas (27: 3-10)	*Peter's Denial* (22: 54-62)	*Jesus in front of Pilate* (15: 1-5)	*The Crucifixion* (19: 17-30)
Jesus in Front of Pilate (27: 11-14)	*Jesus Before the Council. The Conviction* (22: 63-71)	*The Determined Death* (15: 6-20)	*Jesus's Death Proven* (19: 31-37)
The Determined Death (27: 15-25)	*Jesus before Pilate* (23: 1-5)	*The Crucifixion* (15: 21-28)	*The Entombment* (19: 38-42)
The Soldiers Mocking (27: 26-31)	*Jesus Before Herod* (23: 6-12)	*The Bystanders Mocking* (15: 29-32)	*The Ressurection* (20: 1-10)
The Ressurection (27: 32-38)	*The Determined Death* (23: 13-34)	*The Death of Jesus* (15: 33-41)	
The Bystanders Mocking (27: 39-44)	*The Mocking* (23: 35-43)	*The Entombment* (15: 42-47)	**Total: 11 episodes**
The Darkness (27: 45-50)	*The Death of Jesus* (23: 44-49)	*The Ressurection* (16: 1-8)	
The Curtain from Inside the Temple is Breaking (27: 51-56)	*The Entombment* (23: 50-56)		
The Entombment (27: 57-61)	*The Ressurection* (24:1-8)	**Total: 14 episodes**	
The Sealing of the Tomb (27: 62-66)			
The Ressurection (28: 1-7)	**Total: 16 episodes**		
Total: 18 episodes			

Figure 4. Scenes described in the Gospels

Figure 5. Mălâncrav. *The Carrying of the Cross*   Figure 6. Râșnov. *The Carrying of the Cross*

No. crt.	The episode	Mălâncrav	Curciu	Râșnov
1.	*The Entrance into Jerusalem*		X	
2.	***The Last Supper***	**X**	**X**	**X**
3.	*The Washing of the Feet*	X		
4.	***The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane***	**X**	**X**	**X?**
5.	***The Arrest***	**X**	**X**	**X?**
6.	***Jesus Before Ana and Caiaphas***	**X**		**X?**
7.	***Jesus in Front of Pilate***		**X**	**X?**
8.	*Judas Returning the Money*	X		
9.	*Judas Dead by Hanging*	X		

10.	*The Mocking of Christ*	X	X	
11.	*The Crowning with Thorns*	X	X	
12.	***The Carrying of the Cross***	**X**	**X?**	**X**
13.	*The Nailing on the Cross*		X?	
14.	***The Crucifixion***	**X**	**X?**	**X**
15.	*The Deposition*		X	X
16.	*The Entombment*		X	X
17.	***The Ressurection***	**X**	**X**	**X**
18.	*Noli me tangere*	X		
19.	*The Harrowing of Hell*		X	
20.	*The Ascension*	X		

Figure 7. The frequency of the episodes at Mălâncrav, Curciu and Râşnov

Problematic Terminology in a Tentative Research Methodology for the Visual Culture of the Balkans

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to highlight and briefly discuss some of the most problematic terms and concepts that recur in art historiography: for example, the words *Byzantine, post-Byzantine, Eastern, Western* and *Local*. These concepts are used in a misleading way not only by American and Western European authors, but also by Eastern and South-Eastern European ones: in fact, the "Balkan" art historiography based itself on the Western-European one, adopting its periodisation, terminology and interpretative framework, which led to a number of methodological problems that researchers are now trying to identify, discuss and, if possible, solve.

Keywords: art historiography, South-Eastern Europe, silverwork, Byzantium.

Rezumat: Scopul acestei lucrări este de a evidenţia şi de a discuta pe scurt unii dintre cei mai problematici termeni şi concepte care se repetă în istoriografia artei: de exemplu, cuvintele *bizantin*, *post-bizantin*, *oriental*, *occidental* şi *local*. Aceste concepte sunt folosite în mod înşelător nu numai de către autorii americani şi vest-europeni, ci şi de către cei din Europa de Est şi de Sud-Est: de fapt, istoriografia artei „balcanice" s-a bazat pe cea vest-europeană, adoptând periodizarea acesteia, terminologia şi cadrul interpretativ, care a condus la o serie de probleme metodologice pe care cercetătorii încearcă acum să le identifice, discute şi, dacă este posibil, rezolve.

Cuvinte cheie: istoriografia artei, Europa de Sud-Est, argintărie, Bizanţ.

This paper is based on my current doctoral research, which aims at a systematic categorization of the reliquaries produced in the Orthodox world on the eve and in the aftermath of the Fall of Byzantium, considering their shapes and their evolution through the centuries, looking for similarities and differences within different areas of the Orthodox world and with the reliquaries produced and used in the Latin Christendom. This research confronts two major problems: firstly, the study of the so-called "minor arts" in the post-Byzantine period has been generally neglected by both Western and South-Eastern scholars; secondly, the "Balkan" art historiography based

itself on the Western-European one, adopting its periodisation, terminology and interpretative framework, which led to a number of methodological problems that researchers are now trying to identify, discuss and, if possible, solve. The aim of this paper is to highlight some of the most frequently encountered and problematic terms and concepts I have identified during my research: i.e. the words *Byzantine, post-Byzantine, Eastern, Western* and *Local*. In the first part of the paper, some of the main routes of circulation of masters and figurative models across the Balkans in the Middle Ages will be discussed, and some case studies showing the coexistence on the same object of figurative elements or patterns belonging to different cultural contexts will be presented: that will aim at demonstrating the existence of mutual influences, e.g. Western, Eastern or local features organised into a more traditional (i.e. Byzantine) layout, but also, eventually, to question this type of analysis.

Of course, the aim of the presentation will not be to discuss in detail centuries of art history and the thousands of art objects made in the Balkan peninsula in the Medieval and Early Modern Ages, but rather to give an overall impression of the context in which those objects were made and, on that ground, to point out the most critical points I have encountered while trying to define a methodology I could use for my own research, because I wanted that methodology to be valid to develop the analysis of the material culture of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Balkans in general, and not only for my specific research field, which is Orthodox liturgical art.

The Balkans: a composite backdrop

The issue concerning the relationship between Western Medieval and Byzantine art has been the subject of investigation for generations of scholars, and it has led to the publication of some of the cornerstones of art-historical literature, among which *Byzantine Art and the West*, published by Otto Demus in 1970, is probably the best known one.[1] On the contrary, less attention has been devoted by scholars to the study of the links between post-Byzantine and Western art. As noted by Anna Ballian, also in South-Eastern regions post-Byzantine and Ottoman silverwork was an overlooked research field: in Greece, interest in this subject was sparked off only after the late 1980s by the publication of material from the major Greek Orthodox monasteries and by some exhibitions in Greek museums.[2]

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[1] Otto Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970).
[2] See: Anna Ballian, 'Silverwork Produced in Ottoman Trikala (Thessaly): Problems of Taxonomy and Interpretation', in Ibolya Gerelyes – Maximilian Hartmuth (eds.), *Ottoman Metalwork in the Balkans and in Hungary* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2015), pp. 11-35.

Undoubtedly, the Fall of Byzantium had a deep influence upon the system of contacts and the network of exchanges between East and West, but it did not disrupt them.[3] In this scenery, the Balkans have represented the dividing line and – at the same time – the meeting point between Latin and Greek Christendom. The trading routes that connected Europe to the East penetrated deep into the Balkan inland and then, across Macedonia, they reached Thessaloniki and eventually Constantinople, creating a tight, stable network of contacts between East and West.[4] Together with merchants, also artists and artisans travelled along these Balkan routes, therefore promoting contacts and mutual influences in virtually every artistic field: this dynamic substrate allowed the coexistence of different stylistic models that developed autonomously in different areas of the peninsula. Liturgical and lay vessels produced between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries in the Balkans can be considered witnesses of the multiple cultural influences crossing the peninsula, because the applied arts allowed a wider freedom to the artists than the so-called major ones, and can appropriately be regarded as mirrors reflecting the style of an age in a more direct and effective way, as new iconographic schemes and stylistic features could be more easily introduced and received, even if – for the reasons that will be mentioned in the following pages – a strong "loyalty" to the traditional structural elements on the ecclesiastic vessels can be observed.   The subject is indeed very wide and it would be impossible to mention now all the ways of diffusion and all the possible visual results of these multiple influences, so I will focus on some silver vessels produced in the North-Eastern part of the Balkans during the Ottoman domination and after the Fall of Byzantium. The Ottoman domination in the Balkans had included, since its beginning, the control of the silver mines, which had become the main source for the Empire.[5] Nevertheless, that did not stop the local silversmith workshops, which continued to develop well into the eighteenth century, recording a remarkable increase in the quantity and quality of their production.[6]

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[3] Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucureşti: 1935).

[4] A number of studies have been devoted to the relevance of the Adriatic coast and the Balkans as an area connecting different cultures; an important contribution was given by the Romanian art historian Răzvan Theodorescu, who, in a volume dedicated to this topic, analysed the main "cultural channels" that connected Venice to Constantinople through the Balkans. Răzvan Theodorescu, *Bizanţ, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale româneşti (secole X-XIV)* [Byzantium, the Balkans, the West at the origin of Romanian medieval culture (10th-14th centuries)] (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei RSR, 1974).

[5] See, for example: Speros Vryonis, 'The Question of the Byzantine Mines', *Speculum*, 37/1 (1962): 1-17; Boško Bojović, 'Entre Venise et l'Empire ottoman, les métaux précieux des Balkans (XVe-XVIe siècle)', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 60/6 (2005): 1277-1297.

[6] For example, the city-state of Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik) had a flourishing goldsmiths' quarter and relied on the Balkan mines for supplies of precious metals. James Allan – Julian

Orthodox ecclesiastic silver vessels continued to be produced and the *élites* continued to order and purchase those precious objects as gifts for monastic foundations all over the Balkans. Furthermore, some rulers saw in the reinforcement of Orthodox identity a way to counteract the Turkish rule, and supported therefore the foundation of monasteries in their homeland, in the other Orthodox Balkan kingdoms and above all on Mount Athos (that had been the main artistic centre of the Orthodox world since the fourteenth century), endowing them with rich treasures. For example, on Mount Athos, the Wallachian princes economically supported the re-establishment of the Koutloumousíou monastery,[7] two Byzantine officers from eastern Macedonia founded the Pantokrátoros monastery and the Serbian despot John Uglješa founded the monastery of Simonos Petra;[8] the voivode Bogdan in the fifteenth century donated a precious woven gold mantle to the monastery of Rila (Bulgaria);[9] the Moldo-Wallachian prince Matei Basarab, in the seventeenth century, and the Tsarina of Russia Catherine II, in the following century, made rich donations to the Greek communities exiled in Italy, which in turn supported the Greek communities under Ottoman rule, as part of her anti-Ottoman political project.[10]

Ecclesiastic silver vessels were therefore a political instrument able to reinforce Christian Orthodox identity in opposition to the Turkish threat, especially after the Fall of Byzantium. This explains the conservative attitude towards Byzantine visual culture: the form, the layout and the iconography chosen for the silver vessels remained adherent to the traditional Byzantine standard. Nevertheless, Ottoman characters such as arabesques, stylized flowers and abstract motifs started to penetrate in the *décor*. The local representatives of the Ottoman administration and also the artists from the

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Raby, 'Metalwork', in Yanni Petsopoulos (ed.), *Tulips, Arabesques & Turbans. Decorative Arts form the Ottoman Empire* (London: Alexandria Press, 1982), p. 25.

[7] Virgil Cândea, 'L'Athos et les Roumains', in Anthony Bryer – Mary Cunningham (eds.), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, papers from the Twenty-eighth Spring symposium of Byzantine studies, Birmingham, March 1994 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), pp. 249-256.

[8] Kríton Chrysochoïdis, 'I monasteri del Monte Athos e il mondo ortodosso dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli', in Grigore Arbore Popescu (ed.), *Cristiani d'Oriente. Spiritualità, arte e potere nell'Europa post-bizantina*, exhibition catalogue, Trieste, 22 luglio 1999- 9 gennaio 2000 (Milano: Electa, 1999), p. 72.

[9] Teofana Matakieva Lilkova, 'L'arte cristiana della Bulgaria', in Grigore Arbore Popescu (ed.), *Cristiani d'Oriente. Spiritualità, arte e potere nell'Europa post-bizantina*, exhibition catalogue, Trieste, 22 luglio 1999- 9 gennaio 2000 (Milano: Electa, 1999), p. 103.

[10] For an overview on this topic, see: Dimítrios Konstándios, 'La Grecia dopo la presa di Costantinopoli: focolaio d'arte e di cultura', in Grigore Arbore Popescu (ed.), *Cristiani d'Oriente. Spiritualità, arte e potere nell'Europa post-bizantina*, exhibition catalogue, Trieste, 22 luglio 1999- 9 gennaio 2000 (Milano: Electa, 1999), p. 85, Erin McBurney, 'Picturing the Greek Project: Catherine II's Iconography of Conquest and Culture', *Russian Literature*, 75/1-4 (2014): 415-443.

Balkans working in the court ateliers were some of the possible mediators of design for the interaction.

A meaningful example of the way this external Ottoman influence was received is the artistic production of the silversmith workshops active in the surroundings of the Bachkovo monastery (close to nowadays Plovdiv, in the south of Bulgaria). The most characteristic feature of the production of the Bachkovo workshop was the use of filigree enamel. Some outstanding examples belong to Bulgarian museums: their entire surface is enamelled and covered with stylised vegetal ornamentation; mainly lotus palmettes, little leaves and flowers (hollyhocks and carnations) in full face. In spite of the noticeable Oriental aesthetics that the floral filigree enamel confers, this technique is not actually a common decoration for "authentic" Ottoman artefacts: the seventeenth-century traveller and writer from Constantinople Evliya Çelebi reported that, in the Ottoman Empire, the most skilled craftsmen in the enamelling technique were non-Turks.[11]

The use of this technique in ecclesiastical silver is attested from about mid-seventeenth – until mid-eighteenth century. Besides the workshop in Bachkovo-Plovdiv, such enamels have also been credited to Christian workshops in Istanbul and in Trikala in Thessaly (today in Greece).[12] It should also be noted that the works in Byzantine-Ottoman decoration were produced in the cultural centres that were wealthy mining settlements, as well as trade and craft centers, and, in most of the cases, the population was of mixed confessional affiliations.

On the contrary, the goldsmiths of Chiprovac reached a completely different synthesis of the multiple visual sources. The Chiprovian craftsmen (active since the end of the sixteenth c.) mastered several different techniques, from engraving to casting, from gilt to enamel, from openwork to encrustation of coloured stones. Their sophisticated production was highly appreciated by the upper clergy of Bulgarian, Serbian and Wallach-Moldovan monasteries. The high technical knowledge of the Chiprovtsi goldsmiths is attested by a *kivotion* which dates back to 1626/1627[13] and was

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[11] James Allan – Julian Raby, 'Metalwork', in Yanni Petsopoulos (ed.), *Tulips, Arabesques & Turbans. Decorative Arts form the Ottoman Empire* (London: Alexandria Press, 1982), p. 22. As noted by Allan and Raby, at least on this topic, Evliya Çelebi's opinion can be trusted, having been a goldsmith himself and the son of the guild's head. Ibid., p. 20. For a sketch of Evliya Çelebi's biography see: Evliya Efendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, translated by Joseph von Hammer (London: 1834), p. v.

[12] Ballian, 'Silverwork Produced in Ottoman Trikala (Thessaly)'.

[13] In the inscription, it is said that the *kivotion* was gifted to the monastery in the year 7134 since the Creation of the Universe, after the so-called Byzantine calendar, used by the Eastern Orthodox Church until the 18th century. The year started on the 1st of September, therefore the year 7134 started on the 1st of September 1626 and ended on the 31st of august 1627. *Tesori dell'Arte*

presented as a gift to the Dečani monastery in Metohia (Kosovo).[14] Its architectural shape recalls that of the church to which it belonged:[15] this formal connection between the *kivotion* and the church was common at that time.[16] While the Bachkovo workshops preferred the filigree enamel, the Chiprovian goldsmith used to chisel the decoration on the plates. An example is a liturgical cup, dated to the first half of the sixteenth century, used by the monks to drink Holy Water during the celebration of the Feast of Jordan (6th January): along the rim it presents an arabesque ornament similar to the ones widespread in the entire peninsula, on the spherical body of the cup there are three rosettes of Ottoman inspiration, with elongated petals turning into palmettes, while the birds are a traditional element in Byzantine silver vessels.[17] At the end of the seventeenth century, the Chiprovian craftsmen were forced to leave the region, and found protection abroad:[18] right beyond the Bulgarian border, they were accepted at the Wallachian court (in nowadays Southern Romania) where they introduced the floral motif of Ottoman inspiration in the empty space around the images. This is evident, for example, in the *kivotion* made in 1671 by the Bulgarian goldsmiths Marco and Iacov as a gift by the abbot Petronie to the Tismana monastery: on the side of the *kivotion* corresponding to the façade, where the scene of the Death of the Virgin is represented, the two goldsmiths filled the empty spaces with floral motifs with rosettes and sunflowers.[19]

In that period, in Wallachia, as well as in other areas on the border between East and West (e.g. Serbia), the Occidental influence was already

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Cristiana in Bulgaria, exhibition catalogue, Rome, 22 May - 15 July 2000 (Sofia: Borina, 2000), catalogue entry nr. 91, p. 237 (record by Ivan Sotirov).

[14] Today this *kivotion* belongs to the Sofia National Museum (nr. 29280). Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] I have dedicated to this topic my Master thesis in Art History at the University of Pisa (Anita Paolicchi, *Architettura in effigie: un excursus nell'argenteria sacra post-bizantina*, MA thesis, Manuscript, Department of Civilisation and Forms of Knowledge, University of Pisa. Pisa, 2015), some observations have been published in: Anita Paolicchi, 'Les *chivote* à l'époque de Constantin Brâncoveanu', in *Microarchitecture et figures du bâti: l'échelle à l'épreuve de la matière*, conference proceedings, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Parigi, 8-10 Dicembre 2014 (Paris: Picard, 2018), pp. 87-96.

[17] Grigore Arbore Popescu (ed.), *Cristiani d'Oriente. Spiritualità, arte e potere nell'Europa post-bizantina*, exhibition catalogue, Trieste, 22 luglio 1999-9 gennaio 2000 (Milano: Electa, 1999), catalogue entry nr. 81, p. 341 (record by Teofana Matakieva Lilkova); *Tesori dell'Arte Cristiana in Bulgaria*, catalogue entry nr. 93, p. 242 (record by Nikolaj Markov).

[18] Péter Király, 'Die Ciprovecer in Ungarn' [Chiprovian in Hungary], *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae»*, 47/1-2 (2002): 1-23.

[19] Corina Nicolescu, *Argintaria laică şi religioasă în Ţarile Române (sec. XIV-XIX)* [Lay and religious silver in the Romanian Reigns (14th-19th c.)] (Bucureşti: 1968), pp. 172-174, catalogue entry nr. 198, illustration nr. 122-124.

evident in the Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque decorative elements pervading almost every artistic domain, from architecture to topiary.

An early example of the Occidental influence on Wallachian silverware is a censer, which dates to the late fourteenth – early fifteenth century.[20] It shows a cross-in-a-square architectonic plan that had been really common in Byzantine ecclesiastic architecture since the tenth century and was similar to some contemporary churches in Serbia and Mount Athos, for example Gračanica in Serbia and Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos. Nevertheless, the architectural details of the censer clearly belong to the Western European visual culture, as they are in Gothic style, and so are the figures represented in the niches in the lower half. Nowadays, it is considered the oldest material proof of the process of permeation of the Transylvanian and Wallachian visual cultures. Nevertheless, in the past, its multifaceted appearance puzzled the researchers, who tried to explain the concurrent presence of Western Gothic decorative elements and Byzantine structure with an alleged provenance from a Dalmatian workshop, because Ragusa (nowadays Dubrovnik) had actually been one of the main ways of introducing Western visual culture in the Balkans, thanks to the strong connection with Venice.[21]

The introduction of these features belonging to the Central and Western European visual culture into Wallachia was mainly due to the Saxon-Transylvanian goldsmiths, who were extremely active not only at the workshops to which they belonged, but also directly at the Wallachian princely court. In fact, most of the silver and gold artefacts commissioned in Wallachia at that time were realized by Saxon-Transylvanian craftsmen, as demonstrated by the marks easily detectable on the surfaces of these objects.[22]

Obviously, those craftsmen had to please the Orthodox customers and therefore they closely followed the instructions as for the shape, the function and the general features of the object. Nevertheless, they succeeded in

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[20] It is the oldest (architectural) censer in the collections of the National Museum of Art of Romania (Bucharest); Nicolescu, *Argintaria laică și religioasă*, p. 216, catalogue entry nr. 229, illustration nr. 160.

[21] Spiridon Cegăneanu, 'Din odoarele bisericești ale Muzeului Național' [About the ecclesiastic vessels of the National Museum], *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, 3 (1910): 1-3.

[22] Several studies have been dedicated to the Transylvanian guilds of the goldsmiths. Among the most recent ones, see: Daniela Dâmboiu, *Breasla aurarilor din Sibiu între secolele XV-XVII* [The guild of the goldsmiths from Sibiu in the 14th-17th c.] (Alba Iulia: Altip, 2008), Ágnes Flóra, *Prestige at Work. Goldsmiths of Cluj / Kolozsvár in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Saarbrücken: vdm Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009). I have recently dedicated an article to a case study on the relation between a Wallachian customer and two Transylvanian goldsmiths in the early 16th century: Anita Paolicchi, *Celestin e Johannis: alcune tracce documentarie su due orafi transilvani al servizio di Neagoe Basarab nel primo Cinquecento*, Museikon, 2 (2018): 79-88.

introducing Western visual elements in Wallachian silver vessels: Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque features were successfully imported and – this is interesting to be noticed – did not substitute one with the other, but rather overlapped them, creating a new mix which combined with the more traditional Byzantine elements. This phenomenon reached its highest qualitative point and predominance during the reign of the Wallachian prince Constantin Brâncoveanu at the end of the seventeenth century, and for this reason it is known as Brancovan style.

An example of the multiplicity of visual elements of different provenance that could coexist on the same object is a censer realized by a Wallachian workshop in the late seventeenth century to be given as a gift to the Hurezi monastery, an important princely foundation. Its function is related to the Orthodox liturgy, but its decoration shows Western elements as well as Oriental ones: the tower-shaped lid recalls Venetian architecture, while the flattened bulb-shaped dome has an oriental taste, and the base, which is older and is probably an original Ottoman dish, is decorated with enamelled floral motifs which contrast with the Baroque openwork floral *décor* on the body of the censer.[23]

It must be pointed out that, while the Ottoman influence onto the silver artefacts realised in the Balkans is evident but limited to *décor*, the occidental features introduced and adopted by the local craftsmen are sometimes also stated in the iconography of the figurative images. An example of the role played by the Transylvanian goldsmiths as intermediaries between the traditional Byzantine visual culture and the Western innovations is given by a small group of Gospels bookbindings made at the end of the seventeenth century.[24] The layout of the two plates is the traditional Byzantine one: a central biblical scene surrounded by several medallions depicting biblical characters, such as the four evangelists, the apostles and prophets. In this case, though, the subject of 26 out of 36 medallions is the *Apocalypse of John*. That is quite an unusual subject in the Orthodox world, and – as far as I know – it is actually the first time it appears on bookbinding, at least in the Northern Balkans.

Furthermore, the iconography employed on the bookbinding does not conform to the coeval Byzantine standard. This fact can be perceived

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[23] Nicolescu, *Argintaria laică şi religioasă*, p. 235, catalogue entry nr. 251, illustration nr. 181.

[24] An article on this topic is in preparation. I have dealt with this material for my Master thesis at the "Babeş-Bolyai" University of Cluj-Napoca (Anita Paolicchi, *Apocalyptic imagery and confessional identity: a case study on Transylvanian Saxon goldsmiths*, MA thesis, Manuscript, Faculty of History and Philosophy, "Babeş-Bolyai" University. Cluj-Napoca, 2016). During summer 2018, I have conducted further research on the topic during a research period at the National Museum of Art of Romania (Bucharest).

immediately in the first scene of the front cover: Saint John is kneeling in front of Christ, who is holding seven stars in his hands, while a double-edged sword comes out from his mouth, and is surrounded by several candelabra. This iconography is the exact visual translation of the verses 12-17 of the First Chapter of the *Apocalypse*:

> *I, John, … heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet, which said: 'Write on a scroll what you see and send it to the seven churches: …'. I turned around to see the voice that was speaking to me. And when I turned I saw seven golden lampstands, and among the lampstands was someone like a son of man, dressed in a robe reaching down to his feet and with a golden sash around his chest. The hair on his head was white like wool, as white as snow, and his eyes were like blazing fire. His feet were like bronze glowing in a furnace, and his voice was like the sound of rushing waters. In his right hand he held seven stars, and coming out of his mouth was a sharp, double-edged sword. His face was like the sun shining in all its brilliance. And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead.*

On the contrary, the usual Byzantine standard presents Saint John in a cave, in the act of turning his face towards the voice that is calling him. Sometimes he is in the company of his disciple, Saint Prochorus, a young scribe who helps him write his Gospels. This iconographic standard is based on different verses of the same chapter, notably the verses 9-11:

> *I, John, … was on the island of Patmos because of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. On the Lord's Day I was in the Spirit, and I heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet, which said: 'Write on a scroll what you see and send it to the seven churches: to Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicea'.*

Quite unexpectedly, the majority of the apocalyptic scenes depicted in the medallions on the book covers (i.e. 21 out of 26 scenes) are conceived as "copies" of the Lucas Cranach the Elder xylographies for the Apocalypse of the Luther Bible.[25] This is perfectly evident, although the different artistic *medium* inevitably forced the goldsmith to operate some simplification of the arrangement of the figures and, especially in the most articulated scenes, to reduce the number of elements of the composition, either human figures or scenic details.

Some observations

The analysis of these objects has led to a number of considerations concerning both stylistic and technical aspects. In the analysed period, after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, Orthodoxy seemed about to collapse. The Balkans were threatened by the pressure of Islam, and at the same time by the

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[25] In it not necessary to discuss in this paper which edition is the one that the goldsmith used as a model. It is enough to point out that the Lutheran religious confession of the Saxon goldsmiths eased their access to this visual prototype.

propaganda of the other half of the Christian World, that is to say the Roman Church, but also by the presence of other Christian confessions that were spreading from Central Europe toward the peripheries. The Balkan rulers reacted creating a sort of "Byzantine Commonwealth". One of the means through which they could strengthen Orthodoxy was protecting and endowing the centres fallen under Ottoman control, donating a huge amount of precious silver vessels.

It is worth pointing out that although local individualities were destined to emerge and to lead to the birth of the modern Balkan states, it is exactly the Balkan Commonwealth that allowed the survival of the Byzantine world after the Fall of Byzantium, which is reflected by the persistence of the conservative Byzantine formal influence.

On the other hand, thanks to the dynamic substrate granted by the coexistence of different ethnical and religious communities, visual influences came from East and West and fruitfully settled in the traditional cultural byzantine framework: the different visual modules did not substitute each other, but, rather, coexisted.

These dynamic, opposed forces are witnessed by the silver vessels: conservative toward the Byzantine tradition but at the same time open to "exotic" stylistic novelties. Therefore, Balkan silver vessels are definitely "unstable materials" because they reflect different decorative tendencies which were the result of the multiplicity of mutating factors and of the dynamic network of relations between East and West.

In this sense, concepts such as "Eastern, Western" and "Local" cannot be considered as antonyms, but rather as operative concepts: they are undoubtedly useful to map the appearance, diffusion or persistence of a variety of visual elements, but at the same time they disallow, or at least they make harder, the highlighting of the dynamism that characterises their reception in the Balkans. These words belong to a lexicon which may be suitable for structuring an art-historical formal analysis of a single object, but which become inappropriate when it comes to talking about art history as history of culture, and about an art piece as result of a cultural phenomenon or context.

On the same ground, concepts such as "Byzantine" and "post-Byzantine" are sometime ambiguous because they have both a chronological and a cultural meaning: the expression "post-Byzantine art" literally means "made after the Fall of Byzantium", but basically it suggests the persistence of Byzantine cultural and visual elements in a political context which struggles to keep "Byzantium" alive after its political disappearance. From this point of view, any visual element which does not belong to the Byzantine tradition is perceived as "exogenous", foreign, even if – in that specific context – such an

element is in fact consistent with the panorama. A concept that is often encountered in the art historical bibliography is that Transylvanian goldsmiths introduced Western elements into Wallachian art. This statement is based on the current terminology: but conversely, one could also say that Transylvanian goldsmiths added to their repertoire elements coming from the Byzantine tradition, which was surviving in Wallachia, and mixed it with their own figurative culture when needed. Both statements are valid. What differentiates the two statements is essentially the perspective: in the former, the Western hegemonic, paradigmatic, point of view is applied, while in the latter the idea of a dynamic cultural exchange is suggested. The dominance of the first kind of statement is undoubtedly derived from a bias in art historiography. This topic – the Western European-centred point of view on Byzantine and post-Byzantine art – is a topic which would deserve major attention: art historiography has transmitted from generation to generation a conceptual and operative contraposition between Western and Byzantine art, as if they were unrelated phenomena.[26]

A complementary observation is that any analysis based on mere national/geographical criteria is worthless: to speak about Romanian, or Serbian, or Macedonian medieval art is absolutely pointless, because the liveliness of the contacts along the numerous routes that crossed the Balkans made the cultural boundaries indefinable, even if – politically speaking – boundaries were clear. This is the heritage of the "Balkan" bibliography of the late Communist age, which was often affected by the nationalistic propaganda which aimed at demonstrating the idealized existence of specific national styles, while more definite national styles had appeared only in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the term "Balkan" is also extremely problematic: even if 'a common Balkan mentality can perhaps be traced in the pre-nationalistic age, when Orthodox Christianity was the tie binding the Balkan peoples … in the bosom of the Ottoman Empire',[27] this term is not historically attested as a self-referential concept in any of the Balkan peoples' self-narratives and is used only rarely in the artistic historiography and only to identify folk art or, in silverwork, early-modern lay objects bearing an Ottoman aesthetics.[28]

In my opinion, the analysis of the visual culture of the various religious or ethnic groups who inhabited or travelled the Balkans is definitely not only fruitful, but it is possibly the key to understand why a certain stylistic influence, or a certain iconographic prototype, appeared in a specific place at

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[26] For a notable contribution to this critical analysis of the subjectivity of the dominant art historiography in Europe and America, see: Robert S. Nelson, 'Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art', *Gesta*, 35/1 (1996): 3-11.

[27] Ballian, 'Silverwork Produced in Ottoman Trikala (Thessaly)', pp. 13-14.

[28] Ibid., p. 14.

a specific time. Religious or ethnic communities shared the same cultural background, and this implied a common visual culture, while, on the other hand, not necessarily a common identity was contoured on a geographical basis, since many different ethnic and religious groups used to inhabit the same area.

While the structural elements of a certain object were determined by the function it had to perform, and, along with the general theme of the decoration and its structure, they were usually clearly dictated by the customer to the goldsmith, the cultural identity of the goldsmith himself emerges more easily in the portions of the decoration or in the structural and iconographic details which were not subject to the requests of the client and which he was called to realise autonomously. While in areas characterised by a culturally "homogeneous" population – such as Catholic Italy or Byzantine Greece – the purchasers and the goldsmiths usually shared the same visual culture, in the polyglot multicultural Balkans these often differed, and the liturgical vessels offer the chance to investigate the ways these different cultures coexisted.

Matrimonial Strategies in Transylvania. Mihály Teleki's First Marriage. *"Remember: embittered hearts are healed with wine"*

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Abstract: The wedding and the marriage was a very important stage of early modern society life, it was not only a social event, but the boundary between childhood and adulthood. For a noble like Mihály Teleki, successful marriage helped to develop in administration and to improve economic resources. To Mihály Teleki marriage is an opportunity of upward social mobility. In this paper we discuss about these matrimonial strategies and we identify their meanings.

Keywords: Mihály Teleki, early modern society, matrimonial strategies, Transylvania

Rezumat: Nunta şi căsătoria au fost o etapă foarte importantă a vieţii societăţii moderne timpurii, nu a fost doar un eveniment social, ci graniţa dintre copilărie şi maturitate. Pentru un nobil precum Mihály Teleki, căsătoria reuşită a contribuit la dezvoltarea în administraţie şi la îmbunătăţirea resurselor economice. Pentru Mihály Teleki o căsătorie este o oportunitate de mobilitate socială ascendentă. În această lucrare discutăm despre aceste strategii matrimoniale şi identificăm semnificaţiile acestora.

Cuvinte cheie: Mihály Teleki, societate modernă timpurie, strategii matrimoniale, Transilvania

Mihály Teleki is a well-known but controversial figure of pre-modern Transylvanian history. At the height of his career he was the supreme commander and vice-chancellor of Transylvania, member of the Princely Council, captain of the District of Kővár/Ţara Chioarului, sheriff (comes) of the counties Maramureş/Máramaros, Crasna/Kraszna and Turda/Torda, captain of the Chairs of Ciuc/Csík, Giurgeu/Gyergyó and Caşin/Kászon. As leader of the political elite, he and his descendants acquired in 1685 the rank of count of The Holy Roman Empire as a diplomatic favour from the imperial court.[1] His contemporaries considered

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[1] Zsolt Trócsányi, *Teleki Mihály* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), pp. 6-8.

him either a true political genius, a Puritan and kind man, or on the contrary, a convinced Machiavellian and thief, lacking moral convictions, but above all, the main reason for the so-called fall of the principality, i.e. the establishment of the Austrian domination.[2]

Mihály Teleki was one of the most important politicians in the golden age of the Transylvanian Principality, at a time when the Austrians as well as the Ottomans exerted pressure on the Transylvanian political elite. Also at this time, major changes took place in the status of the Principality and in society. Teleki was one of the biggest supporters of the Reformed church in Transylvania and of culture, being the patron of the Reformed College/Református Kollégium from Târgu-Mureş/Marosvásárhely. In the princely historiography though, Teleki's portrait is characterized by duality, being presented on one hand as an evil political adventurer, on the other hand as a realistic politician, supporter of Transylvanian Protestantism.

In the works of Miklós Bethlen,[3] Mihály Cserei[4] and Péter Apor,[5] written in the first decades after the establishment of the Habsburg administration, the rule of Mihály Apafi appears as an era when the old Transylvanian virtues and morals disappeared. The above-mentioned authors, as well as their works, provide the basis for studies regarding this period, being first-rate sources for outlining the political, cultural, but also everyday life of the principality. These memoirs and autobiographies, as well as the vast correspondence of Mihály Teleki will constitute the basis of this analysis.

The selected correspondence of Mihály Teleki was published by Sámuel Gergely in the first decades of the twentieth century.[6] However, these volumes must be looked at critically, since the project of editing the letters concerning the chancellor was funded precisely by the Teleki family, thus it is highly likely that some of the documents that contain negative aspects of Mihály Teleki were intentionally omitted.

In Hungarian historiography many studies are concerned with matrimonial strategies in the early modern era. These papers usually study not only a single figure of a family, but a whole noble dynasty, thus being able

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[2] Zsigmond Jakó, *Rettegi György Emlékezetre méltó dolgok.* [György Rettegi's Notes to remember] (Bucharest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1970), pp 269

[3] Éva Windisch, *Bethlen Miklós Önéletírása* [Miklós Bethlen Autobiography] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1951).

[4] Gábor Kazinczy, *Nagyajtai Cserei Mihály históriája* [Chronicle of Mihály Cserei de Nagyajta] (Pest, 1852).

[5] Gábor Kazinczy, *Péter Apor's: Metamorphosis Transylvaniae* (Pest: Monumenta Istorica Hungariae Scriptores XI, 1863).

[6]: *Teleki Mihály levelezése I-VII (1656-1679)* [Correspondences of Mihály Teleki I-VII] ed. Gergely Sámuel (Budapest: Atheneaum Kiadó, 1905-1926).

to reflect on strategies stretching across multiple generations. Among these are to be mentioned the studies of Judith Balogh and Ildikó Horn on the Kornis family in Sânpaul/Szentpál;[7] Veronika T. Orgona's dissertation on the Kornis family of Gönczruszka,[8] and András Koltai's studies on the Batthányi family.[9] Unlike the aforementioned authors and publications, the present study attempts to identify also the dilemmas behind such a personal decision which was meant to last, ideally, for an entire life.

The first step was to identify a number of historiographic landmarks, especially the way in which marriage is presented in studies of the history of mentalities. This approach can be found in András Péter Szabó's work, which based on wedding invitations from Bistrița/Beszterce, conducted an ample analysis regarding early modern matrimonial customs in Transylvania. According to the conclusions of Szabó's research, the lay ceremony is much more important than the ecclesiastical one. Practically the wedding itself bore a very important symbolism, starting with rigorous customs from the engagement until de first morning after the wedding night.[10] All these have a social, economic, but also psychological function. In early modern Transylvanian a noble wedding also had the role of representation, displaying important messages for the guests as well as for the families of the groom and the bride.

Two concepts occurred in early modern mentality regarding marriage. One concept of a successful marriage refers to love. The letter of Teleki's mother, Anna Bornemissza, highlights this aspect: "*but I ask you not to look at the ones with estates, but at the gentle ones, but consider the things carefully, and be as you wish, I do not oppose her, be as you consider it better.*"[11] Another supporter of marriages based on love was Teleki's friend, Ferenc Bónis: "*If you are a Christian and faithful man, report it to me, if there, on a tree full of leaves, exists someone who may wish to build a nest, for it is impossible that*

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[7] Judit Balogh-Ildikó Horn, *A hatalomépítés útjai: a homoródszentpáli Kornis család története* [Ways to rise to the power. The history of family Kornis de Gönczruszka], *Századok* 142/4 (2008), pp. 841-895.

[8] Angelika T. Orgona, *A Göncruszkai Kornisok. Két generáció túlélési stratégiái az erdélyi elitben (1546kb-1648).* [The family Kornis de Gönczruszka. [The strategy to survive of two generation in the early modern Transylvanian elite (aprox. 1546-1648)]. Phd dissertation, Manuscript, ELTE BTK, Budapest, 2007.

[9] András Koltai, *Batthyány Ádám. Egy magyar főúr udvara a XVII. század közepén.* [Ádám Batthyany. The court of a Hungarian aristocrat in the middle of the 17th century] (Győr: Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár, 2012).

[10] András Péter Szabó, *Menyegzőtől mennyezőig* [From the engagement to a wedding] Századok, 144/5 (2010). pp. 1027-1084.

[11] *Teleki Mihály levelezése I (1656-1660)* [The correspondences of Mihály Teleki I] ed. Sámuel Gergely (Budapest: Athenaeum Kiadó, 1905) p. 55.

no one would be trying to do so, let me judge if they are worthy of it or not, for my heart is pining over the fact that my eyes have not seen and my mind has not found many that would be suitable for that."[12]

Another component of what determined the right choice was identified by the historian Gábor Várkonyi. He analyzed a letter written by Friedrich Tauffenbach to one of his vassals in the Kingdom of Hungary. This source groups the importance of marriage into 10 points: "*1. the girl should be pretty, 2. she should inherit from her mother, 3. she should come from an old and noble family, 4. should have important people as relatives, 5. should bring many friends, 6. she should be obedient, to have her as I wish, 7. thus I should be able to take revenge on my enemy, 8. my income would grow, 9. I would have a higher credibility, 10. I would have access to a higher rank.*"[13]

Teleki's correspondence denotes a similar vision to that of Tauffenbach. This paper will not discuss all 10 above-mentioned points, only some relevant ones, presenting firstly Teleki's and his future wife's, Zsófia Pekry's economic and social situation, which will be followed by the outlining of Teleki's decisions from before and after the wedding.

Not a lot is known about the origins of the Telekis, since the family archive has not preserved documents that would denote a very high origin. His ancestors probably lived in the area of Lipova/Lippa or Arad.[14] Teleki's grandfather managed to find a richer wife, and through this marriage acquired lands around Ineu/Borosjenő.[15] Teleki's father pursued a successful military career, reached Oradea/Nagyvárad around 1640, where he became lieutenant of cavalry under the command of the future prince,[16] then captain of the city and sheriff (comes) of Bihor/Bihar.[17] Probably around that time, the young Teleki arrived at the court of prince Rákóczi, where he may have served as a page.[18]

After 1648, György Rákóczi II became Prince of Transylvania, and Teleki also gained in importance: he acted as chamberlain, and around 1656 became master of the princely post office.[19] His main duties included overseeing the couriers and assuring the well-functioning of the post.[20] This

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[12] Ibid., pp. 20-22.

[13] Gábor Várkonyi, II. Rákóczy György esküvője [The wedding of György Rákóczy II nd] (Budapest: ELTE Középkori és Koraújkori Magyar Történeti Tanszék, 1990), p. 89.

[14] Trócsányi, *Teleki Mihály*, p. 16.

[15] Béla Iványi, *A római szent birodalmi gróf Teleki család gyömői levéltára* [The archive of Teleki family in Gyömrő] (Szeged, 1931) Nr. 696.

[16] Trócsányi, *Teleki Mihály*, p. 18

[17] Ibid., Nr. 616.

[18] Ibid., Nr. 772-773.

[19] Trócsányi, *Teleki Mihály*, pp. 18.

[20] *Teleki Mihály levelezése* vol I, pp. 18.

position also allowed him to be informed about all the correspondence that went through the court, and here we refer not only to the letters of the ruler, but also to those of the aristocrats.[21] Teleki was probably one of the most well-informed people at court, but his loyalty towards the prince was incontestable as well as the ruler's trust in him.

Teleki was at Rákóczi's side also at the disaster in Poland, and after the prince's abdication too. But he also played an important part in the diet assembly where György Rákóczi II was re-elected. On a social level he lost a lot, especially after the Turks occupied Ineu in 1658. Practically the majority of his estates, together with Békés opidium became part of the Ottoman Empire, where without the support of the citadel's garrison he had no chance of recovering his taxes from the serfs.[22]

These losses were partly compensated by the ruler, Teleki becoming lieutenant of the cavalry of the most important fortresses in the principality. He was a key figure in 1659, when Rákóczi's supporters managed to remove Gábor Haller from office, the captain appointed by Ákos Barcsay.[23]

Although in 1658 Teleki lost the majority of his fortune, due to the external conflict, he could hope for donations from the ruler. He acquired a military rank that could earn him an income and he was probably also given a house in Oradea.

A great advantage for Teleki was the kinship from his mother's, Anna Bornemissza's side. The Bornemissza family was one of the richest in the Partium area, but due to the lack of male offspring they disappeared. The last men of the Bornemisszas had five daughters in total. Among these the eldest was Anna Bornemissza, who became János Teleki's wife. László Bornemissza's daughters ended up as members of the most important families of the time, Kata becoming the wife of Mihály Bethlen, Zsuzsanna of Boldizsár Kemény, and Anna of the future prince, Mihály Apafi.[24] Thus these relations created through extremely advantageous marriages contributed largely to the advancement on the social ladder of Teleki.

This extremely elaborate genealogical tree was equally advantageous for all the members of the family, i.e. also for the Bornemissza sisters, two of them being already widows in the analysed time frame. They received information from their nephew and also the necessary support in the court's judiciary cases, where it is well-known that, without her relatives'

[21] Zsolt Trócsányi, *Erdély Központi Kormányzata 1540-1690.* [The central administration of Transylvania 1540 -1690] (Budapest: Akadémiai Könyvkiadó, 1980), pp. 250-253.

[22] Iványi, *A római szent birodalmi gróf Teleki család gyömői levéltára*, Nr. 68.

[23] János Bethlen, *Erdély Története 1629-1673* [The history of Transylvania 1629-1673] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1993), pp. 50-52.

[24] Trócsányi: *Teleki Mihály.* pp.16.

help, a widow could rarely succeed.[25] But there is also data regarding certain favours like the acquisition of some goods, especially condiments and rare textiles. In turn, Teleki received material and non-material support from the Bornemissza sisters.[26]

It is worthy of being noted that Teleki was initially engaged to another woman, Borbála Torma, who was raised in Kata Bornemissza's court while Teleki was in Poland.[27] Borbála Torma died probably of chickenpox at the beginning of 1658.[28] The engagement was not met with enthusiasm by the whole family, for example Teleki's mother contested this arrangement vehemently.[29] Most likely it was the inferior rank of the fiancée that bothered her, and the way in which this marriage plan was executed.

However, the Pekry girl fulfilled all the genealogic conditions, i.e. her roots went back to the founding of the country, her family originating from the tribe of Tétény. The members of the family reached the Hungarian royal court only in the fifteenth century, but their estates in the south of the kingdom and in Slavonia (especially those in Kőrös County) were devastated by the Turks. After the disaster of Mohács, the Pekry family became the supporter of the Habsburgs, a choice they profited from, being given some villages in Abaúj and Borsod counties as donations. Around 1560 the family changed its political orientation and started supporting John Sigismund Zápolya/Ioan Sigismund/János Zsigmond. As a result, they lost their estates donated by Ferdinand, but in exchange received some villages in Bihor and Târnava counties as a reward from the Transylvanian prince.[30] The family did not pride itself with influential members in the principality's administration, but their origins, their incontestable ancestry offered them a special status, a prestige that a newly ennobled family like the Teleki was in great need of. Zsófia Pekry's father, Ferenc appears in sources as Pekry of Cuci/Kutyfalva.[31]

Thus, from a financial viewpoint and in matters of prestige, Teleki's wife was far superior to her husband. On the other hand, the members of the Pekry family did not manage to get into court, did not have a close

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[25] *Teleki Mihály levelezése* vol. I. pp. 381-382.

[26] Zsuzsánna Balogh, Egy 17. századi özvegyasszony-Bornemissza Kata [An 17th century widow-Bornemissza Kata] IN: Tőtős Áron ed. *Fejezetek Erdély történetéből*. [Capitols from history of Transylvania] (EME-RODOSZ Bihar, Nagyvárad, 2018), pp. 191-206.

[27] *Teleki Mihály levelezése* vol. I, pp. 75-76.

[28] Ibid., pp.181-182.

[29] Ibid., pp.129-130.

[30] Tamás Pálosfalvi, *The noble elite in the county of Kőrös* 1400-1526. (Budapest: MTA BTK TI, 2014), pp. 232-242.

[31] János Szalárdi, *Siralmas Krónika* [Miserable Chronica of János Szalárdi] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1980) pp. 480.

relationship with the Transylvanian prince, thus in turn they benefited fully from Teleki's relations.

From his correspondence we know that Teleki wished to marry Zsófia Pekry already in 1656, but as he wrote in a letter to his mother: "*she is destined to be with a high-ranking man.*"[32] This bitterness that reflects Teleki's lack of confidence, as well as a slight sense of shame regarding his origins, were feelings that would accompany him his entire life.[33]

Teleki would get engaged even before the failed campaign in Poland, probably with the help of the Bornemissza sisters, to Borbála Torma. The failure in Poland in the middle of 1658 found Teleki without a fiancée and without estates. But his personality, together with the pressure exerted by both his friends in court and his family helped him earn back his prestige – as is shown in this letter fragment, sent by an old friend who was now in Zsuzsanna Lorántffy's court, István Dalmady: "*I myself would regret if I would have to dress into German or other foreign nation's garments (I write this as a joke); it's true, you having Hungarian blood, we should rather find you a Hungarian so that the Teleki family does not die out.*"[34]

Teleki settled down in Oradea, where he benefited from a sufficient income. He probably visited the Pekry family a few times towards the end of 1658, but there are no records of this. On 5th March 1659 he received good news from György and Sigmond Veér: "*We discussed the matter you entrusted us with both our aunt and our niece, but we did not manage to get anything good out of it for this niece of ours is so fussy, she said she would not marry such an ugly and bearded man like yourself. Nevertheless we tried seventy-seven tricks, told her that even if you were ugly, you are merciful and dutiful, and the kinship likes you. Thus, dear friend, we strived so hard for your cause that eventually we enabled you to come visit with your hopes high.*"[35]

The news of the engagement surprised the noblemen in Rákóczi's court. But the happiness was about to be shadowed by the restless political situation, since the threat of a Turkish attack was still big, and the fight for the throne of Transylvania became more and more intense. In this tense political situation Teleki's engagement did not come at the right time. He was being criticized by people at court. Attempting to correct his mistakes, Teleki asked the advice of two important governors, Dalmady and Gábor Köver.[36] The problem with Teleki's engagement seemed to be a diplomatic one, i.e. he did not ask for György Rákóczi's approval, which was disrespectful towards the

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[32] *Teleki Mihály levelezése* vol. I, pp. 55.

[33] Trócsányi, *Teleki Mihály*, pp. 6-10.

[34] *Teleki Mihály levelezése*. vol. I, pp. 348.

[35] Ibid., pp. 356.

[36] Ibid., pp. 372-374.

prince, who given the uncertain political situation might have interpreted Teleki's gesture as a sign of disloyalty. From Köver's commentary we find out that some had already suspected Teleki of treason, thinking he had sided with Barcsay. This gossip also appears in one of the letters from Teleki's mother, who affirms that "*even without the principality Rákóczi is still Rákóczi*".[37] The objection did not address the chosen girl, but the way in which she was chosen, i.e. without previously consulting with the prince and the courtiers.

However, Teleki's family was thrilled, especially the Bornemissza sisters, they considered that through the estates acquired as dowry, the Teleki family would move its centre of interest and influence to Transylvania.[38] Rákóczi's grace towards Teleki returned in the spring of 1659 when the latter was sent on a mission to Transylvania with letters addressed to the aristocracy, an ideal opportunity for starting the necessary preparations for the wedding, i.e. stacking provisions such as food, cutlery, jewellery and accessories for the representation.[39]

There is no precise data concerning the actual unfolding of the wedding ceremony. The event probably took place between 20th and 22nd July. However, we know that from the most important relatives only Zsuzsanna Bornemissza was unable to attend, since the festivity overlapped with the return to the country of János Kemény and his personnel.[40]

Teleki's first move after the wedding was to get in possession of the dowry. In the administration of the Transylvanian estates he was helped by Kata Bornemissza.[41] Some parts of the dowry were kept at Baia Mare/Nagybánya.[42] In Oradea he tried to build a residence, ordering 10 thousand shingles from the local serfs.[43] Teleki wanted to settle down in Oradea, in his own independent household. This is also suggested by the fact that he did not live with his mother. These manoeuvres however caused discontent amongst some of the members of the family.

Teleki's political career seemed to return to its normal course. In the autumn of the same year, he was assigned tasks outside Oradea. He was sent to verify the county troops in Bihor.[44] In November he got an order from Rákóczi to support the troops of the citadel and of the county in the attack against Barcsay.[45] Teleki would leave his household, start towards Sibiu,

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[37] Ibid., pp. 375-377.
[38] Ibid., pp. 381-382.
[39] Ibid., pp. 389-390.
[40] Ibid., p. 426.
[41] Ibid., pp. 433-434.
[42] Ibid., p. 432.
[43] Ibid., p. 445.
[44] Ibid., pp. 450-452.
[45] Ibid., pp. 462-463.

during which time, according to the letters to his wife, she became the leader of the household. The majority of their correspondence comprised thus economic information, but also expressed their desire to see each other as soon as possible.[46]

The siege of Sibiu was long and unsuccessful, and above all the political and military failure overlapped with a personal one. Unfortunately, the correspondence between husband and wife from this period does not exist anymore. The last letter, dated 6th January, reflects on the husband's quick return,[47] while the prince's letter from 4th February relates of Teleki's widowhood,[48] more specifically of the inconveniences caused by the lack of a will from Zsófia Pekry, who most likely died in the second half of January 1660.

It is not the aim of this paper to detail Mihály Teleki's grief. However, it must be underlined that death and the loss of a beloved one was looked upon a little differently in this period than today. Sources that would describe young Teleki's pain are few, and the letters reflecting on his widowhood cover a relatively short period of time. It is true that the events of 1660 did not leave a lot of time for grief. In the fall of 1660 Teleki was already in the same situation as in the fall of 1658, i.e. without a wife, a house and fortune. But he had a considerable advantage over many people: he was alive.

In conclusion, taking into consideration Tauffenbach's 10 points, the recipe for a happy early modern marriage, we can easily identify Teleki's strategy too. In the first years of his career he probably tried to find a stable place in the prince's court. This much desired stability could be achieved only through a successful matrimonial alliance which would guarantee the ascension of the individual on the social ladder, would facilitate the creation of new relations and would ensure an income that was independent from court. This income could guarantee Teleki's independence from the prince but also from his relatives. Teleki's original plan was to strengthen his position amongst the nobility. Due to the century's political conjunction, he managed to achieve much more than that. The losses suffered by the old Transylvanian families as well as his marriages propelled him directly among the princely elite.

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[46] Ibid., pp. 454-456; pp. 462-463; pp. 472-479; pp. 486-488; pp. 490-492.
[47] Ibid., pp. 490-492.
[48] Ibid., pp. 493-494.

The Beginnings of the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Oradea in the Eighteenth Century. The Beiuş Estate Conscription of 1778

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Abstract: The Beiuş estate conscription of 1778 holds valuable information regarding the fiscal state of the local population. The Greek-Catholic Diocese had just been created and it needed a source of income to sustain itself and at the same time to grow. This estate was one of the richest in the whole county, formed from 72 villages with Beiuş at its center. From buildings such as mills, inns and taverns, to farms and homes, they are all presented inside the document. Moise Dragoşi, the first Greek-catholic bishop of Oradea struggled to get this estate and it took four years. The conscription in this case represents not just an official piece of paper, but a *window* into the life of an eighteenth-century peasant.

Keywords: conscription, Beiuş, estate, Greek-catholic, Oradea, income, tax.

Rezumat: Conscripţia moşiei Beiuş din 1778 deţine informaţii preţioase privind starea fiscală a populaţiei locale. Episcopia Greco-Catolică tocmai fusese creată şi avea nevoie de o sursă de venit pentru a se susţine şi în acelaşi timp să se dezvolte. Această moşie a fost una dintre cele mai bogate din întreg judeţul, formată din 72 de sate cu Beiuşul în centru. De la clădiri precum mori, hanuri şi taverne, până la ferme şi case, toate sunt prezentate în document. Moise Dragoşi, primul episcop greco-catolic de Oradea, s-a chinuit să obţină această moşie şi a durat patru ani. Conscripţia în acest caz reprezintă nu doar o bucată de hârtie oficială, ci o *fereastră* către viaţa unui ţăran din secolul al XVIII-lea.

Cuvinte cheie: Conscripţie, Beiuş, moşie, greco-catolic, Oradea, venit, impozit.

The conscription of 1778 is a document that illustrates realities of the Beiuş estate and presents important information regarding the structure of the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Oradea. The founding of the bishopric of Oradea

was a key moment in the history of the Greek-Catholic community of Bihor County. Their aspirations of institutional individuality came only after the death in 1775 of the auxiliary-bishop (or *vicar-bishop*) Meletie Kovacs. On the 16th of June 1777, through the papal bulla *In deffesum*, and with the support of Empress Maria Tereza,[1] Moise Dragoşi was named bishop of the newly formed Greek-Catholic Diocese of Oradea. At that moment it was decided that this institution would be placed under the authority of the Archdiocese of Strigoniu (*Esztergom*) and the sovereign of Vienna, as supreme patron, would have the right of naming and recommending to the pope the future bishops.[2]

Thus, a new chapter began for this ecclesiastical institution. In these first years, one of the main concerns of bishop Dragoşi was to secure proper financial means to organize the bishopric. Up until then, the Greek-Catholic community of Oradea and Bihor County were under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Diocese. With this new *status quo*, Dragoşi was searching for separate forms of revenue. He sent multiple letters to Empress Maria Tereza, asking that he and his community be granted an estate. The first one was dated October the 30th 1776, even before the papal bulla was emitted. The supplicant was underlining the necessity of having real estate for the future institution: he gave examples of other places such as Făgăraş that received the estate of Blaj, or of Muncaci which was awarded revenue from certain abbeys. In short, Dragoşi was asking that Oradea would be granted one of the estates of Beiuş, Vascău or Beliu, or a part of the fiscal estate of Aleşd.[3] He even made a few estimations regarding the total funds needed for his community: 6.000 florins per year for the bishop's salary, 500 florins per year, maintenance funds for the cathedral, 2.800 florins for the five consistorial clerics (handpicked priests that helped the bishop run the diocese), and 1.200 florins for the priests in Oradea. The total sum was rounded to 10.500 florins per year.[4]

These would start properly moving only after the decree of July the 2nd 1780. The document stipulated that the Beiuş estate be taken from the Catholic Diocese and given to the Greek-Catholic bishopric. Pope Pius VI would confirm the decision through his own papal bulla entitled *Ingenios*a on the 10th of August of the same year.[5] The last step was made on February 10th

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[1] Ioan Ardeleanu, *Istoria Diecesei Greco-Catolice a Oradiei Mari* [The History of the Greek-catholic Diocese of Great-Oradea] (2 vols, Oradea: 1883-1888), vol. 1, Oradea, 1888, p.39.

[2] Iudita Căluşer, *Episcopia Greco-catolică de Oradea* [The Greek-catholic Diocese of Oradea] (Oradea: Logos'94,2000), p. 52.

[3] Iacob Radu, *Istoria diecezei Române-Unite a Orăzii Mari 1777-1927* [The History of the Greek-catholic Diocese of Great-Oradea 1777-1927] (Oradea: Chiriaşii Tipografiei Româneşti, 1932), p. 51.

[4] Ardeleanu, *Istoria Diecesei*, pp.48-49.

[5] Raimond Rudolf Salanschi, *Din istoria Eparhiei Greco-catolice de Oradea. Geneză, integrare şi devenire* [History of the Greek-Catholic Bishopric of Oradea. Genesis, Integration and Becoming] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2014), p. 163.

1781, when Emperor Joseph II underlined the previous documents and regulated the way which the new funds deriving from Beiuş would be used.[6] The Greek-Catholic Diocese would proclaim its authority over the estate only after June 26th 1781, when Moise Dragoşi started to write letters notifying people of the new reality. The estate generated per year somewhere around 22.000 florins. From this sum, 2.800 florins represented payments for the consistorial clerics, 1.200 florins for young priests that were studying in seminars, 500 florins for the cathedral, 300 florins for the bishop's house, 50 florins for the lawyer, 150 for the notary and 8.500 florins for the diocese fund. Another 2.500 florins were used for the *propagation of the Union* and 6.000 florins for the bishop himself.[7] To put things in perspective, the Roman-Catholic Church at that time had roughly annual revenue of 100.000 florins without the Beiuş estate.

To better understand the document which I am about to analyze, certain aspects need to be first illustrated. In essence, conscriptions were official documents that provided statistical information (fiscal, demographical, ecclesiastical) of a specific geographical area of interest. They were demanded especially by state authorities; during the eighteenth Century they underlined the types of reform that the empire introduced, reforms that sought the improve the system of governance.[8] In the case of Bihor county, these documents were solicited by the central authority through what was called *Consilio Regio Locumtenentiali Hungarico* (a special council designated to administer what was once the Kingdom of Hungary within the Habsburg Empire) that had its headquarters in Bratislava and later Buda.

The conscription which I am about to present was finalized on the 30th of June 1778 by order of the Royal Chamber of Hungary. The people that made it were Ioannes Kovats (inspector sent by the state) and Iosephus Kimrajth (conscriptor of the Royal Chamber). Alexius Bimbo, a cleric of the Roman-Catholic diocese of Oradea was also present.[9] Today, the document (entitled *The Conscription of the Beiuş estate of the Greek-Catholic diocese of Oradea*) is kept at the Bihor County Branch of the National Archives in Oradea, archival fund nr. 3 file nr. 2. It is actually a legalized copy from 1821 after the original that was kept in Buda, made by the vice-archivist Michael Czigler of the Royal Chamber.

[6] Ana Ilea - Iudita Căluşer, *Conscrierea domeniului Beiuş din anul 1778* [Conscription of the Beiuş estate of 1778] (Oradea: Muzeul Ţării Crişurilor, 1995), p. 179; Radu, *Istoria diecezei*, p. 58; Ardeleanu, *Istoria Diecesei*, p. 54.

[7] Radu, *Istoria diecezei*, p. 58.

[8] Derek Beales, *Joseph II In the shadows of Maria Theresa 1741-1780*, (2 vols Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987-1990), vol. 1, p. 439.

[9] Oradea, Serviciul Judeţean Bihor al Arhivelor Naţionale [Bihor County Service of the National Archives], fond *Domeniul episcopesc român unit-Beiuş* no.3, dosar no.2, pp. 137-138.

The document was first brought to light by historians Ana Ilea and Iudita Căluşer. Together they revealed it in an article entitled *Conscrierea domeniului Beiuş anul 1778*, published in 1995. The focus of the article is directed primarily towards the town of Beiuş, correlating data from the document and other conscriptions. The authors stated in the end that they didn't capitalize on the minute detail of the document.[10] It is better said that they opened new roads for future historians and researchers to discover more information from this conscription (that was transcribed in the second part of the article). I wish to continue to explore this document and present more detailed information regarding revenue (using florins and kreutzers as standard). I will be focusing mainly on the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages, and of the production of boards and planks of wood. Besides Beiuş, I will be directing my analysis towards other villages and places that are also of key importance.

There are 72 villages inscribed in the conscription, each with its own particularities. The center was at Beiuş; from an infrastructure and annual revenue point of view, it was the most evolved. The entire estate spread across 136.000 yokes of arable land, forests, orchards and vineyards.[11] In the beginning, the *yoke* as a method of measuring was the surface of land which two oxen were able to plough in one day. Under Austrian rule the German yoke (Joch) was introduced and had approximately 16.000 square fathoms, the equivalent of today's 0.575 hectares.[12] Reading through the document and making certain calculations we reach the conclusion that on the estate there were 735 families of serfs, 3.700 of *jeleri* (peasants with a small plot of land or none but that enjoyed more rights than serfs) and 287 families of merchants (those living mainly in Beiuş).[13] The total number of the population was somewhere around 22.000.

The estate's total infrastructure value was around 26.903 florins and 42 kreutzers. The conscription takes into account buildings that belonged to the Church or had a certain financial importance. Of the total sum, just the buildings around Beiuş were valued at around 25.251 florins. The bishop's house was worth 11.029 florins.[14] It included a bakery, a small prison, a garden, a stable that could hold 36 horses, a barn, the house of the notary (built out of clay and wood and had three rooms), the butcher's house and a cellar.

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[10] Ilea - Căluşer, *Conscrierea domeniului*, p.190.

[11] Căluşer, *Episcopia Greco-catolică*, p. 55.

[12] Nicolae Stoicescu, *Cum măsurau strămoşii: metrologia medievală pe teritoriul României* [How did the Ancestors Measure: Medieval Metrology in Romania] (Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică, 1971), pp. 126-128.

[13] Căluşer, *Episcopia Greco-catolică*, p. 56.

[14] Oradea, Serviciul Judeţean Bihor al Arhivelor Naţionale [Bihor County Service of the National Archives], fond *Domeniul episcopesc român unit-Beiuş* no.3, dosar no.2, p. 2.

In Beiuş there was also a brewery. According to the conscription the building was valued at around 3.043 florins and 35 kreutzers. It was built out of strong materials including wooden planks and boards, having multiple rooms for the production of beer and plum brandy: a cold room, a room for preparing malt, a room for preparing brandy, etc.[15] The brewery had a large copper cauldron with a capacity of 34 urns and also a kitchen. There were two types of beer produced here; white and black. A close estimation presented by the document, indicates that on a yearly basis, the brewery produced up to 72 urns of white beer and 166 of black beer.[16] The total revenue from the sales was 834 florins (4 florins for each white beer urn sold and 3 florins and 30 kreutzers for each black one). There was a special building for housing the urns (*domus dominalis clavigeralis*), with a basement large enough to hold up to 50 urns at once. The hop plant necessary for the production of beer was cultivated here. In total, there were 3 yokes of land assigned just for this purpose. The tavern was right across the road. It was built during the time of Bishop Adam Patachich. The building itself was worth 1.189 florins and its yearly profit was around 443 florins,[17] selling during this course 397 urns of wine and 92 urns of beer. One of the estate's inns was also situated in Beiuş (*diversorium dominale internum*). It played a significant financial role. The first bricks were laid by bishop Forgacs in the year 1750 and it had a guest room, two chambers, a kitchen, a room for the innkeeper and a cellar that could hold 60 urns.[18] The stables could hold up to 12 horses and a barn for four carriages. The inn was evaluated at 5.299 florins and 26 kreutzers, with a yearly profit of around 668 florins.[19] On the banks of the Criş River there was also a mill with three wheels that was used in the production of flour.

Most of the villages that were significantly smaller did not have, besides the church (some of them not even that, people having to travel to neighboring places to attend Mass) other proprieties that were considered valuable. Among the settlements that produced a certain stream of monetary profit there was the village of Pociovelişte. There we have a mill that produced planks and boards.[20] The building was made out of wood, with an estimated worth of 45 florins. Annually, the produced different type of goods: 15 thick oak planks, 20 kreutzers each, 46 oak planks of normal thickness (10 kreutzers each), 649 pine planks (7 kreutzers each) and last but not least, 1.719 pine

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[15] *Ibid.* pp. 7-9.

[16] *Ibid.* p. 7.

[17] Ilea - Căluşer, *Conscrierea domeniului*, p. 202.

[18] *Ibid.*, p.181.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Oradea, Serviciul Judeţean Bihor al Arhivelor Naţionale [Bihor County Service of the National Archives], fond *Domeniul episcopesc român unit-Beiuş* no.3, dosar no.2, p. 18.

beams costing just 2 kreutzers each. The total annual revenue was around 169 florins.[21]There was another mill similar to this one at Cărbunari. It was worth less (24 florins and 30 kreutzers) and built also out of wood.[22] It produced in the same period 72 oak planks of normal thickness, 926 pine planks, 12 oak beams and 889 pine beams. The profit was estimated at around 150 florins and 28 kreutzers. Another mill was at Budureasa village, the building was worth even less than the previous two, only 15 florins and 21 kreutzers. It managed to make 1.052 pine planks and 959 pine beams, with a profit of 154 florins and 42 kreutzers.[23] The last wood mill was at Gurani.[24] It was valued at around 21 florins and 13 kreutzers and it made 60 oak planks, 1.284 pine planks, 1.553 pine beams, with a total income of 211 florins and 34 kreutzers.[25] It should be mentioned that the wood that was used in the production came from the neighboring forests, the largest and most important one the "Prince's Forest".[26] The total income from the plank, board and beam production of the mills was 684 florins and 105 kreutzers.

In Tărcaia village there was a tavern with a value of 41 florins and 25 kreutzers.[27] It had two chambers, a kitchen and a cellar in poor condition. The proceeds were determined on a five-year period. The document confirms that the tavern sold 134 urns of wine (1 florin each) and 20 urns of beer (30 kreutzer). The sum total was 144 florins and 30 kreutzers.

In Vintere-Rogoz there was a house belonging to the local lord, but it was rarely used.[28] The document underlines that it was at that point vacant and empty. Its value was around 460 florins. Built from pine wood planks, it had 3 rooms and a kitchen. There was a place here that could produce wine (*domus torcularia*), also built from wood with a value of 200 florins.[29] A small inn was situated here (*diversorum*) and a bridge over the Holod River. The inn was built from wood and clay, it had four rooms and a kitchen; the total value of this building was 342 florins and 30 kreutzers. The building was surrounded by a wall and had two gates. It also had a stable big enough to receive carriages. Its cellar could hold up to 100 urns.[30] The inn sold approximately 169 urns of wine, 520 smaller urns of plum brandy and 31 urns

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[21] *Ibid*.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[25] *Ibid*.

[26] Ilea - Căluşer, *Conscrierea domeniului*, p.188.

[27] Oradea, Serviciul Judeţean Bihor al Arhivelor Naţionale [Bihor County Service of the National Archives], fond *Domeniul episcopesc român unit-Beiuş* no.3, dosar no.2, p. 84.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[30] *Ibid.*

of beer. The total income was around 215 florins and 35 kreutzers. There was a toll for crossing the bridge but it only brought 49 florins and 54 kreutzers. Even though this was an important trading route, a lot of people living in the neighboring area were exempt from certain obligations and taxes. The total value of the buildings in Vintere-Rogoz was 1.002 florins and 35 kreutzers.

There was another tavern in Urvişul de Beliu.[31] It's described as mostly unused and empty (*sede vacante*), built from wood and had a straw roof. It had two rooms, a kitchen and a cellar, all of this surrounded by a fence made from straw and wood. Still the tavern managed to sell 73 urns of wine, 222 small urns of plum brandy and 13 urns of beer, bringing a profit of 92 florins and 49 kreutzers.[32] The last tavern was located in Remetea, and was appraised at 202 florins.[33] It had 3 rooms, a kitchen, a cellar and a small stable. The people working here sold around 213 urns of wine, 95 urns of brandy and 21 of beer worth 229 florins and 55 kreutzers.[34] The total revenue from these places was 680 florins and 169 kreutzers.

The entire estate produced yearly about 30.500 florins. The village of Beiuş had the most, contributing with 3.376 florins and 34 kreutzers. The rest of the communities didn't exceed 1.000 florins, the average was between 300 and 500 florins. The village with the largest share (besides Beiuş and all other mentioned) was Finiş. It brought yearly 1.056 florins and 55 kreutzers.[35] Tax collections mounted up to 157 florins, tax on making other goods such as pots and baskets 92 florins. The village had two mills that belonged to the community (10 florins and 12 kreutzers) and a private mill (2 florins) all of which were used to make flour. The villagers also produced alcoholic beverages around 22 urns of wine, 150 urns of plum brandy and 10 urns of beer. There was also a tax on selling these kinds of homemade beverages and it brought in a profit of 35 florins and 45 kreutzers.

Labour corvee (*robota*) was another way of calculating profit. There are several types of labours locals made: the long freightage (*longa ventura*) and fathom of wood (*lignatione*). Some were made using animals (when it implied traveling) others by hand. Each family had to work a certain number of days based on the size of the land that it had.[36] Here the serfs had to work a combined total of 308 days with animals and 2440 days of manual labour. The clerks tried to give a monetary value to these days so that they could calculate the revenue. They estimated that a day of work with animals was work 20

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[36] Ilea - Căluşer, *Conscrierea domeniului*, p. 184.

kreutzers and a manual one was 10 kreutzers. So, the total income was 513 florins and 15 kreutzers. It's important to underline that the sums presented here were just indicative, in other words not real money. There was the possibility that a serf could buy his days of work so he wouldn't have to go but that didn't happen very often. There were also other obligations that the locals had to manage, these were the nature obligations (*culinarian*). They had to give a certain amount in goods that they produced such as eggs, butter or livestock. In the case of Finiş, they had to give in total 5 measurements of butter (15 kreutzers each), 11 roosters (9 kreutzers each), 71 eggs (3 kreutzers each) and a veal (17 kreutzers). The total sum was 4 florins and 36 kreutzers each year. There was also the *nona* (ninth part of all of their goods) valued at 42 florins and 37 kreutzers and *Regia decima* (the tenth part) estimated at 87 florins and 54 kreutzers. These sums are again indicative because they were mostly payed in goods thus the price always fluctuated.

Last but not least Finiş had a very rich forest in the vicinity. The size of the forests in the conscriptions is expressed in hours (*horarum*) therefore an exact number is unknown. This is referring to the time it takes for a person on foot to walk around the forest one time. Here there was a *five-hour forest* full of oak, pine and other kinds of trees. The wood sold on a five year period amounted to 111 florins and 2 kreutzers. In the last part of the text there is mention of black marble found here that could have been used to carve plaques but there are no statistics given.[37]

The village with least amount of profit was Kakacseny with an annual sum of only 95 florins and 3 kreutzers.[38] Revenue from taxes mounted up to just 15 florins, those for producing baskets and other goods 4 florins. The villagers needed to work 18 days per year with animals and 234 days manual. Expressed in money, that was just 46 florins and 17 kreutzers. The nature obligations were insignificant, a quarter of a measurement of butter, a rooster, a chicken and 3 eggs all worth 11 kreutzers. The *nona* and *decima* were just 21 florins and 51 kreutzers and the *one hour forest* nearby made a profit of just 7 florins and 42 kreutzers.

In conclusion, the conscription of the Beiuş estate was made by order of the Royal Chamber of Hungary in the context of the creation of the Greek-Catholic diocese of Oradea. By giving it to the newly formed bishopric, a major problem that Moise Dragoşi was having in the beginning was solved. The ecclesiastical institution needed a source of income. Without it, the diocese could not have continued its activity. The financial benefits of the estate

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[37] Oradea, Serviciul Judeţean Bihor al Arhivelor Naţionale [Bihor County Service of the National Archives], fond *Domeniul episcopesc român unit-Beiuş* no.3, dosar no.2, p. 87.

[38] Ilea - Căluşer, *Conscrierea domeniului*, p.72.

helped the Church to stand on its own two feet and to properly organize itself. The details presented in the conscription reveal the economic potential of the estate, its features, land and people. At the same time, it illustrates the obligations that they had and the mechanisms that were used to collect revenue. These details also offer a clear image of the traditional and picturesque framework of Bihor. This estate ensured the evolution of the Greek-Catholic diocese of Oradea in accordance with the great institutional, pastoral and cultural objectives of Catholic reformism.

Liberalism and Conservatism in the Writings of Aurel C. Popovici

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Abstract: In our study we wanted to analyze how the Romanian political activist and ideologist Aurel C. Popovici (1863-1917) perceived liberalism and conservatism, two of the most important ideologies of the nineteenth century. For this purpose, we studied three of his main writings: *Principiul de naționalitate* (*The Nationality Principle*), *Statele Unite ale Austriei Mari* (*The United States of Great Austria*) and *Naționalism sau democrație: o critică a civilizațiunii moderne* (*Nationalism or Democracy: a Critical Approach to Modern Civilization*). We studied the way in which the renowned Banatian author perceived liberalism, but also the way he percieved several main principles of this ideology: the defense of liberty, the sovereignty of the people, representative government, the refusal of absolutism and pluralism. By analyzing these topics in Aurel C. Popovici's writings, we identified several paradoxes of his thinking, which we tried to explain by appealing to other sources, like personal letters or memoirs belonging to friends or admirers.

Keywords: liberalism, conservatism, Aurel C. Popovici, democracy, Austria-Hungary, nationalism

Rezumat: În studiul nostru am dorit să analizăm modul în care activistul politic şi ideologul român Aurel C. Popovici (1863-1917) a perceput liberalismul şi conservatorismul, două dintre cele mai importante ideologii ale secolului al XIX-lea. Astfel, am studiat trei dintre principalele sale scrieri: *Principiul de naționalitate*, *Statele Unite ale Austriei Mari* şi *Naționalism sau democrație: o critică a civilizațiilor moderne*. Am studiat modul în care renumitul autor bănățean a perceput liberalismul, dar şi modul în care a realizat mai multe principii importante ale acestei ideologii: apărarea libertății, suveranitatea poporului, guvernarea reprezentativă, refuzul absolutismului şi pluralismul. Analizând aceste subiecte în scrierile lui Aurel C. Popovici, am identificat mai multe paradoxuri ale gândirii sale, pe care am încercat să le explicăm apelând la alte surse, precum scrisori personale sau memorii aparținând prietenilor sau admiratorilor.

Cuvinte cheie: liberalism, conservatorism, Aurel C. Popovici, democrație, Austro-Ungaria, naționalism

Aurel C. Popovici (1863-1917) was one of the most important political journalists and opinion makers of the Transylvanian Romanians in the last years of the Dual Monarchy. His work consists of several writings dedicated to Romanian affairs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a wide plan to federalize this state and an interesting polemical book about nationalism and democracy. His life and his ideas were studied by many Romanian researchers and a monograph about him was written several years ago.[1] In our research, we would like to bring new contributions regarding Popovici's political ideas, by studying the influence of liberalism and conservatism on his writings. Two main questions are currently guiding our study: 1) how did Popovici regard the concept of liberty and 2) how did he perceive two of the main ideologies of the nineteenth century, liberalism and conservatism?

Aurel C. Popovici was born on the 4th/16th of October 1863 in Lugoj, in the family of a Romanian craftsman. He began his primary studies in his native town and completed them at the Romanian middle schools of Beiuş and Braşov. In 1885 he began to study medicine in Vienna, where he was also active in the Romanian student association *România Jună* (*Young Romania*). Three years later he moved to the University of Graz, where he continued his studies. At that time, politics already became his first concern and because of this reason he had abandoned his medical career to get involved instead in the struggle for the political emancipation of the Romanians from Austria-Hungary.[2] His first major political work was, in the context of the *Memorandum*, the coordination and writing of the *Cestiunea română în Transilvania şi Ungaria. Replica junimii academice române din Transilvania şi Ungaria la „Răspunsul" dat de junimea academică maghiară „Memoriului" studenţilor universitară din România* (*The Romanian Question in Transylvania and Hungary. The Reply of the Young Romanian Students from Transylvania and Hungary to the "Answer" of the Young Hungarian Students to the "Memoir" of the university students of Romania*) in1892.[3] Popovici was the main author of this memoir, which became known in the Romanian historiography as *Replica* (*The Reply*). Many other young Romanians cooperated with him, for example the future political leaders Iuliu Maniu and Alexandru Vaida Voevod. Popovici was accused by the Hungarian authorities due to his work and received a four year prison sentence. After the trial, he fled to Italy.[4]

The young political activist arrived in Bucharest from Italy in 1893. There he served for twelve years as a German and Hygiene teacher at the Nifon Seminary and the War School in Bucharest. Between 1900 and 1901 he

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[1] Vasile Crişan, *Aurel C. Popovici (1863-1917)* (Alba Iulia: Altip, 2008).

[2] Ibid., pp. 19-26.

[3] Ibid., p. 12.

[4] Ibid., p. 169.

worked at the Romanian lyceum of Bitolia, nowadays in Macedonia. Popovici remained a sympathizer of the "Ligue for the Cultural Unity of all the Romanians" and worked intensely in the media and the editorial field. In 1899 he founded the "Minerva" Graphical Arts Institute, a modern publishing house which he led until 1910, and also the newspaper *România Junǎ,* which lasted only until the 9th of October 1900. An important stage in his career was his directorate at the renowned periodical *Sǎmǎnǎtorul* (*The Sower*), between 1906 and 1908, where he wrote or coordinated the political articles.[5] In 1912 he moved to Vienna to be closer to the archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir of the Austrian-Hungarian throne, whom he wanted to influence with his project of "The United States of Great Austria". After Franz Ferdinand's assassination and the outbreak of World War I, Popovici and his close friend, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, tried to persuade the German government to intervene in favour of the Transylvanian and Hungarian Romanians in order to obtain Romania's help in the war.[6] The two activists settled in Geneva and there, on the 10th of February 1917,[7] Aurel C. Popovici died because of pneumonia.[8]

His main political ideas are presented in several books like *Principiul de naționalitate* (*The Nationality Principle*) (1894),[9] *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Groß-Österreich* (*The United States of Great Austria*) (1906)[10] and *Naționalism sau democrație: o critică a civilizațiunii moderne* (*Nationalism or Democracy: a Critical Approach to Modern Civilisation*) (1910).[11] Their study is very important in order to understand the ideological and political spectrum of Austria-Hungary and Romania. Popovici was one of the most informed journalists of his time about the main political ideologies and he had written the most explicit books about his beliefs. His ideas, which will be analyzed below, gained a strong influence among the young Romanian activists and intellectuals, not only at the end of the nineteenth century, but also during the interwar period. Alexandru Vaida

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[5] Ibid., pp. 203-212.

[6] Liviu Maior, *Alexandru Vaida Voevod. Putere şi defăimare* [Alexandru Vaida Voevod. Power and Defamation] (Bucureşti: Rao, 2010), pp. 73-94.

[7] Crişan, *Aurel C. Popovici,* p. 233.

[8] Alexandru Vaida Voevod, *Memorii* [Memoirs], vol. IV, edited by Alexandru Şerban, (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1998), p. 102.

[9] Aurel C. Popovici, *Principiul de naționalitate: conferența desvoltată la 30, I, 1894 în „Ateneul Român" din Bucureşti* [The Principle of Nationality] (Bucureşti: Tipografia Modernă Gregoire Louis, 1894).

[10] This book was originally published in German, in 1906, in Leipzig, and was translated into Romanian only in 1939, by Petre Pandrea. In our research, we used Aurel C. Popovici, *Stat şi națiune: Statele Unite ale Austriei Mari* [State and Nation: The United States of Great Austria], translated by Petre Pandrea, edited by Constantin Schifirneţ, (Bucureşti: Albatros, 1997).

[11] Aurel C. Popovici, *Naționalism sau democrație: o critică a civilizațiunii moderne* [Nationalism or Democracy: a Critical Approach to Modern Civilization], edited by Constantin Schifirneţ (Bucureşti: Albatros, 1997).

Voevod regarded him as one of his intellectual mentors, who had oriented him from socialism to nationalism.[12] He had such a great prestige among the general public and had been such a good debater, that even Nicolae Iorga had been afraid to criticize him publicly.[13] One of the most preeminent Romanian intellectuals who was influenced by the Banatian ideologist was the poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga, who in 1917 had written that Popovici was "for us, the only spiritual aristocrat since Eminescu",[14] and several years later, in 1926, he declared that *Nationalism or Democracy* had been a fundamental book for his time.[15] Popovici was appreciated by other important intellectuals, such as the philosopher Ion Petrovici[16] or the historian Ion Dimitrie Suciu, who had regarded him as "the most enlightened figure of the Romanian people between 1892 and 1917" and had considered that his ideas were still valid after the Great Union of 1918.[17]

Our study aims to bring new information regarding the political ideas of the renowned Banatian ideologist, by analyzing his approach to liberalism and conservatism. Other research dedicated to his writings focused on how he theorized the concept of the nation[18] and on his plans to federalize the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.[19]

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[12] Vaida Voevod, *Memorii,* vol. IV, p. 7.

[13] Ibid., p. 197.

[14] Lucian Blaga, *Corespondență (A-F)* [Letters (A-F)], edited by Mircea Cenușă (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1989), p. 96.

[15] Lucian Blaga, *Ceasornicul de nisip* [The Sand Clock], edited by Mircea Popa (Cluj: Dacia, 1973), p. 232.

[16] Ion Petrovici, *Figuri dispărute* [Lost figures] (București: Fundația pentru Literatură și Artă „Regele Carol II", 1937), pp. 18-26.

[17] Ion Dimitrie Suciu, *Literatura bănățeană de la început până la unire (1582-1918)* [Banatian Literature from the beginning to the Union] (Timișoara: Editura Regionalei Bănățene „Astra", 1940), p. 210.

[18] Nicolae Bocșan, *Ideea de națiune la românii din Transilvania și Banat (secolul al XIX-lea* [The idea of Nation among the Romanians of Transylvania and Banat (the 19th Century)] (Cluj-Napoca, Reșița: Presa Universitară Clujeană, Banatica, 1997), pp. 169-192, 197-209; Gelu Sabău, 'Democracy against Nationalism: the A. C. Popovici Case ' in *South-East European Journal of Political Science,* I/1(2013): 111-128; Gabriela Tănăsescu, ' Naționalismul doctrinar - Aurel C. Popovici' [The Doctrinal Nationalism - Aurel C. Popovici] in *Revista de filosofie,* 64/4 (2017): 438-459.

[19] Victor Neumann, 'Federalism și naționalism. O perspectivă comparată asupra teoriilor politice din Austro-Ungaria la 1900 ' [Federalism and Nationalism. A Comparative Perspective on the Political Theories of Austria-Hungary in 1900] in Victor Neumann, *Ideologie și fantasmagorie. Perspective comparative asupra istoriei gândirii politice în Europa Est-Centrală* [Ideology and Phantasmagoria. Comparative Perspectives on the History of the Political Thought in East-Central Europe] (Iași: Polirom, 2001), pp. 69-92; Marius Turda, Aurel C. Popovici și federalismul românesc din Transilvania (1890-1906) [Aurel C. Popovici and the Romanian Federalism in Transylvania (1890-1906)] in http://altera.adatbank.transindex.ro/pdf/7/011.pdf (accessed in 31.03.2018).

Aurel C. Popovici made, in his writings, several considerations concerning liberalism. It is therefore important to see what he understood by this concept, but, unfortunately, we couldn't identify in his works a complete definition. Only in his 1910 book, *Nationalism or Democracy,* we can see an attempt to analyze the significance of liberalism and to compare it with egalitarianism and democracy. Popovici considered that liberalism was born from the fight against slavery. He thought that "liberalism is the most categorical negation of an equality deducted from abstractions, theories and fantasies. The true liberalism, as was, for example, the English one, came not out of dreams, but out of the practical side of life itself".[20]A liberal man always struggles to guarantee, whatever the costs, the liberty to develop and the liberty of the national culture.[21] Popovici understood liberalism as an ideology which had been against slavery, a guarantee for liberty, though also a very pragmatic one, opposed to theories and fantasies. He also used the concept of "national liberalism" to speak about the liberalism that was adapted to the specific conditions of a certain country. This form of liberalism is seen not only as necessary, but also as very compatible with conservatism, the monarchy or the aristocratic principle.[22]

Liberal ideology was, according to the Banatian thinker, very close to conservatism. Popovici considered that both liberal and conservative ideas are "indispensable for the national existence and normal development of a people".[23] The author unconditionally accepts the existence of a conservative movement (although we didn't find any definition of conservatism in his writings), but he stated that liberalism can be only moderate,[24] because, in his words, "only through moderation liberalism becomes national.[25] In the absence of moderation, liberalism can legitimize democracy and this tendency was disputed in his entire 1910 book.[26]

The ideal government, according to Popovici, would have to contain both conservatives and liberals: "only the harmony between the leaders of a nation can make serious politics. And these leaders can be only liberals and conservatives".[27] We can see that he has a very interesting vision about these two types of political figures because he is also convinced that "a time will

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[20] Popovici, *Naţionalism,* p. 359.

[21] Ibid., p. 360.

[22] Ibid., p. 167.

[23] Ibid., p. 334.

[24] Ibid., p. 349.

[25] Ibid., p. 106.

[26] About Popovici's views on democracy see Sabău, 'Democracy', pp. 116-119, Tănăsescu, 'Naţionalismul', p. 454, and Bocşan, *Ideea,* p. 199.

[27] Popovici, *Naţionalism,* p. 135.

come when all the liberal and conservative elements will have to unite in a single great party against the cosmopolitan radicalism".[28]The two ideologies should be connected, according to Popovici, through nationalism, and the most important criteria in judging the politicians is patriotism.[29] The Banatian thinker adopted an idea of the Swiss jurist Johann Kaspar Bluntschli (1808-1881) who, correlating the political doctrines with the biological ages, considered that the democrats would be children, the liberals would be highly motivated young men and the conservatives would be the mature men.[30]This comparison explains his adversity towards democracy as well as the interesting approach he saw between liberalism and conservatism.

We will now analyze the way in which the Banatian ideologist perceived the main principles of political liberalism: the defense of liberty, the sovereignty of the people, representative government, the refusal of absolutism and pluralism.[31]

The most important trait of the liberal ideology is the idea that liberty and the autonomy of man are fundamental conditions for building a right and harmonious society.[32] Aurel C. Popovici's vision on liberty is very interesting and through it we can also understand his ideological views. We can see from his writings that he recognized two forms of liberty: 1) liberty to develop "organically" and 2) the national liberty.

In order to develop it, a people required "historical continuity and freedom to develop organically".[33] That meant stopping all cultural and institutional imports from abroad. This idea was borrowed from Titu Maiorescu, who had theorized the "forms without content". We can find this idea in his early writing, such as *The Principle of Nationality*, where the author admitted that cultural influences from more developed nations were necessary, but he had stated that a nation should always adapt these influences to its specific conditions. Popovici considered that, in this way, imports are "nationalized".[34]

Freedom of organic development meant that the state should respect the particular "spirit" of every people.[35] The state must not interfere not even in law making, because, according to Popovici, the best laws are the ones which are made freely by a people, according to its needs.[36] He was very

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[28] Ibid., p. 333.

[29] Ibid., p. 135.

[30] Ibid., p. 362.

[31] Olivier Nay, *Istoria ideilor politice* [The History of Political Ideas] (Iași: Polirom, 2008), p. 247

[32] Ibid., p. 246.

[33] Popovici, *Naționalism*, p. 106.

[34] Popovici, *The Principle*, p. 39.

[35] Popovici, *Naționalism*, p. 156. See also Tănăsescu, 'Naționalismul', pp. 453-454.

[36] Aurel C. Popovici, *Naționalism*, p. 157.

aware of the fact that liberty was needed for the development of institutions and we could see that through his criticism of the educational policies. The Banatian ideologist considered that the state was too involved in educational affairs and this damaged the teaching activity: "instruction and education can have good results only when the teachers are capable and free in their activity".[37] He promoted the idea of the minimal state ("the state must not be overzealous, especially in the fields where it doesn't have to intervene"[38]), which shouldn't try to find jobs for young men, because finding a job is the duty of every individual and of his family.[39] It is interesting to see that he placed this idea in the peasant mentality, considering the peasant to be aware of the fact that "not the state but *work is the mother of the poor* and *fortune doesn't create the man, but the man creates the fortune*" [we marked with Italic characters several proverbs quoted by Popovici].[40] The Romanian peasant is perceived not only as an adversary of the paternalist state, but also as an "authentic liberal", who appreciates competition, meritocracy and despises demagogy.[41] Of course, we should regard these statements as impressions and not as evidence-based facts. During the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century we can also find many accounts that depict the Romanian peasant as lazy.[42] We believe that, by invoking the peasants, Popovici only wanted to add more authority to his ideas.

The second, and probably the most important form of liberty which A. C. Popovici acknowledged, was the national liberty, through which he had understood the liberty given to peoples and nationalities to develop their language and culture. His opinions on national liberty were fundamentally influenced by his role in the Romanian national movement in Austria-Hungary. He didn't make a clear distinction between liberty and national liberty and that suggested that he had considered the two concepts mainly

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[37] Ibid., pp. 311-317.

[38] Ibid., p. 157.

[39] Ibid., p. 299.

[40] Ibid., p. 61.

[41] Ibid., p. 361.

[42] The accounts regarding the laziness of the Romanian peasants in the first half of the nineteenth century were analyzed in Sorin Mitu, *Geneza identității naționale la românii ardeleni* [*The Genesis of the National Identity among the Transylvanian Romanians*] (Bucureşti: Humanitas, 1997), pp. 190-201. One of Aurel C. Popovici's contemporaries, Dumitru Drăghicescu wrote, is his renowned book, *Din psihologia poporului român (introducere) / On the Psychology of the Romanian People (an introduction)* (1907), that the Romanians from the beginning of the twentieth century are careless, lazy and they are lacking initiative. He attributed these negative traits to the Turkish tyranny and the oriental influence. See Dumitru Drăghicescu, *Din psihologia poporului român: introducere* [On the Psychology of the Romanian People (an introduction)] (Bucureşti: Albatros, 2003), pp. 364-365.

identical, although in his 1910 book he had stated that "only in a freedom regime" a people could become a nationality, by developing its particular traits.[43] In his opinion, the nationalities problem is caused by the decision of several governments, which didn't grant the nationalities the freedom to develop according to their particular character.[44] It is very interesting to see how, out of this conception derives Popovici's entire criticism regarding democracy. According to his belief, this interventionism was stimulated by exaggerated democracy, had been promoted by several "small or big tyrants" who had been seduced by "the ideal of equality and uniformity".[45] As an interesting paradox concerning his ideas, we must reveal that, despite underlining the precious role of liberty in the formation of nationalities, he also mentioned that all liberties were relative and could be legitimately granted only "for maintaining or developing the national character of the people, or the national characters of a polyglot state, not for its dissolution, not for its replacement".[46]

Thus, it becomes very clear that, for Popovici, there can be no form of liberty that may affect one's nationality of other nationalities. He expressed this conviction in his 1906 project for the federalization of Austria-Hungary, when he stated that no nationality of this multi-national state should aspire to damage other nationality's liberty, because there is enough room in the empire for all the nationalities to live in peace.[47] In Popovici's view, there was a powerful evolutionary connection between nationality and the liberal principles, as he had defined "the nationality principle" as "a further phase in the evolution of the practical application of the liberal and egalitarian principles".[48] This is not an original idea, because it was promoted by other political writers in the nineteenth century, like Eötvös József[49] and Alexandru Mocioni.[50] Popovici's attachment to the concept of "nation" is different from

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[43] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 363.

[44] Ibid., p. 11.

[45] Ibid., p. 13; Sabău, 'Democracy', p. 116.

[46] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 140.

[47] Popovici, *Stat,* p. 278.

[48] Popovici, *Principiul,* p. 6. This link was defined in similar terms in the 1906 book. See Popovici, *Stat*, p. 200.

[49] József Eötvös, *Chestiunea de naționalitate* [The Nationality Issue] (Arad: Tipografia George Nichin, 1906), pp. 16-24.

[50] This Banatian leader said, in a speech in the Pest Diet, on the 24th of November 1868: "The justification of the nationality idea lies in the simultaneous possibility of both individual liberty and the development of the human spirit. The national idea, as I had the honour to remind, is caused by the democratic direction of constitutionalism". See Teodor V. Păcățian, *Cartea de Aur sau luptele politice-naționale ale românilor de sub Coroana Ungară* [The Golden Book or the Political and National Struggles of the Romanians within the Hungarian Crown], vol. IV (Sibiu: Tipografia Henric Meltzer, 1906) p. 475.

that of its predecessors, because it has other theoretical basis. The historian Marius Turda proved that Aurel C. Popovici had theorized a Romanian version of Darwinist nationalism, inspired by authors like Robert Knox, Arthur de Gobineau, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Rudolf von Jhering, Vacher de Lapouge, Houston Steward Chamberlain, Paul Broca sau Ludwig Woltmann. The Banatian ideologist saw the conflicts between the nations as conflicts between the races (taking over the concept of "Rassenkampf" from Gumplowicz) and linking together the concepts of "race" and "nation",[51] according to several pseudo-scientific ideas which had been highly appreciated in his time.

Another interesting feature of Popovici's ideas is the subordination of all the institutions and ways of manifestation of civil society in a liberal regime. Even in his first political work dedicated to the nationality problem, Popovici stated that the development of the national conscience was determined by schools, the media, associations, public reunions and national literature.[52] The assimilation of a certain nationality can take place, according to his opinions, only through "tyrannical government principles", like limiting the right to have representatives, the freedom of the press, the right of organizing reunions or of using the native minority languages in schools and in the administration.[53] The author reaffirmed these ideas in 1906, by stating that the Magyarization process was supported by "imposing the Hungarian language, colonization, persecution of the nationalities' leaders, the suppression of the freedom of the press and of the right to organize reunions etc."[54] In 1910, he wrote that the granting and correct application of the public liberties was a necessary condition for the normal development of nationalities.[55] By approaching these measures strictly from the perspective of their utility in the formation and maintenance of the national conscience, we can affirm that Popovici's thinking significantly differs from that of several Romanian leaders of the nineteenth century, who appreciated these liberal measures for their capacity of improving every man's life. The freedom of the press had been discussed in the Transylvanian Romanian journals since the first half of the nineteenth century and George Barițiu had presented it strictly connected with the right that every man had to express his opinions. He even made a connection between the freedom of the press and the improvement of

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[51] Marius Turda, *Ideea de superioritate națională în Imperiul Austro-Ungar (1880-1918)* [The Idea of National Superiority in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1880-1918)] (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2016), pp. 142-151.

[52] Popovici, *Principiul,* p. 20.

[53] Ibid., p. 32.

[54] Popovici, *Stat,* p. 87.

[55] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 21.

public morality.[56] Another important Romanian leader, Antoniu of Mocioni, linked, in 1869, the citizens' right to organize reunions with the constitutional regime of Austria-Hungary.[57] In contrast to these two Romanian leaders, Aurel C. Popovici didn't perceive these measures from a classical liberal perspective, but from a nationalist point of view, which doesn't emphasize the individual, but the nation.

We will now analyze how another important principle of political liberalism, the sovereignty of the people's rule, is reflected in Popovici's work. The term "nation" was associated with the term "people" at the end of the eighteenth century and *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen,* on the 26th of August 1789 established, in its third article (written on the 20th of August), the principle that the nation was the depository of sovereignty.[58] The concept of nation was the main intellectual frame in which the sovereignty of the people's rule had been conceived and led to the birth of a new transcendent relationship between individuals, who became members of a nation.[59] The Banatian ideologist was familiar with this fundamental political principle, but he had different approaches to it, depending on the context. Popovici expressed very positive considerations about popular sovereignty in his writings dedicated to the national problem, when this principle had served the cause he had been defending. In 1906, he wrote that a people's assimilation had been possible only when there wouldn't have been any ideas about the sovereignty of the people's rule, which could defend its interests.[60]In his writings, Popovici also explained the context of all the Romanian efforts to obtain their nation's emancipation and he had always underlined that these efforts had been based on the spirit of his time. In this context, we can also find the affirmation of popular sovereignty: "For over a century, we live in an age when we speak daily about popular sovereignty, about democracy and decentralization of the constitutional powers, about universal suffrage. We tend to accomplish all these principles because every right emanates from the people".[61]

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[56] Andrei Sabin Faur, 'Presa, publicul şi jurnaliştii în viziunea lui George Bariţiu şi a corespondenţilor săi' [The Press, the Public and the Journalists in the view of George Bariţiu and his Correspondents] in *Buletinul Cercurilor Ştiinţifice Studenţeşti: Arheologie - Istorie - Muzeologie,* nr. 22, an XXII (2016), pp. 161-164.

[57] Teodor V. Păcăţian, *Cartea de Aur sau luptele politice-naţionale ale românilor de sub Coroana Ungară* [The Golden Book or the Political and National Struggles of the Romanians within the Hungarian Crown], vol. V (Sibiu: Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1909), p. 43.

[58] Stéphane Rials, *Declaraţia drepturilor omului şi cetăţeanului* [*The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2002), p. 166.

[59] Nay, *Istoria,* pp. 349-350.

[60] Popovici, *Stat,* p. 71.

[61] Ibid., p. 203.

This idea has an interesting metamorphosis in Popovici's 1910 book, dedicated to the criticism of democracy in the name of the national idea. In *Nationalism or Democracy*, he stated that popular sovereignty is just a fiction[62] and, with the risk of being considered a reactionary, he suggested that this principle should be erased from the Romanian Constitution, in order to end demagogy.[63] This fundamental change is very interesting and reveals to us a very interesting paradox in Popovici's thought: he attributed a positive influence to the popular sovereignty when this principle served his cause (the emancipation of the Romanian nation), in his writings dedicated to a foreign public, as was the case with his federalization project, which was published in German. In his works dedicated to the Romanian public, Popovici ignored this principle, or even tried to repel it.

Other researchers who have studied his work saw this paradox from a different perspective, as a conflict between nationalism and democracy.[64] The historian Nicolae Bocşan suggested a potential explanation for this paradox, suggesting Popovici had simply adhered to the program of *The Sower*.[65] In our opinion, in the time when Aurel C. Popovici wrote his books, nationalism and liberalism had not been identified with democracy so a political leader could have promoted a nationalist narrative without agreeing with the mass participation at the elections. To better understand his attitude, it is important to see what his opinion was about the role of the masses in political life. In 1910, referring to the problem of liberty, Popovici wrote: "The masses are not capable to appreciate liberty. Their ideal is equality".[66] The relationship between liberty and equality was analyzed by many authors during the nineteenth century; one of the most preeminent was Alexis de Tocqueville[67] (who was also cited by Popovici, but in another context).[68] The Romanian ideologist refused to believe that ordinary people could appreciate liberty and considered that they were more preoccupied

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[62] Popovici has a negative view regarding the entire *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, which is considered the product of an abstract rationality. In his opinion, this declaration has the purpose of equalizing the societies and ignores completely their actual developing stage. See Sabău, 'Democracy', p. 113.

[63] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 136.

[64] See Damian Hurezeanu, 'Aurel C. Popovici' in Dumitru Ghişe, Nicolae Gogoneaţă (ed.), *Istoria filosofiei româneşti* [The History of Romanian Philosophy], vol. II (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1980), pp. 52-53 and Bocşan, *Ideea,* pp. 198-203.

[65] Ibid, p. 198

[66] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 24.

[67] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Despre democrație în America* [On Democracy in America], second edition, vol. II (Bucureşti: Humanitas, 2005), pp. 103-106.

[68] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 274.

with equality, as to being equal between themselves.[69] Here we can identify another paradox, because, as we have shown before, Popovici attributed to the Romanian peasant a natural tendency toward working freely and uncontrolled by any authority. It is very important to underline that, in his opinion, only the elites of a society, the great men, are capable of leading a people. He even considers this opinion to be scientifically based: "the scientific truth is that our entire civilization can be reduced to the ideas and initiatives of a small minority of great men. We, the great masses, are simply collaborators".[70]

A people cannot exist without a state and the state itself must be led by a small minority.[71] The Banatian militant had been preoccupied with the problem of aristocracy since the first years of his political activism. Alexandru Vaida Voevod remembered what Popovici used to say to the other contributors of the *Reply*: "Our aristocracy is alienated. You have to replace it. The more talented, active and well trained men we have, the bigger our national progress will be".[72]His faith in the importance of leaders for the emancipation of a people can be seen in a letter to Valeriu Branişte, in which he tried to persuade him to condemn the actions of Octavian Goga and his friends: "the people are always on the side of those that can gain their respect through energy".[73]Through his ideas, Aurel C. Popovici abandoned the ideological heritage of Romanticism and the 1848 Revolution[74], which placed the people in the center of political life and granted him an unmistakable judgement. His conservative ideas determined him to ignore the masses and consider that only the elites are important in a society. All utility or uselessness of a measure is judged by the benefits it brings for the nationality. Popovici seems to have developed an extreme conservatism, as he repels, without proposing anything better, several main ideas of the progressives of his time:

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[69] Aurel C. Popovici's idea is today confirmed by contemporary psychological studies which show that the Romanians have a collectivist culture, in which individual behavior is strongly influenced by one's position in the family group or in any other group. This culture doesn't emphasize individual rights and achievements, where liberty plays an important role. See Daniel David, *Psihologia poporului român: profilul psihologic al românilor într-o monografie cognitiv-experimentală* [The Psychology of the Romanians people: the Psychological Profile of the Romanians in a Cognitive-Experimental Monograph] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2015), pp. 99-100 and 308-311.

[70] Popovici, *Naţionalism*, p. 130.

[71] Ibid., p. 131.

[72] Alexandru Vaida Voevod, *Memorii* [Memoirs], vol. I, ediţed by Alexandru Şerban, (Cluj-Napoca:Dacia, 1994), p. 68.

[73] Valeriu Branişte, *Corespondenţă* [Letters], vol. III (1902-1910), edited by Gheorghe Iancu and Valeria Căliman (Bucureşti: Minerva, 1989), p. 296.

[74] See, for example, the repudiation of Simion Bărnuţiu's idelogical heritage in Popovici, *Naţionalism*, p. 2.

"Can you find anything more anti-national than the theories about popular sovereignty, social equality, sharing the estates or universal suffrage".[75] This is how we can explain his attitude in 1910 regarding popular sovereignty.

The writings of the Banatian militant don't contain many references to the representative government, but we can deduct several of his opinions regarding this topic. In his book about the federalization of Austria Hungary, Popovici planned that each of the fifteen "nation states" would have their own parliament, government and judiciary system. The government would have to be led by a governor, who was appointed by the emperor.[76] We should mention that two important principles are missing from this program: the principle of separation of powers and the principle concerning the responsibility of the government before the parliament. His project did not present what are the ideal connections between the parliaments and the governments of the new states. Four years later, in *Nationalism or Democracy*, the issue of the parliament was linked with the criticism of democracy and of popular sovereignty. In this book, Popovici questioned the claim that parliament represents popular sovereignty because, in his opinion, this claim causes demagogy. He doesn't affirm that parliament was useless, but insisted that it should return to its "true role" as an institution which controls the government, without pretending to represent any sovereignty.[77] The refusal of this claim can be connected with another important idea of the Banatian political writer: a people must be led according to its "temper", and this temper must be known by the politicians. The elections can't always reveal it so, according to his elitist conceptions, Popovici stated that the political elites mustn't pay attention to the votes: "the will of the votes is not important, but the people's temper, its hidden will, these have to be respected".[78] Therefore, in his view, governing mustn't be representative, because the elites have to decide what is good for the people, without representing its will.

Popovici's position regarding political absolutism can be understood from his tendency towards the minimal state, but also from the critics of the political regime of Austria-Hungary and of the Hungarian liberals. In 1906 he wrote that Hungary was a "hybrid, anarchic and police state",[79] which uses liberal principles only to deceive other nations and to more easily magyarize the nationalities from within.[80] The magyarization process used several methods that he had considered abusive, like imposing the Hungarian

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[75] Ibid., p. 163.
[76] Popovici, *Stat*, pp. 294-295.
[77] Popovici, *Naționalism*, p. 84.
[78] Ibid., p. 206.
[79] Popovici, *Stat*, p. 21.
[80] Ibid., p. 39.

language, colonizing different lands with Hungarians, persecution of the nationalities' leaders (himself included).[81]He said that electoral law had been "a mockery of constitutional and representative government", and also he had stated that Hungarian bureaucracy had been "more tyrannical than the Russian one" and had denied the freedom of the press for the nationalities.[82]

The Romanian political writer was one of the most important promoters of administrative decentralization, and this feature must also be interpreted as a refusal of political absolutism. Popovici had spoken about decentralization and autonomy since 1894, considering that the centralization was dis-functional.[83] This topic was also analyzed in *The United States of Great Austria*, where he had tried to prove that the federal state was simply a decentralized one, and "it can prove to be more solid and unitary than a centralized state".[84]

Popovici's view on pluralism is interesting and, like other of his ideas, slightly contradictory. The Romanian ideologist has admitted the necessity for liberals and conservatives in the political field, but, as we saw earlier, he insisted that the liberals should be moderate. We can assume that he was inspired by the English political system, where there were the two major political parties, the Whigs and the Tories. In England there have been major differences between the two parties but Popovici didn't discuss any difference between the Romanian liberals and conservatives, arguing that they will sometimes unite, on nationalist bases, against cosmopolitanism. The limits of his tolerance have been connected to several themes, that no one has the right to challenge: the reason of the state, the existence of God, of religion, morality and social classes.[85]We can thus see that the author thinks about limiting several liberties, like the freedom of speech or even the liberty of conscience.

Aurel C. Popovici's thinking has been marked by the conservative ideology, which has several features like the faith in a transcendent order (which governs society), the refusal of a fully equal society (which makes the conservatives refuse a society without orders or social classes), the importance of private property for stability, the opposition to utopian thinking and the focus on the necessity of an equilibrium between innovation and continuity.[86] He was a sympathizer of the Romanian Conservative Party and a great

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[81] Ibid., p. 87.

[82] Ibid., p. 304.

[83] Popovici, *Principiul,* p. 40.

[84] Popovici, *Stat,* p. 240.

[85] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 369.

[86] A presentation of the main features of conservatism can be found in Ioan Stanomir, *Spiritul conservator: de la Barbu Catargiu la Nicolae Iorga* [The Conservative Spirit: from Barbu Catargiu to Nicolae Iorga] (București: Curtea Veche, 2008), p. 37.

admirer of the conservative leader Petre P. Carp.[87] From an intellectual point of view, he has been deeply influenced by the Romanian poet Mihai Eminescu, whose political ideas were several times evoked, and of the Romanian critic and philosopher Titu Maiorescu. The English conservative philosopher Edmund Burke had also a fundamental influence on his works.

There are several paradoxes in the thinking of the Banatian ideologue, which we will try to explain here. We already mentioned a first paradox, with his variable opinion about popular sovereignty. The second paradox is his project to federalize Austria-Hungary by dividing it into several nation-states. In our opinion, these paradoxes can be explained if we take into consideration an important trait of conservatism: political pragmatism. The conservatives don't believe in the existence of established solutions (algorithm solutions, social models or political recipes) and believe that all problems must be solved differently, according to their particular traits.[88] This belief can be also identified in Popovici's thinking, as he wrote that "doctrines are absurd, blinding and disastrous".[89]

We can certainly affirm that Aurel C. Popovici is a pragmatic intellectual, capable, as Virgil Nemoianu stated,[90] to gather different arguments from different sources, especially if those arguments were useful to his cause. His pragmatism is proven by his attitude toward the continuity problem, which played an important role in the formation of the Romanian national identity.[91] Even when he was a young militant, in 1891, he confessed to Valeriu Branişte that he hadn't believed in the Roman continuity, but this argument should still be used in the writings about the Romanian problem dedicated to the public of Western Europe.[92] In our opinion, though we don't know for certain, this might be also the case regarding the contradictory valences given to popular sovereignty. Some evidence for this might be the fact that this principle is not at all mentioned in his brochure in 1894, *The Nationality Principle*, which practically reproduces a conference which took place at the Romanian Athenaeum in Bucharest. Popovici did not argue in

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[87] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 83.

[88] Adrian Paul Iliescu, ' Conservatorismul ' [Conservatism] in Alina Mungiu-Pippidi (ed.), *Doctrine politice: concepte universale și realități românești* [Political Doctrines: Universal Concepts and Romanian Realities]*,* (Iași: Polirom - Societatea Academică din România, 1998), pp. 76-77.

[89] Popovici, *Naționalism,* p. 200.

[90] Virgil Nemoianu, 'Un neoconservator jeffersonian în Viena sfârşitului de secol: Aurel C. Popovici)' [A Jeffersonian Neo-Conservative in Vienna at the end of the 19th Century: Aurel C. Popovici] in Virgil Nemoianu, *România şi liberalismele ei* [Romania and its Liberalism] (Bucureşti: Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 2000), p. 115.

[91] Mitu, *Geneza,* pp. 26-32.

[92] Valeriu Branişte, *Corespondenţă (1879-1895)* [Letters (1879-1895)]*,* vol. I, edited by Valeria Căliman and Gheorghe Iancu (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1985), p. 60.

favour of popular sovereignty in his federalization project because this work had been intended for a foreigner public, most particularly German, Austrian and Hungarian, and a conviction of that principle resembling to the one made four years later, would have compromised him in front of the liberal readers. We consider that the lack of a concrete role of Parliament in the nation states which would evolve from the federalization, or his relation with the Government indicated that for Popovici this institution was not too important. The disregard of the legislature can indicate that the author does not give too much credit either to the electoral process or to popular sovereignty, as would happen four years later.

In connection with Aurel C. Popovici's federation project, a legitimate question that can be asked is why it was developed in the context in which the idea of the national state had already been adopted by many intellectuals and politicians.[93] Popovici himself considered in 1894 that any nation aware of its nationality had the right to form an independent state or to join another state, although it had not been clearly stated that the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire should do this thing.

Some researchers, such as Marius Turda and Gabriela Tănăsescu[94] linked Popovici's approach to the traditional dynastic loyalism of the Romanians and their attachment to constitutionalism. However, the Banatian ideologist was an exception among the Romanian militants in the Austro-Hungarian Empire precisely by abandoning the loyalist tradition of the Habsburg family and the attachment to legal solutions. An example of this is found in May 1893, when Popovici advocated the radicalization of the Romanian National Party and even the transposition of the national struggle on a revolutionary ground in order to promote not the unification of all the Romanians in a single state but the federalization of the empire. Nor is his attachment to constitutionalism too great, because even in his federalization project he said that, in the absence of parliamentary consent, an "impartial judge" (a phrase in which he saw the Emperor, probably in the person of Franz Ferdinand) has the duty to "give a coup d'état to all peoples" and to implement the measures he has theorized.[95]

Several testimonies from the epoch may indicate some of the reasons underpinning Popovici's ideas on the federalization of the empire. A close friend, the well-known political man Alexandru Vaida Voevod, said that this project was written due to the author's conviction that politicking will destroy Romania and the future of the Romanian people will depend on the power

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[93] This question was also asked by the historian Victor Neumann. See Victor Neumann, 'Federalism', p. 72.

[94] Turda, 'Aurel C. Popovici'; Tănăsescu, 'Naționalismul', pp. 459-460.

[95] Popovici, *Stat,* p. 298.

and stability of the Danubian Monarchy. The memoirist even noted some indecent words against Emperor Franz Josef, which would have been said by Popovici "old bastard, this selfish fool", blaming it on the sovereign that due to dualism, the Habsburg Empire would collapse. Vaida Voevod's memories show that the Banatian ideologist saw this empire as necessary so that the battles for supremacy between the Slavs and the Germans would not begin. If this conflict began, the Romanians would have woken up between the two forces, such as between two grinding stones.[96] The well-known leader of the Transylvanian Romanians was very close to Popovici, which is why his memories are a trustworthy source for the reconstruction of the latter's life.

Another source for the origin of this project is the memories on his author, of philosopher and university professor Ion Petrovici. He met Aurel C. Popovici during his German studies at the time of the elaboration of the *United States of Great Austria*. We can find through him that the Banatian militant relied on Archduke Franz Ferdinand for the implementation of this project and had an interesting desideratum regarding the possible accession of Romania to the Federation of Great Austria. In this case, very desirable in Popovici's opinion, the Romanians would have become the largest ethnic group in the empire and could have had claims in Bessarabia. Petrovici adds that the latter still wanted an independent Romania, but at that time federalization seemed to be the best solution.[97] To better interpret this source, one must remember that his author wrote these memoirs more than three decades after the actual event, nor was he a close friend of the well-known ideologist. Through it, we find that Popovici was the follower of Romania's integration into the Habsburg Empire. This idea was not entirely new in the political projects of the Romanians, as it was pronounced by Alexander G. Golescu during the 1848 Revolution,[98] but also by Ioan Slavici, in a letter sent to Vasile Mangra in 1876.[99]

The two sources, despite the differences, give us the image of a very pragmatic Aurel C. Popovici, a lucid observer who tried to do everything possible for the emancipation of his nation. Nationalism was certainly the main ideology that guided not only his ideas but also his actions. However,

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[96] Liviu Maior, *Alexandru Vaida Voevod între Belvedere şi Versailles (însemnări, memorii, scrisori* [Alexandru Vaida Voevod between Belvedere and Versailles (Notes, Memoirs, Letters)]*, (Cluj-Napoca: Sincron, 1993), p. 96.

[97] Petrovici, *Figuri,* pp. 21-23.

[98] Cornelia Bodea, *Lupta românilor pentru unitatea naţională (1834-1849)* [The Struggle of the Romanians for National Unity (1834-1849)] (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1967), pp. 162-166.

[99] Vasile Mangra, *Corespondenţă* [Letters]*, vol. II, edited by Marius Eppel, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007), p. 280.

the aim of this study was to analyze the Banatian ideologist's perception of liberalism and conservatism. Determining whether Popovici was a liberal or conservative is quite difficult, first of all because he didn't always express his ideas quite clearly, had often shown verbal aggressiveness and his philosophy had not been always coherent.[100]His Romanian translator, the well-known essayist and journalist Petre Pandrea, considered him an anti-liberal conservative doctrinaire[101] and the political scientist Ioan Stanomir placed Aurel C. Popovici among the reactionary conservatives.[102]

Undoubtedly, the acknowledged sympathies of the well-known ideologist for the important figures of Romanian and European conservatism demonstrate his attachment to conservative ideology. However, we cannot accept anti-liberal and reactionary labels, which other scholars of his work attributed to Aurel C. Popovici. A first difficulty that arises in the study of his work, especially in the volume of *Nationalism and Democracy*, is that the author mixes his own political or ideological positions with a fierce controversy over the opponents' ideas. The polemical part of his writings can prevent a good understanding of his political views. The fact that he praised "national boyars" and pleaded for their preservation[103] or the very harsh criticisms he brought to democracy and its promoters does not automatically mean the global rejection of the ideological inheritance of the French Revolution. As we have shown in this study, the Banatian publicist considered that moderate liberals have a positive role in society, and freedom is one of the important factors of national culture. All the fundamental rights of a liberal society, such as the right to freedom of expression (embodied in press freedom), freedom of association and reunions, have been subordinated to the citizenship building project. He has also thought that the state's intervention is often harmful and that it must allow the individual to remain as free as he can, in order to work and develop himself (although, as we have already shown, this liberty was conditioned by the development of the nationality and could not have gone in other direction). For these reasons, we agree with the researcher Gelu Sabău, who affirmed that, in Aurel C. Popovici's thinking, English liberal conservatism is mixed with ethnic nationalism.[104] The former is the frame in which every other political idea is situated. Both individual liberty and

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[100] Neumann, 'Federalism', p. 78.

[101] Aurel C. Popovici, *Stat şi naţiune: Statele Unite ale Austriei Mari* [State and Nation: The United States of Great Austria] (Bucureşti: Fundaţia pentru Literatură şi Artă „Regele Carol II", 1939), p. VII.

[102] Stanomir, *Spiritul,* pp. 207-215.

[103] Ibid., p. 215.

[104] Sabău, 'Democracy', p. 127.

individual autonomy, two main principles of liberal conservatism,[105]are operationalized by Popovici as parts of nation building.

Although it didn't have a vast dimension and its author didn't occupy a good institutional or social position in Romania, as he wasn't an academic or a politician, the work of the renowned Banatian writer had an important echo in Romanian culture, many years after the death of its author. The study of Aurel C. Popovici's political and philosophical ideas is important not only for understanding the intellectual atmosphere at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, but also to understand Romanian culture in the Interwar period, when many of his disciples and peers played important roles in Romanian political and cultural life.

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[105] Stanomir, *Spiritul,* p. 32.

„The Sword Stretched between Two Worlds":[1] the Image of the Charismatic Leader in Legionary Ideology

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Abstract: Inspired by recent historiographical contributions concerning the complex implications of the notion of charisma for the various expressions of fascism, this article attempts to explore some of the main characteristics and functions of charismatic leadership in the case of the Legion of the "Archangel Michael". Drawing upon the classical ideal-typical model developed by Max Weber and building on the conclusions of some of its most significant refinements within the field of fascist studies, the present analysis will provide a brief outlook on the manner in which charismatic authority was theoretically developed in the case of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the founder and ruler of the Legionary Movement.

Keywords: fascism, charismatic authority, the Legionary Movement, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu

Rezumat: Inspirat de contribuţiile istoriografice recente referitoare la implicaţiile complexe ale noţiunii de carismă pentru diferitele expresii ale fascismului, acest articol încearcă să exploreze unele dintre principalele caracteristici şi funcţii ale conducerii carismatice în cazul Legiunii „Arhanghelului Mihail". Bazându-se pe modelul ideal-tipic dezvoltat de Max Weber şi construind pe concluziile unora dintre cele mai semnificative rafinamente ale sale în domeniul studiilor fasciste, prezenta analiză va oferi o scurtă perspectivă asupra modului în care autoritatea carismatică a fost dezvoltată teoretic în cazul lui Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, fondatorul şi conducătorul Mişcării Legionare.

Cuvinte cheie: fascism, autoritate carismatică, Mişcarea legionară, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu

Introduction

One of the fundamental instruments engaged in the exercise of social, political and spiritual power throughout history, charismatic authority became a subject of theoretical reflection in social sciences in the decades

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[1] This metaphoric description of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu can be found in Ion Banea, *Căpitanul* [The Captain] (second edition, Sibiu: Editura Totul pentru Ţară, 1937), p. 3.

preceding the First World War. Arguably the most important reference in that regard is the model of "charismatic domination" conceived by Max Weber, whose remarkable insights, however, could not anticipate the dramatic soar of political radicalism in the aftermath of the devastating global conflict.[2] Out of all the dire upheavals brought forth by the inter-war era, the rise of fascism best illustrated the considerable influence which charisma was able to bestow upon messianic leaders.

Informed by several recent reevaluations of the Weberian theses in the context of a prevailing "new consensus" in fascist studies, briefly examined in the first section of the paper, this article will analyze the manner in which the image of the charismatic leader was constructed within the Legion of the "Archangel Michael", the epitome of Romanian fascism. The present argument will refer to several approaches through which the personal magnetism of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu was ideologically set up, with the perspectives under scrutiny following both pragmatic aims, such as reinforcing the inner authority of the leader and preventing internal dissent, and more abstract goals, concerning the putative higher calling of the "Captain" of the Legionary movement, frequently portrayed as the carrier of a divine mission, the embodiment of a new type of man, the protector of the nation against outer threats and inner foes, the visionary ruler able to redraw the historical course of Romania and the creator of a new order meant to bring the national community closer to its redemption.

The analysis of these complementary facets will draw upon three approaches, successively explored below: firstly, the self-referential stance of the charismatic leader, pertaining to Codreanu's intention to provide a detailed representation of the ideal ruler, a role undoubtedly assigned to himself; secondly, the hagiographical outlook distinguishable in the writings focused on the life and deeds of the Legionary leader, an aspect examined through the comparative analysis of two biographical accounts published at different developmental stages of the cult of the "Captain"; thirdly, the connection between Codreanu's charisma and other ideological tenets of the movement, particularly the notion of self-sacrifice, with the glorified projection of the leader becoming a catalyst of martyrdom, as illustrated by the works of Ion I. Moța. Before delving into matters of doctrine, the first section of the article will set the conceptual framework on which the present argument is based, by briefly exploring the role of charisma in the understanding of fascism.

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[2] An extensive conceptual exposition of Weber's model of "legitimate domination" can be found in Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 212-301.

Interpretations of Charisma in Fascist Studies

As stated above, the classical scholarly interpretation of charisma relates to Max Weber's efforts to determine the underlying sources of authority. Considering the modern state itself to be defined by relations of domination between people, more precisely by the "instrument of the legitimate use of [...] constraint",[3] the German sociologist devised a threefold theoretical model meant to distinguish between the particularities of different strands of power. His theoretical construct included: "traditional domination", of a patriarchal kind, inspired by ancient forms of authority which turned obsolete with the onset of modernity; "charismatic domination", of a prophetic kind, rooted in the remarkable qualities possessed by exceptional personalities throughout history; and "legal domination", of a rational kind, grounded on the strictly regulated order of the modern era.[4] Given its inherent fluidity, charismatic domination was the most challenging to reduce to an ideal-typical model, with its protean nature revealed by the etymology of the term, borrowed by Weber from the ancient Greek vocabulary of early Christianity where it referred to the "gift of grace", a miraculous trait which only a chosen few possessed.[5] Consequently, in modern times, charismatic authority became an integral part of the contemporary world without losing its specific volatility. The Weberian perspective highlighted its ever present social impact by identifying an intricate process of crystallization of "charismatic communities" (*Gemeinde*), within which the former relations between members were to be profoundly reshaped: under the far reaching influence of the leader, traditional hierarchies were to dissolve and the rigid laws of the past ceased to be necessary, as the ruler himself became the sole source of authority acknowledged by his followers.[6] Weber's untimely death in 1920 prevented him from witnessing the transformation of his conceptual formulations into social and political realities under the aegis of radicalism, with his model being frequently invoked in later decades as a key to understanding the appeal of phenomena such as fascism.

Nonetheless, several observers of the profound shifts of the inter-war era proposed alternative interpretations, some of which had a long lasting influence on future research. To offer a couple of relevant examples: Eric Voegelin, the originator of the influential theory of political religions, interpreted the authority of the leader through the lenses of his own

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[3] Max Weber, *Politica, o vocație și o profesie* [Politics as a Vocation] (Bucharest: Anima, 1992), pp. 9-10.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, pp. 215-216.

[6] Ibid., pp. 241-246.

philosophical system, describing Mussolini and Hitler as leaders of "spiritual empires", carriers of a "sacral substance" containing within itself "the spirit of the nation";[7] later on, Hannah Arendt, one of the main intellectuals associated with the totalitarian paradigm, emphasized the essential role of the *Führerprinzip*, which placed the leader at the center of all totalitarian movements and regimes.[8] The former view is nowadays perpetuated by the most important promoters of the political religions paradigm, such as Emilio Gentile, whose descriptive definition of fascism includes references to the "charismatic and sacred" nature of authority,[9] or Michael Burleigh, who highlights the self-proclamation of fascist leaders as "agents of Providence, dispatched to lead their respective chosen people from helotry and ignominy";[10] the latter perspective, in spite of the decline of the totalitarian model, provided an important starting point for numerous studies dedicated to fascism which outlined the role of the "principle of the leader".

Notwithstanding these noteworthy alternative approaches, the Weberian model remained the main landmark as far as the historiography of fascism is concerned. In recent years, with the gradual development of an academic consensus centered on "the primacy of culture"[11], the readjustment of Weber's theses resulted in several remarkable contributions to the field, three of which proved particularly useful to the present argument.

The first interpretation, advanced by Roger Eatwell, is essentially a typology of fascist charismatic leadership incorporating four main components inspired by the Weberian model: the presence of a "missionary vision", connected to the founding myths of each fascist permutation; the instatement of a "symbiotic hierarchy", most visible in the portrayal of the leader as the embodiment of the will of his followers, with whom he is inseparably bound; the effects of a "Manichean demonization", related to the fascist community defining itself as fundamentally irreconcilable with a hostile Other; finally, the "magnetic personal presence", illustrated by the development of the cult of the leader.[12]

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[7] Eric Voegelin, *Religiile politice* [Political Religions] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2010), pp. 141-142.

[8] Hannah Arendt, *Originile totalitarismului* [The Origins of Totalitarianism] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1994), pp. 488-490.

[9] Emilio Gentile, 'Fascism, Totalitarianism and Political Religion: Definition and Critical Reflections on Criticism of an Interpretation', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 5/3 (2004): 342-343.

[10] Michael Burleigh, 'National Socialism as a Political Religion', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 1/2 (2000): 8.

[11] See Roger Griffin, 'The Primacy of Culture: The Current Growth (Or Manufacture) of Consensus within Fascist Studies', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 37/1 (2002).

[12] Roger Eatwell, 'The Concept and Theory of Charismatic Leadership', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 7/2 (2006): 144-147.

The second interpretation belongs to Aristotle A. Kallis and views charismatic domination as both a state and a process, a dichotomy rooted in its volatile nature.[13] This perspective stresses the need to understand "charismatization" as directed from the followers towards the leader, a course determining the nature of the charismatic community itself.[14] Kallis makes use of the Weberian conceptual framework to underline the "symbolic preeminence" of fascist leadership,[15] while concomitantly shedding light on the significant distinction between the cult of the leader, a generic trait of most dictatorships, and the typically fascist charismatization,[16] the latter allowing the distinction between genuine fascism and the "para-fascist" or "fascistized" entities attempting to emulate it.[17]

The third interpretation is proposed by Constantin Iordachi, according to whom charisma is one of the core ideological components of generic fascism. By rethinking several of Weber's theses, Iordachi develops the concept of "charismatic nationalism", on the basis of which the nation becomes "a chosen community with a common destiny, inhabiting a sacred homeland and which, inspired by its glorious past, claims to possess a divine mandate leading towards redemption, through sacrifice, under the guidance of a charismatic leader"[18]. This perspective outlines charisma as "the most integrative aspect of fascist ideology", a comprehensive concept including the relation between the charismatic leader and God, the idea of a divine mandate, the bond between God and the "chosen people", the connection between the charismatic leader and his followers, as well as the historical mission of the national community.[19] Applied to the Legionary movement, this

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[13] Aristotle A. Kallis, 'Fascism, 'Charisma' and 'Charismatisation': Weber's Model of 'Charismatic Domination' and Interwar European Fascism', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 7/1 (2006): 25-27.

[14] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[15] Aristotle A. Kallis, 'The 'Regime-Model' of Fascism: A Typology', *European History Quarterly*, 30/1 (2000): 87.

[16] Aristotle A. Kallis, ''Fascism, 'Charisma' and 'Charismatisation'', p. 40.

[17] Aristotle A. Kallis, ''Fascism', 'Para-fascism' and 'Fascistization': On the Similarities of Three Conceptual Categories', *European History Quarterly*, 33/2 (2003): 241.

[18] Constantin Iordachi 'De la credinţa naţionalistă la credinţa legionară. Palingenezie romantică, militarism şi fascism în România modernă' [From Nationalist Faith to Legionary Faith. Romantic Palingenesis, Militarism and Fascism in Modern Romania], in Constantin Iordachi (ed.), *Fascismul european 1918-1945. Ideologie, experimente totalitare şi religii politice* [European Fascism 1918-1945. Ideology, Totalitarian Experiments and Political Religions] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităţilor Naţionale, 2014), pp. 334-335.

[19] Constantin Iordachi, 'Fascism in Southeastern Europe. A Comparison between Romania's Legion of the Archangel Michael and the Croatian Ustaša', in Roumen Daskalov – Diana Mishkova (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Volume Two: Transfers of Political Ideologies and Institutions* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 355-468, especially p. 403.

interpretation delivers a nuanced outlook on the "relation between religion, politics and violence in the ideology and practice of the Legion".[20]

Informed by such compelling contributions, the present article will attempt to explore the functions and mechanisms pertaining to fascist charisma by analyzing several of the ideological underpinnings of the Legionary movement.

Corneliu Zelea Codreanu – The Self-Referential Stance of the Charismatic Leader

The rise of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu was allowed by the background of a country for which the aftermath of the First World War brought forth unprecedented transformations, arguably more favorable to the emergence of heavily personalized movements than to the consolidation of authentically democratic structures.[21] As Oliver Jens Schmitt aptly observes, "Codreanu and his followers came to meet the enormous expectations of a profoundly disoriented society",[22] in a climate of chronic instability, severe political and economic dysfunctions, cultural confusion and social polarization. Moreover, as Constantin Iordachi indicates, following the "romantic tradition of messianic nationalism", the charismatic leader was by no means an innovation of the inter-war years, with several intellectual and political figures previously claiming the role of "«apostles» of national regeneration", albeit in different circumstances and serving other purposes.[23] Consequently, the portrayal of Codreanu as the providential savior of the nation did not occur in an ideological void, as there were plenty of favorable preconditions, either structural or circumstantial, for it to develop.

Initially addressing the narrow circle of the "Carriers of the new Spirit of the Age",[24] the early followers who shared his Manichean worldview, Codreanu quickly realized that his movement could not survive and grow unless it managed to maintain its unity and expand its base. Aware of his charismatic potential from the first years of his political activism, he gained the unwavering conviction that he had been granted a

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[20] Constantin Iordachi, 'Charisma, Religion, and Ideology: Romania's Interwar Legion of the Archangel Michael', in John Lampe – Mark Mazower (eds.), *Ideologies and National Identities. The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), pp. 19-20.

[21] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[22] Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. Ascensiunea și căderea „Căpitanului"* [Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. The Rise and Fall of 'The Captain'] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2017), p. 344.

[23] Constantin Iordachi, 'De la credința naționalistă la credința legionară', pp. 385-386. The examples include Gheorghe Lazăr, Ion Heliade Rădulescu and Nicolae Iorga.

[24] Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Circulări și manifeste. 1927 – 1938* [Circulars and Manifestos. 1927-1938] (München: Colecția „Europa" München, 1981), p. 4.

divine mandate to lead his people.[25] Naturally, this belief led him to identify his own authority as the ultimate means to provide his organization with the cohesion and appeal it needed, hence the constant emphasis on the strict following of rigid hierarchical principles, so that nothing would take place within the movement without the awareness, approval or direct implication of the leader. Decision making based on pluralism and elective initiatives, as well as all debates or differences of opinion were outright rejected, since they belonged to the democratic mentality and praxis which the Legion actively sought to overthrow: "As far as organization was concerned, we had relied on the idea of a chief and on that of discipline. […] We had experienced anti-democracy from the start. I had been the leader all along. […] Camps with diverging opinions, majorities and minorities confronting each other on matters of action and theory had never existed."[26] In a clear illustration of the principle of "symbiotic hierarchy" described by Roger Eatwell, as well as of the view of Sven Reichardt, according to whom fascist leadership involved an ambivalent relation of power, "simultaneously rigid and flexible", between the leader and the led,[27] Codreanu added: "We have never had committees and we have never voted for propositions. However, every time I felt the need, I sought the advice of everyone, yet I was the one to bear responsibility for the decisions I took".[28]

Moreover, Codreanu attempted to claim his place in Romanian history by constantly associating himself with the emblematic heroes of the nation. Whenever the survival of the national community had been threatened in the past, he affirmed, exceptional characters had risen above the existential line of the Romanian nation, defending it and preserving its identity through their acts of courage: "Our nation did not live through the millions of slaves who bowed their necks to receive the yoke of foreigners, but through Horia, through Avram Iancu, through Tudor, through Iancu Jianu, through all the outlaws who rejected the foreign yoke, who took their muskets and carried the honor and the spark of freedom".[29] Codreanu considered himself a successor of these outstanding figures, as indicated by the frequent analogies between his own actions and those of the members of the national pantheon, whose glorious achievements were highly praised within the Legionary Movement: "The Legion kneels before the crosses of the

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[25] Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Corneliu Zelea Codreanu*, p. 86

[26] Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Pentru legionari* [For My Legionaries] (second edition, Sibiu: Editura Totul pentru Ţară, 1936), pp. 65-66.

[27] Sven Reichardt, 'Violence and Community: A Micro-Study on Nazi Storm Troopers', *Central European History*, 46/2 (2013): 282.

[28] Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Pentru legionari*, pp. 65-66.

[29] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

courageous and those of the martyrs of the Nation. The Legion stands as an unwavering shield around the Throne, out of which warlords and kings sacrificed themselves for the defense and rise of the Homeland".[30]

Contemplating the destiny of great rulers, Codreanu developed a profile of the ideal leader, resembling the Weberian archetype,[31] with the prominent self-referential component yet again present. His argument assumed the existence of "two complementary plains" of leadership: "the abstract field of the laws", a sphere of theoretical formulations, and the material realm where the rules of the former are being applied and where "the man with certain qualities deals with the art of imposing the truth"; the authentic leader must successfully balance the two: "He goes upwards, so that he is in agreement with the laws, but his place of creation is down here, on the battlefield, on the strategic and tactical field".[32] Significantly, this view placing the leader both above and at the center of the order of his time was quite popular among the expressions of fascism: in the case of Italy, as Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi argues, the shaping of the myth of the *Duce* involved a clear distinction between the personality of the ruler, the party, and the regime, with the "aura of Mussolini" following its own course, beyond mundane political developments;[33] similarly, the massive propaganda machine of German National-Socialism permanently outlined the distance between the *Führer* and the petty political schemes taking place below him.[34]

Along with his ability to navigate between the two previously described realms, the charismatic ruler depicted by Codreanu was characterized as being both a capable doctrinaire, who "masters the science of seeking and expressing the truth", and a decisive man of action, who "masters the science and art of organization, the science and art of education, the science and art of leadership", and whose legitimacy draws upon his exceptional set of skills, with moral traits being the predominant.[35]

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[30] Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Cărticica şefului de cuib* [The Nest Leader's Manual] (fifteenth edition, Bucharest: Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Buna Vestire, 2008), p. 4.

[31] Constantin Iordachi, 'Charisma, Religion, and Ideology', p. 30.

[32] Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Pentru legionari*, pp. 243-244.

[33] Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 55-56.

[34] Aristotle A. Kallis, *Nazi Propaganda and the Second World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 66-67.

[35] Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Pentru legionari*, pp. 244-245. According to Codreanu, these traits included: 'an inner force of attraction', 'capacity for love', 'knowledge of human nature', 'the power to educate and teach heroism', 'mastering the laws of leadership', 'the sense of battle', 'courage to draw the sword', 'knowledge of just and moral aims as well as loyal means', and the 'virtues of a fighter': 'sacrifice', 'resilience', 'devotion'.

The charismatic leader was thus integrated into a wider ideological frame, described by Constantin Iordachi as a "charismatic scenario of divine salvation", claiming that the world is governed based on a "divine plan" whose final stage is redemption, the Romanian nation is "chosen" to be the beneficiary of divine grace, Codreanu himself is meant to lead his nation towards transcendence, and the members of the Legion are "God's chosen warriors".[36] It is telling that the Legionary leader emphatically referred to the eschatological implications of authority and the ontological duties deriving from it: "The responsibility of the commander is great. He must not delight his armies with mere earthly victories without simultaneously preparing them for the decisive battle, out of which every soul may receive either the triumph of eternity or eternal defeat".[37]

The Hagiographical Representation of Charismatic Authority – Two Approaches

Aside from his own theoretical considerations on leadership, Codreanu saw his charisma fuelled by the works of his collaborators, some even preceding the creation of the Legion. In the climate of violent student revolts erupting throughout the country in the first inter-war decade, the gradual formation of a radical nucleus which later morphed into the leading core of Romanian fascism provided the background against which the future tenets of Legionary ideology coagulated. The cult surrounding Codreanu found one of its original expressions in a work whose author, Corneliu Georgescu, would become one of the founding members of the Legion of the "Archangel Michael".

As opposed to the grandiose mythical representations of later years, which are rather marginal in Georgescu's account, the future Legionary leader appears as a local hero, the spearhead of a tightly knit "bundle" of young fighters dedicated to the national cause, a remarkable personality binding together the "intellectual elements who deeply love the nation" with the "large masses of peasants" and directing his "vigorous action" against the enemies of the homeland, while at the same time seeking to attain "that holy national cleansing, after which our land would only be inhabited by those who have solid and deep roots in the depths of the Romanian soil".[38]

After this uncompromising affirmation of a Manichean worldview, the author invokes several episodes having the leader of the self-proclaimed

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[36] Constantin Iordachi, 'Fascism in Southeastern Europe', pp. 419-421.

[37] Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Însemnări de la Jilava* [Notes from Jilava] (Bucharest: Editura Majadahonda, 1995), pp. 49-50.

[38] Corneliu Georgescu, *Un om şi o acţiune* [A Man and an Action] (Sibiu: Tipografia Poporului, 1925), p. 8.

avant-garde of the national struggle at their center, unveiling both their practical and symbolic significance. Codreanu enters the scene as a young student at the University of Iaşi, where he quickly makes a name for himself as a protector against the perceived threat of a relentless Judeo-Communist offensive which supposedly laid siege on the Moldavian capital. In the course of a reverent narrative, Georgescu enthusiastically celebrates the triumphs of the man who, by way of his "energy, courage, determination and willingness to sacrifice himself, contributed to a decisive degree to […] the destruction of Bolshevism threatening to overwhelm Moldavia". In order to reinforce the image of the defender of the ancestral homeland, Georgescu mentions a series of illustrative events, the most memorable being the time when Codreanu barricaded himself behind the university gates in order to prevent the alleged anti-national forces (in that particular context, those who opposed the traditional religious service being performed at the opening ceremony of the academic year) from coming inside, therefore "confronting, by risking his own life, the will of thousands of Bolshevik students and tens of Bolshevik professors, thus granting the victory of the Romanian ancestral custom against the tendencies meant to Bolshevize the country".[39]

Equally influential is the role of Codreanu as an educator and animator of the rural masses, mobilized through an assiduous campaign: "[Codreanu] resumed his wandering from one village to another, showing to everyone the Jewish threat that is hovering over us and the necessity of a vigorous reaction of all Romanians against it".[40] Significantly, his dialogue with the most impoverished segments of the national community was not unidirectional, as Codreanu did not merely send a message across in order to galvanize the national consciousness of potential followers. Instead, he also insisted on openly receiving the claims, hopes and expectations of the marginalized, in deep contrast with the political elite of the time: "[…] the people were trembling, as the Romanian government was kneeling, as usual, before the Golden Calf. «The voice of the people» was not being heard up in the marble palaces where ministers and Jewish leaders were deciding the fate of the country together".[41] In striking opposition to the condemnable indifference or duplicity of the political class, the deeds of young Codreanu are deemed comparable to those of the apostles of the Holy Scripture: "with his voice, that of an apostle of the faith in the future of the Romanian Nation, he nourished in the souls of the forsaken the boundless longing for triumph".[42]

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[39] Ibid., p. 14.
[40] Ibid., p. 21.
[41] Ibid., p. 22.
[42] Ibid., p. 26.

Religious references also abound in the description of the climactic episode of this early biography, the assassination of the chief of police in Iaşi, Constantin Manciu, killed by Codreanu in 1924 in an extreme escalation of a bitter personal rivalry. Unsurprisingly, the event is regarded as an illustrative example of divine justice, with the author of the act situated beyond any incrimination, his victim portrayed as a demonic presence whose annihilation had been a moral imperative, and the entire scene depicted as indisputable evidence that Codreanu was the authentic carrier of a divine mandate, which, through his redemptive actions, was implicitly extended upon the Romanian nation: "Codreanu was the instrument of immanent Justice, which can leave no wrongful deed unpunished. Through his arm, the Heavens have shown us that while earthly laws might be eluded, the law of God is righteous and ruthless! This sole truthful and universal law granted justice to us, the meek, by carrying, through the arm of Codreanu, the divine sentence"[43].

A more nuanced projection of the charismatic leader, indicating, as Oliver Jens Schmitt argues, the gradual metamorphosis of the representations of Codreanu in Legionary discourse, the transformation of the "peasants' apostle" into the harbinger of "Romanian nationalist modernity",[44] was provided a decade later by Ion Banea, one of the closest collaborators of Codreanu and the author of the most representative biography of the Legionary leader. The main purpose of his book was that of breaking down the idealized image of the "Captain" into a plurality of autonomous facets of his exceptional personality. Codreanu was placed at the center of an account which often doubled the theses affirmed in his own writings, thus giving the impression of a "parallel narrative", complementary to the autobiographical works of its protagonist.[45]

With metaphorical formulations and mundane episodes constantly alternating, Codreanu is portrayed first and foremost as the catalyst of national regeneration. The Legionary leader is represented as the sole force able to break with the corrupted order of the past and to inaugurate a new world on the ashes of the old one, an aspiration which Roger Griffin identifies as one of the fundamental aims of fascism:[46] "The Captain! He is a border stone; a frontier. A sword stretched between two worlds. An old one, which he bravely confronts, destroying it; a new one, which he creates, breathes life

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[43] Ibid., p. 29.

[44] Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Corneliu Zelea Codreanu*, pp. 137-138.

[45] Ionuț Florin Biliuță, *The Archangel's Consecrated Servants. An Inquiry in the Relationship between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Iron Guard (1930 – 1941)*. PhD Dissertation, ETD, History Department, Central European University. Budapest, 2013: pp. 214-215.

[46] Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism. The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 9.

into, calls to light. His figure in the course of the national movement, from the end of the war onwards, resembles a line of fire, around which all great events gravitate".[47] Banea regarded the Legionary Movement as having provided unity to "the constructive generation", comprised of those segments of the young which were "the creators of a new life and willing to build a Country from the ground",[48] with the mobilization of their forces being inconceivable without the dynamic presence of their leader: "The red thread of this formidable Romanian turmoil, which tends to leave its mark on this historical period, is Corneliu Codreanu, the Captain of the generation of the twentieth century. […] The great moments of heroic attitude and manifestations of Romanian dignity were either created by him or determined by him, they always belonged to him".[49]

To his role as the initiator of a new historical course, connected to the anthropological revolution for which Codreanu served as both an originator and a prime example, Banea naturally devotes significant attention. The superhuman stance of the "Captain" is constantly reiterated, as he allegedly possesses the ability to alter the destiny of the nation, to project the entire national community into a glorious future, this gift turning Codreanu into a novel human type, "the new man", a concept which had already reached its maturity in Legionary ideology by the time Banea wrote his book:[50] "The figure of the Captain, surrounded by thousands of his soldiers ready to live as Legionaries and die as Legionaries, rises on the Romanian horizon as a titan. He is the man of tomorrow".[51]

Furthermore, Codreanu appears as an absolute creator of an almost divine stature, the sacred source of the physical and spiritual transformations envisioned as part of the imminent renewal of the national community: "The Captain is a great creator. He is a stream of creation, a perpetual incentive to action, an animator".[52] Among the works of the leader, material realizations are subordinated to metaphysical ones, thus confirming the intentions of the Legionary Movement to channel its projected metamorphosis from the internal structure of the human being towards the external realm of reality: "The greatest work of the Captain, his main creation which will live to speak to the future, is the Legion with the

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[47] Ion Banea, *Căpitanul*, pp. 3-4.

[48] Ion Banea, 'Generaţie tânără şi cultul muncii' [Young Generation and the Cult of Labor], *Revista Mea* [My Journal], May 1935.

[49] Ion Banea, *Căpitanul*, pp. 13-14.

[50] For a compelling analysis of the concept, see Valentin Săndulescu, 'Fascism and its Quest for the 'New Man': The Case of the Romanian Legionary Movement', *Studia Hebraica*, 4 (2004): 349-361.

[51] Ion Banea, *Căpitanul*, p. 101.

[52] Ibid., pp. 105-108.

new mold of the Legionary soul. […] The soul of the Romanian nation must be brought to a new life. The master artist, the creator of the new life, of the new soul, has always been and still is the Captain".[53]

Yet again, the worldview of Romanian fascism strongly resembles the perspectives of other versions of the phenomenon: the cult of Mussolini contained similar notions, promoting the image of a leader "chosen" to provide the nation with a new course, who came close to the divine as far as its omnipotent creative abilities were concerned,[54] while the authority of Hitler was invariably associated with his dynamic vitality, allowing him to draw clear courses of action for his followers and for the nation as a whole.[55] Furthermore, much like its Fascist and National-Socialist counterparts, the Legion of the "Archangel Michael" turned the image of its leader into an identity marker, an aspect perfectly illustrated by Banea's claim that the movement itself was "a larger representation of the Captain".[56]

Significantly, all the components identified by Aristotle Kallis as determining the nature of fascist charismatization are hereby present: the discourse of national salvation, the web of mythical structures with mobilizing functions, the firm belief in a collective "mission", the sacral motifs embedded into political thought, with their cumulative effect allowing the emergence of messianic leaders among most permutations of fascism.[57] The practical implications of such a perspective on leadership can also be observed in the organization of the movement, more precisely in the manner in which charismatic authority was hierarchically transmitted downwards, first to the Legionary elite and closest members of Codreanu's entourage, then to the more prominent regional and local leaders.[58] Moreover, the idealized image of Codreanu was also constructed, as Constantin Iordachi noted, as part of a larger dialectic between the ideological "offer" of the leader and the expectations of his devotees.[59] The hagiographical account of Banea is a noteworthy example, as most of the enumerated traits of the ruler are

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[53] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

[54] Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *The Aesthetics of Power*, p. 66.

[55] Ian Kershaw, 'Hitler and the Uniqueness of Nazism', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39/2 (2004): 252.

[56] Ion Banea, *Căpitanul*, p. 76.

[57] Aristotle A. Kallis, 'Fascism, 'Charisma' and 'Charismatisation'', p. 29.

[58] Constantin Iordachi, 'Fascism in Southeastern Europe', pp. 439-440. Well documented examples of the grass-roots Legionary following and the emergence of local and regional leadership are provided in Oliver Jens Schmitt, 'Approaching the Social History of Romanian Fascism. The Legionaries of Vâlcea County in the Interwar Period', *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, 3/2 (2014): 117-151.

[59] Constantin Iordachi, 'Fascism in Southeastern Europe', pp. 435-436.

correlated with their effect on the followers, hence Codreanu's defining role as a "great animator": "With the Captain and alongside him, you feel […] ready to confront any danger and most importantly, you gain an unlimited belief in victory. […] The secret behind the Captain's achievements lies precisely in this magical power of heroic influence on his soldiers".[60]

These initiatives meant to reinforce the exceptional profile of Codreanu proved useful to the extent that they engaged the missionary zeal of the main ideologues of the movement towards practical goals, such as increasing its social base by amplifying the appeal of its ruler,[61] but concomitantly managed to consolidate the internal unity of the Legion, which closely trailed behind the popularity of its charismatic founder.

Ion I. Moța – The Spiritual Implications of Charismatic Authority

Among the active promoters of the cult of the "Captain", Ion I. Moța played a decisive part. One of the original doctrinaires of the movement and an intimate friend of Codreanu, Moța theorized several of the fundamental components of the Legionary messianic scenario, such as the divine mandate of the leader, the steadfast devotion owed to him by his followers, the mandatory acknowledgement of his charismatic authority and the constant celebration of his traits, actions and visions.[62] His numerous journalistic contributions unveil the intermingled effects of several mechanisms engaged in the construction of the fascist charismatic profile, perceptively distinguished by Roger Eatwell into categories such as "coterie charisma", originating in the entourage of the leader, comprising of the most loyal followers gravitating around him, "centripetal charisma" intended to establish him as the core of the movement itself, and "cultic charisma", resulting from the attempts to invest him with "an almost religious aura".[63]

In the course of his lengthy ideological reflections, Moța recurrently affirmed his unconditional allegiance to the founder of the Legion, observing the "rallying of the Romanian population under the command of the Captain", under the banner of the providential figure invested by God himself with the sacred mission of guiding his nation beyond the obstacles it needed to overcome, towards the ultimate goal of regenerative triumph: "The great renewals have always been attained through the commanding captainship of a providential man. […] Without such a great leader's hand at the helm, the

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[60] Ion Banea, *Căpitanul*, pp. 118-119.
[61] Ionuț Florin Biliuță, *The Archangel's Consecrated Servants*, p. 208.
[62] Constantin Iordachi, 'Fascism in Southeastern Europe', pp. 434-435.
[63] Roger Eatwell, 'The Concept and Theory of Charismatic Leadership', pp. 153-154.

efforts and missions of various generations meant to pierce through difficult times could never be achieved or rise to the path of victory".[64]

Willing to bolster Codreanu's attempts at bringing the radical forces of the student movement under his firm grip, Moța openly supported most of the theses which the Legionary leader had either publicly affirmed or illustrated through his previous actions, as well as uncompromisingly expressing his own positions on matters of leadership. To that point, in the inaugural issue of the first Legionary publication, Moța claimed the indispensable role of the leader in maintaining the organic functionality of the Legion, while at the same time stating the "consent" of the followers as the ultimate legitimating argument, defeating any elective alternative: "[…] Every living system is moved by a force […] Organization […] cannot be born nor healthily develop without orderliness, hierarchy, and above all a Leader. Therefore, our organization has a chief, elected by no one, but agreed upon by those who, attracted by a mysterious force, came to assemble, under the command of the chief, the orderly and disciplined cells of the organization. This chief of ours is Corneliu Zelea Codreanu"[65].

On another occasion, nostalgically reminiscing about his first contacts with the future Legionary leader, Moța proudly remembered the moment he saw the potential of the man regarded as the embodiment of the unity in thought and action of an entire generation: "He who speaks to you now has great reason for pride and satisfaction: […] he has confessed and has resolutely shown, amidst the contempt and doubt of many, the man without whom our generation would not be capable to fulfil its mission: Corneliu Codreanu".[66] In this context, the "achievement of myth" which Fernando Esposito has exposed as a process of axiological reconfiguration and normative reevaluation, taking place, among other means, through the "heroization" of those engaged in violent conflict in the name of sacred causes,[67] finds its own particular expressions in Legionary ideology, with Codreanu being ostensibly portrayed as the sole possessor of the combative spirit of his generation in pure and unaltered form: "None of us has kept, entirely untouched, that spirit of 1923, undiminished by the blows of life […]

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[64] Ion I. Moța, 'Rânduri de creştet' [Heading Lines], in Ion Banea, *Rânduri către generaţia noastră* [Lines for Our Generation], (Cluj-Napoca: Tipografia Gheorghe Ghili, 1935), p. 3.
[65] Ion I. Moța, 'La Icoană' [To the Icon], *Pământul Strămoşesc* [The Land of the Forefathers], 1 August 1927.
[66] Ion I. Moța, 'Rânduri de creştet', p. 3.
[67] Fernando Esposito, *Fascism, Aviation and Mythical Modernity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 174-175.

None of us, except Corneliu Zelea Codreanu! For he owned it before us all and he brings it back to life among the entire Legionary youth of Romania"[68].

The guiding lines found in the works of Codreanu, part of what Constantin Iordachi described as an attempt to impose a new moral code rooted in the ascetic tradition of Orthodox Christianity, "a fascist guide to collective redemption through sacrifice"[69], were deeply internalized by Moța, for whom the indications of the Legionary leader signified the path towards the spiritual renewal of the national community, as well as the decisive impulse towards the materialization of an anthropological revolution. The typically fascist ideal of configuring a "new man" was indissolubly connected to the creative force exhibited by the "Captain", resembling artistic brilliance: "The Legionary struggle is first and foremost founded on the creation of a new spirit, the Legionary spirit. […] The realization of the new man, through Legionary education, is the most miraculous work of spiritual creation achieved by the Captain. Such a creation is yet another work of art".[70]

The climax of this idealized representation of the charismatic leader in the writings of Moța was reached in his brief testament, written shortly before his death in the Spanish Civil War, where he concomitantly reiterated his absolute loyalty towards the providential savior, as well as his unwavering faith in the materialization of the paligenetic utopia Codreanu envisioned.[71] Directly addressing the latter in a brief letter in which the intimacy surrounding their friendship and the ever present ideological component intertwined, Moța reaffirmed his total devotion towards the Legion, serenely expecting to sacrifice his life for its cause, while at the same time imagining the spectacular transformation which inter-war Romania was supposed to undergo: "I am happy and I die gladly with this satisfaction, that I have had the possibility to feel your calling, to understand you and to serve you. For you are the Captain! I have done wrong to you, with things you know and things you don't know. […] However, I was never wrong in my most sincere Legionary faith, and in my faith in you, the Captain. […] And may you, Corneliu, turn our country into one as beautiful as the sun, strong and dutiful to God!".[72] The death of Moța in the Spanish Civil War would by no means

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[68] Ion I. Moța, 'Garda de Fier şi L. A. N. C.' [The Iron Guard and L. A. N. C.], *Axa* [The Axis], 1 October 1933.

[69] Constantin Iordachi, 'De la credinţa naţionalistă la credinţa legionară', pp. 373-374.

[70] Ion I. Moța, 'Artă şi luptă' [Art and Fighting], *Revista Mea*, December 1935.

[71] Following his death, these ideas were disseminated in brochure reproductions of the original manuscripts, in Ion I. Moța, *Prezent!* [Present!] (Bucharest: Tipografia Bucovina I. E. Torouţiu, 1937).

[72] Ion I. Moța, *Testamentul lui Ion I. Moța* [The Testament of Ion I. Moța] (fourth edition, Bucharest: Editura Sânziana, 2007), pp. 15-16.

restrain the expansion of the personality cult of Codreanu, which continued its development even in the absence of one of its long-lasting promoters.

Conclusions

Drawing upon the informative contributions of recent years in fascist studies, which reevaluate the classical Weberian model, the present article sought to identify some of the mechanisms through which charismatic authority was theorized and ideologically propagated by the Legion of the "Archangel Michael". The construction of the image of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu as a messianic leader with exceptional attributes was analyzed based on several complementary perspectives, all particularly relevant from an ideological standpoint: that of Codreanu himself, willing to appear to his followers as the providential savior of the Romanian nation and the carrier of a divine mandate; the hagiographical works of Corneliu Georgescu and Ion Banea, whose compared writings reveal the progressive escalation of the charismatic power of Codreanu, ultimately depicted as the essential bind between the Romanian people and God himself; finally, the perspective of Ion I. Moța, who intended to portray the "Captain" as a force of renewal leading an entire generation who acknowledged him as its legitimate leader, a heroic figure ready to sacrifice his own life for the redemption of the national community. The image resulting from assembling together these different views, all of them representative for the worldview of Romanian fascism, confirms the claim of Oliver Jens Schmitt that Codreanu was an authentic "product of Romanian society as it advanced towards modernity"[73], while at the same time revealing a familiar character, the archetype of the millenarian prophet who, as Luciano Pellicani keenly observed, acts "*in* society but not *of* society"[74], and who propagates, through the charismatic power of his personality, a threatening radical worldview.

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[73] Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Corneliu Zelea Codreanu*, p. 337.

[74] Luciano Pellicani, *Revolutionary Apocalypse: Ideological Roots of Terrorism*, (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2003), p. 11.

The Warsaw Ghetto Workshops: Perspectives of Space and Time in Emanuel Ringelblum and Reuven Ben Shem`s Diaries

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Abstract: In this paper, I analyze the notion of time and space in the small factories of the Warsaw Ghetto, commonly known as shops, through a close reading of the diaries written in the Ghetto by Emanuel Ringelblum and Reuven Feldschu Ben Shem. In the Warsaw Ghetto of July 22, 1942, there were but two options for Jews: being deported to Treblinka or "postponing" the death sentence by becoming a shop worker. As long as one worked in a shop, one's life ─ and only one's life, not his family's ─ was spared for a while. The authors of the diaries who will be presented, both worked in the shops, and in their writings, they exposed how space and time became significant oppressing factors. As I will show, every familiar perception was challenged in this space of an imposed slave-like existence.

Keywords: Jews, 2nd World War, Warsaw Ghetto, Treblinka.

Rezumat: În această lucrare, analizez noțiunea de timp şi spaţiu în micile fabrici din ghetoul din Varşovia, cunoscute în mod obişnuit ca magazine, printr-o citire atentă a jurnalelor scrise în ghetou de Emanuel Ringelblum şi Reuven Feldschu Ben Shem. În Ghetoul din Varşovia, în 22 iulie 1942, nu existau decât două variante pentru evrei: să fie deportaţi la Treblinka sau „amânarea" condamnării la moarte devenind muncitori în magazin. Atâta timp cât cineva a lucrat într-un magazin, viaţa cuiva ─ şi numai viaţa cuiva, nu a întregii sale familii ─ era cruţată pentru o vreme. Autorii jurnalelor care vor fi prezentate au lucrat în magazine şi în scrierile lor au expus modul în care spaţiul şi timpul au devenit factori opresivi semnificativi. După cum voi arăta, fiecare percepţie familiară a fost contestată în acest spaţiu al existenţei impuse asemănătoare sclavilor.

Cuvinte cheie: evrei, al Doilea Război Mondial, ghetoul din Varşovia, Treblinka.

Introduction

In this paper, I analyze the notion of time and space in the small factories of the Warsaw Ghetto, commonly known as shops,[1] through a close reading of the diaries written in the Ghetto by Emanuel Ringelblum[2] and Reuven Feldschu Ben Shem.[3]

In the Warsaw Ghetto of July 22, 1942, there were but two options for Jews: being deported to Treblinka or "postponing" the death sentence by becoming a shop worker. As long as one worked in a shop, one's life ─ and only one's life, not his family's ─ was spared for a while. The authors of the diaries who will be presented, both worked in the shops, and in their writings, they exposed how space and time became significant oppressing factors. As I will show, every familiar perception was challenged in this space of an imposed slave-like existence.

Ringelblum was a Jewish historian, an author of a historical diary in the ghetto, the founder of Oneg Shabbat archive,[4] a relief worker and a political activist of the Left.[5] Ben Shem was a teacher, journalist and a political activist of the Right. While Ringelblum's diary is kept in a serious tone, representative of his ideals as a historian and archivist, Ben Shem's diary is largely personal, containing descriptions of events and scenes in the ghetto, as well as his personal experiences. Both diary writers managed to temporarily secure their own and their families' life in the ghetto by becoming workers in ghetto shops. In addition to Ringelblum's position as an Aleynhilf worker (a relief worker), he was also employed at the shop of Hallman both of which contributed to his temporary immunity from deportation. As for Ben Shem, in the first months of the deportations, he was employed at the workshop of Schilling but had no official work papers till about September 18, 1942, a few days before the first wave of deportations had stopped.[6]

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[1] The shops were small factories. In this article the workshops will be referred to by the term "shops" because this is how both diary writers referred to them. Details will follow.

[2] E. Ringelblum *Diary and Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*, *September 1939 - December 1942*, Yad-Vashem, Daf-Noy Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1999 (Hebrew).

[3] R. Feldschu (Ben Shem), Record Group 0.33, *Testimonies, Diaries and Memoirs Collection*, File Number 959-III Deciphered, Yad-Vashem Archive (Hebrew).

[4] V. Nizan, "Politics and History in Emanuel Ringelblum's War Diaries. Emanuel Ringelblum between the Two World Wars", *Journal of Global Politics and Current Diplomacy*, Center for European Dialogue and Cultural Diplomacy, issue 2, 2016, p. 16. The archive is a collection of documents gathered at the Warsaw ghetto which contains official documents, pamphlets, diaries, research papers etc. which were collected by Ringelblum and his crew during their incarceration in the ghetto.

[5] S. D. Kassow, "Ringelblum Emanuel", *The YIVO Encyclopedia*, www.yivoencyclopedia.org/ article.aspx/Ringelblum_Emanuel, accessed: 16 Dec 2018.

[6] R. Feldschu (Ben Shem), op. cit., p. 416. There were two big waves of deportations to Treblinka, the first was from July 22, 1942 - September 21, 1942, and the second was in January 1943.

The diary writers' entries about the elusive nature of time and the uncertainty of space demonstrate the twisted cosmos created in the shops of the ghetto. Both write about how the factories, which were regarded as safe grounds, were frequently and abruptly raided, an experience which left people in a frantic state, unable to react or even grasp the chaotic events. In such episodes, the sensation that time was racing at the speed of light gave way to periods when it felt like time was very slow.[7]

Despite the fact that the diaries of Ringelblum and Ben Shem are very different, they both express the constant sense of confusion, rapid and sudden shifts between feelings of safety to experiencing danger, suffocation quickly transforming into the welcome moments of relief. Yet the diaries make it clear that although the circumstances of life in the shops were overwhelming, they were also relativity "good" in comparison to the fate of those who were murdered or were still waiting in inhuman conditions at the Umschlagplatz.[8] In the sea of impossible choices that the Warsaw ghetto inmates have had to face, the shops stand out as significant microcosms.

The Workshops

The workshops were small factories under German ownership that were established in the Warsaw ghetto. Their establishment was in the interest of both the Germans and the Jews. The Germans realized that the growing shortage of products and supplies could be alleviated if they used the Jews that they were holding in captivity to meet the demand.[9] In contrast, the Jewish Council was interested in such factories as means to relieve poverty in the ghetto, earn money to maintain the ghetto and pay the Germans for the meager foods that they allowed into the ghetto. [10]

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[7] A. Goldberg, *Trauma in First Person: Diary Writing During the Holocaust*, Kineret, Zmora-Bitan, Dvir, 2012 (Hebrew), p.173. Goldberg discuss the sensation of time standing still in Victor Klemperer's diary when the later reports about such feelings in August 6, 1942 when deportations and violence in general became a routine which led to a sensation of indifference. According to Goldberg, such reports show that the present takes over consciousness thus preventing it from distinguishing the dreadful abnormality of the situation.

[8] The Umschlagplatz was a German term and referred to a train platform where Jewish deportees were held and then loaded onto train wagons going to death camps.

[9] W. Grunner, *Jewish Forced Labor Under the Nazis: Economic Needs and Racial Aims*, 1938-1944, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p, 263. Grunner specifies how it was impossible to replace the Jewish workers in some factories as they were practically the only skilled workers in certain professions.

[10] P. Friedman, "The Jewish Ghettos of the Nazi Era", *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1954, p. 76, Indiana University Press. www.jstor.org/stable/4465209. Friedman, one of the first historians to research the Holocaust and a survivor himself, writes that the Governor of Warsaw, Ludwig Fischer and Governor General Frank declared in an address in Lvov (On April 1, 1942), that ghettoization was a means to exterminate Jews by starving them.

In February 1941, the German authorities gave their permission to establish such factories, but not many Jews were attracted due to the deliberately low salaries offered to the Jewish workers. It remained preferable for most to seek other means of supporting themselves and their families.[11] Even when the shops tried to tempt people into working there by providing them with a daily portion of soup, the numbers remained low.

This situation changed around the winter of 1942, when rumors about deportations and other atrocities that had been taking place around Poland reached the Warsaw ghetto. Jews assumed that if they worked in the shops, their whole family would be protected. Still, in June 1942, a month before the deportations, there were only about 70,000 people registered at the shops.[12] Only toward the end of July 1942, when trains packed with Jews were making their daily journey to Treblinka, that the demand to be accepted to a shop increased sharply.

At this point, shop workers were in fact slave laborers: they were not paid, and, in many shops, no food was supplied.[13] They worked 10-12 hours a day, and the conditions at the shops were harsh. In addition, they had to live in a commune of sorts, in designated areas where their shops ordered them to stay. Accordingly, people had to leave their homes and belongings behind and move into the shops' compounds on very short notice. In most cases, the given houses were in a dreadful condition and many people have had to squeeze into a small space.[14]

On January 9, 1943, Heinrich Himmler arrived in Warsaw and was dissatisfied with the number of Jews who remained in the ghetto (about 50,000), many of whom were "wild".[15] He ordered to reduce the numbers immediately, and that was the reason for another German raid, on January 18, 1943. The attempt to deport more Jews to Treblinka was, this time, welcomed by resistance and caused the Germans casualties and dead. Therefore, the Germans decided to remove the shop workers to the area of Lublin first and then liquidate the ghetto. Tobbens, the owner of the largest ghetto shop, was appointed to the position of the Jewish deportation commissar. He tried to

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[11] Y. Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943, Ghetto-Underground-Uprising*, Yad-Vashem, Jerusalem, 2011 (Hebrew), p. 150-151.

[12] Ibid, p. 158.

[13] H. Dreifuss (Ben Sasson), *Warsaw Ghetto – The End, April 1942 – June 1943*, Yad Vashem, 2017 (Hebrew), p. 173.

[14] Ibid, p. 177.

[15] S. D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007, p. 339. "Wild" and "legal" refer to the status of the remaining Jews in the ghetto. The "legal" were people who were granted with a number from the German authorities which provided them with work, housing and some food. The "wild", those without numbers, were denied of everything.

convince Jews to volunteer for deportation to the Lublin camps where they would continue to work in the factories, but his efforts were not successful. It was only after the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, in May 1943, that the Warsaw ghetto shops were moved to the Lublin camps.[16]

Between 3-4 November 1943, the Lublin camps were liquidated, and between 42,000-43,000 people were shot in what the German referred to as "Aktion Erntefest", Operation Harvest Festival.[17]

The Changes in the Ghetto Topography after Deportations Began

As soon as the deportations began, the Warsaw ghetto was diminished dramatically and torn into separate areas between which it was forbidden to move unless one had a permit.[18] On July 22, 1942, when the first convoy of Jews left for Treblinka, there were about 370,000 Jews in the ghetto. The Germans decided on the quota of about 7,000 Jews a day which were destined to be deported to Treblinka. At the end of September 1942, when the first wave of deportations ended, about 55,000-60,000 Jews remained in the ghetto, half of whom were "wild". The other half were "legal", mostly shop workers.[19] The Warsaw ghetto had, in fact, turned into a series of islands where life resembled more to that of a work camp rather than a ghetto.[20]

The Umschlagplatz was located in the northern part of the ghetto and was formerly a train platform used for the transportation of goods. The area was converted into a gathering point for Jews destined for deportation and the buildings around became detention centers where Jews were held before being loaded onto cattle carts going to Treblinka.[21] The Umschlagplatz bordered with what remained of the original ghetto. In this area, the majority of residents were Jewish Council workers, police, relief workers and about 20,000 "wild" residents. The area was adjacent to the brush makers' shop located in the south east corner of this quarter.[22]

The southern part of the ghetto which even before July 1942 was separated from the main ghetto by a bridge over Chłodna street, was returned to the Polish authorities except for where Tobbens had one of his shops. In this way, the Tobbens shop and its workers became an island in the Polish territory.[23]

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[16] H. Dreifuss (Ben Sasson), op. cit., pp. 356-366. In her book, Dreifuss elaborates on Tobbens' different tactics to convince Jews to move to the camps of Lublin.

[17] W. Grunner, op. cit., p. 271.

[18] S. D. Kassow, op. cit., pp. 340-341.

[19] H. Dreifuss (Ben Sasson), op. cit., pp. 143.

[20] Ibid, p. 257.

[21] Y. Gutman, op. cit., p. 344.

[22] Ibid, pp. 431-432.

[23] Ibid, p. 432.

The main shop area was at the center of what the ghetto used to be. This paper focuses on this area, because both diary writers were working in this compound, each in a different shop, Ringelblum at Hallman's and Ben Shem at Schilling's. Both of them became workers in those shops in the early days after the deportations began. This area bordered slightly with Polish houses and on most sides with the destroyed, empty houses of the ghetto.[24]

Space and Time in the Workshops According to the Diaries
How Space and Time Were Conceived

About a month before the deportations began, rumors that shop workers might be saved, rumors that were encouraged and spread by the Germans themselves, created a lot of tension in the ghetto and started a frenzy to acquire a shop permit. It appears that Abraham Lewin, a diary writer and a member of Oneg Shabbat archive, managed to convey it in a single word: "Shopomania,"[25] the feverish atmosphere in the ghetto created by people desperately trying to become shop workers.

In June 1942, a month before the deportations, Jan Tobbens, one of the owners of a shop on Leszno street, held a small party for his employees. He raised a toast while stating the following: "…I hereby formally announce that… you will remain the last…"[26] This declaration was received with dismay by Ben Shem as he and others "…understood the tone of the speechmaker who wasn't laughing or kidding at all, nor was he even astonished. He simply stated what he was authorized to say, that is, because of their great and efficient work, the Jews working at the firm will get a prize… the extension of their lives for a while… but in the end everyone will be shot."[27]

Ben Shem's choice of words stresses not only his own astonishment at the fact that the shop owner said such blunt things in the open but also that Tobbens himself seems to have accepted this as a totally natural development. Ben Shem further reports that after the event people were very alarmed and called the Jewish Council to inquire about the meaning of Tobbens' declarations. Officials at the Community scolded them, claiming that such reports frightened them and that in reply to their inquiries about this information, the Germans told them that Jews had better "…mind their own business and refrain from thinking about what the Germans intend to do…".[28] The reaction from the Jewish Council infuriated Ben Shem who wrote that the

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[24] Ibid.

[25] A. Lewin, *Mi-Pinkaso shel ha-More mi-Yehudiya (From the Notebook of the Teacher from Yehudiya)*, Beit Lohamei ha-Geta'ot, 1969 (Hebrew), p. 92.

[26] R. Feldschu (Ben Shem), p. 304.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid, p. 305.

Community was totally wrong, naïve and had failed to perceive the cynicism in what the Germans were saying. [29]

Ringelblum also reported in his diary about the growing restlessness in the ghetto in relation to the rumors about deportations from Warsaw, and he provided revelatory information when he pointed out that in order to be accepted to a shop, one had to pay about 500 Zlotys.[30] Not only that, but a person who wanted to work there had to provide his own working tools such as a sewing machine. The fact that employees rather than employers had to provide the working equipment was not a novelty; already in June 1942, it had become current practice, having been adopted early on by the shop owners.[31] However, in the pandemonium of the summer of 1942, having working tools was almost like possessing a treasure.[32]

Ben Shem's entry from the first day of the deportation illustrated what Lewin was trying to characterize by coining the term "Shopomania", that is, the frenzy of the ghetto inmates to obtain a work permit at the shops.[33] When huge amounts of police forces ransacked the ghetto, Ben Shem, like many others, was running around the ghetto to try and obtain documents that would save his family and himself. His entry from July 21st, 1942, recounts that the JOINT officials, Daniel Guzik, Yitzhak Gitterman and the General Zionist activist, Menachem Kirszenbaum as well as himself, went to Tobbens shop managers to try and obtain more work permits.

In this entry, Ben Shem refers to the idea of shops being a safe haven using sarcastically the term "this paradise",[34] while explaining that this solution "… would grant us with life for a certain time."[35] In the same passage, he further relates to the shops as a divine creation, "… an opening appeared an eye of a needle, he gave, and through it, Jews would already infiltrate their elephant survival hopes."[36] Ben Shem's metaphors refer not only to the size of the space and consequently, to the time left, but also to the space's qualities.

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[29] Ibid.

[30] E. Ringelblum, op. cit., p. 378.

[31] P. Opochinsky, *Sketches from The Warsaw Ghetto*, Hakkibutz Hameuchad, Tel Aviv, 1970 (Hebrew), p. 185. In his reports about life in the ghetto, Opochinsky dedicates a passage to the shops and he reports that if one came to the shop with his equipment, when he wanted to leave, his equipment was confiscated.

[32] Y. Gutman, op. cit., p. 338. People who could bring their own working tools had better chances to be accepted to the shops.

[33] See footnote 25.

[34] Feldschu (Ben Shem), p. 329.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

The "paradise",[37] was, in fact, the size of "an eye of a needle"[38] versus the size of the Jews' hopes which were as big as an "elephant".[39]

The vocabulary chosen suggests multiple contradictions: the shops which were referred to as a paradise and a divine creation can actually be seen as the opposite: "…Is there a way out of this hell?"[40] asks Ben Shem, frustrated. In the "competition" between the hellish characteristics of the shops and the slim chances of survival they offered, it was hope that won. However, the prospects of being accepted to a shop were as small as a needle's eye, while the size of the hopes made the tiny space of the needle's eye a huge "opening"[41] in people's minds. This suggests that "the opening"[42] it gave was in fact the hopes that people clung onto, rather than the actual space of the shops. Hope became the divine gift as it was vital to instil energy necessary to those trying to survive.

When Ben Shem left Tobbens' empty handed, he felt that "time was a burden," and that "now every minute counts".[43] This idea, expressed in the diary, presumably appeared in his mind while he was hurrying through the chaotic streets of the ghetto, filled with police forces, now kidnapping people on every corner. "I mustn't wait…"[44] he wrote, emphasizing the pressure, felt especially in the terrible moments when he himself was grabbed by the Jewish police who demanded from him to accompany them to the Umschlagplatz. "…Sweat covered my body and wetted my shirt. At that moment, I saw myself lost and my family buried", he writes.[45] Even though Ben Shem talked his way out of this arrest, his accounts exhibit the twist of time and space which were directly linked to the situation. At that moment, time was truly running out for Ben Shem but in his mind, it seemed to have stopped once he was arrested, only to start racing again as soon as he was released.[46] Being arrested made Ben Shem cross, in his imagination, from the world of the living to the world

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid, p. 336.

[41] Ibid, p. 329.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] G. Miron, "The "Lived Time" of German Jews under the Nazi Regime", *The Journal of Modern History 90*, March 2018, The University of Chicago, pp. 136-138. In this article, Miron discusses the phenomenology of experiencing time subjectively which is directly influenced by the ability to react and anticipate the future. When Ben Shem is arrested, he loses control of his time, he already imagines his family and himself dead. In other words, time stands still for him. Once his is released, time flows again because he is active, he can relate to the future.

of the dead. His release aligned him again with the evading time while both (time and him) attempted simultaneously to reach a space where there was still time – the shop.

A Safe Space?

The Jewish police, which was, at least at the beginning, the one responsible for providing the daily quota of Jews for deportations, found it harder and harder to come up with the right number as the ghetto's population was dwindling daily.[47] When they failed, it was the Ukrainian and Latvian auxiliaries with the SS that were called in.[48] Often, they would turn to the shops to find the amounts of people needed for the daily quota. First, they went after the "wild" inside the shops, many of whom were women and children, but when it was hard to find them, shop workers themselves became the target, and little notice was given to the workers holding proper documentation or not.

In his entry relating to the shops, Ringelblum provided a broad and complex picture of the phenomenon, alluding to the fact that although the space of shops was viewed by the vast majority of Jews as a safe hiding compounds, in the reality of the ghetto, the shops were also a trap.[49] Despite that, being a shop worker was much better than being "wild", having no "… roof over one's head or food tickets."[50] This understanding may explain why in September 1942, Ringelblum reported that the cost of becoming a shop worker rose to about 2,000 zlotys, a clear evidence to how desperate the people of the ghetto had become.

As the shop compounds were considered safer, in an attempt to protect relatives, shop workers refrained from going back to their houses at the end of the work day and, instead, remained with their families in the factory compounds for the night.[51] The Germans were well aware of that and Ringelblum reported how shops turned into traps when the SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries hunted down Jews inside the shop's housing grounds in addition to the factories themselves. When German forces invaded the shops, they often conducted selections. First, it was the workers' documentation that counted but later it was how people looked that became the criterion which determined their fate.[52] Ringelblum also pointed an

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[47] H. Dreifuss (Ben Sasson), op. cit., pp. 164-165.
[48] E. Ringelblum, op. cit., p. 407.
[49] Y. Gutman, op. cit., p. 345-347.
[50] E. Ringelblum, op. cit., p. 409.
[51] Ibid, p. 406.
[52] Ibid, p. 407.

accusing finger at some shop owners, such as Hoffman and Brauer, who contributed their share to the men hunt.[53]

One of Ben Shem's diary entries offers a detailed glance into such a raid. On the 24th of August 1942, while he was working at the shop, they suddenly heard many shots close by. The initial instinct was to run away but one of the shop foremen ordered them all to keep working as they were being watched by Ukrainians who were standing on the roofs. "Suddenly the air literally trembled… they came for us…"[54] Ben Shem wrote about how the Ukrainians were walking around, examining their work and how frightening it was. He was so stressed that he accidently pounded a nail into two of his fingers, but he did not dare to stop working because he feared he would be noticed. Then, the invaders went into the manager's office, a break that gave him a chance to remove the nails. A short while went by and the managers, pale, all emerged together with the "murderers"[55], and the selection began.

According to Ben Shem, Jewish policemen appeared out of nowhere and the Ukrainians "…smiled at us a hunter's smile…"[56] One of them made a slight movement with his finger and both the Ukrainians and the policemen ran to the houses for a search. Ben Shem described how worried he was about his wife and child who were hiding inside the shop under the huge saw with other women and children. For three hours, all of them had to stand up in the sun and watch those heart-breaking scenes of the selection.[57] Like Ringelblum, Ben Shem describes the efforts people around him were making in order to look "fit" for work. In that raid, a hundred people were marched off to the Umschlagplatz.

As soon as the Ukrainians and the SS left, Ben Shem's frantic search for his wife and child began. "…I ran madly to the first basement, throwing out every obstacle on the way… and shouted: Pnina, Josima! There was no answer. I kept yelling…I ran to the small warehouse and I found my wife and daughter trembling, scared, their eyes confused…"[58] This entry is concluded

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[53] Ibid, p. 404.

[54] Feldschu (Ben Shem), p. 404.

[55] Ibid, p. 405.

[56] Ibid, p. 404.

[57] K. Mandoki, "Terror and aesthetics: Nazi Strategies for Mass Organization", *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 5 June 2009, Routledge pp.78-79. doi.org/10.1080/14735789909391490, accessed 18 Dec 2018. According to Mandoki, when people are in extreme situations and "psychological and perceptive distance" disappears, fear takes hold of people and they stop seeing each other. Mandoki's observation may explain how the personal hardship takes over the sensitivity to the other in the event of the selection and the fact not many people mourn those who were captured.

[58] Feldschu (Ben Shem), ps. 406-407.

by pointing out that "Today, there is hardly any wailing at the shop… They took the old and husbands whose wives and children were already taken on Black Friday. Now there was no one left to cry or mourn the kidnapped."[59]

In both Ringelblum's and Ben Shem's descriptions, the space of the shop steps beyond its existence as a physical space. Additionally, we are presented with a new space — the slave worker's body as it is being scanned for signs of age and exhaustion and treated as a surface, a commodity. If the selection at the shops shows how spaces can expand, shrink and shift, the same is true for time. The three hours Ben Shem mentions became an eternity not only while the event was really happening but also when recalled in writing.[60]

The Living Grounds

As mentioned before, shop workers did not remain in their own houses but moved to buildings allocated to their shops. People were now forced to depart from their homes and leave behind most of their possessions, to settle in other people's homes, homes whose former owners were in many cases already murdered. Those flats, especially the ones which belonged to people who were deported to Treblinka, were in an extremely bad shape and often bore the signs of the atrocities inflicted on the former residents.[61]

The apartments were crowded, ruined, unsanitary, and lacked privacy. People had to make do with what was given to them and, among other discomforts, that meant sharing the space with others.[62] The private sphere was no longer separate, and the traditional family unit was replaced with a fragile comradeship. However, the frequent raids and inhuman conditions created mistrust and tensions.[63] Simultaneously, the repeated raids forced the "wild", many of whom were women and children, to hide in inhuman conditions for long periods of time.

In his diary, Ringelblum writes about how the Germans took no notice if the allocated flats were empty or not and the orders to move out came, like almost everything else in the ghetto, abruptly and brutally. "They gave half a

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[59] Ibid, p. 407. Black Friday refers to August 21, 1942, in which many women and children were found and taken away leaving the fathers to mourn them.

[60] A. Goldberg, op. cit., p. 235. Goldberg claims that writing in such a traumatic period reinstates order into the world because it "revives" the notion of time but, at the same time, it denies it as writing confronts the writer with terror again.

[61] H. Dreifuss (Ben Sasson), op. cit., p. 269. Dreifuss elaborates on the very poor housing – sanitary infrastructure was lacking, in some apartments there was no electricity or gas, some had their doors and windows removed, etc.

[62] Ibid.

[63] S. D. Kassow, op. cit., p. 304. Kassow brings the angry words of Israel Lichtenstein about Ringelblum hiding with his family at the shop of Hallman.

day to move out…",[64] wrote Ringelblum while pointing out that unlike other shop owners, Hallman, his shop owner, treated the residents humanly: rather than throwing them out, he negotiated with the house committees to allow a gradual removal from the flats.

On the 18th of August 1942, Ben Shem, who was charged with the job of cleaning the new flats allocated to Schilling, described his shocking entry into the new living space. As he explains, about two weeks earlier, the residents who used to live in those houses were violently deported to Treblinka: "…for the first time in my life I entered apartments whose owners have been kidnapped or killed … in each flat a different lifestyle …each object still warm… In many apartments we found the tables set, cooked food in the kitchen…"[65] The following day brought an even closer encounter with such a space. Ben Shem and his neighbor were preparing their own new flat, and Ben Shem wrote that he stayed in the apartment all night long, familiarizing himself with the previous owners. "…I read his papers, certificates, his diary and the man had become close to me… and he too was kidnapped and didn't have the chance to fulfil his dream… Pasensztajn and I … are destroying the order the man had put in his flat …"[66]

This diary entry shows how shop workers were in constant contact with death. Forced into the space of people who had just been murdered, served as a vivid and constant reminder of what lies ahead for them. "Now Pasensztajn and I will inherit him. Who knows for how long…",[67] wrote Ben Shem illustrating how the new space functioned like a time capsule. By being housed in place of the dead, shop employees were reminded that their days were numbered too. Ben Shem's lines about "destroying the order…"[68] show that, in a way, he too felt as if committing a crime. Not only was he invading someone else's space and touching his belongings but also, through adapting the flat to the new residents and throwing out the previous person's possessions, he was erasing any sign that may have been left of that person's existence.

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[64] E. Ringelblum, op. cit., p. 406.

[65] Feldschu (Ben Shem), p. 389.

H. Dreifuss (Ben Sasson), op. cit., p 178. Dreifuss cites the same passage from Ben Shem's diary to elaborate on the deteriorating situation in the ghetto. Shop workers were ordered out of their living quarters often and the more the ghetto's population dwindled, the more often they were ordered into houses whose former owners have been deported to Treblinka.

[66] Feldschu (Ben Shem), p. 390.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

Conclusions

My paper concentrates on the time and space in the factories of the Warsaw Ghetto, as experienced by its workers ─ or slave-laborers. As I show in my paper, this angle can prove itself crucial on the quest to understanding the manipulation of rational reasoning conducted by the Nazis on the Jewish population, tortured with the hope that their death verdict may be negotiable.[69] By squeezing people into the designated spaces of the shops, the rational concepts of time and space were stretched in opposing directions, thus enabling the Nazis to create new "values" that distorted not only the victims' perception of reality but also the very idea of what a human being was, a factor that affected both victims and perpetrators.[70]

The process of encircling Jews into smaller and smaller spaces involved speedy, frequent, brutal and surprising waves of attacks which deformed the fabric of human perception. Both the notions of time and space were dramatically altered. In the mind of the victims, the relativity of space and time depended on how their mind grasped the experiences. The diary entries presented show that the more the space shrank, the slower the time seemed to be moving but less time remained. Simultaneously, the speed, force, surprise and extraordinary path of events, remained so shocking, that they left people with no time to react, let alone reflect on what was happening. Unable to digest the rapid and inconceivable course of life in the shops left its inmates no choice other than hanging onto familiar reasoning in a world that functioned according to an unfamiliar logic.[71]

Despite the fact that initially the idea of the shops and their living quarters represented a deviation from recognizable norms, when the spaces fulfilled their initial purpose, that is, the shops were work grounds and the houses, a retreat, Jews thought and felt there was a certain logic in their

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[69] Z. Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishing, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 129-130. Bauman point out that the Jews were manipulated into thinking that their death verdict depended on some rational logic, a strategy that proved successful because Jews could not conceive their death verdict to be final and senseless. On p. 138, Bauman brings the example of Rumkowski, head of the Jewish Council in Łódź and others in this position who despite the incriminating evidence against the Germans, genuinely believed that the productivity of the ghetto factories would convince the Germans that Jews were necessary and change their attitude towards them.

[70] A. Goldberg, op. cit., p. 21. In his book, Goldberg discusses the idea that the torture the Nazis have inflicted on their victims actually altered the nature of the species of humans. The pressure killed the man before he physically died.

[71] B. Neumann, *The Nazi Weltanschauung, Space, Body, Language*, Haifa University Press, Maariv Library, 2001 (Hebrew), pp. 243-244. Neumann discusses the change in the German language from metaphorical to literal. One of the difficulties that Jews faced was to internalize this change. Time and again they were exposed to existence of such places as Treblinka, but the information was too difficult to digest.

twisted existence. However, when the spaces stopped fulfilling their initial purposes and became a trap set by the oppressors, the spaces and their representation of time left collapsed. The constant terror of mingling between the space of the dead and of those still-alive created a unique universe of sheer chaos of which nature appears to be exactly the opposite of a "divine creation", as the shops were initially perceived. It might be said that the "success" of the Nazis was constructed on the base of such twisting of basic human realities and perceptions.[72]

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[72] Ibid, p. 97. Neumann discusses here the incapacity of victims to understand Auschwitz because the process of figuring out what was going on proved futile as it involved trying to understand a new world using the concepts of the old world.

The Traditional Romanian Folk Dance in Şieuţ, Bistriţa-Năsăud County, as Part of the Winter Traditions and Customs. Carol Singers and the "Beer"[1]

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Abstract: The present study focuses on the custom of "Beer", a remarkable event that shaped the evolution of the communities that were part of the Second Romanian Border Regiment at Năsăud, a military unit of the Austrian army in Transylvania between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It focuses specifically on the Şieuţ village and the detailed manner in which this social event was organized by the village's young men between Christmas and the New Year, when young villagers could attend the "Beer", an important occasion for social interaction. This research is based on a series of interviews with active community members from then and now and aims to offer an overview of the custom's meaning and structure. According to tradition, during the Nativity Fast, young men would follow the call of the "bucin" and meet at the house of a host to plan the event. They were assigned the roles of "vătafi" and "colceri" who hired musicians for the event, while the "căprari" were responsible for collecting the traditional pastry received by carol singers. On Christmas Eve, they grouped and went caroling throughout the village. After the Christmas church service, the traditional folk dance ("Beer") started at the host's house. The traditional festive garments, the young men going caroling or the traditional men's folk dance from Şieuţ, included in the UNESCO World Heritage, represent elements of this custom that have survived the passage of time, integrating the traditional into modern life.

Keywords: Şieuţ, "Beer", Romanian folk dance, tradition, carol

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[1] At Şieuţ, the "Beer" is the gathering of young bachelors at Christmas and New Year's Eve, being "the main event in the village, long awaited by the entire community" (the event included traditional Romanian folk dance).

Rezumat: Prezentul studiu se concentrează pe obiceiul „Berii", un eveniment remarcabil care a modelat evoluţia comunităţilor care au făcut parte din Regimentul II de Frontieră Română de la Năsăud, o unitate militară a armatei austriece din Transilvania între secolele al XVIII-lea şi al XIX-lea. Se concentrează în mod specific asupra satului Şieuţ şi asupra modului detaliat în care acest eveniment social a fost organizat de tinerii satului între Crăciun şi Anul Nou, când tinerii săteni puteau participa la „Berea", o ocazie importantă de interacţiune socială. Această cercetare se bazează pe o serie de interviuri cu membri activi ai comunităţii de atunci şi de acum şi îşi propune să ofere o imagine de ansamblu asupra semnificaţiei şi structurii personalizate. Conform tradiţiei, în timpul Postului Naşterii Domnului, tinerii urmau chemarea „bucinului" şi se întâlneau la casa unei gazde pentru a planifica evenimentul. Li s-au atribuit rolurile de „vătafi" şi „colceri" care au angajat muzicieni pentru eveniment, în timp ce „căprari" erau responsabili de colectarea patiseriei tradiţionale primite de cântăreţii de colinde. În ajunul Crăciunului, s-au grupat şi au colindat în tot satul. După slujba bisericii de Crăciun, dansul popular tradiţional („Bere") a început la casa gazdei. Îmbrăcămintea tradiţională festivă, tinerii care colindă sau dansul popular tradiţional masculin din Şieuţ, inclus în Patrimoniul Mondial UNESCO, reprezintă elemente ale acestui obicei care au supravieţuit trecerii timpului, integrând tradiţionalul în viaţa modernă.

Cuvinte cheie: Şieuţ, "Bere", dans popular românesc, tradiţie, colindă

Traditional Romanian folk dance has always played an essential role in the lives of Romanian villagers. Perceived as an important opportunity to meet and socialize, especially by young people, it "represented for many centuries almost the sole means of entertainment of the Romanian peasant".[2] Perhaps it was not the sole opportunity of entertainment, but surely one of the most important and sizeable events organized in the village, mostly by the village's youngsters.

Moreover, folk dance was a major opportunity for youngsters to get to know each other more closely, to befriend each other and to create a basis for new relationships and even future families because "the folk dance offered

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[2] Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Eseu despre dansul popular românesc* [Essay on Romanian folk dance] (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1982), p. 18.

two young people the best circumstances for flirting, physical intimacy, whispers, hand holding or embraces."[3]

With time, the folk dance became a fundamental feature in a regular person's life, accompanying them in their most crucial moments - from births, weddings, parties or even to funerals. Furthermore, it was also present during events like harvesting, moving the sheep to their grazing grounds up in the mountains or back, during various local customs like small social gatherings or other community specific celebrations. At Șieuț, the folk dance lives on to this day, staying at the heart of this type of traditional celebrations.

Șieuț village is situated at the foot of the Călimani Mountains, approximately midway between the cities of Bistrița and Reghin, being a village that belongs to a particularly attractive ethno-folkloric area where not only traditional garments, speech idioms, traditions and customs are preserved, but also the main traditional activity of the villagers who breed sheep and cattle and take them deep into the mountains during the summer grazing season.[4]

Ethnographically, the area is quite compact and preserves elements of ancient traditional culture which interact with new elements of material culture. "Șieuț village is first referenced in documents from the beginning of the fourteenth century (1319)".[5] In 1761, the military border patrol was set up and several villages became garrisons, included Șieuț. Consequently, the village gained a series of benefits, – "some mountain peaks being nominated as exclusive grazing grounds for Șieuț village."[6]

As it is well known, "the unitary and insular geography, but also the homogeneity of the population were essential elements that determined the Habsburg authorities, in the second half of the eighteenth century, to militarize this area. The creation of the Năsăud Regiment had, over time, an important economic, social, administrative, military, religious and cultural impact on the 44 villages. […] From a collective consciousness perspective, the existence of the second Romanian Border Regiment (1762-1851) was perceived as a period of growth and development, one that determined crucial changes and mutations in the way Năsăud rangers thought and acted due to the

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[3] Claudia Septimia Sabău,"*Și ne-au făcut din grănițeri, țărani … " Mentalități colective în satele năsăudene foste grănicerești în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea* ["And they turned us into peasants from Border Guards… " Collective mentalities in the former border villages from Năsăud region in the second half of the nineteenth Century] (Cluj-Napoca: MEGA, 2015), p. 162.

[4] Vasile V. Filip, *Eseuri ± etnologice* [Ethnological ± Essays] (Cluj-Napoca: EIKON Arcade, 2008), p. 102.

[5] Pompei Cocean, Cristian Nicolae Boțan, Oana-Ramona Ilovan, *Județul Bistrița-Năsăud* [Bistrița-Năsăud county] (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, 2011), p. 235.

[6] Albin Marcu, *Șieuț* [Șieuț] (Bucharest: Crater, 1997), p. 28.

benefits that came along with the status of free men, the improved financial circumstances, the more advanced cultural level and the distinctive administrative organization."[7]

Even if in 1851 the Border Regiment was closed down, and the village was demilitarized, it continued to benefit from annual subsidies resulted from the administration of the border mountain area until after the Second World War,[8] which led to a better economic and cultural development of the village compared to the other non-militarized villages in the area.

Şieuţ, the village at the foot of the Călimani Mountains, takes pride in its military status, enjoying the advantages that come with it, and takes pride in its traditions, folk garments and the specific Romanian folk dances that accompanied villagers during all the important moments in their lives and that of the community.

Thus, the traditional Romanian folk dance was part of all traditional customs throughout the year, even if we speak about specific winter, spring, summer or autumn traditions.

Furthermore, the folk dance was frequently organized in the village, following a well-established practice and represented a permanent feature of the community's social and cultural life. As Albin Marcu describes in his book, – "few villages in Transylvania, and even elsewhere in Romania, organized the usual Sunday and holiday folk dances as Şieuţ did. The afternoon traditional folk dance, organized on holidays, in the centre of the village, next to the church wall, was part of the Şieuţ tradition as early as the nineteenth century."[9]

Petre Dumbrăvan from Şieuţ (born in 1957), popular bard and famous dancer, who made his debut at the age of 5, dancing at a funeral on the dead man's table, describes how the traditional folk dance was organized at Şieuţ:

"Here, the village folk dance was held on every Sunday and holiday, except fasting times, of course. Gypsies, summer players would come; they just needed to know that it was on that date, on Sunday, and they would come and play. And the girls and boys in the village would take turns to give them food; everybody knew this Sunday was your turn, the next one was somebody else's. And the dance would begin at two or three in the afternoon and lasted until the evening, when the cattle herds came home from grazing."[10]

His wife, Ioana Dumbrăvan (born Pantea, in 1958), also confirms the joy of the dance:

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[7] Claudia Septimia Sabău,"*Și ne-au făcut din grănițeri, țărani… "*, pp. 35-36.

[8] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 29.

[9] Ibid., p. 81.

[10] Interview with Petre Dumbrăvan, Şieuţ, born on 17th April 1957, interview conducted in March 2017.

"The dancing happened here, in front of the church. God, it was wonderful! They danced only "De-a lungu"[11] and "De-a Învârtita"[12]. Some would dance "Bărbunc"[13] and those types of dance, if they would stay late. But not early in the day. We were very young when we started dancing, can't remember how old we were. There were no rules here saying you have to be of a certain age so that you can dance. If children danced at school, everybody could dance."[14]

Young women and men, wives and husbands, mothers of young women, children, old women and men, they would all take part in the village folk dance, this being "the most awaited event in Şieuţ on every Sunday and holiday".[15] Thus, the entire community would participate in the village folk dance.

As it is well known, all across the country, – "folk dances could not be rooted out, only prohibited during fasting times […], and after long fasting, the thirst for dancing became almost pathological."[16] At Şieuţ, "even if the village priest would put a stop to the folk dance during fasting times, he would also encourage young men every year to hire musicians for the dance."[17]

Another description of how the traditional Romanian folk dance was organized in Şieuţ is offered by elementary school teacher Ignat Pantea Senior (born in 1949), former choreography instructor of the folk dance ensemble "Ciobănaşul" from Şieuţ, a position he has held for almost 40 years:

"On holidays there was always dancing! The fiddler was hired for the summer. Every Sunday, if there was no fasting. Everybody knew it began after church, if the weather was nice. At that time the dance wasn't held in the village Cultural Hall, they didn't really let you use it. But it also wasn't big enough for the dance. The dance was held outside, behind the church. And we were children, and the young men would send us to water the ground. There was so much dust! And who wanted to watch the folk

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[11] *De-a lungu* is a word describing a traditional Romanian dance of pairs that are slowly moving in a circular direction, whilst the partners are holding hands. It is usually played in the beginning of the dance.

[12] *De-a învârtita / Învârtita* is a Romanian word for a type of traditional folkloric dances from Transilvania and Maramureş. It is usually danced as a group of pairs randomly covering the dancing surface, whilst the partners are facing each other and holding the hands on each other's shoulders/waist.

[13] *Bărbunc* is a a word for a Romanian traditional male (soldiers) dancing that is commonly spread in Transilvania. It was born as part of the army recruitment process into the Austro-Hungarian army during the reign of Empress Maria Tereza (second half of the eighteenth century). Nowadays it is a usual dance from the villages bordering the river Someş; it is distinguished through its energic and high amplitude movements that impose an army character of the dance.

[14] Interview with Ioana Dumbrăvan, Şieuţ, born in 1958, interview conducted in March 2017.

[15] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 84.

[16] Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Eseu despre dansul popular românesc*, p. 18.

[17] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 81.

dance, like my father who loved dances, would build a bench. And the women would come and stand in a circle, there were a lot of people! They would bring chairs or benches from home. Old people came to watch the dance, they loved it! They admired the youngsters, watched who people talked to. They enjoyed the atmosphere. And children learned the dances by watching the older one's dancing. Nobody taught them! My brother sometimes went to rehearsals at the school when Mr. Vasile Gotea was there and would come home in the evening; I remember as a child, father would whistle and my brother would dance. And I heard it all from my bed, and in the morning I knew the dance move too!"[18]

Hence, we see that at Şieuţ, the folk dance represented a particularly important event for the entire community, as the villagers would spend their spare time together on Sundays and holidays, taking part in the village's folk dance, which was the ideal meeting place for social interaction. As illustrated in the description above, every person had a well-defined role and place in the space of the folk dance, known and respected by the members of the community.

Partenie Olar from Şieuţ (born in 1963), dancer and *vătaf* [19] (dance overseer) for the "Beer" dance points out:

"Our parents encouraged us to go to rehearsals at school and learn the dances. They used to say that if others were going, we should also! Everybody would go!"[20]

At Şieuţ, the folk dance was a central element of the winter traditions and customs, alongside carols. Organizing the "Beer" dance offered youngsters more opportunities to dance, namely on eight days and seven nights in the interval between Christmas and the New Year.

As recounted by our respondents, there was a laborious procedure in place for organizing the folk dance, perhaps quite difficult to understand and decipher for a person unfamiliar with rural customs in general, and Şieuţ ones in particular. A person who is not initiated in the traditions and customs of the Romanian village might not fully comprehend the significance of these, but the details related to how the "Beer" was organized and how the event unfolded at Şieuţ can be found in the following pages.

Carol Singers and Organizing the "Beer" at Şieuţ

At Şieuţ, there is no direct connection between the folk dance's name "Bere"[21] (engl. "Beer"), the fact that it is organized by the youngsters in the village, and the alcoholic beverage. There is no knowledge or record of

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[18] Interview with Ignat Pantea Senior, Şieuţ, born 21st October 1949, interview conducted in March 2017.

[19] *Vătaf* / pl. *vătafi* is the head of the young bachelors and the main organizing of the „Beer"; he was in charge of hiring the „ceteraşi" (instrumental singers, mainly violin) and their payment, as well as deciding up on the location of the „Beer" (the host's house).

[20] Interview with Partenie Olar, born on 20th July 1963, interview conducted in February 2018.

[21] *Bere* is the Romanian word for beer, the alcoholic beverage.

villagers predominantly consuming beer during those celebrations, wine and boiled plum brandy (called *jinars* in Romanian) being, in fact, the popular choices on those occasions. The respondents, who shared their memories of the folk dance, told us that they have always known the custom under the name of "Beer", and that the name was passed on from one generation to another, not specifically mentioned in written records:

> *"This is the name we know for the dance, in our village. This is what it was called, at "Beer", this was the name of the folk dance. It wasn't called like that because people went to drink beer."*[22]

Nevertheless, we consider that it is relevant for the present study to offer some details regarding the origin and the name of such cultural acts that used to be (and, in some places still are) present in the villages of Bistriţa-Năsăud county.

"During the militarization of the Năsăud region (1762-1851), the consumption of alcoholic beverages, except beer, was prohibited across all 44 garrison villages. Elders recount that beer was produced at the beer factory in Tradam (at the border entry), near Năsăud. The factory was not in Năsăud, because the laws of the "Black Soldiers", as border patrol soldiers were called, did not allow such constructions on the territory of the border villages."[23] Tradam was not part of the militarized area and was inhabited solely by Jews, being a "purely Jewish village". The villagers would "sell alcoholic beverages, so Tradam din not have a positive effect on the people of Năsăud, who would stop here on their way back from the weekly fairs in Năsăud".[24]

At Tradam, "people would bring some barley in order to obtain the beer they needed for different events. Sometimes, the young men who organized the winter holiday folk dance started collecting the barley needed for the beer already during the Nativity Fast and went to Tradam by cart or sleigh, depending on the weather, carrying the barley and the barrel in which they would bring the beer."[25]

The Land of Năsăud area has preserved to this day numerous traditions and customs of complex significance, which underline the spiritual richness of the land's inhabitants. In winter, the "Beer", a young people celebration, associated with folk dances and feasting, held an important place in the life of the community, alongside the spinning bee *(şezătoare)*[26]".

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[22] Interview with Vasile Trif, Şieuţ, born in January 1935, interview conducted in March 2017.

[23] Emilia Bumb, *Studii etnologice. Bistriţa-Năsăud – obiceiuri, meşteşuguri, rapsozi* [Ethnological studies. Bistriţa-Năsăud: customs, crafts, popular bards] (Cluj-Napoca: EIKON, 2007), p. 116.

[24] Claudia Septimia Sabău,"*Şi ne-au făcut din grăniţeri, ţărani…*", p. 165, *apud.* ANSJBN, *Iuliu Moisil* collection, dos. 213/6, f. 46-47.

[25] Emilia Bumb, *Studii etnologice*, p. 116.

[26] *Şezătoare* is the Romanian word for a small gathering during which attendees do manual work, tell stories, jokes or riddles.

In Bistriţa-Năsăud county, there is documentary attestation that the "Beer" was organized in the former militarized villages from the different valleys (of Upper Someş, Ilva, Sălăuţa, Bârgău, Şieu). With the passing of time, the custom has developed singular regional features, has been invested with unique, distinctive meanings, specific to the valleys and the villages, so that each community has different features when it comes to the organization of the event, being influenced by diverse factors and proving the intense cultural interactions between the inhabitants of the area.

At Şieuţ, the "Beer" is the gathering of young bachelors on Christmas and New Year's Eve, being "the main event in the village, long awaited by the entire community".[27]

We chose to present this moment from the life of the Romanian village because it is a defining one for the local folk culture, a fact that was attested practically on the field. All the interviews conducted at Şieuţ about the village's traditional dance revolved around the "Beer". Whether or not asked about winter traditions and customs, respondents would constantly mention the "Beer" and describe the rigorous way it was organized and the important role it played in the village, even if they did not have an active role in organizing the event. Therefore, we decided to describe in closer detail the specific stages that are part of this particular event.

After the beginning of the Nativity Fast, the Sunday folk dance is stopped, but young men still gather every evening at the house of one of the village's young unmarried women and hold council about how to organize the "Beer".[28]

Vasile Trif from Şieuţ (born in January 1935), former *vătaf* and *arendaş*.[29] dancer in the first folk dance ensemble of the Şieuţ Cultural Hall (formed in 1950), recalled how the custom unfolded in the 1950s:

> "When Christmas started approaching, young people in the village had to look for a large house where they could gather to dance, as there was no Cultural Hall in the village at that time. And they would go there and come to an agreement with the host. At that time, the custom was that the host had to have a young unmarried daughter or son. Back then, the custom was that on Christmas Eve all young unmarried men would go caroling. They would gather at the host's house, at the "Beer". That's what it was called. There, at the "Beer", two of the most admired young men in the village would take on the role of "vătafi". They were in charge, so to speak. The second most important role was that of the "colceri"[30]. They were in

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[27] Interview with Partenie Olar.

[28] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 119.

[29] *Arendaş* is the Romanian word for a young bachelor responsible for organizing the traditional dancing throughout the year (including hiring and paying the musician, called „ceteraş").

[30] *Colcer* / pl. *colceri* is a Romanian word for young bachelors, members of the „Beer", who were responsible of food and drinks.

charge with the household. On the second day of Christmas, the girls would bring a plate of the best cakes, and the boys half of litre of plum brandy or a litre of wine. They would go to the host's house where the tables were laid, would sit and feast. Then the "colceri" would take cakes from each girl's plate and put them into a basket; that was their job. And in the evening they would bring a bottle of wine and a plate of cake to everybody. That was the custom. Afterwards, they came out of the "Beer" and went to the village centre, at the church there, because that's where the dancing spot was and they started to dance."[31]

Most of the time, the house where they gathered, "house of a well-off man" with girls to marry, would also be the "host" (where the "Beer" takes place). There, under the supervision of the house owner, the young men entering the "Beer" were counted, it was decided what amount of money they needed to contribute for expenses, the musicians for the dance were hired, the wine for the common meals was bought and other arrangements were made.[32]

Ioan Pantea, nicknamed Panţiraşu (born in September 1962), former *vătaf*, responsible with organizing the "Beer" and renowned dancer in the village's dance ensemble, offered more details regarding how the event was organized, especially in the 1970s and 1980s:

"During the winter holidays musicians were hired for all the holidays. I was "vătaf" for three years. You would start organizing the event before the holidays. Musicians were hired. You would gather six young men. You had two "vătafi", two "colceri" and two "căprari"[33]. The "vătafi" and the "colceri" were in charge of everything that happened. Those four hired musicians and gave them food, collected the money and paid them. Everything was organized. You paid for the Cultural Hall, you signed a contract with the musicians and one with the Town Hall, and on Christmas Eve all the young people would gather in the village centre. We gathered all, like this, in a circle; everyone knew who the "vătaf" was and we grabbed him and threw him in the air three times! At Christmas we had "cemători"[34] from the smaller children in the village. Four for Christmas, four for New Year's Eve. And they went through the village to call young men and girls to the dance. They called for them to come to the "Beer". The chaps brought wine or boiled plum brandy, everyone took a bottle, and girls went with cake. That's how it was in those days!"[35]

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[31] Interview with Vasile Trif.

[32] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 119.

[33] *Căprar* / pl. *căprari* is a Romanian word for young bachelors, members of the „Beer" who were responsible of collecting the „colaci" that the carol singers would receive as a payment for their caroling.

[34] *Cemător* / pl. *cemători* is a Romanian word for young bachelors who would walk through the village with the purpose of inviting people (especially young girls) to attend „joc" (traditional dancing) as part of the „Beer".

[35] Interview with Ioan Pantea (Panţiraşu), Şieuţ, born in September 1962, interview conducted in March 2017.

His younger cousin, Florean Pantea (born in June 1970), *vătaf* at the "Beer", also describes the highlights of organizing the event:

> *"We went caroling in the village and people gave us money. We went to the priest, to the mayor and then we split into two groups. Half of us went to one end of the village, the other half to the other end of the village, and when we met, we went to the big "vătaf" and counted the money. That money paid for the dance, if not enough, there would come the girls' contribution too. That was how we established boys' and girls' contribution. And Trăienuţ with Tiniş and me were "vătafi", but not for long, because the Revolution came and it was over with the village dance!"*[36]

In the villages with many young men, there would be two "Beers" gatherings due to the insufficient space for tables, feasting and dancing. No matter how large the house of the host is, it can never be enough for the entire village. In Şieuţ, villagers organized two events: *berea vălenilor* (a gathering for those living beyond the valley) and *berea susenilor* (a gathering for those living in the direction of Monor).[37]

Several years in a row, in the 1950s, the house of Ion Pantea hosted the gatherings of the villagers living beyond the valley, as recounted with abundant details by his son, retired elementary school teacher Ignat Pantea Senior, first cousin of above mentioned Ioana Dumbrăvan, Panţiraşul and Florean:

> *"For so many years, the "Beer" took place in our house! We had a large room; it was 8 metres long and 6 metres wide. It was the only house with such big rooms. I was still a child and remember how the chaps would throw their coats on the bed. And then they danced all night! They danced "De-a lungul" and "Învârtita". And they danced "Sârba"[38] all through the room; the bachelors might not all fit in because married men danced also. There were also two "Beers" gatherings in the village. Ours was for the villagers beyond the valley, that's where we lived. And the ploughman, the young man who was the first in the village to go ploughing in the spring, he was responsible with the music during the summer. My father was ploughman in 1951. He brought the musicians and all the young men obeyed him. Then, during the Nativity Fast, young men were called to the Cultural Hall with a horn. The instrument is decades old. Girls would not go to the dance if a young man didn't come after her. It was shameful for a girl to go alone to the dance, without a companion. And when the dance was over, the one who took her to the dance had to bring her back home, which ended with a glass of plum brandy and a sausage. If a young man took the same girl two or three times to the dance, you knew they were getting friendlier."*[39]

In order to make the necessary arrangements for the "Beer", the young men gathered every evening at the host's house. The signal to come together

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[36] Interview with Florean Pantea, Şieuţ, born on 28th June 1970, interview conducted in May 2017.
[37] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 119.
[38] *Sârba* is a word for a traditional Romanian dance that is spread all over the country, executed in a fast tempo with the dancers usually forming a circle.
[39] Interview with Ignat Pantea Senior.

at the host's house was given with a *bucin* (horn), from the house's porch. *Bucin* is an archaic wind instrument, made of a beautiful, long and carved ox horn, which is outfitted at the end with an elderberry wood pipe.[40]

Pantea Florean, famous village dancer and one of the young men who used to play the *bucin*, offers more details about the 70 year-old *bucin* at Șieuț:

> *"When the Nativity Fast began, people started organizing the dance and drew out the "bucin". Not anybody could play the "bucin". If you don't know how to do it, you can't do it! My grandfather brought this "bucin" from Uila, from a local Saxon. It used to be about … this long (he shows me that it used to be about 15 cm longer before - editor's note). It all wore away. For sure it was longer than this, it was bound with tie-wire and it wore away from that spot. My father was a young man or a boy when the "bucin" was brought. About 60-70 years ago. It was made from ox horn. Oxen were castrated bulls and they were used to draw the plough. But they were tame! When they didn't fit through the door of the stable, they bowed their heads to fit in. My brother, Albin, has the "bucin" now; he keeps it and gives it to chaps when they go caroling."*[41]

In the old days, young unmarried men used to gather on the streets of the village and showed their mastery of playing the *bucin* so that "the soundwaves reign over the village, and the echo comes back from the wooded hills and takes over all the Șieuț valleys and village paths. The call of the *bucin* is a long standing tradition, and its quaver is modulated by the breath of the player. The *bucin* melody is continuous, it starts on a long note, with rare quavers and ends loudly and powerfully, like cannon blasts. This sound vibrated through the village's winter evenings and signaled to the young men to gather at the host's house."[42]

As we could notice from the above-mentioned description, selecting the right young men to lead the event, and bear the responsibilities of organizing it, was a vital part of the process. The selection took place on Christmas Eve, the host being in charge with making sure that all young men who entered the "Beer" had a decent behaviour.

Two *vătafi* are selected from the most worthy young men in the village, particularly those who underwent military service: the big *vătaf* and the small *vătaf*, being the head of the young bachelors and the main organizing of the "Beer". A *colcer* and four bigger *căprari* are selected for each *vătaf*. At the end, the remaining chaps are equally divided between the two *vătafi*, each one being assigned eight smaller *căprari*. Then, following the local hierarchy established within the "Beer", they start caroling through the village. *"After*

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[40] Albin Marcu, *Șieuț*, p. 119.

[41] Interview with Florean Pantea.

[42] Albin Marcu, *Șieuț*, p. 120.

selecting the "vătaf", we all went caroling to the priest's house, the mayor's, and then in the entire village. We split in two because the village was bigger than now. And we went to every house."[43]

The carols within the "Beer" have a unique structure, completely different from religious carols or other Christmas songs. "The young men's "Beer" caroling unfolds as a dialogue in two voices, without a melody, and with a histrionic nuance. The first voice, of the *vătaf*, charges the first verse on its own, and is followed by the choir of the young men as the second voice, continuing the verse as a response, similar to the dialogue present in ancient Greek theatre."[44]

Hence, "we can determine the persistence of a novel manner of caroling, different from both the surrounding villages and the knowledge we have about the regular performance of this winter custom: recitative, without melody, a rhythmic chant of verses, alternatively reprised by the two groups of carol singers."[45] The text of such a carol is not based exclusively on a religious theme, but also references the day to day life of the people living in that particular house, and spells out the names of the young people living in the house.

For each house they visit, the carol singers receive a large type of white wheat bread named *colac*[46], as a reward, fair as "the face of Christ", baked in the oven, and set on the table that is at the centre of the room and around which the young men are caroling. As already known, according to the beliefs of the Romanian peasant, "the table was the most important piece of furniture, having a sacred role. It is on the table that the gifts for the carol singers are set, among which the customary *colac*, representing a wheel or a solar symbol",[47] therefore the *colac* received by the carol singers was a welcoming sign, an ancient custom, passed on from one generation to another and filled with meaning.

The *colaci* received for caroling are collected by the smaller *căprari* and put into a sleigh drawn by two horses with bells, and stored at the host's house. These *colaci* will be the bread for the common meals that will take place at the host's house until the dissolution, the end of the event, after the New Year or Epiphany.[48]

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[43] Interview with Ioan Pantea (Panţiraşu).
[44] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 122.
[45] Vasile V. Filip, *Eseuri ± etnologice*, p. 103.
[46] *Colac* / pl. *colaci* is a Romanian ring-shaped type of salty pastry with a braided pattern.
[47] Angelica Puşcaş, *Ascultări din lumea satului. Introducere în etnografie* [Listening in the village world. Introduction to ethnography] (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, Vol. I, 2009), p. 76.
[48] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 124.

Our respondent, Ioan Pantea (Panțiraşu), offers a detailed description of the reward received by the carol singers, namely *colaci*, the way young men collected them and the manner in which the dance was organized:

"You would take them into your hand, like this. If you had five, seven, ten "colaci", you left them at some girl's house. Then the "căprari" came and collected them. The next day, on Christmas day, we brought a carriage and went through the village to collect them. And we chanted and feasted! On Christmas Eve, young men gathered and decided when to collect the money, how much money there was, how much a pair should contribute, how much money for the fiddler. After New Year's Eve, young men came at the host's house and figured out the numbers. There were these many dancers, this was how much money we needed, this was how much they would pay. We put a higher entrance fee for girls and married people so that we, the young men, wouldn't have to pay so much! There were tricks like this! In our village, everybody who wanted to dance paid to attend the dance. Then you gave out the "colaci" to the young men; everybody received about ten or twelve of them. What could you do with them? You fed some to the pigs because they went stale. You have to imagine that the host kept them for about two weeks, and then you gave them out. In the old days there used to be a shortage of bread. Now you don't give out "colaci" anymore, you give money."[49]

At Şieuț, one of the important moments at Christmas was going caroling at the mills. In the old days, the village had several old stone mills for grinding cereals, dating back to the times of the Saxon inhabitants. One of them is still functional at present. At the mills, the young men received the biggest and most beautiful *colaci*, before attending the church service. "On Christmas day, after going caroling at the mills, all young men, dressed in their best costumes, with their sheepskin coats and feathered caps, would answer the call of the *bucin* and gather at the house of the host where they form a column and, led by the host, go to church. The "Beer" attendees have a place reserved in front of the altar, where they remain in formation and attend the church service, then returning to the host's house."[50]

Another custom tightly connected to organizing the "Beer" at Şieuț is taking a platter with traditional winter holiday dishes to the places where the "Beer" is hosted. The custom takes place on the first day of Christmas. After the church service is over, girls hurry to "go with a full plate" at one of the "Beer" gatherings in the village (if there are two), there where most of their friends go or where their sweetheart waits for them. The girl, dressed in her festive costume, goes there with a plate filled with the finest delicacies prepared by her mother: pork roast, sausages, dumplings, cakes and pies.

Ignat Pantea Senior recounted a funny story related to this custom:

"And the "vătafi", the "colceri", took the best cakes from the girls who brought platters and hid them in chests, the wooden ones, with locks, that you used when you went in

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[49] Interview with Ioan Pantea (Panțiraşu).

[50] Albin Marcu, *Şieuț*, p. 124.

the army. And when the midnight break came, they invited their sweethearts or a few girls to the room with the chests - at our place it was the larder at the back of the house - to eat, to have a cake. Once I found in the hay a chest with that kind of cake, after a month. It was spoilt of course. They had hidden it there, during the dance, and had forgotten about it."[51]

After arriving at the host, the girl is seated at the table according to the ranking that her sweetheart holds within the "Beer". The food platters brought by the girls, *colacii* and the alcoholic beverages brought by the smaller *căprari* ensure a plentiful common meal. Two by two, young men and women dance and cheer to the melodies played by the musicians.[52]

The glee of the moment is enjoyed not only by those gathered round the table, but also by those present at the host's house - children, married men and their wives, even elders who remember the times when they were young and used to dance at the "Beer".

The joy of the dance, the organization of the event, the village's musicians and the vernacular talent are described by Vasile Trif in the following manner:

"There were two famous musicians in our village, the most famous across all Şieu Valley. They were gypsies. One was named Nonu, Ion Caculea, that's how he was also called, and the other one was Loica. They were brothers. And, by golly, they both knew how to play! We went to the centre of the village and we danced until nighttime … young people, old people, every breathing soul. I remember one time when the elders were dancing, my father also, and my big brother. My father was a wild dancer! He jumped, old as he was, he jumped sky high. He loved to dance and I remember one time, when he was a bit tipsy … but he didn't cause any trouble … he jumped straight on the table! And danced, right there, on the table!"[53]

At Şieuţ, on the first day of Christmas and New Year, the dance and custom of the "Beer" were confined to the village boundaries, but during the rest of the days the custom developed even more colour through the *lătureni*[54] exchange. According to the *lătureni* tradition, the "Beer" had to pay and receive visits for three days in a row, starting with the second day of Christmas or New Year.[55]

Usually, young men from Şieuţ visited neighbouring villages or received themselves guests from the nearby villages from the Şieu Valley (Sebiş, Ruştior, Lunca, Ardan, Monor, Gledin), but also from villages closer to Mureş county (Vătava, Râpa and Dumbrava) or the Mureş Valley (Lueriu and Săcalu de Pădure).

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[51] Interview with Ignat Pantea Senior.

[52] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 124.

[53] Ibid.

[54] *Lăturean* / pl. *lătureni* is a Romanian word for an inhabitant of a neighbouring village.

[55] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 125.

Thereby, cultural exchanges were facilitated, impacting traditional clothing and dancing, but also leading to a mutual enrichment of traditional hollers and verses from the Șieu Valley and the Mureș area. Consequently, *lăturenii* "formed an emotional bond, and intertwined idioms, attires and customs."[56] Also, on these occasions, young people met, befriended each other and formed new families.

A Current Look at the Șieuț Folk Dance, the "Beer", Carols, Carol Singers, Traditional Garments and the "Bucin"

At Șieuț, some of the main elements related to the way the old holiday dance used to be organized still remain. Even though the "Beer", the gathering, no longer takes place, and there are no *vătafi* and *colceri* selected to be in charge of the logistics of the event (the last ones were Petru Dumbrăvan, nicknamed Ciliga, and Ion Tiniș, in 1990), the main elements are still in effect, like the married men and the young men of the village who get together and go caroling on Christmas Eve.

The carol singers are dressed in festive garments, with a beautifully embroidered traditional shirt, with a low collar adorned with beadwork. "As time passed, the embroidery grew richer, appearing also on the chest, collar, sleeves and at the bottom of the shirt, where a lace ribbon, called *ciurel*, appeared, and also a jagged cotton lace that is handmade with a special needle, called *cipcă*."[57] The chromatics of the patterns are quite different: beige, yellow and brown can be seen on the traditional shirts of married men, while young unmarried men wear a flowered traditional shirt, with red, blue and green embroidered flowers, and elderly men wear a shirt with discrete embroidery on the collar and on the sleeves.

The carol singers from Șieuț wear very tight traditional peasant trousers made of wool, called *cioareci*, or trousers made of woven linen with stitched patterns (small fir trees, cart wheels or diamonds).[58] Men wear on their waist a wide, leather belt stitched with colourful threads, manufactured at Bistrița or Morăreni (in Mureș county) or a belt punched with floral or geometric patterns, while young men wear a belt adorned with colourful beads.

The open traditional vest is made by Șieuț skinners from sheep fur, it is white, with blue, brown or gold string patterns on the back. It is decorated in black and brown stitched fur, and some designs have colourful tassels and patterns of stitched flowers.

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[56] Ibid., p. 130.
[57] Aurel Bodiu, Maria Golban, *Portul tradițional românesc din Bistrița-Năsăud* [The traditional Romanian costume from Bistrița-Năsăud county] (Cluj-Napoca: EIKON, 2012), p. 148.
[58] Ibid.

The most important garment of the Şieuţ carol singers is the long, white, sheepskin coat, decorated with floral patterns and black stitched fur all around the bottom part. There were also one or two buttons at the waist or at the bottom of the coat. Given its considerable length, down to the boots, the beautifully embroidered white coat of the Şieuţ villager is a spectacular and imposing garment that local carol singers still wear at present.

Carol singers wear a traditional cap made of sheep fur, called *cuşmă*, unmarried men also wear a feather, a geranium and a ribbon in the three colours of the national flag. They wear tall, black, leather boots.

Although one can observe today some mutations and changes in the festive garments worn by Şieuţ villagers, we are excited to see that traditional shirts, vests, belts or coats worn by carol singers have survived to this day, bearing the initials of their owner and the year they were manufactured. Such an object is also the belt of Ion Şoimuşan (nicknamed Ciogâga), born in 1971, former deputy mayor of the village, who still wears a leather belt, sewed with beads, with the year "1932" visibly stitched in white beads among the red, green and blue ones. The belt belonged to his grandfather, Ion Cueşdean (Ciogâga), who hosted in his house the "Beer" events and the *lătureni* visitors from Sebiş village between 1924-1925.[59]

There are other similar examples in the village, namely the open traditional vest, with tassels, belonging to Petru Seica, made in 1954, and worn at present by his grandson, garment on which the initials "1S9 – 5P4" can be seen or on the vest of Ion Pantea, who hosted the "Beer" for the villagers beyond the valley, and where the initials "1P9 – 4I1" can be seen (a sign that it was custom made for Pantea Ion in 1941). The vest is worn at present by his grandson Neluţu Pantea.

As far as the repertoire is concerned, the old, archaic carols, unique in the research area, have remained mostly unchanged. Although some of them disappeared from the community's collective memory, together with the *vătafi* from former times, the original style of execution has been preserved and was carried on by the new generations of carol singers.

At present, young men and married men from the village no longer go caroling solely on the streets of the Şieuţ village. They also participate in various performances centered on carols, folklore competitions that promote the winter traditions and customs of the old Romanian rural settlements or various television shows. We consider this to be an effort worthy of praise, given that it promotes the beautiful elements of traditional garments and carols, which deserve to be shared with the world.

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[59] Albin Marcu, *Şieuţ*, p. 129.

The *bucin*, the more than 70 years old wind instrument brought from Uila, faithfully accompanies the group of carol singers to this day. Although a little worn out, it is masterfully played by the former young men of the village, the famous dancers Petru Dumbrăvan (nicknamed Ciliga), Dumitru Trif (the village blacksmith, nicknamed Trifu) or Florean Pantea, all presently well into their old age.

Being a spectacular, archaic instrument, the *bucin* is a particularly unique element of the cultural life of Şieuţ, an element that the carol singers identify with and which still accompanies them at the *Jocul Însuraţilor* (the dance of the married ones), when young men gather at the Cultural Hall, where the event is held. In the old days the event was held on Epiphany, but since 2011 it has been organized on the last Sunday in January, being a joyful and festive moment for the entire community, irrespective of religious convictions.

During the rest of the year, the *bucin* is kept at the house of Albin Pantea, Florean's brother, being used during some performances or during folklore competitions, shows or foreign tours of the village folk dance ensemble.

Even though the "Beer" is no longer organized as it happened in the former days and as we described in the present research, the village can pride itself with the fact that the traditional Romanian dances and customs have not been forgotten, on the contrary, are well known by almost all the members of the community, be it adults or youngsters. The latter were initiated in these traditional customs within the village's folk dance ensemble and under the supervision of the village elementary school teacher and dance choreographer, Ignat Pantea Junior, who took over the work carried out by his father, Ignat Pantea Senior.

In the past few years, I have had the opportunity to participate in or organize events and cultural performance during which this distinctive folk dance ensemble presented to the audience traditional folk dances by bringing together on the stage 60 dancers, representing four different generations of dancers, just as it happened in the 1960s and 1970s at Şieuţ. Petre Dumbrăvan recounts:

> *"Back then it used to be Cântarea României.[60] And they put together the folk dance group, made of four generations. There were the married people, the old people, who only danced Sârba, with their coats on. Only Sârba, then they would stand in the back of the stage and cheer. Then there were the married ones, about my age, between 50 and 60 years old. They all wore the traditional sheep fur hats. Then there was the third generation, young men and women, with felt hats and feathered hats, and then there*

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[60] *Cântarea României* was an annual national cultural festival in the Socialist Republic of Romania between 1976-1989 intended to promote ideologically-approved artistic manifestations.

were the children, who were in front of the stage. It was beautiful! Four generations, they filled the stage, it was wonderful!"[61]

His wife, Ioana, also confirms the beauty of that moment:

"The married ones were just like us now. Back then, in Mr. Gotea's time (n. red. – elementary school teacher Vasile Gotea, who founded in 1950 the first folk dance ensemble at Șieuț), that's when it was amazing! Then it was my cousin's turn, Ignat. Then it was even better! We were four generations on stage, can you imagine? Children, young men and women, the married ones and the old ones. It was such a beauty!"[62]

Conclusions

Even though the "Beer" is no longer organized at Șieuț as it happened in the former days, few elements of this custom have survived the passage of time. The traditional festive garments, the young men going caroling or the traditional men's folk dance from Șieuț, included in the UNESCO World Heritage, represent significant elements of it.

This study offers us the possibility to notice the changes that took place in time concerning the organisation and the actual course of this custom. Thus, we have been able to discover that, in Șieuț, connected to these local traditional customs, a truly cultural phenomenon was developed, supported and encouraged by manifestations such as the festival "Song of Praise to Romania" (*Cântarea României*). With the help of communist cultural policies of that time, but also by having a Cultural House, the villagers were offered the possibility to manifest themselves artistically during numerous events.

At the same time, taking part in such events meant for villagers to have an alternative to the heavy-laden agricultural life, folk dance and holidays being seen as true relaxation. On the other hand, in Șieuț, the village customs were kept during communist times also due to the fact that here there was a special local pride, rarely found elsewhere, but also because "it was a shame not to know how to dance!"[63].

The political events that took place in December 1989 led to profound changes which affected the entire Romanian society. Irreversible changes happened in the cultural life of villages, as well; spinning bees disappeared, together with certain customs, the main contexts in which villagers would essentially work, socialize and contribute to creating folklore. Step by step, true creations and authenticity disappeared and the villagers looked for alternatives. They found them in the advantages offered by modernization and technology, the TV set becoming the main ally in spending free time. Why

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[61] Interview with Petre Dumbrăvan.
[62] Interview with Ioana Dumbrăvan.
[63] Interview with Partenie Olar.

go and dance in the village when they could easily stay at home in front of the TV? It is much more comfortable!

Nowadays, even if in a simpler version, without all the traditional details (as now there are fewer young people living in the village, many choosing to move to the city, in Bistriţa, Târgu Mureş, Cluj-Napoca or even abroad to study or work), the traditional Romanian folk dance from Şieuţ, the olden carols and the men who gather to sing them have passed the test of time. They are still put into practice today, reviving memories of the old "Beer" and the traditional folk dance that took place behind the church.

Although the "Beer" gathering is no longer organized, the traditional winter holiday folk dance is remembered through another old custom that was part of it, namely *Jocul Însuraţilor*. Time passes and people change; the village elders fade away and their place in the community and in the group of carol singers is being taken by young men who continue to walk the streets of the village on Christmas Eve.

The old traditional folk garments of their parents and grandparents, many dating from 50 or 60 years ago, the respect they have for the inherited costumes, the old *bucin* brought from the Saxon in Uila more than 70 years ago, the archaic carols, faithfully remembered by so many generations, make us feel confident and hopeful that at Şieuţ - the village at the foot of Călimani Mountains, watched over by the Poiana Tomii peak - the present day folk dancers and carol singers, proud of the inherited traditions (many say "for generations, this has always been the custom"), are able to take us to another century, to the world of their ancestors, and to carry on the charm of the old Romanian holidays, joyfully celebrated by the Romanian peasant.

LIST OF RESPONDENTS

- **Pantea Ignat Senior** (born on the 21st October 1949) – elementary school teacher, dancer; choreographer of the folk dance ensemble between 1976-2003; his parents' house hosted for years in a row the "Beer" for the villagers beyond the valley (*Berea vălenilor*);
- **Trif Vasile** (born in January 1935) – dancer; was part of the first generation of dancers at the Cultural Hall in Şieuţ (starting 1951); *vătaf* at the "Beer" and *arendaş* at the village dance, for years in a row;
- **Dumbrăvan Petre** (born on the 17th April 1957) – dancer and popular bard; important member of the ensemble, from 1962 until the present day; attendee of almost all folklore competitions and festivals during the Communist period;
- **Dumbrăvan Ioana** (born Pantea, in 1958) – dancer, member of the folk dance ensemble; sister of Pantea Ioan (Panţiraşu);
- **Pantea Ioan** (nicknamed Panţiraşu), (born on the 13th September 1962) – dancer; *vătaf* at the "Beer" for three years; responsible with organizing the event and paying the musicians;
- **Pantea Florean** (born on the 28th June 1970) – dancer; skilled in playing the *bucin*; *vătaf* at the "Beer"; cousin of Ignat, Ioana and Panţiraşu;
- **Olar Partenie** (born on the 20th July 1963) – dancer and former *vătaf* at the "Beer".

The Power and The Truth. A Film. A National Project

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Abstract: This article tries to understand what type of film is approved by the Nicolae Ceauşescu regime and how it is promoted, through various propaganda channels. In this sense, we choose to discuss the film made by the artistic couple Manole Marcus - Titus Popovici, *The Power and The Truth* (1972), and we resort to a content analysis to understand the way it was made. We are also interested in the echoes of the film in the press of the time and how with the help of newspaper articles the authorities inoculate the idea that this film is the most important cinematographic achievement of the moment, a benchmark for political productions to be made from that point on.

Keywords: Cinematography, Political Film, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Manole Marcus, Titus Popovici, Propaganda

Rezumat: Articolul de faţă încearcă să înţeleagă ce tip de film este agreat de către regimul Nicolae Ceauşescu şi în ce fel se promovează acesta, prin diversele canale de propagandă. În acest sens, alegem să discutăm filmul realizat de cuplul artistic Manole Marcus – Titus Popovici, *Puterea şi Adevărul* (1972), şi recurgem la o analiză de conţinut pentru a înţelege felul în care este realizat. De asemenea, ne interesează ecourile filmului în presa vremii şi cum cu ajutorul unor articole comandate de autorităţi se inoculează ideea că acest film reprezintă cea mai importantă realizare cinematografică a momentului, un etalon pentru producţiile politice care trebuie făcute din acest moment încolo.

Cuvinte cheie: cinematografie, film politic, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Manole Marcus, Titus Popovici, propagandă

In 1972, when it was released, the subject of *The Power and The Truth* (original title: "*Puterea şi adevărul*") represented a premiere for the history of Romanian cinematography. Conceived as a contemporary epic, easy to understand and with a strong moral message, the film directed by Manole Marcus and written by Titus Popovici tells the story of a young politician, Mihai Duma (Ion Besoiu), who instigates the abusive arrest of the engineer Petre Petrescu (Amza Pellea), an immoral act commissioned by the Communist Party's fictional Prime-Secretary, named Pavel Stoian (Mircea Albulescu).

This article will try to reconstruct the production process of this film and explain its importance for socialist Romanian society, as well as explore its impact on the cinematography of the 1970s and 1980s. Given that it was a project of great importance for the new power in Bucharest, led by Nicolae Ceauşescu, the main question of this article is why and in what way the authorities of the early 1970s wanted *The Power and The Truth* to be produced and then delivered as the event-film of the moment. At the same time, the study seeks to argue that the film heralded a specific genre dedicated to the investigation against Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's political regime and inspired a series of similar endeavors within Romanian cinematography. In this context, the new authority wished to ensure that the film would be received in accordance with the intentions with which it was conceived and made, those of challenging and distancing themselves from some past actions, considered abusive, ordered during the period between the taking over of power by the Communists in the mid-1940s and the death of Gheorghiu-Dej in 1965. In order to succeed with its ideological plan for this film, the Communist Party's propaganda apparatus used the potential of the specialized printed medium and pointed out quite clearly, with the help of *Cinema* magazine, the way *The Power and The Truth* had to be seen and received by the broader public in order to shape its opinions. After this moment, a series of other similar films on the same generous topic would be produced in the years to come.[1] This means *The Power and The Truth* proposed a standard to be followed – or, in other words, a prototype, a mold for the productions circumscribed to this genre in the making.

Historical background

To better understand the situation of the mid-1960s to early 1970s in Romania, one needs to set out some important moments in Nicolae Ceauşescu's career prior to becoming the Communist Party's Prime-Secretary.

The existing literature suggests that Ceauşescu became in 1952 a member of the Central Committee (C.C.) of the Romanian Workers' Party (in original, "*Partidul Muncitoresc Român*", PMR) – while only 34 years old – and then, on 19 April 1954 he was promoted as secretary of the C.C. and a supplant member of the Political Bureau.[2] In 1960, he was reconfirmed in these two important positions. Meanwhile, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was Prime-Secretary of the Romanian Workers' Party.

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[1] Examples include *Clipa* (*The Moment*, Gheorghe Vitanidis, 1979), *Orgolii* (*Pride*, Manole Marcus, 1980), *O lumină la etajul zece* (*The Light on the 10th Floor*, Malvina Urşianu, 1984), *Imposibila iubire* (*Impossible Love*, Constantin Vaeni, 1984).

[2] Adam Burakowski, *Dictatura lui Nicolae Ceauşescu 1965-1989* [The Dictatorship of Nicolae Ceauşescu 1965-1989] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2016), p. 71.

According to Adam Burakowski, before 1965, the organizational function within the C.C. helped Ceaușescu in building his own system of feudal relations, promoting his devotees and removing from office the supporters of the other members of the Party and State leadership.[3] This strengthened Ceaușescu's position when on March 19th 1965 Gheorghiu-Dej suddenly died due to liver cancer. Three days later, Ceaușescu was appointed as the new leader of the Party and thus managed to defeat the other contenders as the head of state. Shortly after he climbed to the top of Romania's political hierarchy, the new Prime-Secretary ordered, on October 21, 1965, the establishment of a rehabilitation commission for the formerly important Party member Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, a victim of the struggles within the Party hierarchy in the 1950s. This was a strategic move through which Ceaușescu could and did attack all his political opponents, now his underlings within the hierarchy. They were the party activists who had been involved in the trial and execution of Pătrășcanu, between 1948 and 1954. At the same time, the rehabilitation of Pătrășcanu, a supporter of the left, but also an intellectual, could serve Ceaușescu well by improving his image and enlisting the support of the intelligentsia, until recently abused, deported, arrested, sent to the enforced labor camps (the Danube channel) or reeducation centers or even killed.[4] It was a time when this social segment was allowed and even invited to officially join the Communist Party.

According to historians such as Vladimir Tismăneanu[5] and Cristian Vasile,[6] the removal of politicians who were important in the Dej regime and who no longer corresponded to the new situation became a frequent occurrence. Ceaușescu gradually acquired all political power, following some clever decisions. The Prime-Secretary promoted a series of close-knit, young minions he had worked with before 1965. To (t)his power consolidation, whose bases were cemented between 1965 and 1967, he added the favorable moment of the Prague spring 1968, when he publicly opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. This was seen by the world as a courageous act that elicited the sympathy of Western Society[7] and which, discreetly, allowed Ceaușescu more freedom nationwide. He was able by that time to discard or demote even some of the collaborators who

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[3] Burakowski, *Dictatura*, p. 69.

[4] Mihai Bărbulescu et al., *Istoria României* [The History of Romania] (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998), pp. 502-509. The subchapter entitled *Munca forțată* [*Forced labor*].

[5] Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Stalinism pentru eternitate; o istorie politică a comunismului românesc* [Stalinism for eternity; a political history of Romanian communism], (Iași: Polirom, 2005), p. 251.

[6] Cristian Vasile, *Viața intelectuală și artistică în primul deceniu al regimului Ceaușescu*, [Intellectual and Artistic Life in the First Decade of Ceaușescu's Regime] (București: Humanitas, 2014), p. 30

[7] Bărbulescu et al., *Istoria României*, p. 537.

had facilitated his ascension. For example, such "victims" were Vasile Patilineț and Grigore Răduică, who, after working on the commission for the rehabilitation of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, could have become dangerous because they "knew too much".[8] Ceaușescu set out a scheme called *personnel rotation* (in original, "*rotația cadrelor*"), ensuring that no one became too strong or independent. Consequently, almost all of his collaborators from the Central Committee period ended up in unimportant positions.[9]

In July 1971, returning from a diplomatic visit to China and North Korea, Ceaușescu presented the famous *July Theses*, which would lead to a cultural revolution in the country. This maneuver was rendered possible because of Romania's stronger diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China, who wanted to gather information about the situation of the Warsaw Pact.[10] Romania's goal was to obtain the role of mediator between the United States, China and the USSR. In fact, many of the socialist countries pursued this diplomatic international position.[11] After returning from the Asian countries, Ceaușescu underlined that Beijing leaders could proudly claim that everything was produced by them in their country.[12] The leader from Bucharest was looking to emulate this Eastern model. The July Theses set out more clearly the break-up at the declarative level with the Soviet Union and a pursuit of strengthening the national character of the state.[13] Ceaușescu wanted to implement this Cultural Revolution in a more subtle way, by persuading his own population and without making an enemy out of USSR. He tried to preserve appearances and resorted to a double standard in his internal and external attitudes and affairs. He sought to abandon brutal and forceful actions, especially those specific to the so-called *obsessive decade* – this syntagm refers to the 1950s and represents a metaphor forged by Ceaușescu's propaganda – and to promote his ideas so that they would be voluntarily accepted by the population and nomenclature. This liberalization in all areas of activity, and especially in culture, was still closely supervised by the Party's ideologues.[14] In fact, the Administration just gave the impression of cultural and social liberty.

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[8] Burakowski, *Dictatura*, p. 217.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Mihai Croitor, *România și conflictul Sovieto-Chinez (1956-1971)* [Romania and the Sino-Soviet Conflict (1956-1971)], (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2014), p. 4.

[11] Burakowski, *Dictatura*, p. 178.

[12] București, ANIC, CC PCR Cancelarie DS 72/1971, *Stenograma ședinței Comitetului Executiv al CC al PCR din ziua de 25 iunie 1971* [Verbatim Report of the Executive Committee of the CC of the PCR on 25 June 1971], pp. 2-18.

[13] Katherine Verdery, *Compromis și rezistență: cultura română sub Ceaușescu*, (București: Humanitas, 1994), pp. 21-22.

[14] Burakowski, *Dictatura*, p. 101.

In order to promote these new Cultural policies, Ceauşescu also used the propagandistic potential of cinema. Officials in charge of cultural production sought to commission films on contemporary subjects, which should portray a prosperous Romania, and also historical films, which would assign Ceauşescu the position of heir to what in Romanian is known as "*românitate*" – meaning the Romanian character of the Romanian nation. Therefore, the Studios produced epic historical films like *Dacii* (*The Dacians*, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1967), *Columna* (*Trajan's Column*, Mircea Drăgan, 1968), *Mihai Viteazul* (*Michael the Brave*, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1971), *Nemuritorii* (*The Immortals*, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1974), *Vlad Țepeş* (*Vlad the Impaler: The True Life of Dracula*, Doru Nastase, 1979), *Mircea* (*Proud Heritage*, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1989) etc. These films speak about brave and patriotic indigenous historical leaders fighting against foreign enemies who wanted to alienate our native traditions and habits.[15]

At the borderline of these two cinematographic genres (contemporary, respectively historical subjects), an equally important one was born, characteristic of a totalitarian system that attacked previous values to validate its present, as compared to a condemned and condemnable past. This subgenre, which can be called the *investigation and proscription of the Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej regime*, lies on the border between historical and contemporary topics because it speaks about a past event but from a present point of view. These films try to depict negative moments from the previous regime in order to show that the Romanian nation is now living a better life and has to overcome fewer restrictions and persecutions.

This is why *The Power and The Truth* opened, both chronologically and as an ideological model, this subgenre of political films condemning the recent past. The film does not belong to the films on contemporary subjects because it talks about a past reality and it was conceived according to the exigencies of

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[15] A competent analysis of these movies is made by Aurelia Vasile, *Le cinéma roumain dans la période communiste. Représentations de l'histoire nationale* (Volume 1) [Romanian Cinema During the Communist Period. Representations of National History (Volume 1)], PhD Dissertation, Manuscript, Université de Bourgogne, UFR Sciences humaines. Université de Bucarest, Faculte d'Histoire, 2011. Vasile analyzes the films *Tudor*, *Dacii*, *Columna* and *Mihai Viteazul*.
Other authors who have written about historical films produced in communism are:
    Cristian Tudor Popescu, *Filmul surd în România mută. Politică şi propagandă în filmul românesc de ficţiune (1912-1989)* [The Deaf Film in Mute Romania. Politics and Propaganda in the Romanian Fiction Film (1912-1989)] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2011);
    Călin Căliman, *Istoria filmului românesc 1987-2000* [The History of Romanian Film (1897-2000)] (Bucureşti: Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 2000);
    Bogdan Jitea, *Dizidenţă şi conformism în cinematografia lui Nicolae Ceauşescu* [Dissidence and conformism in the cinema of Nicolae Ceauşescu], PhD Dissertation, Manuscript, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din Bucureşti, 2012.

a historical film, but this does not automatically include it among the historical epics, because its subject is too close to the present, a mere two decades before the 1970s, to truly give a sense of the historical past. This unique character turns *The Power and The Truth* into a serial head for this distinct, newly created genre. A strong argument in favor of this point of view is linked to the fact that some other films with the same purpose of accusing the Dej regime would be produced in the following years: *Clipa* (*The Moment*, Gheorghe Vitanidis, 1979), *Orgolii* (*Hubris*, Manole Marcus, 1980), *O lumină la etajul zece* (*The Light on the Tenth Floor*, Malvina Urşianu, 1984), *Imposibila iubire* (*Impossible Love*, Constantin Vaeni, 1984).

Assembling the Power and the Truth

A cinematic tale such as *The Power and The Truth*, dedicated to Party life, inside which some (past) official practices are highlighted and criticized, was completely unthinkable before 1965, during Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's ruling of the country. But when Nicolae Ceauşescu came to power, things slightly changed. There were several reasons why the new Prime-Secretary wanted such a movie.

First, *The Power and The Truth* could be a fruitful source of incriminating various abusive practices ordered by Dej along with certain other officials. At the same time, Ceauşescu could validate, by comparison, his own attitude and image as a progressive leader interested in publicly debating the Party's failures and trying to overcome them. At the same time, *The Power and The Truth* opened this new genre in Romanian cinematography, that is to say the "political film", which created the illusion of freedom of expression in a society normally stifled by silence where such topics, i.e. politics were forbidden.

At official level, the preparation of this project began no later than 1968.[16] In the report prepared for the meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (P.C.R.) on May 23, there was a script entitled "Road without detours" (in original, "*Drum fără ocoluri*").[17] The story was written by Titus Popovici and Francisc Munteanu and was to be directed by the latter. In the project sheet, we can identify details of the narrative of *The Power and The Truth*. But at that moment (1968), the project

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[16] We say "no later than", because the idea might have been planted even earlier in the minds of the new political decision-makers led by Nicolae Ceauşescu. We have reason to believe that, in fact, Ceauşescu wanted this film right from the first days as Prime-Secretary, since he set up the Commission for the rehabilitation of Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu a few weeks after taking over power.

[17] Bucureşti, ANIC, CC PCR Cancelarie DS 88/1968, *Stenograma şedinţei Comisiei ideologice a CC al PCR din ziua de 23 mai 1968* [The Verbatim of the Meeting of the CC of the CC of the 23rd May 1968 Ideological Commission], p. 204.

had not reached its full grandiose scale. Things would escalate, its importance would increase and the director appointed to sign it would change, as we shall see in 1971-1972. Initially, in 1968, the film seems to have been narratively poorer and more ideologically schematized: it only considered the brief presentation of the path trod by a communist, "from a simple activist, in 1944, to the secretary of a county committee, in our time",[18] a fact which allowed "the outlining of an ample picture of the development of socialist Romania".[19] Although the objective of this project was indeed a political one, the 1968 version of the film did not benefit from a powerful and conflictual narrative, being rather lifeless and too conventional. At the same time, there were no critical references to the Dej regime, because the narrative was kept neutral, while it sedately followed the development of an activist's career. In the form to be presented four years later, *The Power and The Truth* contained not only extra tension, but even serious polemics and accusations against the previous regime. From a purely expositive narrative about the development of socialism during the first two decades in Romania, the Popovici-Marcus creative couple would be able to build a wide-ranging political debate. It is important, however, to note that, from the very beginning, this project was intended to be made in a "wide-screen, color"[20] format, according to the 1968 report. This attests the importance of the project for the officials, who seemed to invest a lot of hope in *The Power and The Truth*. Probably, the change and radicalization of their attitude and views, regarding Dej, occurred while acknowledging the need to validate their own regime and following their increased political power. However, in order to validate themselves, the authorities understood they must dissociate themselves in a very concrete way from Gheorghiu-Dej's regime – not just by ignoring past events, but also by confronting them publicly.

Half a year after the meeting of the C.C. of P.C.R. on May 23, this project was further developed. On January 29, 1969, during a formal meeting held at the top of P.C.R., politicians such as Nicolae Ceauşescu, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Manea Mănescu, Leonte Răutu, Dumitru Popescu, Pompiliu Macovei and Ion Brad debated the possibility of actually producing this film. The meeting demonstrated the importance attributed to it. There was a moment during the conversation when, not fully convinced by the script written by Titus Popovici and Francisc Munteanu, Niculescu-Mizil took the floor and argued that such a subject required further debate inside the political apparatus, suggesting that it was something that went beyond

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[18] Bucureşti, ANIC, CC PCR Cancelarie DS 88/1968, *Stenograma şedinţei*, p. 204.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

cinematography and artists' area of competence.[21] Ion Brad and Dumitru Popescu supported this position, explaining that scriptwriters had tried indeed to respect the historical truth, which is why they should be appreciated, but their approach was incorrect or rather inaccurate, so they would have to work some more on the subject. Niculescu-Mizil was not very specific when he asserted his opinion, but we can think that in fact the inaccuracy he mentioned was related to the fact that the script did not render the events in the way the new power wanted them to be presented. Ceauşescu intervened and demanded that two moments had to necessarily be included in the film: the Comintern's interference in Romania's internal affairs led by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and the destruction, after the death of the Soviet leader, of a Stalin statue placed in Romania – as a symbolic gesture of defiance against Moscow's influence.[22] However, in the final version of the film, the two moments would not appear. This may mean – as historian Aurelia Vasile speculates[23] – that, at that moment Ceauşescu did not have the full powers that he would acquire later and that other politicians' opinion was as important as his.

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Filming for this production began in 1970. After a few months, its officials publicly announced the existence and importance of the film which was still to come. In *Cinema* magazine, issue 3/1971, *The Power and The Truth* was presented in an ample reportage[24] entitled "*A modern epopee*" – which evidently spoke about the grandeur of the film. The text expressed the delight that one could "finally" speak, here, in Romania, about "a political movie".[25] Director Manole Marcus shared his thoughts, but he seemed fairly cautious and careful, perhaps fearful of saying something which would not be in total agreement with the Party's position:

> "We make this film with passion because it's about our generation […] we see what was and is fundamentally positive, but also the negative aspects and the mistakes we have made."[26]

Marcus then continued by pointing out the historical and political importance of *The Power and The Truth*:

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[21] Aurelia Vasile, *Le cinéma roumain*, p. 188. *Apud* Bucureşti, ANIC, CC PCR Cancelarie DS 10/1969, *Stenograma şedinţei Secretariatului CC al PCR: 29 ianurie 1969* [Verbatim Report of the PCR CC Secretariat Meeting: Jan. 29, 1969], p. 34.

[22] We have not been able to identify what statue it is or where it was located. Bucureşti, ANIC, CC PCR Cancelarie DS 10/1969, *Stenograma şedinţei Secretariatului CC al PCR: 29 ianurie 1969* [Verbatim Report of the PCR CC Secretariat Meeting: Jan. 29, 1969], p. 34.

[23] Aurelia Vasile, *Le cinéma roumain*, p. 189.

[24] *Cinema* magazine, 3/1971: 4-7.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

> "[...] the film will be presented in the year we celebrate the 50th anniversary of our Communist Party. It will have more of a romantic character but also a strongly realistic one."[27]

Here, Marcus succeeded in doing two things at the same time: under the guise of a contradiction (would the film be elusive or accurate, we can't tell from his statement), he was really trying not to fully compromise himself by a very positive speech regarding the film and its subject. Marcus cautiously adopted a rather sober, neutral and vague attitude. He concluded with a remark that tended to explain the position of the Party rather than his own, a position he accepted mechanically, although perhaps he did not believe in it:

> "We do not have «negative characters» and «positive characters» in this film. In a way, everyone is right, though not always. However, there are no demonic characters. Even those who are seriously mistaken have good intentions. They all came out very pure from the bourgeois prison, with the ardent desire to do everything until the end of their lives, to succeed in the idea of justice and freedom to which they had already given their youth."[28]

Again, we can see in Marcus' words the fear of committing political errors: he chose a negation ("We do not have") instead of promoting the film through an affirmation.[29] The director, perhaps unconsciously, mentioned the negative character in the first place. When he first alluded to the "negative" characters, we can speculate that he did not have a good opinion about them and, in fact, of the whole political system presented in *The Power and The Truth*. But because a certain position was imposed on him, he tried to believe in his heroes and absolved them of any faults. He explains their mistakes through a perhaps insane, but pure desire of doing everything in a very short time. So the only thing that could be imputed to an abusive and brutal leader like Pavel Stoian was not being too organized, but rather politically unprepared, therefore making serious errors of judgment. By adopting this neutrality, director Manole Marcus did not fall into total submissiveness, but managed to maintain himself in the sphere of the professional carrying out a contract without wanting to thoroughly evaluate his superiors' arguments and hidden agenda. He could always say, in his defense, that he was just a soldier following orders.

Ideology

The special attention paid by the Communist Party to *The Power and The Truth* was interrelated to its sociopolitical and cinematographic mission.

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[27] Ibid.

[28] *Cinema* magazine, 3/1971: 4-7.

[29] Because the statement would have sounded like this: "we have only ambiguous, indecisive, opportunistic characters in this film…" which would have not worked well for the regime.

This film had to set an example for society as well as for filmmakers who would continue to make thematically similar films.

That is why the assembly of these new Powers and Truths had to be perfect. The formula was simple: one took the most credible and well-known actors, engaged a capable director without any trace of dissenting or uncooperative personal ambitions, Manole Marcus, and chose the best political scriptwriter, Titus Popovici, who was also a man of the Party:[30] loyal and interested in achieving a good social position. If Popovici was at that moment one of the Party's house writers – with novels such as *Străinul* (The Stranger) or *Setea* (The Thirst) and with scripts for successful movies like *La Moara cu noroc* (*The Mill of Good Luck*, Victor Iliu, 1957), *Valurile Dunării* (*The Danube Waves*, Liviu Ciulei, 1959), *Setea* (*Thirst*, Mircea Drăgan, Mihai Iacob, 1960), *Străinul* (*The Stranger*, Mihai Iacob, 1964), *Pădurea spânzuraților* (*The Forest of the Hanged*, Liviu Ciulei, 1965), *Dacii* (*The Dacians*, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1967), *Columna* (*Trajan's Column*, Mircea Drăgan, 1968), *Mihai Viteazul* (*Michael the Brave*, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1971) –, Marcus registered fewer achievements in the eyes of the Authority up until that point, having had a rather tumultuous start in his cinematographic career. In 1957, more than a decade before this moment, he should have debuted with a feature entitled *Viața nu iartă* (*Life Doesn't Spare*), but the film was harshly censored and it was released in cinemas only two years after its preproduction, in 1959.[31] Once this event was over, he seems to have left aside any sensitive subjects and took refuge in topics accepted by the Party. *Nu vreau să mă-nsor* (*I Don't Want to Get Married*, 1960), *Cartierul veseliei* (*The District of Gaiety*, 1964) or *Canarul și viscolul* (*The Canary and the Snowstorm*, 1969) would give him the status of an introspective director, sensitive to the psychological traits of his characters, but at the same time a non-polemical professional who worked with what he was offered and did not resort to extravagant gestures which could be against the Party's wishes. This adaptable spirit, combined with artistic talent, seem to have represented the main reasons why Marcus got the chance to direct *The Power and The Truth*. He was an experienced filmmaker who knew how to delicately introduce ethical debates and political polemics in his works.

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In chronological order, the narrative of *The Power and The Truth* begins when Romania fought in the Second World War and was led by Marshal Ion

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[30] Anca Vladislav-Mihuț (Hassoun), *TITUS POPOVICI. Studiu monografic (Prozatorul și periculosul joc al extremelor)* [TITUS POPOVICI. Monographic Study (The Author and the Dangerous Game of Extremes)], PhD Dissertation, Manuscript, Facultatea de Istorie și Filologie, Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918", Alba Iulia, 2016.

[31] Valerian Sava, *Noul Cinema* issue 4/1993. Mircea Mureșan is also talking about this episode in an interview he gives in *Cinema* magazine, 7/1968: 12-13.

Antonescu along with the Legionary Movement. This means that the narrative takes place somewhere between the end of 1940 and the beginning of 1941. For the Communists, this contrast is opportune and favorable. They used the negative symbolism of the extreme right to validate their own actions. In this way, the suggestion is that they have taken the power from a handful of criminals for the good of the Romanian people. The story of the film continues for more than two decades until the end of the 1960s and includes significant moments such as the arrival of the Soviet Army in Romania, the full takeover of power by the Communists in 1948, the expulsion of King Mihai I, the nationalization of private property, all presented as accomplishments for the country. There are some references – some clearer and some pretty vague – allowing spectators to pinpoint various events within the given chronological span.

If we think of the historical context of the period, we can assume that the heroes of the film are references to the real characters of the time: Duma is Nicolae Ceauşescu, Stoian is Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, and Petrescu is Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu,[32] executed in 1954 at Dej's orders. As we already pointed out, Pătrăşcanu was a top member of the Romanian Workers' Party (P.M.R.) until 1948. Back then, a young Ceauşescu didn't have so much political power and was yet to gain decisional capacities. Pătrăşcanu's ordeal began with the loss of his seat in the Central Committee at the P.M.R. Congress without being allowed to speak to defend himself,[33] after which he was imprisoned, interrogated and questioned for six years and eventually executed by gunfire at Jilava penitentiary, far away from the public's knowledge.[34]

For *The Power and The Truth*, Pătrăşcanu's case is very important. The story works selectively with the historical facts. Duma (Ceauşescu) was no longer just in the middle of the political hierarchy, but instead had a key

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[32] Maria Neagu, 'Tovarăşa a murit, dar personajul Elena Ceauşescu trăieşte. Ipostaze inedite în filme, cărţi, piese de teatru' [The Comrade died, but Elena Ceauşescu's character lives. Unexpected aspects in movies, books, theater plays], *Historia*, 180/2017 (https://www.historia .ro/sectiune/general/articol/tovarasa-a-murit-dar-personajul-elena-ceausescu-traieste-ipostaz e-inedite-in-filme-carti-piese-de-teatru), accessed on January 21, 2019.

[33] Presidential Commission for the Analysis of Communist Dictatorship in Romania (chair of the committee: Vladimir Tismăneanu), *Raport Final* [Final Report], (Bucureşti, 2006), p. 52 (https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/RAPORT%20FINAL_%20CADCR.pdf), accessed on January 21, 2019.

[34] *Raport Final*, p. 163: "Meetings of the Military Tribunal, chaired by the famous General Alexandru Petrescu, are secret, and at the meeting of November 10, 1954 he sentences everyone to death. On 17 December 1954, at Jilava, Eugen Ţurcanu and 15 other convicts are executed in the same batch. On June 22, 1955, also in Jilava, Puşcaşu Vasile is executed from the same batch, while the sentences of Ţanu Popa, Voinea Octavian and other convicts are commuted to «hard labor for life»." It is important to note that the sessions had been secret during the 50s, then they were declassified and the information was available for the public.

position, namely Pavel Stoian's (Gheorghiu-Dej) right hand. Therefore, he protested against the abuse directed at Petrescu (Pătrăşcanu) and fought until the truth came to light and was accepted by Stoian, who thus resigned and allowed Duma (along with the new generation) to take over the power and to improve the system's inaccuracies.

As already noted, Ceauşescu became a member of the Central Committee (C.C.) of the Romanian Workers' Party (P.M.R.) in 1952, and on April 19, 1954 he was also appointed as the secretary of the C.C. and a supplant member of the Political Bureau. This date (19 April) is extremely important because Pătrăşcanu was executed on April 17,[35] two days earlier. This seems to absolve Ceauşescu, but only from a bureaucratic perspective, of any official involvement in that trial. The new Prime-Secretary could argue that Pătrăşcanu started to be persecuted when he was too young and that he was therefore not experienced enough to oppose such abuse. That is why Ceauşescu used, both symbolically and in a concrete way, the assassination of Pătrăşcanu, which he attributed to politicians slightly older and better positioned – in relation to the USSR – at that time, such as Alexandru Drăghici, Emil Bodnăraş, Chivu Stoica and Gheorghe Apostol. Ceauşescu used these kinds of details to downgrade Party members like Drăghici, Bodnăraş, Stoica or Apostol, who would slowly lose their political power and position.

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In *The Power and The Truth*'s narrative, the **engineer** (Petrescu), who borrows the **lawyer**'s (Pătrăşcanu) intellectual status, is not executed – like in the real event –, but instead gets a much easier sentence. He is imprisoned for a few years, after which Stoian offers his sincere apologies, admitting in front of his colleagues that he failed in leading the country and therefore retires into the shadow of Duma, a more objective and fair leader.

In this fiction, the punishment remains at the level of detention, for capital punishment would be too difficult to bear on the shoulders of communism, even if it would be attributed to the previous (and abusive) system. This means that past actions are presented in a softened way. They become less serious, less harsh. This is because the Party did not want to compromise, but just to suggest that certain things from the past – serious but not too serious – have meanwhile been removed and they were no longer happening. At the same time, another idea occurs: if Ceauşescu participated – by not opposing it – in the elimination of Pătrăşcanu, Duma, his alter ego in the film, initiates the rehabilitation of Petrescu's image, an action by which Ceauşescu does not completely excuse himself, because it would be too much, but he morally dissociates himself from the event. It is as if he's saying he

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[35] Burakowski, *Dictatura*, p. 98.

didn't want that to happen, but he could not do anything at that moment, so he acts now on behalf of Pătrăşcanu's memory.

Between the moments of the takeover of power by the Communists in Romania, led here by Stoian, and the ceding of the Prime-Secretary position to Duma – a time span of roughly two decades –, *The Power and The Truth* thoroughly presents the polemics born inside the Party and some of the retrograde mentalities that governed it. We can observe this permanent confrontation between two concepts, portrayed by Stoian and Duma respectively, who would change their attitude towards one another. If, at the beginning Stoian is an example to Duma, who expresses his feelings both openly and by little gestures (2:16:55: "You know that you were an idol for me, a stupid word, but that's what you were, I wanted to be like you, to walk like you, to think like you, to laugh like you."), at the end Stoian loses his leadership aura, because of the mistakes he made.

The two men's physical and psychological individualities are not schematized at all by scriptwriter Titus Popovici. Stoian is a sensitive, but at the same time contradictory man, an unpredictable and insidious beast, who is however capable of affection and friendship. Through this characterological artifice, Popovici manages to achieve two goals.

First of all, he humanizes the protagonist, who slowly becomes an antagonist. Stoian can always hide behind the fact that he is not a bad man and that, although his methods were wrong, he did it only because he didn't understand communism well and because he was poorly informed and advised – we can speculate and add that perhaps also because Moscow's influence dictated certain actions. Otherwise, Stoian has rightly applied the socialist ideology, but, because he did it in a wrong way, he agreed to renounce the power and acknowledged the truth.

Secondly, because of Stoian's complex and contradictory character – because of the fact he was a sentimental person – the public had to forgive him. Scriptwriter Titus Popovici knew how to calibrate the story in this specific way. A good, hearty man who likes interwar sentimental Romanian music[36] (in original, this musical genre is named "*romanțe*" and it is still very

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[36] At Duma's wedding with Ana (Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu), Pavel Stoian is eager to listen to an old vinyl instead of the socialist songs his comrades usually prefer. It's the famous and so melancholic, as if it came from another time, "Zaraza": "When you come out in the park, lily petals surround you around. / You have sweet passions and shines of sin in your eyes / And you have a feline snake body… " (original: „Când apari señorita, în parc pe-nserat / Curg în juru-ţi petale de crin. / Ai în ochi patimi dulci şi luciri de păcat / Şi ai trupul de şarpe felin…"). Stoian has a bourgeois startle (doubled by the previous remark, to Petrescu: you have to savor the cognac, not to drink it all at once, as his Party colleague does). We can see that Stoian is living the moment and therefore invites Ana to dance, kissing her on the mouth, half like a parent and half like a lover, with lust and desire.

popular) and wants to do everything in one day, an idealist, but at the same time a person who did not fully understand what communism means and therefore has to step back.

There is even at least a third purpose in the contradictory character of Stoian: once Duma noticed and understood his former superior's mistakes, he would be able to avoid them and history would not repeat itself. Stoian wanted too much to make Romania go beyond its unique label as *Europe's Granary*. He sought to develop the heavy industry, but did it chaotically and without planning (1:12:47 - 1:13:50, Stoian claims the following: "We have been for too long just shepherds and farmers. Now we either build or crack. This construction is as necessary as air and water."[37]). Stoian's words are partly confirmed by official statistics from that period, according to which a strategy had been implemented in Romania to increase the population employed in industry and to reduce the segment of population employed in agriculture. The population employed in industry increased from 19.2% in 1960 to 30.6% in 1975, and the working class in Communist Romania (including foremen) increased from 23.7% of the total population in 1956 to 39.9 % in 1966 and 54.3% in 1977. In absolute numbers, official data showed an increase from 2 212 500 in 1960, to 3 018 700 in 1965 and 4 089 100 in 1972.[38] In theory, nothing is wrong with Stoian's ambitions. But wanting everything at once is unachievable and dangerous. He had no patience, compared to Duma and the technocrat Petrescu, who emphasizes that this strategy cannot be applied at the moment. It is also the opinion of another technocrat, economist Hauser, who dared to warn Stoian that the building site would no longer receive funding, since it was "unprofitable", a term for which the Prime-Secretary promptly admonishes him (2:07:40): "Eeeh, I hear a new word, profitability. Listen, young man, this little word is taken out of the bourgeois vocabulary!".

The forced industrialization of the country was the dream that Stoian did not allow anyone to deny him, which made him use terror instead of arguments. This desire for industrialization would also be in Ceauşescu's agenda. But the film emphasizes the fact that, despite Stoian's good intentions, the context of Dej's government did not justify or allow the implementation of such a plan, while Ceauşescu's coming to power coincided with a new context, favorable to industrialization. This lack of reason defines Stoian. He is presented as a man without vision who did not tolerate qualified professionals in those areas of activity, he wanted to seize only for himself. When professionals brought arguments, they displeased him and therefore he

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[37] The construction Stoian is talking about is a huge dam, important for the economy of the country, because it would produce energy.

[38] *Raport final*, p. 348.

categorically refused them. Under these circumstances, Petrescu's friendly remark, "the enthusiasm of the masses, without scientific analysis, can lead to adventure", which emphasised Stoian's megalomania, became an unbearable insult which the Prime-Secretary could not tolerate. He would use his influence in the Party apparatus to turn Petrescu into a proved imperialist traitor and ultimately to punish him. This coincides with the moment when the film presents, but in a very moderate and vague key, the methods used by Romanian *Securitate* (Department of State Security): the lamp in the eye of the accused (1:51:10), a scene with symbolic connotation. Petrescu's investigation is alluded to only at this single suggestive level. Marcus and Popovici could not rebuild in full the operating methods of the State agents because this would probably be too daring and would not be in line with the will of the political decision-makers, who wanted to admonish their predecessors, but in a controlled way. Obviously, as the action of the film develops, it is demonstrated that Petrescu was framed by Stoian, who was too disturbed by his former colleague's attitude, so he decided that he had to punish him, regardless of the risks and even though he had not erred ideologically, but strictly personally.

> 1:59:40: "Have you ever seen Mr. Petrescu repent, ignoring his intellectual pride?! We are surrounded by enemies! Objectively, Petrescu behaved like an enemy and I treated him as such. He has to learn a lesson. He's going to be for some time where he belongs, he's going to put a little effort with the pickax, and then we'll see."

These are Stoian's words, which reflect an oppressive and merciless attitude. When Duma understood the situation, their rupture was unavoidable and irreversible. This narrative structuration of Duma gradually abandoning the loyalty he felt for Stoian is based on the cyclic repetition of *event-meeting-reaction*, which at each new occurrence adds more gravity to the general situation. Every such *event-meeting-reaction* triangle justifies Duma's changing position and further discredits Stoian. Director Manole Marcus and scriptwriter Titus Popovici understood that *The Power and The Truth* must be a very clear film with an easily understandable message, for everyone, regardless of their intellectual training. The story had to be communicated directly, without sophistication. Marcus and Popovici were not interested in poetic artefacts, but wanted a simple narrative with compelling ideas. That's why Stoian would admit that he was wrong and had to reinstate Petrescu in his rights. This helped Stoian leave the scene in an honorable way. It does not matter that the reality was different and Pătrăşcanu died.

Near the construction site, Duma's boy enters the frame, screaming "uncle Pavel" (in original, the term is "*nene* Pavel", which means something closer to an *old uncle*), who is no longer a comrade, but a simple "*nene*", a simple

retired politician, who understood in time that he must give the power to those more qualified. It's the symbol of a bright future, based on a falsified story. But a (hi)story in accordance with the political will of the late 60s, told very competently, in order to be understood, believed and accepted.

Promoting, marketing

One year after the 1971 reportage made during filming, *Cinema* magazine published – in issue 2/1972 – some more materials about *The Power and The Truth*. Information regarding the film and its purpose had to reach the population as quickly as possible, right before its national public release. In this February issue, we find two reviews, signed by Mircea Alexandrescu and Ecaterina Oproiu, and a collective article signed by politicians, such as Valter Roman,[39] scriptwriters, like Ioan Grigorescu,[40] Mihnea Gheorghiu[41] and directors, for instance Malvina Urşianu.[42] All these materials seem and seek to indicate that the film must be seen as a political manifesto.

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[39] Valter Roman was born in Oradea in 1913; his real name was Ernő Neuländer. He was a member of the Slovak Communist Party from 1931 and then part of all the Romanian Communist organizations until his death in November 1983. In the early years of the '70s, when *The Power and The Truth* was presented to the public, he was director of the Political Publishing House and member of the National Scientific Research Council. He is the father of the famous Romanian post-communist politician, Petre Roman.

[40] Ioan Grigorescu was a writer and publicist, the most significant part of his work representing a volume of journalism and travel reports worldwide. In cinematography, he wrote scripts for mediocre films, such as the *Canarul şi Viscolul* (*The Canary and the Snowstorm*, Manole Marcus, 1969), *Explozia* (*The Poseidon Explosion*, Mircea Drăgan, 1973), *Cuibul salamandrelor* (*Oil*, Mircea Drăgan, 1976), *Acţiunea "Autobuzul"* (*A bus for death*, Virgil Calotescu, 1978), *Un echipaj pentru Singapore* (*A Crew to Singapore*, Nicu Stan, 1981), *Ringul* (*The Ring*, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1984). After 1989 he continued to work with Sergiu Nicolaescu and wrote the script for *Începutul adevărului* (The Mirror, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1994), through which the well-known Romanian director tries to discern in front of history and to create a positive image of Marshal Ion Antonescu.

[41] Consiliul Naţional pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securităţii, *Membrii CC al PCR 1945-1989. Dicţionar* [CC members of the 1945-1989 PCR. Dictionary] (Bucureşti: CNSAS, 2004), p. 292. At that time, Mihnea Gheorghiu had for quite a short time finished his job as president of the Council of Cinematography and vice president of the State Committee for Culture and Art (1963-8 April 1968); from June 1, 1966, he also held the position of member of the State Prize Committee and was a member of the National Council of Romanian Radio and Television (March 9, 1971).

[42] Malvina Urşianu is a case of intellectual who tried to make as few compromises as she could and yet to receive permission to direct. She was born on June 19, 1927, in a boyar family in Guşoieni, Vâlcea. Her elders studied in Paris, they were part of the 1848 generation, and her grandfather was a senator and the founder of Department of International Law in Romania. Malvina Urşianu studied Art History not to become a curator – this was a profession she hated – but only because she felt the need to step into cinema on solid grounds (https://www.cotidi anul.ro/in-memoria-unei-mari-doamne-a-ecranului-malvina-ursianu/), accessed on February 21, 2018.

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In the collective article, "What's your opinion",[43] Valter Roman, a politician, had the most interesting intervention. Roman, a militant of the left in the interwar period, when he fought in Spain on the side of the Republicans, had been forced to withdraw from political life in the early years of Romanian Communism until the early1950s when Gheorghiu-Dej rehabilitated him, appointing him as director of the Party's Publishing House, an office he kept (along with being a Central Committee member) until his death in 1983.[44] He will be therefore remembered as part of a limited and exclusive group of activists who survived all stages of Communism in Romania. Roman's intervention is the longest in this article. He started enthusiastically and said: "Finally a film. THE FILM!"[45]. His rhetoric is simple. By using capital letters when speaking of "THE FILM" *The Power and The Truth*, we see how a man of the system promoted this project as the one made once in a generation, which is capable of changing mentalities. Such exaggerated statements, repeated enough times, became acceptable and accepted by a nation that was forbidden to have or hear another opinion. The lack of measure continued, when Roman called *The Power and The Truth* "Europe's most important political film after the war".[46] What were his arguments when he asserted this, asked Valter Roman in a rhetorical exercise:

> "[…] the intimate and profound message of this film: where there is a concordance between power and truth, our socialist society looks the way our classics dreamed of us, as we all of us wanted. When there is a divorce between power and truth, one gets to these human dramas presented in Titus Popovici's film, with force and great sense of balance."[47]

It does not even matter that the movie was signed by Manole Marcus. Popovici was the more resounding name, he was the inside man, anyhow more than Marcus, who could not compete with Popovici's status as the Party's most prominent and valued writer.[48] Valter Roman continued his

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[43] 'Puterea şi adevărul – Ce părere aveţi?' [The Power and The Truth – What is your opinion?], *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.

[44] *Raport Final*, p. 45.

[45] 'Puterea şi adevărul – Ce părere aveţi?', *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] After the successes of the 1950s and 1960s, Popovici also contributed decisively to the Romanian socialist culture of the next two decades, with script for films like *Atunci i-am condamnat pe toţi la moarte* (*Then I Sentenced Them All to Death*, Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1972), *Actorul şi sălbaticii* (*The Actor and the Savages*, Manole Marcus, 1975), *Pe aici nu se trece* (*No Trespassing*, Doru Năstase, 1975), *Operaţiunea Monstrul* (*Operation Monster*, Manole Marcus, 1976), the Western series with Transylvanian people, *Ion: Blestemul pamîntului, blestemul iubirii* (*Ion: The Lust for the Land, the Lust for Love*, Mircea Mureşan, 1979), *Secretul lui Bachus* (*The Secret of Bacchus*, Geo Saizescu, 1984). He is probably the writer who most influenced the Romanian cinema of that era.

argumentation and made a plea for the notion of truth, for the propagation of this truth, and for the superior quality of the actors chosen to appear in the film:

> "Everything must be done so that the power is in accordance with the truth. In the service of this great call, is the film of Titus Popovici, whose glory was provided by the exceptional director Manole Marcus and five giants of the interpretation: Albulescu, Besoiu, Pellea, Cotescu, and Vrabie, of whom, in my opinion, the first two would deserve the highest possible distinction (worldwide) for interpretation."[49]

We see, once again, Roman forcing the truth. Albulescu and Besoiu are regarded as world-class actors, but this assessment comes only from within the country and has thus no value because it is not validated by any external recognition.

In the same collective article,[50] Ioan Grigorescu, the scriptwriter of some modest films of the period,[51] suggests that *The Power and The Truth* brought "here, finally, a film able to be evoked when talking about the birth of the long-awaited Romanian film school".[52] Then he praised Popovici and Marcus, about the latter saying that he has a vocation for political film and that he has "demonstrated through his whole creation that politics and art are notions that can merge with success in a work based above all on talent, on daring, on unswerving consciousness that, in Romanian cinema, we have something to say, something that is uniquely ours".[53] Grigorescu was quite clear when he associated art and politics, a position also found in Nicolae Ceauşescu's speeches. At the same time, we can observe the obsession for *our work*, the claim that *we* too – that is, *us*, the Romanians – can create at the highest level. The public was asked to become almost an accomplice, but in a positive way, with the creators. Thus, the film became a national project.

In the same article,[54] screenwriter Mihnea Gheorghiu also offers the context in which this film started and praised the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party,[55], pointing out how important it was for unmasking certain

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[49] 'Puterea şi adevărul – Ce părere aveţi?', *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Until that moment, Ioan Grigorescu had written only one feature film script for *Canarul şi viscolul* (*The Canary and the Snowstorm*, 1969), directed by Manole Marcus. We can speculate that Grigorescu had somehow returned Marcus's favor, when he accepted to write eloquently about *The Power and The Truth*.

[52] 'Puterea şi adevărul – Ce părere aveţi?', *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Vladimir Tismăneanu (Jurnalul Naţional, 23 iulie 2005) http://jurnalul.ro/editorial/ceause scu-si-congresul-al-ix-lea-al-pcr-40725.html, accessed at January 21, 2019. At this Ninth Congress, the speakers insist on the importance of collective leadership and condemn the certain

past abuses. He praised "the attitude taken by our politicians against these sad circumstances known to many of us and which the Party's documents have presented and explained with great moral principledness".[56]

Malvina Urşianu concluded this collective article[57] and did it in an ambivalent way. A sober director, who has always argued that she has kept herself away from political games and has made her films as she felt, without propaganda and political indications, Urşianu considered that *The Power and The Truth* had "a script written by History and rewritten by Titus Popovici, with an impressive political responsibility and an incredible rigor".[58] This intervention can be seen on the one hand as consonant with the previous positions, but at the same time it can hide an ironic-dissident attitude towards the film, which – Urşianu seems to have suggested – presented a history **re**written by Popovici. That is, we are not talking about actual history, but of a re-interpreted, manipulated one.

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The critic Mircea Alexandrescu entitled his text "An ethical debate"[59] – a phrase with which he situated himself on the side of those who promoted the film as an essential work for a country which abandoned old ideological ideas and synchronized with the rest of the world, especially with the other socialist countries, but also with Western civilization, where remarkable movies were produced. This is a fact also recognized by the country's officials. For example, in the Ideological Commission meeting of May 23, 1968, Dumitru Popescu suggested that Romanian cinematography should make a model out of *Judgment at Nuremberg* (Stanley Kramer, 1961),[60] and Niculescu-Mizil proposed two other American projects, *Inherit the Wind* (Stanley Kramer, 1960) and *The Born Losers* (Tom Laughlin, 1967),[61], not before saying that in world cinema – not just the socialist one – the great films were the ones who fought for an ideology and for solving certain problems.[62]

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[56] of the Dej regime against communist personalities – not against the political and cultural elite of the country, or against the peasantry.

[56] 'Puterea şi adevărul – Ce părere aveţi?', *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Mircea Alexandrescu, 'Puterea şi adevărul – O dezbatere etică' [The Power and The Truth – An ethical debate], *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.

[60] Aurelia Vasile, *Le cinéma roumain*, p. 162. Apud Bucureşti, ANIC CC PCR Cancelarie DS 88/1968, *Stenograma şedinţei Comisiei ideologice a CC al PCR: 23 mai 1968* [The Verbatim of the Meeting of the CC of the CC of the 23rd May 1968 Ideological Commission], p. 72.

[61] Aurelia Vasile, *Le cinéma roumain*, p. 162. Apud *Stenograma şedinţei Comisiei ideologice a CC al PCR*, p. 87.

[62] Ibid., p. 88.

In his text, Alexandrescu made a series of *ethical* considerations about the film and regarding the previous decades, the 1950s and 1960s, two decades that he compared with the everyday reality of his time – we mean the beginning of the 1970s –, which he considered to be better. The author suggested that the abuses have been erased and the people had better lives. *The Power and The Truth*, argued the critic from *Cinema* magazine, "comes from us, out of our struggle, our joy, triumphs and pains, from our aspiration to consolidate a new social order",[63] being a project in which, stated Alexandrescu, "liberation is the crucial event"[64] from which it all starts. In the logic of this argumentation, the "working class takes over the power",[65] a salutary but difficult act that, opined the journalist, "calls for battle, abnegation, devotion, initiative and spirit of sacrifice",[66] attitudes and actions doubled by "the fierce fighting against any attempts of preventing this takeover",[67] concluded Alexandrescu his opening idea. With these words, Alexandrescu started a debate about the nuances of Communism as it was assumed by the leaders in Bucharest, pointing out that the *evil* (Dej) and the *good* (Ceauşescu) communist are different, not in the general view – both have been driven by the same Marxist principles and fought side by side for a common cause. The difference between them is the following: Duma-Ceauşescu had the honest ability "to translate into active thinking the conception of the world, the ability to adapt ideas to the realities",[68] whereas Stoian-Dej applied them criminally. Stoian and Duma were, according to Alexandrescu, "old combatants and old communists. The ideas unite them, their translation in facts, the way they apply them, their working methods, divide them day by day".[69] The author insists on this contrast between the two heroes and returns to it systematically: "the cause, the ideals, the goals are unequivocally the same, but the position of the characters is nuanced"[70] [over the passing of time]. Pavel Stoian "gradually evolves into a position of isolation, with his unilateral discretionary acts, unfiltered by the confrontation with those around him",[71] while comrade Duma is the only one who has the courage to confront and resist him. Their quarrels make Stoian accept reality, but only at the end, when evil has already been done. Alexandrescu also explains the double role of Duma. In a concrete way, he has the dramatic

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[63] Mircea Alexandrescu, 'Puterea şi adevărul – O dezbatere etică', *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

function of the hero who repairs the situation and has now stepped up to being the rightful leader of the country.[72] Furthermore, in a metaphorical way, suggested Alexandrescu, Duma is the one "who must remove those painful mistakes of the past in order to make possible the full application of the idea of socialist democracy and the truth of the revolution".[73]

In these paragraphs, the critic from *Cinema* magazine used the slogans of the moment in such a way that his text ca be situated at the border between film review and political lecture. At one point, he evoked the "golden distribution"[74] (an idea similar to that outlined by Valter Roman), which goes hand in hand with the sphere of Romanian exceptionalism and with the idea that *The Power and The Truth* is a great-great movie. Here is how a very carefully chosen *golden distribution* validated such a project. It's the kind of distribution gathered with great effort, the best actors – who can convince their public with their talent, presence, with the image that they created over time. It is the image of stars, but in a communist world where individualism is not allowed; they are stars indeed, but stars that rise above the common man's image not for their own sake, but for the socialist cause. They are those actors raised by the State, who invested in them, who kept them precisely for such a significant moment. They put themselves in the service of the system that created them and joined this generational project with which the authority wanted to move things in the right direction. This generation, of creators of the film, is the generation of Romanians born in the interwar period, but who have grown up amid the abuses that had happened during the *obsessive decade*. Therefore, they now truly believed in a better future that would eliminate the mistakes of the past. They were grateful that they were finally allowed to complain about the system. They could condemn it. They were allowed to openly remember past events that were wiped out of collective memory in the moment they occurred. Self-criticism was deployed in order to achieve a contrast: **back then** the situation was bad, but **now** it's good. The secret of the movie's triumph lies precisely in its **convincing** character and the ability to persuade by manipulating the events. *The Power and The Truth* wanted to **convince** its public. It had to do so. This was its purpose. That's why it was produced. It did not even matter that a contradiction was created: why did a film that was allegedly organic, that was presumed to come naturally, which was born out of necessity, need to be rendered convincing, since things were supposed to be just as the script presented them. The film, viewed without knowing the historical context, can

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[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

indeed be convincing. And Alexandrescu's text presented the way it had to be *properly* received. These details, pinpointed by the author – like the fact that all of the heroes started with the same values, that they were friends and comrades, but they became opponents because of some principles –, were capable of certifying *The Power and The Truth* in the eyes of an inexperienced or innocent viewer and present Popovici as a fine and competent scriptwriter.

Mircea Alexandrescu concluded by noting that the audience reacted "with much sensitivity and maturity to the film made by Titus Popovici and Manole Marcus".[75] It is an idea on which Ecaterina Oproiu's argument was to be built, in her very suggestively entitled text "…the public's exam as well ".[76] If Alexandrescu was particularly interested in the ethical dimension of the film, Oproiu indicated the concrete relationship that must be established between the film and the public. The spectator was thus invited to become (if we use a somehow post-modernist term) a *spect-actor*.[77] The public also took an exam, suggested Oproiu: would he/she be able to accept this new reality, which had been hidden for so long at the official level? The abuses of the Dej period were not discussed during the Dej regime, so the discourse established by *The Power and The Truth* sought to update the historical paradigm and re-establish past events in accordance with the new political desire. Oproiu noted that *The Power and The Truth* "is a debate that does not fit – and does not even want to fit – into the perimeter of cinematography".[78] Let's remember it is the same idea Niculescu-Mizil had on January 29, 1969, during the formal meeting held at the top of P.C.R. But Oproiu tried not to completely compromise herself (like all the cultural actors linked to this film: Manole Marcus, even Alexandrescu, Malvina Urşianu etc.) and addressed the issue in such a way that her discourse, very likely commissioned by the power, was rendered less inappropriate than it could have been, considering the situation. Aware of

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[75] Ibid.

[76] Ecaterina Oproiu, 'Puterea şi adevărul – …şi un examen al publicului' [The Power and The Truth – a public's exam as well], *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.

[77] Brazilian writer Augusto Boal proposed in the 1970s this term, spect-actor, in the context of setting up the so-called Theater of the Oppressed. This is a type of theater that uses interactive techniques of co-opting the public in the artistic creation process. In this context, the spect-actor is also a spectator and an actor, and may be part of an invisible theater that he is not aware of. This type of theater can also represent the daily life of the ordinary citizen. Boal argues that Aristotalian ethics is in fact the oppression of the masses in favor of the privilege of the ruling class. Boal points out that the State promotes the tragi-drama in order to perpetuate its own existence. He sees in governments a paradigmatic example of the power which subdues its population. If we take the example of *The Power and The Truth*, we can find the scheme proposed by Boal. The state commands a political film to further subdue its population, while it makes it believe that there is freedom of speech and the freedom to protest against abuses.

[78] Ecaterina Oproiu, 'Puterea şi adevărul – …şi un examen al publicului', *Cinema* magazine, 2/1972.

having to deliver the disguised lie in small doses, she stated that "it would be unfair to say that the discussion of the political film is starting now".[79] With this kind of affirmation, she tried to exculpate herself of some ideas she was about to formulate. According to the desire of the system, which Oproiu was forced to take notice of, *The Power and The Truth* was the political film that surpassed the ones before it and thus imposed new standards inside this cinematographic genre. Oproiu believed that the film proved "courage in its highest form"[80] because it tackled problems "in a frontal manner, discusses them, not whispering, but openly, from the stand, with a big, with an unusual and emotional frankness".[81] The author then continued: "The idea of [politically, n.n.] engaged art has never been more convincing"[82] and "the viewer has never been asked so convincingly to take part in the creating of a movie".[83] Oproiu took refuge behind the first person plural ("us" or "we") or simply behind impersonal formulations. At the same time, she also used a lot the term "*convincing*", like Alexandrescu. The film wanted, it demanded, and therefore would be convincing. It had to be convincing, intrinsically and then extrinsically, by promoting *The Power and The Truth* as a convincing film made by the leaders and members of a convincing system which were building a convincing world. That is why the author invited the public to go beyond its previous status and to understand the film by throwing their own talent in the game: "This film will be born through us, only through us, the public, through our capacity of understanding and participation. So far, we have talked about the talent of being a filmmaker. It's time to talk about the talent of being a spectator".[84]

Reverberations

The example of *The Power and The Truth* would be taken by other filmmakers and Studio directors, who would imagine and create films that would incriminate certain aspects of the social and political life during the Dej regime. Although none would rise to the size and grandeur of the film signed by Marcus and Popovici, these productions would be born in the process of validating Ceauşescu's regime. *Clipa* (*The Moment*, Gheorghe Vitanidis, 1979), *Orgolii* (*Hubris*, Manole Marcus, 1980), *O lumină la etajul zece* (*The Light on the Tenth Floor*, Malvina Urşianu, 1984), *Imposibila iubire* (*Impossible Love*, Constantin Vaeni, 1984) were all produced at a time when the economy and,

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

implicitly, the well-being of Romania began to suffer so much that the shortcomings could no longer be hidden. These films sought to recall the hardships and privations of the period before 1965 and could be taken as an alarm signal or a warning to the population, who should not complain because, otherwise, dark abusive times could always come back.

In official documents, *The Power and The Truth* was presented as a "substantial ethical debate".[85] This description is succinct, but extremely important. It has the role of positioning the film above other productions made at that time, simply because the others are not explicitly mentioned. *The Power and The Truth* is the most important cinematographic Romanian project of the early 1970s and, at the same time, an ideological model for the next political films to be made. For Romanian Communism, it remains a unique project that was born once in a generation.

This entire context, of making and promoting *The Power and The Truth*, retained the mechanism through which the authorities positively enhanced and influenced the public reception of a very important film for a generation that thought and even anticipated that the future could indeed be better. Half propaganda, half hope, *The Power and The Truth* opened the series of Romanian political films that investigated and proscribed the Dej regime, obtaining a contrast by which Ceauşescu's regime was a better, if not the best solution.

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[85] Cluj-Napoca, Biblioteca Centrală Lucian Blaga, Colecţii speciale, Fond Monica Maisner, DS 4, f. 9.

The 2000 Romanian Presidential Elections – between Populism and Europeanism[1]

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Abstract: In November 2000, ten years after the fall of the communist regime and the organization of the first free elections, the Romanian population was called to decide on the future president of the country. This was the first poll that took place after the transition between power and opposition, which took place in 1996, but also in the context of a serious economic crisis with considerable effects on living conditions, which marked the activity and political destiny of PNŢCD. The elections, especially the second round, proved to be representative not so much from the perspective of political options, but especially regarding the future of the country: open to Euro-Atlantic structures or isolated, oriented towards the former Soviet space. These visions were personalized by the two candidates, Ion Iliescu and Corneliu Vadim Tudor, and the present article analyses the electoral mechanisms the two tried to use in order to promote their platforms within a Romanian society marked by the economic recession, but also by a major moral and identity crisis.

Keywords: Elections, Electorate, Presidentialism, Europeanism, Populism, Crisis

Rezumat: În noiembrie 2000, la zece ani distanţă de la căderea regimului comunist şi de la organizarea primelor alegeri libere, populaţia din România a fost chemată să decidă cu privire la viitorul preşedinte al ţării. Acesta a fost primul scrutin care a avut loc după tranziţia între putere şi opoziţie, care s-a petrecut în 1996, dar şi în contextul unei grave crize economice cu efecte considerabile asupra condiţiilor de viaţă, care a marcat activitatea şi destinul politic al PNŢCD. Alegerile, mai ales al doilea tur de scrutin, s-au dovedit a fi reprezentative nu atât din perspectiva opţiunilor politice, dar mai ales în ceea ce priveşte viitorul ţării: deschis pentru structurile euro-atlantice sau izolat, orientat înspre spaţiul ex-sovietic. Aceste viziuni au fost personalizate de cei doi candidaţi, Ion Iliescu şi Corneliu Vadim Tudor, iar articolul de faţă analizează mecanismele electorale prin care cei doi au încercat să îşi

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promoveze platformele în cadrul unei societăți românești marcate de recesiunea economică, dar și de o importantă criză morală și identitară.

Cuvinte cheie: alegeri, electorat, prezidențialism, europenism, populism, criză

The context of the 2000 elections

After the success of the opposition parties in 1996, when Emil Constantinescu became the President of Romania and the Democratic Convention won, which meant that Ion Iliescu's political party[2] was defeated for the first time since the 1989 Romanian Revolution which led to the fall of communism, four years of political instability followed within the government coalition formed by the Democratic Convention,[3] the Social Democrat Union,[4] and the Democratic Union of Hungarians from Romania. To this situation, also contributed the economic crisis, as well as the unsuccessful Romanian foreign policy. The strategy of the parties in power was to apply a shock therapy to the economy, something that was never tried in Romania, and which meant fully liberalizing energy and food prices.[5] The unsatisfactory results of these policies began to be visible during 1997, by a 6.1% decrease in GDP, then by 4.78% in 1998. Inflation reached a new peak, reaching 154.8%, unemployment rose gradually to 11.8% in 1999, representing the highest level since the Revolution. The situation was aggravated by the increase in the number of retirees, through early retirement, so that in one year after the elections, the number of employees was exceeded by those who left the activity. This accumulation of indicators has led to a new economic crisis, felt more strongly than the one between 1990 and 1992.[6] The three governments that came into office – Victor Ciorbea, Radu Vasile and Mugur Isărescu – amplified even more the sensation of profound crisis in Romanian society, as the economic problems were boosted by the political ones.

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[2] Considered the successor of The Communist Party, after 1989 it was known as FSN – The National Salvation Front (1990-1992), FDSN – The National Salvation Democratic Front (1992-1996), PDSR – The Party of Socialist Democracy in Romania (since 1996).

[3] The main opposition coalition of parties, led by The Peasants National Party (PNȚCD).

[4] This was a coalition formed by FSN, which meanwhile became The Democratic Party (PSD) and The Romanian Social Democratic Party (PSDR). In the protocol signed by the leaders of the parties, Petre Roman and Sergiu Cunescu, it was mentioned that the two parties will have same candidates for both the local elections and the parliamentary ones, as well as a common candidate for the presidency.

[5] Florin Abraham, *Romania since the Second World War. A Political, Social and Economic History* (Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 162-163.

[6] Corneliu Iațu, *Atlasul electoral al României: 1990-2009* [Electoral atlas of Romania: 1990-2009] (Iași: Editura Universității Al. I. Cuza, 2013), p. 275.

Even the major foreign policy objective wasn't accomplished. During the Victor Ciorbea[7] Government, accession to NATO was presented by both the media and the authorities as a solution to all the problems of Romania, stating even the fact that the fate of the country was linked to the fulfilment of this goal. Because of the opposition from Germany, United Kingdom and the United States of America regarding the extension of the borders of the organisation to Eastern Europe, during the Madrid Summit of 1997, only the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland were invited to join NATO.

On November 8th 2000, the European Commission presented to the public a favourable report about the Romanian Governments between 1996 and 2000 where both the successes and failures of this period were revealed. Among the highlighted issues there were the government's political commitment to addressing the problem of institutionalized children, the fulfilment of short-term priorities assumed in the Accession Partnership in 1999, while still not enough efforts were made to facilitate access to education of the Rroma population, also regarding police demilitarization or the fight against corruption. From an economic point of view, the Commission referred to the decrease of the GDP in 1999 for the third consecutive year, to the fragility of the macroeconomic stabilization, the lack of attractiveness of the economic environment, the fact that despite the liberalization of prices, there have been cases in which the local government and regulatory agencies have maintained control over prices in areas such as services or utilities.[8] Also, according to another report, this time belonging to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Romania was the country with the least progress in reforms in Central and Eastern Europe. The analysis was based on problems such as frequent government changes and the discretionary application of various regulations, the lack of a unitary vision of ownership, the closure of some mines and the state's investments in non-profit enterprises and the slow rate of privatization.[9]

From the political point of view, during these four years, there were no special changes in the political archive. The main political formations were The Party of Social Democracy in Romania (PDSR), CDR – which was beginning to lose its support due to the failure of the governments and eventually it dissolved, its place being taken over by CDR 2000, a coalition of The Christian And Democratic National Peasant Party (PNȚCD) and a few

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[7] Even though Victor Ciorbea was voted the Mayor of Bucharest earlier that year, he was appointed, surprisingly, as the Prime-Minister by President Emil Constantinescu. He held this position between 1996 and 1998.

[8] 'Raportul Europei asupra României', *Adevărul*, nr. 3240, November 8, 2000, p. 10.

[9] 'România – țara cu cele mai mici progrese în reformă din Europa Centrală și de Est', *Adevărul*, nr. 3247, november 16, 2000, p. 1.

irrelevant parties, the Democratic Party (PD) – which rose in the polls, taking over the population dissatisfied with the Convention, The Great Romania Party (PRM) – which asserted itself as an important party due to the image of its leader, Corneliu Vadim Tudor and against the background of a general dissatisfaction of the population, the Alliance for Romania (ApR) – a party created by Iosif Boda and Teodor Melescanu who, after the 1996 elections, left the PDSR, adopting a social-liberal orientation. The main political event was represented by President Emil Constantinescu's announcement regarding his decision not to run for a new term, invoking his wish to continue the anti-corruption fight without the pressure of an electoral race. Along with the failure of the mandate, he also mentioned the most important success: „gaining the confidence of Europe and the world".[10]

Despite the fact that each candidate had to obtain over 300,000 signatures in order to register for the presidential race, no less than 16 candidates were present at the start of the race: Th. Stolojan (PNL), Ion Iliescu (PDSR), T. Meleşcanu (ApR), Mugur Isărescu (independent, supported by CDR 2000), Petre Roman (PD), György Frunda (UDMR), C.V. Tudor (PRM), Nicolae Cerveni (Liberal Democratic Party of Romania), Paul Philippe de Hohenzollern (National Renaissance Party), Ion Sasu (Labor Socialist Party), Elena Graţiela Bârlă (independent), Eduard Gh. Manole (independent).[11]

The result of the vote of November 26, 2000 was surprising, because the candidates who came in the second round were Ion Iliescu, a favourite of the elections and positioned likewise in the opinion polls, and Corneliu Vadim Tudor, who experienced an ascent during the election campaign, managing to surpass the candidates of the ruling coalition. Thus, the PDSR leader obtained 36.35% of the total number of votes, while the PRM leader received 28.34%. The significance of this result was particularly marked by referring to the image of Romania abroad, the elections being seen as an essential step for the country's integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures.

The campaigns of Ion Iliescu and Corneliu Vadim Tudor

During the campaign for the first round, the leader of the PRM promoted the restoration of a social and political order as points of his program which could only take place through the establishment of an authoritarian regime, which would have to be achieved through state institutions, such as the army, or the police. In this context, an episode highlighting the candidate's relations with the outside political personalities

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[10] Emil Constantinescu, *Timpul dărâmării, timpul zidirii, Vol. III, Lumea în care trăim*, (Bucureşt: Editura Universalia, 2002), pp. 869-872.

[11] M. D., 'S-au terminat înscrierile la BEC: 13 pentru Cotroceni', *Adevărul*, nr. 3230, October 27, 2000, p. 3.

is meaningful: a moment that drew attention to the political developments was his approach towards Jean-Marie Le Pen. The French politician laid the foundations of the European nationalist association EURONAT, to which the PRM also joined. Corneliu Vadim Tudor was also accused of relations with Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader at the time, as Vadim Tudor was his guest in Tripoli, on the occasion of the „International Youth Congress", which was said to have been a meeting of supporters of „Mathaba", a terrorist organization with anti-American and anti-Jewish views. In fact, the meetings between the two were acknowledged by the candidate himself.[12] The media was also concerned about the PRM members, some of them being members of the former Communist "Securitate" forces and others being even named „criminals".[13]

The possibility of a success of C.V. Tudor in the second round, perceived as a candidate with extremist speech, as we have shown above, determined the reaction of the international press, as well as the solidarity of Romanian politicians and public opinion against his project.

In this respect, the titles of articles published in the foreign press shortly after the results were announced are relevant. The German newspapers referred to the failure of the transition and the danger of the country's chances of integration into the European Union: „Die Welt" – *Romania's chances of integration into the EU and NATO are nearing to zero*. In the French newspapers the result was presented as a concern because of both candidates who reached the second round: „Liberation" – *The vote given to the neo-communists and the extreme right shows the failure of the transition*, „Le Nouveau Observateur" – *Romania's chances to enter the EU and NATO risks to move away*, „France Presse" – *Corneliu Vadim Tudor – Corneliu Zelea Codreanu*.[14] „France Presse" described Vadim Tudor's speech as „a boast with messianic

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[12] Ibid., 'Preşedintele PRM este un pericol major pentru ţară şi democraţie IV', *Ziua*, nr. 1961, November 23, 2000, available at http://www.ziua.net/display.php?data=2000-11-23&id=53 946, accessed at 30.10.2017.

[13] A few of the names and their positions: Dumitru Badea (Senator in the Neamţ County), former Securitate colonel; Sever Meşca, spokesmen of PRM, former Securitate colonel; Toma Năstase, former deputy in the Botoşani County (deceased), former Securitate colonel; Constantin Bucur, former Securitate captain; Ion Duţu (deputy in the Bacău County), former activist of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, close to Elena Ceauşescu; Ilie Neacşu (deputy in the Hunedoara County), former communist activist; Nicolae Gavrilescu (member of the Communist Party's Director Committee), former first-secretary of the Communist Party and former ambassador to China. Also, as for the convicted ones: Miron Cozma, sentenced because of the violence of the miners during the 1990s, and Valeriu Cotolan, convicted for drugs trafficking in 1994 and influence trafficking in 2000.

[14] 'O cortină de fier între România şi UE? Comentarii după alegerile din România', *Adevărul*, nr. 3257, November 28, 2000, p. 9.

accents", continuing with the fact that „he was inspired by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu's anti-Semitic fascism, which led the legionary movement in the 1920s and won the general elections in 1937, establishing terror and organizing pogroms and that Vadim Tudor is also the product of the communist dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu".[15]

In addition to the press, international organizations and European leaders have expressed their concerns. Thus, at the OSCE meeting in Vienna, the participants' attention was directed to the elections, given that its presidency was to be taken by Romania from January 1, 2001.[16] In the process of Romania's accession to the European Union, France was one of the most important supporters. President Jacques Chirac expressed confidence that Vadim Tudor will not win the election, considering the assumption to be unrealistic.[17] The European parliamentarians, in the statements made after the elections, referred to the possibility of interrupting the negotiations between Romania and the European Union. Iannis Sakellariou, a representative of the Socialists in Germany, said that „there is the possibility of immediate suspension of negotiations with Romania" and „Europe reserves the right to take a stand for the defence of human rights and minorities". Hannes Swoboda, vice-president of the European Socialist Party, said that „Vadim's victory would have serious consequences for Romania and for Europe as well", while Ioannis Souladakis, a Greek socialist, said that „if Vadim Tudor wins the presidential elections, relations with Europe could be cut off", and if „this party comes to government and puts xenophobia into practice, then everything becomes a European problem".[18]

The Romanian media was concerned to explain the causes of Tudor's success, by presenting interviews with the people who voted for him and with various political analysts. The sociological studies conducted on the day of the vote showed that Vadim Tudor was elected by 29% of those who voted Constantinescu in 1996, by 23% of Iliescu voters in 1996 and by 36% of those who did not vote in 1996. This last information is important because the PRM candidate managed to mobilize an important part of those who, four years earlier, for various reasons, chose not to participate in the elections. Another

[15] C.M., 'AFP întrevede consecinţele ascensiunii lui Vadim: «O cortină de fier între România şi Europa»', in *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2570, November 28, 2000, p. 3.

[16] Andreea Bratosin, 'OSCE – îngrijorată de ascensiunea extremei drepte în România', *Adevărul*, nr. 3258, November 29, 2000, p. 1.

[17] Ibid., 'Preşedintele Franţei, Jaques Chirac: «Ipoteza ca Vadim Tudor să devină preşedinte este nerealistă»', *Adevărul*, nr. 3265, December 8, 2000, p. 1; Daniel Roux, 'Ascensiunea extremiştilor din România, considerată de UE o «derivă condamnabilă»', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2578, December 8, 2000, p. 13.

[18] Bogdan Chireac, '«Nu vom deveni ostaticii lui C.V. Tudor» – afirmă parlamentari europeni de la Bruxelles', *Adevărul*, nr. 3264, December 7, 2000, p. 1.

statistic shows how he was supported by those who voted for the Parliament: thus, besides the PRM voters, Vadim Tudor was also voted by 11% of the PDSR voters, 6% of CDR, 9% of PNL, 3% of UDMR, 16% of PD and 27% of ApR, which, according to the study, shows that more ApR voters opted for Tudor than for Meleşcanu, their own candidate.[19]

From the political analysts, the views of Dorel Şandor, from the Center for Political Studies and Comparative Analysis, Stelian Tanase and Alina Mungiu were requested. Şandor identified the causes of Vadim Tudor's ascension in marginalizing a part of the electorate during the last four years, which found a solution in his symbolic, vigilante message. At the same time, there has been a decline in the authority of the state institutions through the wear of the government and the political instability in the coalition. In the campaign, indirectly, Iliescu and PDSR were Vadim's electoral agents, due to the negative campaign and the presentation of a catastrophic image.[20] Stelian Tanase has argued that the rise of the PRM leader was possible because he managed to take over the electorate of The Party of the Romanian Nation's Unity and relied on televised benefits, where he promoted two themes: „I was never in government" and the attack on corruption and the mafia, doubled by a redemptive speech.[21] Alina Mungiu emphasized the existence of a paradox in the votes received by Vadim Tudor, because, unlike previous elections, nationalism was not a major topic of debate, as it did not exist in the speeches of other candidates. Another cause of his success was, in her opinion, the lack of reaction of the political class, which only towards the end of the campaign mobilized, starting to criticize the discourse of Vadim Tudor.[22]

Beyond the disputes initiated by C.V. Tudor, he was an important part of the speeches of the most important candidates and of the negative campaigns of some parties. Most of these examples happened in the last days of the campaign. Adrian Năstase criticized the aggressive themes of the PRM candidate, recalling that a governance program must also have an economic component not only a vigilante one.[23] Mugur Isărescu called him an "illusions seller", considering that his ascension was due to the division of the right-wing

[19] 'Cei mai mulţi dintre votanţii din '96 ai lui Constantinescu au votat acum cu liderul PRM', *Adevărul*, nr. 3257, November 28, 2000, p. 1.

[20] Narcisa Iorga, 'Dorel Şandor – Centrul pentru Studii Politice şi Analiză Comparativă: «S-a produs impresia că la preşedinţie e nevoie de un arhanghel de cartier»', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2569, November 27, 2000, p. 4.

[21] Teodora Georgescu, 'Stelian Tănase: «Când lumea e săracă, un astfel de discurs e seducător»', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2569, November 27, 2000, p. 4.

[22] Cristian Oprea, 'Alina Mungiu: «Lui Vadim i s-a răspuns prost şi târziu»', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2569, November 27, 2000, p. 4.

[23] C. Drăgotescu, 'Într-un gest de curaj rar întâlnit în PDSR, Adrian Năstase dezvăluie găunoşenia candidatului C.V. Tudor şi a PRM', *Adevărul*, nr. 3252, November 22, 2000, p. 1.

parties and the corruption in Romania, determined by the "deficit of democracy", a concept which Isărescu opposed to the "deficit of authority" promoted by Tudor.[24] An event that took place in Dolj County provoked similar reactions of the PD and PNL, as the deputy president of the youth organization of the Democratic Party from Dolj was stabbed by a supporter of PRM. Radu Berceanu, the vice president of the party, called Tudor guilty for encouraging such attitudes, through the violent speech used in his campaign, while also issuing a warning about the danger to the country if it would be ruled in this manner.[25] Liberals have adopted the same vision, considering that aggression towards those who do not share the same political ideas or views were the result of following the 2000 campaign and Tudor's harsh speeches. Moreover, in this statement, the PNL Press Office warned that the PRM leader's campaign statements were not a word play, but a concrete vision on running the country.[26]

In an analysis made in 1998, Peter Banyai found that the popularity of C.V. Tudor has been stable over the years and superior to that of his own party. However, in the period 1995-1997, amid the scandal of the Hungarian university, his popularity decreased from 29% to 24%[27]. This leads us to believe that it was not so much the extremist discourse that propelled C.V. Tudor among the favourites to access in the second round, but the fact that he represented a distinct and unique model of a politician, with another type of discourse, which was able to capture the dissatisfaction with the Emil Constantinescu regime.

Corneliu Vadim-Tudor cleverly speculated on the attitude of Romanians towards the parties that came to power in the first post-communist decade. He highlighted the internal crises, the lack of achievements, and the general state of crisis. He opposed to all of them an alternative, placed under the justice idea, promoted by a candidate being subjected to a media blockade.

The controversial statements made by the PRM candidate, together with the warnings transmitted by Western leaders through official channels

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[24] I.U., 'Mugur Isărescu îl socoteşte pe C.V Tudor «vânzător de iluzii»', *Adevărul*, nr. 3249, November 18-19, 2000, p. 4.

[25] Ioana Ţiganescu, 'Când Vadim spune ca foloseşte mitraliera, tinerii PRM dau cu cuţitul', *Ziua*, nr. 1962, November 24, 2000, available at http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?data=2000-11-24&id=54017, accessed in 31.10.2017.

[26] 'Liberalii avertizează că ameninţările liderului PRM nu sunt un simplu joc de cuvinte', *Ziua*, nr. 1962, November 24, 2000, available at http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?data=2000-11-24&id=54015, accessed in 31.10.2017.

[27] Peter Banyai, 'Din vară până în toamnă. Ultimele sondaje – iunie – octombrie 1998', *Sfera Politicii*, Anul VI, Nr. 63/1998, p. 46.

or the press, have led to a coalition of the main Romanian political parties and civic organizations against Corneliu Vadim Tudor, campaigning for the election of Ion Iliescu just because of the contrast between them. The first to react were the PD and PNL leaders. The two parties rejected the memorandum proposed by Adrian Năstase, but decided to urge the electorate of their parties to vote for Ion Iliescu. A meeting took place between Valeriu Stoica and Traian Băsescu, the vice-presidents of the two parties, when they adopted a common position, trying to discourage their supporters on voting for C.V. Tudor.[28] Th. Stolojan also intervened, and he urged Romanians to vote against extremism and advised E. Constantinescu to ask the electorate to vote for I. Iliescu, being guilty for "the electoral ordeal produced after Mugur Isărescu's entry into the Cotroceni race".[29] A similar appeal was also made by P. Roman, from whose perspective Tudor's project should not be promoted because his ideas were "extremist, chauvinistic, xenophobic and racist".[30]

Since the early 1990s, one of the organizations that expressed its opposition to Ion Iliescu and his party was the Civic Alliance. The special conditions of the year 2000 made it launch a call to people in order to vote for the PDSR candidate, and not with Tudor, who was called "a demagogue".

The trade union organizations were positioned on the same side of the barricade. On one hand, Cartel Alfa, which at that time represented about one million employees, asked them in the second round "not to vote for the representative of a political force that permanently promotes extremist, racist and xenophobic ideas".

The church, through its representatives, became involved in the 2000 campaign, more than in any other after 1989. The leader of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the Patriarch Teoctist, on the occasion of December 1st, spoke about the model of the leaders that the country needed: balanced, not extremist; that would show openness towards closer ties with Europe.[31]

During the elections of the first post-communist decade, there were several situations when the Romanian intellectuals coalesced and launched various appeals, either criticizing Ion Iliescu or expressing their support for an

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[28] Cristina Sofronie, 'PD şi PNL îl susţin pe gratis pe Ion Iliescu', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2572, November 30, 2000, p. 6; R.C., 'PNL şi PD îl sprijină necondiţionat pe Ion Iliescu', *Adevărul*, nr. 3259, November 30, 2000, p. 1.

[29] Ibid., 'Stolojan aşteaptă ca Emil Constantinescu să ceară populaţiei să-l voteze pe Ion Iliescu', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2577, December 7, 2000, p. 6.

[30] A. Bogdan, 'Democraţii lui Roman cheamă alegătorii la urne pentru a respinge extremismul lui C.V. Tudor', *Adevărul*, nr. 3265, December 8, 2000, p. 3.

[31] 'În predica de după Te Deum-ul de la 1 Decembrie, Patriarhul Teoctist s-a exprimat ferm: «Ţara noastră să fie condusă de către cei care au dovedit echilibru, nu de către extremişti»', *Adevărul*, nr. 3261, December 2, 2000, p. 1.

opposition candidate. Among those who made public their option to vote for Iliescu in 2000 were Zoe Petre, Dorin Marian, Constantin Bălăceanu-Stolnici, Valerian Stan, Nicolae Manolescu, Doina Cornea, Andrei Pleşu.[32]

Both candidates continued their campaigns for the second round in similar grades as in the first round. In the statements offered after the appearance of the first official data, C.V. Tudor said he would try to appeal to the PDSR public through his justice and national message. Its purpose was to participate in the televised debates with Ion Iliescu, in which to make references to Moscow, the former offices held by Iliescu during the Communist regime and the seven years of government. At the same time, he declared himself a "friend of the Hungarians".[33] On the other side, Iliescu appealed to the discernment of the voters in the second round; he warned that the solutions to the problems of the Romanian state cannot be identified in extremism and xenophobia, and constitutional means had to be used to punish those responsible for illegalities. The negotiations with UDMR were not denied, but the idea of a Hungarian university was excluded by Iliescu.[34] He also warned about the danger that C.V. Tudor and PRM represented for Romanian democracy, pointing out that the appeal to patriotism, he was also prone to use in his campaign to justify certain positions was not to be understood as nationalism, xenophobia and hostile attitude towards minorities.[35]

Meanwhile, the PRM candidate continued his attacks started in the first round of elections. In an interview for Radio Romania Actualităţi, Tudor expressed the idea that the PDSR betrayed its electorate when it asked for the support of the parties it had criticized during the last four years (which formed the Government coalition). At the same time, he said that the accusations regarding his extremism were invented by the "political and mass-media mafia". About the statement regarding him governing with a machine-gun, Vadim considered that his speech was cut off; dating back to1997, this was the following, according to Tudor: "It is obvious that the disaster has become so terrible that Romania can only be run with the machine gun."[36] In the pages of

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[32] Mădălina Şişu, Cristina Sofronie, Teodora Georgescu, 'Intelectuali, monarhişti şi adversari de moarte ai PDSR îl vor vota pe Iliescu. «De astă dată avem de ales între cancer şi SIDA»', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2572, November 30, 2000, p. 7.

[33] Adrian Cercelescu, 'La sediul PRM, montaj literar-artistic cu Vodă Tudor în jeep', *Adevărul*, nr. 3257, November 28, 2000, p. 3.

[34] Lucian Purcăreanu, ,Iliescu a început bătălia cu Vadim', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2569, November 27, 2000, p. 5.

[35] Corina Drăgotescu, 'Ion Iliescu: «PRM şi C.V. Tudor sunt un pericol pentru democraţie, pentru soarta României»', *Adevărul*, nr. 3258, November 29, 2000, p. 1.

[36] 'Iartă-i, Doamne, că nu ştiu ce fac…', *România Mare. Săptămânal absolut independent*, nr. 543, Anul XI, December 7, 2000, p. 1.

"Greater Romania", Iliescu was accused of protecting the Horthyst criminals. The accusation stems from the idea that György Frunda was the lawyer of some people from Târgu-Secuiesc accused of killing Aurel Agache in 1989.[37] It was assumed that if Iliescu came to power, he would pardon him.[38] The candidate of the PDSR was also accused that before 1989 he was close to Ceauşescu and after his attitude during the 1989 Romanian Revolution it was clear that he would not give up power, that it would be a "communist-kaghebist, gypsy scheme", that under his presidency the country has lost 4-5 billion dollars and the reserves of industrial production, that he intends to start a civil war of Romanians against Romanians, that he offended the Romanian people when they accused Tudor of anti-Semitism and genocide.[39]

Ion Iliescu, taking over the wave of support that emerged after the November 26 elections and based on opinion polls, had an electoral strategy meant not to allow Corneliu Vadim Tudor sufficient increase in people's preferences. Initially, he announced that he did not want to participate in a TV show with the PRM candidate, claiming that he offended him when he publicly stated that he had cancer: "if that means a political debate, then I refuse to participate."[40] Through the electoral publicity, the political program of the PDSR candidate was summarized in several points: combating poverty, addressing the realities of Romania through the prism of social-democratic values, strengthening the authority of the state and its institutions, good governance based on an efficient and functional state, worthy integration in the European Union and NATO.[41] Trying to present himself as the opposite of Tudor's image, Iliescu referred directly to the topics on which his counter-candidate was criticized. In another example of electoral publicity, Ion Iliescu was present in a photograph with people, whose outline was the map of Romania. The image, accompanied by the subtitles "The spirit of the Great Union" and "More justice means more democracy", brought to the fore the idea of national unity. In the same context, he said that the dictatorship was not the solution to the problems, but the firm application of the Constitution and the laws of the country.[42]

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[37] Aurel Agache, a Major in the Communist Militia, was killed on December 22, 1989, at Târgu-Secuiesc. One of those convicted in this case was pardoned by President Iliescu.

[38] Aurel Dionisie Agache, ‚Ion Iliescu – protectorul unor criminali horthyşti', *România Mare. Săptămânal absolut independent*, nr. 543, Anul XI, December 7, 2000, p. 6.

[39] Gh. Glodeanu, 'Iliescu vrea să dea foc României', *România Mare. Săptămânal absolut independent*, nr. 543, Anul XI, December 7, 2000, p. 10.

[40] Anca Grădinaru, 'Ion Iliescu nu va participa la nicio emisiune televizată alături de C.V. Tudor', *Adevărul*, nr. 3260, December 1, 2000, p. 1.

[41] 'Aproape de oameni, împreună cu ei!', *Adevărul*, nr. 3263, December 6, 2000, p. 2.

[42] 'Mesaj electoral Ion Iliescu – Aproape de oameni, împreună cu ei!', *Adevărul*, nr. 3261, December 2, 2000, p. 2.

Because Ion Iliescu refused to participate in a debate with C.V. Tudor, the Romanian Television had scheduled separate meetings with the two, joined under the title "Election studio". Tudor presented his message in a speech-monologue, without other interventions. It began by criticizing Iliescu's supporters, accusing politicians of "collective chameleonism." The moderation in the reference to the West could be observed, assuming its commitment to integrate Romania into the Euro-Atlantic structures, at the same time motivating that he was the only candidate capable of fighting against corruption. The call for violence, for which he was also criticized, had disappeared from the speech, stating clearly that he "will not imprison politicians and journalists", and "will not make public executions." He changed his mind about his reluctance towards foreign investors, talking about invitations he intended to launch to large industrial concerns. In order to raise the standard of living and to solve immediate financial problems, he proposed increasing the minimum wage and pension, compensating those who invested in the FNI, granting employment facilities for the graduates of faculties, cultivating the entire agricultural area of Romania. In the last part of the speech he addressed directly to the Romanian people in front of whom he wanted to appear as humble, designing a self-portrait dominated by rhetorical figures such as "I do not even explain why it hurts so much the suffering of others, people and animals, but an everlasting love fills my chest, and then I jump to their aid."[43] He ended with a call for the presence of minorities and all Romanians to vote. This speech was intensely criticized by the main newspapers. One of the reasons is the fact that he read a section of his newspaper, instead of sending a message to the people. Indeed, many of the elements were also read on Radio Romania Actualităţi, and the respective speech was published in full in "Great Romania" newspaper. Vadim Tudor also stated that "today an IMAS survey was broadcasted through Radio Romania, which credits me with 56%, and my counter-candidate with 44%, and the difference will increase significantly".[44] The reaction came from the director of IMAS, Alin Teodorescu, who denied the existence of such a study. Also, the RRA, where Vadim says that the poll was made public, reacted by stating that the station did not make public opinion polls during the first three days of the respective week.[45]

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[43] Rosemarie Haineş, *Televiziunea şi reconfigurarea politicului: studii de caz: alegerile prezidenţiale din România din anii 1996 şi 2000* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2002), pp. 149-154.

[44] A. Ursu, 'Minciunile lui Vadim Tudor au picioare scurte', *Adevărul*, nr. 3265, December 8, 2000, p. 1.

[45] Lucian Purcăreanu, Cristian Oprea, 'Liderul PRM a minţit la TVR', *Evenimentul zilei*, Anul VIII, Nr. 2578, December 8, 2000, p. 6.

On the other hand, Ion Iliescu's speech had two components: the decrease of the support for C.V. Tudor and his motivation for refusing to participate in televised debates with him. Unlike his counter-candidate, the show he participated in was organized differently: in addition to his monologue, Iliescu also received previously recorded questions from journalists such as Cornel Nistorescu, Ion Cristoiu and Emil Hurezeanu.[46] His speech was structured in four parts, resuming themes formulated in the first round: at first he referred to the 1996-2000 government, talking about the precarious economic situation and the fact that the progress expected in December 1989 were not achieved, moreover, the idea of democracy was in danger. Secondly, he was a critic of totalitarianism, idea associated by a part of the public opinion with C.V. Tudor, whom he called "extremist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic." At the same time, he reaffirmed his attachment to the values of democracy. Thirdly, he spoke about his goals, the fight against corruption and poverty, in parallel with the pursuit of a European destiny for the country. Last but not least, he appealed to voters to fight through the vote against "hatred, embarrassment, thirst for revenge and wrongdoing."[47]

The December 10 election was won by Ion Iliescu, who obtained 66.83% of the votes, ie 6.6 million, as opposed to C.V. Tudor, who received only 33.17% of the votes, ie 3.3 million.[48]

Conclusions

To explain the result of the 2000 elections and the evolution of the election campaign, a comparison with the previous presidential ballot is required. Thus, we can see a strong fragmentation compared to 1996, because at that time, political life was dominated by two blocks, CDR and PDSR, while after four years only the latter managed to maintain its dominant position. Also, in 2000 the political affiliation was emphasized, while in 1996 the candidates for the Presidency counted mainly the reflection in the campaign referring almost exclusively to the presidential race. The differences can also be noticed regarding the pre-election governance, in 1996 there was a government that functioned for 4 years, while between 1996 and 2000, three successive governments followed one another. In the previous elections, Ion Iliescu was the only candidate representing the ruling party. This time, as it can be seen, the coalition parties have appointed four candidates: Mugur Isărescu, Petre Roman – the two were also part of the government, Theodor Stolojan and György Frunda. The differences can also be highlighted by an

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[46] Rosemarie Haineş, *Televiziunea şi reconfigurarea politicului*, p. 154.

[47] Ibid., pp. 156-157.

[48] 'Dataset: Romania: Presidential Election 2000 – Round 2', available at https://goo.gl/TVS2jv, accessed in 05.12.2017.

analysis of the debated topics: themes like the discussions on communism, the monarchy, the problem of nationalized houses disappeared, and their place was taken, according to the candidates, by topics such as corruption and the fight against it – phenomenon associated with the politicians in power, but also with the inability of the authorities to fight it –, the loss of the president's authority and the need to restore it – put in context with the economic problems and tensions within the ruling coalition –, xenophobia – especially in relation to Vadim Tudor, who remained constant in anti-Magyar and anti-Western discourse. All this caused a general dissatisfaction among the people regarding the direction of the country and the increase of the number of those who considered the lack of authority a problem.

    Corneliu Vadim Tudor was the candidate who, through his speech, tried to highlight his individuality among other candidates: he argued that he was the only one who was not in power, the only one who cared about people's problems, the only one capable of fighting corruption. In the second round, however, the contrast between him and Ion Iliescu also highlighted the possibility of Romania becoming an isolated state, which meant losing the progress it made until then in international politics. The former president was the one who offered predictability and experience. Therefore, another important and determining factor in the elections was the behaviour of the elites. If in 1990, 1992, 1996 Ion Iliescu was criticized by the intellectuals for his communist past, the reluctance to reform and the measures adopted in the first months after the 1989 Revolution, this group revised its value system according to the reality provided by the vote on November 26th. Cultural factors also counted, because Romania had adhered throughout its modern and contemporary history to European aspirations, so the warnings issued by the Western press, political leaders or institutions, regarding the danger of choosing C.V. Tudor, could be almost entirely assimilated to an extremist vision, did not remain unheeded.

    In 2000, the concerns within Romanian society varied, as the issues regarding the inheritance of communism, the restoration of the monarchy or the situation of nationalized houses were replaced by the fight against corruption, the redefinition of the president's duties, the economic recovery, while Romania's evolution abroad became equivalent to the Euro-Atlantic course. Over time, times of crisis have favoured the assertion of some politicians, who have taken on an extremist, demagogic discourse, which has sought to deepen societal cleavages and to emphasize its saving role. Such was the situation of Italy immediately after the end of the First World War, or of Germany during the Great Economic Crisis. The ingredients of an approach of this kind were to be found in the rhetoric of Corneliu Vadim Tudor, the leader of a party with radical visions on the idea of authority in

the state, based on anti-Westernism, anti-Magyarism and appreciation for a Ceauşescu-type communism. The danger was felt by the population, which developed the necessary antibodies, driven even by intellectuals and politicians, most of them being Ion Iliescu's challengers for ten years, who, in the face of the danger of Romania's isolation, preferred to vote "the lesser evil". Moreover, this structure has become a common feature in everyday life, as the evolution of the political system and the poor performances of the elected officials have led to the transformation of "politics" into a concept often used in a pejorative sense.

Moscow Conceptualism through Collective and Private Memory. The Archive as an Artistic Self-historicising Practice in Vadim Zakharov

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Abstract: In an era characterised by the growing tension between local and global, the multiple activities acted by the artist Vadim Zakharov offer an important case study to investigate critically the relationship between artists and the art institutions at the time of the Global Art History. Artist, archivist, collector and editor in the frame of Moscow Conceptualism, since the end of the 1970s up to today, Zakharov embodies the figure of the "artist as institution" in the attempt to reach his artistic autonomy. This text introduces to his expansion of the archival attitude typical of Moscow conceptualism, a Soviet unofficial art movement developed in the marginal, underground, and self-referential context in the capital of USSR since the 1970s. Due to its transnationality, Zakharov's story gives the opportunity to trace parallels, comparisons and differences to what happened next, when he moved in Germany in 1989, after the fall of USSR, and with the appearance of the new labels of "post-Soviet" and "Russian contemporary art". Within this socio-historical framework, he joined a more cosmopolitan artistic scene, enlarging his archival practices with the aim to self-institutionalize and self-historicize his own artistic practices and the circle of Moscow Conceptualism in an international scene.

Keywords: Vadim Zakharov, Moscow Conceptualism, Russian Contemporary Art, Contemporary Art, Global Art History, Archival fever.

Rezumat: Într-o epocă caracterizată de tensiunea tot mai mare dintre local şi global, multiplele activități desfăşurate de artistul Vadim Zakharov oferă un studiu de caz important pentru investigarea critică a relaţiei dintre artişti şi instituţiile de artă din timpul istoriei globale a artei. Artist, arhivist, colecționar şi editor în cadrul conceptualismului moscovit, de la sfârşitul anilor 1970 şi până în prezent, Zakharov întruchipează figura „artistului ca instituție" în încercarea de a-şi atinge autonomia artistică. Acest text introduce expansiunea pe care artistul o aduce atitudinii arhivistice tipice conceptualismului moscovit, o mişcare artistică neoficială sovietică dezvoltată în contextul marginal, underground şi auto-referenţial din capitala URSS încă din anii 1970. Datorită transnaționalității sale, povestea lui Zakharov oferă posibilitatea de a urmări paralele, comparații şi diferenţe cu ceea ce s-a

întâmplat mai departe, când s-a mutat în Germania în 1989, după căderea URSS şi odată cu apariţia noilor etichete de „post-sovietic" şi „Arta contemporană rusă". În acest cadru socio-istoric, el s-a alăturat unei scene artistice mai cosmopolite, lărgându-şi practicile arhivistice cu scopul de a se auto-instituţionaliza şi de a se auto-istoriciza propriile practici artistice şi cercul conceptualismului moscovit într-o scenă internaţională.

Cuvinte cheie: Vadim Zakharov, Conceptualismul de la Moscova, Arta contemporană rusă, Arta contemporană, Istoria globală a artei, Febra arhivistică.

In April 2018 the artist Vadim Zakharov conceived and realised the installation titled *Moscow Conceptualism presented by Vadim Zakharov. Terms* shown in Figure n.1, for the exhibition *Hello World. Revision einer Sammlung* held at the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin. Curated by an international committee, the exhibition put together and displayed more than 250 artists and 700 pieces, such as artworks and historical documents loaned from different museum collections in Germany and from other countries. The project aimed to reflect, with a retrospective look, the character of the collection that is interpreted as «the foundation of a museum, which itself is shaped by contingent political and cultural conditions»,[1] focusing on the specific case of the Nationalgalerie in order to investigate the influence of German history and culture on the same museum's collection. This idea lies in the shift operated in last decades from the Western point of view to a more critical approach that aims to analyse and rebuild new canons towards Global Art History. The main question made by the curatorial team moved towards this direction saying «What would the collection be like today if a more cosmopolitan understanding of art had informed its beginnings?».[2] The ambitious structure of *Hello World. Revision einer Sammlung* motivated the viewer to put his attention not only on single artworks but also on their interaction with the thematic areas that settled the exhibition itinerary, with the purpose of overcoming and reflecting about the underlying reasons that bring to the establishment of a museum, and consequently of a national cultural heritage. The exhibition path was composed of several sections, each

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[1] The exhibition opened on 28th of April and closed on 26th of August 2018. *Hello World. Revision einer Sammlung*, (exhibition booklet, Berlin: Hamburger Bahnhof, 2018), p. 11.

[2] *Hello World. Revision einer Sammlung*, p. 11.
Problem: the original text from the booklet is this: "What would the collection be like today had a more cosmopolitan understanding of art informed its beginnings?" but it looks like an incorrect translation therefore I changed it, however I feel this choice is not correct as I used punctuation for a quote.

of them characterized by a geographical/geopolitical area and curated by specific curators with a strong expertise in the related topic. In the spotlight of this exhibition, there were the processes that take to the construction of Art History, as a field constantly in progress, and the role that art institutions hold in this procedure. This consideration opens to a broad and significant enquiry that goes beyond each specific research field and points towards the main matter, i.e. that each selection is a choice, and represents a stance and an act of responsibility, as well as an exercise of power that influence the construction of Art History. In an international context distinguished by what I interpret as an attempt of "institutional self-critique", Zakharov presented a new artwork dedicated to topics that have always characterized his multidisciplinary production as artist, archivist, collector, and editor of Moscow Conceptualism, such as self-historicization and self-institutionalisation. The work is composed by an open structure that replicates the form of a common black folder, but realised in increased dimensions, on which the title of the artwork is written on a white label glued on the front side. As the Figure n.2 shows, on the floor there are numerous papers with the definitions taken from the *Slovar' Terminov Moskovskoy Kontseptual'noy Shkoly* [Dictionary of Terms of the Moscow Conceptual School]. The lexicon was published for the first time in 1999 as a contribution to the seventh issue of the magazine Pastor, and later in the same year as an independent volume edited by the artist Andrei Monastyrski.[3] As a real dictionary, it collects numerous terms carefully selected because of their importance to understand the specificities of the artistic movement. Therefore, it is possible to find words used and invented by artists in relation to their own production, by the community, and by critics. As to the audience, it was allowed to collect the papers and bring them home, in the background of this work there was the desire to spread the knowledge of the group's activity, even if most of the terms' descriptions can easily seem cryptic to people external to the circle, due to their specifity and self-referentiality. During the opening, Zakharov performed dressed up as a gorilla acting the figure of the animal confined in a cage. Laying down on a side, close to a perishing banana peel and to a plastic shit, he breathed deeply looking depressed for his own existential condition. For his function and form, the folder can be interpreted as a cage in which the Russian artist compares himself to an exotic animal, imported from a distant and almost unknown land, of which he is a cultural agent in the international territory, but he still feels himself misunderstood, and isolated from the surrounding world. This feeling explains what the title of the artwork suggests, i.e. the artist's intention

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[3] Vadim Zakharov, ed., *Pastor magazine*, vol. 7, Köln, Pastor Zond Edition, 1999; Andrei Monastyrski, *Slovar' Terminov Moskovskoy Kontseptual'noy Shkoly*, Mockva, Ad Marginem, 1999.

to avoid presenting only himself but the living condition shared by the entire circle of Moscow Conceptualism, showing himself as the spokesperson. His position could be assumed in accordance to the fact that he was invited to the exhibition by the director of MG+MSUM Ljubljana Zdenka Badovinac, who curated the section titled "Sites of Sustainability. Pavilions, Manifestos and Crypts" that hosted works of historical importance made by artists from Eastern Europe and Russia. It was actually the only one area that presented an extensive project about the "former East". Even inside an international exhibition hosted in the currently bigger museum of Contemporary Art in the capital of Germany, Zakharov's work was still presented as a part of that complex but specific geopolitical context. If this labelling is understandable from the critical perspective on which the exhibition was based and set up, yet the artist decided to underline his uncomfortable position as artist and archivist of Moscow Conceptualism, but even more to vindicate his role as a possible solver of a problematic that is still actual after many decades.

The idea of a Russian artist playing the role of the animal in a cage, reminds of the performance *Dog House* acted by the artist Oleg Kulik at the opening of the exhibition Interpol held in Sweden in March 1996. The exhibition was conceived as an exchange between Russian and Swedish artists, who were asked to invite other artists in order to work as co-authors and to occupy freely the exhibition space to create a «cacophony» that could give attention both to the sense of conflict and the necessity of co-operation among artists. Viktor Misiano, who curated the exhibition with Ian Äman, said that the outcome seemed to represent the coeval European socio-political situation.[4] Ukrainian born Russian artist active in Moscow since the beginning of the 1990s, Kulik already realised this typology of performance. Nevertheless, this event went down in history because while he was playing the dog barking at the audience, naked, and chained, he bit an art critic and another spectator who ignored the written warnings glued on the floor. The artist was thus arrested and a trial on what can be done or not in the field of contemporary art, as well as what is properly art and what is nothing else than "hooliganism" started. In Kulik's words: «The dog emerged as a metaphor of the borderline state of the human being positioned between nature and the socium»,[5] but beyond this universal condition, the artist declared that it involved also his personal experience of a Russian artist active in the cultural and political tensions existing between East and West. Apart from the several differences between these two artworks, above all the lack of interest in self-

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[4] Viktor Misiano, "Interpol: The Apology of Defeat", in Eda Čufer and Viktor Misiano, (eds.), *Interpol: The Art Exhibition Which Divided East and West* (Ljubljana & Moscow: IRWIN and Moscow Art Magazine, 2000)

[5] Irina Kulik, "Oleg Kulik: Artificial paradise", *Antennae*, 8/2 (2007): 34.

historicization and self-legitimization in Kulik and its more individualistic approach, both offer a critical view of the relation between artists coming from the marginal areas of the art system and the international Western centres. This raises the questions: «Why these two artists decided to act the animal in jail?" and "What has changed since then?».

The artwork by Zakharov displays a vision about the relationship between East and West developed by the artist during decades, a vision that follows a personal but also a collective story began at the end of the Seventies, when he joined the circle of Moscow conceptualism and so the experience of the unofficial Soviet art. This story runs in parallel with the historical events that lead to the decay of the Soviet Union and to the deep socio-political changes that happened after it. From a Western point of view, these decades involved the transition from a Soviet nonconformist art to an overhaul of artistic practices mostly interpreted as political dissidence, and then as an expression of a more general post-Soviet culture, commonly labelled with its political past.

For Moscow Conceptualists, the Seventies were marked by self-reflection, and by the correlated interest in the definition of their own artistic practices, as well as the growing attention in their own social and working condition. They started to consider how to call a collective movement composed of different small groups of artists but at the same time characterized by individual researches, and that, freed from any manifesto or norm that could influence their practices, recognized themselves around the concept that the idea of the artwork is more important than the object created. The relation between East and West played a fundamental role, as demonstrated by the attention to the "dematerialisation of art objects", theorised in the USA by Lucy Lippard[6] and the choice to reuse the term "conceptualism". These elements prove the attention towards the Anglo-American Conceptual art and the international art system, partially known by Moscow conceptual artists through the filter of illegally imported American and European art magazines, and art catalogues. Boris Groys originally used the name Moscow Conceptualism in his famous article published in 1979 on the first issue of the *tamizdat* magazine A-Ya, edited by the Russian sculptor Igor Shelkovskij who moved to Paris in 1976. Titled *Moscow romantic conceptualism*, the text presented for the first time to an international audience the outgoing of this artistic movement, defining it in connection with the international system. At the same time, he highlighted the authenticity of the artistic production qualifying it as "romantic" in relation to the word

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[6] Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialisation of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*, (New York: Praeger, 1973).

duchovnost [spirituality] to convey a concept typical of Russian culture.[7] Together with it, the self-reflective approach introduced by the performative practice of the group *Kollektivnyye Deystviya* [Collective Actions], especially by the following process characterized by commentaries and reflection on the same artistic experiences. The observations were shared by participants, and then annotated in books later collected in volumes titled *Poyezdki za Gorod* [Trips out of town]. Such a practice contributed to create an atmosphere of exchange and a platform for discussion, hence it can be considered a forerunner of what was developed later.[8]

A consequence to this attentiveness in self-historicization and self-institutionalisation was the spreading of a common interest in the practice of archiving, that reached a pivotal point with the realisation of *papki MANI* [folders MANI]. It is explicative that together with the reference to the archive given by the use of archival folders, the term MANI was the acronym for *Moskovskiy Arkhiv Novogo Iskusstva* [Archive of the Moscow New Art][9] and was invented by Andrei Monastyrski and the poet and artist Lev Rubinstein.[10] The project highlighted the centrality of the archive as a strategy, and in its premises lay the necessity to be active in collecting and sharing information about unofficial artists, to let their own awareness grow and to legitimate their own practice and poetics. *Papki MANI* was thus conceived as an artistic project connected to the *samizdat* [self-publishing] culture, in fact it is a collection of information and documents completely self-managed and self-published that involved tens of artists who contributed directly in the production process realising four issues between 1981 and 1982. Besides being an important experience in the process of awareness for the artists of the movement, MANI has been one of the first term that the conceptualists used to self-define themselves, consequently the term was included in the selection for *Slovar' Terminov Moskovskoy Kontseptual'noy Shkoly* [Dictionary of Terms of the Moscow Conceptual School].[11] Each issue was edited by different artists and published with a limited run of five self-produced but identical copies, because during Soviet time it was forbidden and dangerous to publish more.

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[7] Boris Groys, "Moscow romantic conceptualism", *A-YA*, 1, (Paris: Elancourt, 1979).

[8] The group was formed by Andrei Monastyrski together with Nikita Alekseev and Georgy Kiesewalter in 1976, later it was joined by the artist Elena Elagina, Igor Makarevich, Nikolai Panitkov, and the scholars Sergei Romashko and Sabine Hänsgen.

[9] For this point, it will be used the term MANI.

[10] Alexandra Danilova and Elena Kuprina-Lyakhovich, "MANI: An Experiment in Modelling Cultural Space", *Anti-Shows. APTART 1982-84*, Margarita Tupitsyn, Victor Tupitsyn et al. (eds.), (London: Afterall, 2017) p. 232.

[11] Andrei Monastyrski, *Slovar' Terminov Moskovskoy Kontseptual'noy Shkoly* [Dictionary of Terms of Moscow Conceptualist School] (Moscow: Ad Marginem, 1999).

Moreover, technically speaking, it was the limit number of pages that was possible to realise typing with a carbon copy leaf.

The volume was composed by a self-produced cardboard folder in which every participant artist was invited to put inside his contribution that was contained in a green common envelope with his name written on a small white label glued on it. Every envelope content differed from the others, however in most of them, the artists inserted photographs of their own artworks and biographical and/or explanatory texts. In sporadic cases, artists included artworks conceived for the specific format. The first volume was edited and published by Monastyrski who stated: «It wasn't entertainment but research and contemplation, folder MANI is a catalogue on that period that shows what was happening in that moment».[12]

Artists were not subject of selection, instead they could join the circle and the project if they felt close to this atmosphere. Things would have changed, but at that precise moment the movement was intended as a «natural form»[13] to socialize and share information. After having been a participant of the first issue of *MANI*, edited by Monastyrski, Zakharov realised the second one together with Victor Skersis (who at that time formed the artistic duo called SZ), inviting artists to participate with their own contributions. The experience continued with the folder *Po Masterskim* [Through the ateliers] that Zakharov accomplished between 1982 and 1983 with the artist Georgy Kiesewalter, collecting interviews and photographic documentations about the artists, their works and their studios in Moscow. As the previous model, *Po Masterskim* recollected information on active unofficial artists, but the historical reconstruction of the Moscow underground scene passed through Zakharov and Kiesewalter's personal selection this time. The two artists in the role of editors not only selected the artists but also the ways in which they presented their works. To each artist corresponded a handmade small leaflet composed of written interviews regularly done by Zakharov, who also curated and realised the typographic and photographic layout of each leaflet, while Georgy Kiesewalter took all the photographs and a handful of interviews, too.[14] Every single copy of this "catalogue" consisted of twenty-two booklets, each of them characterised by different contents and graphic designs. In the leaflet that introduced the authors and the main goals of the project, Zakharov describes his position of artist and editor clarifying that he «did not try to draw conclusions and afterwords»[15] but «of course, cannot

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Monastyrski in an unpublished interview with me, recorded in June 2019 in Moscow.

[14] Vadim Zakharov, "*Ov avtorii*", Vadim Zakharov, Georgy Kiesewalter (eds.), *Po Masterkim*, Samizdat, 1983.

[15] Ibid.

deny the subjectivity of the assessment in this paper».[16] A few lines below, he then clearly qualifies his perspective that, as he says, come «from the position of the artist, and not from the position of an art historian or a researcher of art and in the nature of human destinies and souls».[17] However he also declares: «Another, no less important, attempt is to look at the current situation in the local artistic environment, as if from the outside».[18] Aiming at the creation of a catalogue that could collect in an objective way the unofficial muscovite artistic scene, the position held by the artists shifts slightly between the attempt to be objective and the awareness to be an active part of the same movement. This unclear and contradictory position could explain why there is no mention to the possible historical impact of *Po Masterskim*, presumably conceived more for the present than for the future. Zakharov stated that *Po Masterskim* was conceived as a survey of «the most interesting»[19] unofficial artist working in Moscow at that time, because «simply put, I had a desire to look around. It seemed to me not only possible, but necessary.[20]

At the beginning of the 1980s, Zakharov started to collect documents, materials and artworks from exhibitions and events realized within the circle of Moscow conceptualists. These documents were stored in his private apartment, but at this time they were not organised in a proper archive and, even if Zakharov collected with the idea that it would be important for the future historicisation of the movement, he did not plan to establish a proper archive of Moscow Conceptualism. Anyway, this fact says something more of his interest in the artistic circle he was joining, an attentiveness that is also at the centre of his coeval artistic practice. Such attitude was also typical of the older Moscow conceptualists, such as Ilya Kabakov, Erik Bulatov, and Victor Pivovarov, who noted the originality of their practices in differentiating themselves from the modernist painting that was the dominant style of unofficial Soviet art scene during the 1960s and 1970s. Differently, the younger generations of Moscow Conceptualists, and especially those who started to work at the end of the 1970s, were experiencing a different environment in which institutions as well as a real audience were still lacking, but at least there was a kind of structured underground system, with exhibitions in private apartments and visits to artists' private studios. Therefore, the young inherited the inclination towards contestation but, at the same time, they shifted their attention towards the ones that could be their own masters or models inside the circle itself. Exemplary of this tendency is the action *Hand*

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[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

Inscriptions. I made enemies (1982), in which Zakharov wrote on his right hand critical statements addressed to artists from the older generation in which Zakharov declares to Erik Bulatov: «Bulatov it turns out you are bluffing. This is dangerous today!». In this critique, there is also the quote from an important painting by Bulatov, titled *Opasno* that in Russian language means exactly "danger". In this reference game, he also mentions the Russian futurism manifesto *Poshechina obshestvennomu vkusu* [A Slap in the Face of Public Taste] published in 1912 and signed by David Burliuk, Viktor Khlebnikov, Aleksei Kruchyonykh, and Vladimir Majakovsky. Initially composed of only four actions and photographs, the work has made Zakharov the object of negative comments among the circle. A fact that led him to the decision of adding a fifth action and photograph to the series, writing on his face the sentence «I made enemies», commenting these events with these words that finally he added to the title, too.

In this collective atmosphere characterized by sharing and collision, we can find the peculiarity of the Soviet Nonconformist art, confined within private events to avoid KGB attentions as, even during the Eighties, there was a strict control over unauthorised cultural events. In this context each factor, such as interpersonal relations, trust and confidence, and a limited number of participants contributed to create a small and inner circle in which everybody could perform more than one social role: the artists could also act as critics, or audience, but also curators of the exhibition, or even the photographers of the events. The politics of reformation inaugurated with *Perestroika* caused an important aperture towards relations with foreign countries and it changed the cultural system allowing officially sales of artworks to foreign buyers. In 1988, the first Sotheby's auction in Moscow took place, and in the same years, artists were allowed to travel abroad so that they could attend the openings of several exhibitions in which their artworks were shown. Some residency programs in Europe also invited artists from USSR in order to show their works to the international audience. At the end of the 1980s Zakharov began to travel as an artist, too, and in 1989 he moved to Germany where he still lives. Many other artists left Moscow and relocated elsewhere especially in France, Germany and USA, looking for new working and living opportunity in the West.

In this period characterised by changes, he started to develop a more conscious approach to his archival practices. Since the beginning of the 1990s, it is common to find many references to the topic of archive in his artworks and installations that address the theme as a background thematic together with analogue topics such as the accumulation and collection of documentations. At the same time, in his works the archive appears also as an aesthetic element, when forms specifically related to archival environments,

as folders, become elements in his exhibitions. Lastly, the archive is presented also in terms of the construction of a real archive, as activity that made the artist define and introduce himself as archivist to the audience of his exhibition, as testified in several press reviews to his exhibitions published in various magazines during the 1990s.

In 1989 it might seem plausible to date the first list of the artworks he collected that is handwritten in a notebook and is today preserved in the archive. It can be considered as a first attempt of cataloguing that report technical information such as author, title, year, dimension, and so on. It can be interpreted as an instrument to manage the relocation of the collection in Germany, but even more important is to look at the list as a sign of Zakharov's growing professionalism as archivist and collector. Since 1988, when the watershed moment of the first Sotheby's auction in Moscow happened, it was definitely established that a season of official international recognition and attention for contemporary unofficial art from USSR and Russia had started. Between cultural curiosity, exotism, and politicized views, stereotypes and labels on political dissidence and the trauma of living in USSR, artists from unofficial art became protagonists of numerous and big exhibitions, and also Zakharov participated in this wave both as artist and collector, loaning his works to institutions. For this reason, the list seems to be a necessary tool to know precisely and keep under control the collection. In the same year, another crucial event for the emergence of the artist's archival drive was the decision to buy his first video camera that he used to record events and exhibitions to which Moscow Conceptualists and artists from Russia participated. His idea was to document a transitional period and resulted in testifying the success as well as the problematics connected to the ways in which several institutions, as museums and galleries, were introducing Russian artists after these important socio-political changes. With these records, he gave birth to the video section of his archive that soon started to host several footages organised per year: at the end of 1989 the archive had 11 recordings among Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia and USA. In 1990 he added other 17 recordings, in 1991 15, and so on, with a slight reduction starting from 2000, up to 2014 when he officially closed his archive of Moscow Conceptualism.

Close to this attitude is the foundation of the publishing house Pastor Zond, as well as the conception of the artistic project and collective artwork *Pastor*, a magazine that he ran from 1992 to 2001 and resulted in eight issues. Based in the city of Köln, the magazine was intended as a platform, an archive that could be a meeting point where all the artists from Moscow Conceptualism were recollected, with the aim to overcome the distance that happened after many of them left USSR. Published in the Russian language,

Pastor was a new reinterpretation in a different time and place of the *Samizdat* tradition. The methods of self-production and circulation were thus reproduced but with the awareness that the artist was now working in a new context and system. In those years, in fact Zakharov used computer graphic for his works, introducing a new and more contemporary style that finally overcame the Soviet typical typescript one, adding a new layer in his production. The result of his work was an object that had a different aura, and an appeal closer to the Western magazines, published by officially established publishing houses, even though he was still using the methods of self-production. He personally asked some artists to participate in the project, therefore to send by mail to him documents so that after having collected all these documents, he could copy them on his computer. Finally, he could print and glue all the pages together, and then he could bind the resulting magazine with a cover. The production process was developed in complete solitude and recorded on videotapes that today are collected in his video archive, too.

The topic of archive as aesthetic cipher started to affect also his personal artistic production, a thing that demonstrates a real "archive fever", quoting the French philosopher Jacques Derrida. Zakharov used the format of folder for his installation in his solo shows, and the topic of archive started to be at the core of his poetics. In 1992 he realised *Aqua Sacra* (Figure n.3) and in the same year were published the first exhibition reviews on daily newspaper and art magazine about his activity as artist and archivist, but this double position is presumably presented in one of his most powerful aspects in the solo show *Der Letze Spaziergang durch die Elysischen Felder 1978-95* held at the Kunstverein in Köln. The artist divided the exhibition into three parts: the park, the archive and the other, a distinction that he repeated in the catalogue, in which he also published his own first text on the archive. Realising the volume in quality of book designer, he took to an extreme level his interest in mixing up his different professional skills. Nevertheless, the importance of this shift among artistic strategies was a topic that the curator of the show, Udo Kittelmann analysed in the curatorial text included in the catalogue. The latter examined the complexity of the entire exhibition project highlighting the artist's necessity to act continuous modifications of elements as a personal strategy that allowed him to explore the possible infinite connections among elements. In such mobility, Kittelman identified the main problem for an art historian who would understand and describe Zakharov's work that is structured, following the curator's words, as an "Eisberg system". With this term he called this methodology based on the complexity of stratifications, and in the coexistence of opposite poles in life and art. On this contradiction and sense of instability, Zakharov founded his idea that to deepen the knowledge of the world is it perhaps necessary to question any path, idea or

concept of his own investigation. In the catalogue of the Russian pavilion at the Venice Biennale of 2013, dedicated to his installation *Danaë* that occupied all the entire structure, and curated also by Kittelmann, he said:

> «My system is an iceberg. The part under water exists, and the part above water develops from it and depends on it. It is an organism that belongs together. […] A work becomes interesting when it exhibits many layers. One can perhaps understand some of them, but not the rest»[21].

Danaë itself presented a multi-layered structure composed by new works and by the re-use of elements from previous artworks, as the folder coming out from a wall installed in the lower part of the project inside the cave. This element clearly recalls the basis of the artwork *Fountain aqua sacra* he did in 1992, in which the archival element is integrated in a functioning fountain.

Going back to the historical route of this text, an important evolution for Zakharov's interest in archives happened in the period that goes from the beginning of the 2000s up to 2014, when he developed in many ways a more personal, sometimes paranoid, reflection on the role and the use of archive as topic and material.

In 2003, he conceived the big installation *History of Russian Art from the Avant-garde to the Moscow Conceptual School* for the exhibition *Berlin-Moskau / Moskau-Berlin 1950-2000* that took place in the two capitals in 2003 and 2004, visible in Figure n.4. It reproduces five realistic folders in increased dimensions and, above all, it leads the spectator into experimenting strategies typical of archival practice. As stated by the artist, the artwork represents «an author's subjective classification of Russian contemporary art, staged as a bureaucratic drama»[22]: if the front of every folder has an informational label that refers to important artistic movements that occurred in Russia, the back is open to let the public enter inside, as shown in Figure n.5. The three central folders contain a selection of artworks related to the artistic movements declared on the label, while the first folder dedicated to the Russian avant-garde is closed to the public, who can only hear the recorded sound of somebody snoring. In a different way, the folder devoted to the Moscow Conceptual School, that in his label has also the word "Archive", introduces the public to an archive created by Vadim Zakharov. It was composed with folders filled with information on artists and topics of this movement, that he realised precisely for this work. Basically, the observer falls into a *myse en abime* that reveals the intricate structure of the work, based on a game of references

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[21] Vadim Zakharov, Udo Kittelmann and Stella Kesaeva (eds.), *Vadim Zakharov: Danaë* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2013), p.68.

[22] Vadim Zakharov, "The history of Russian Art from the Russian Avantgarde to the Moscow Conceptual School", Teresa Mavica, Vadim Zakharov (eds.), *Vadim Zakharov 25 let na odnoj stranitse. Vadim Zakharov 25 years on one page*, (Moscow: Interros, 2006), p. 242.

that also quotes the real archive, including his practice as archivist, not to mention his artistic activity. To an extended view, it also permits one to think of all the previous experiences that had archival connotation as *MANI*, *Po Masterskim* and *Pastor*. In an exhibition project devoted to the investigation of relationships between Germany and Russia, he presented an artwork that combined the archive and Art History, both intended as vessels in which only some elements can enter, following processes of selection and classification that derive from cultural model. Each selection requires the exclusion of many other elements. With this association he pointed at the contradiction that lies at the base of the assumed objectivity of a system, that base his legitimation on the invention and abuse of general labels, and the reality, that seems to suggest the contrary, i.e. that it is possible to enter into the folds of a system only through arbitrarily subjective criteria. The same title given to the work indicated the idea of an official "History of Russian art" as a summa of an objective research, but in fact, the artist himself declared that it was the result of personal selection. Clearly, the titles of the folders represent artistic movement that did not cover the totality of experiences that happened during the twentieth century. Indeed, the artist voluntarily excluded, for instance, the generation of artists that emerged in the 1990s, among them Kulik, too, because, in his words, the individualism of their research did not permit him to present this reality as a solid and structured movement. Instead of presenting his personal research in the exhibition, he chose to be part of the Moscow Conceptualist school, demonstrating, many years after the group split, the centrality of the context of his provenience and formation, and how important was still the sense of belonging to this past for the creation of his identity. However, even if he was acting as the archivist and as an historian, his "personal" selection demonstrates that he was following the artistic trends and waves yet received, absorbed and legitimated by the international art system. In 2003 and 2009, Zakharov also played the role of curator for the exhibitions *Moskauer Moskauer Konzeptualismus. Sammlung Haralampi G. Oroschakoff und Sammlung-Verlag-Archiv Vadim Zakharov* and *Kollektsija i arkhiv Vadima Zakharova* that showed some works from his collection and his archive of Moscow Conceptualism, respectively held at Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin and at NCCA in Moscow. In the catalogues issued for the events, the artist published two texts that point to his poetic, presenting for the first time his ambivalent relation to his archivist alter ego. As the title reveals, *Shiva's method: archive, collection, publishing house and artist* is a metaphor for his hyper-activity that starts with a short reconstruction of the archival tendencies in contemporary art. Published for the first time in 2004 in the catalogue of the Berlin exhibition, the text continues with his own personal history, and with comments on artworks and experiences connected to the archival practices but with a literary tone alternating paranoid comments, as «I don't need

compassion or pity. I alone am responsible for my stupidity and my empty pockets. My ambitions as an artist are on a par with the avarice of the collector, the bureaucratism of the archivist, and the aloofness of the publisher»[23] and «It is important to remember that any growing archive or collection will, sooner or later, bury its collector. The archive - an assassin. The collection - a pickpocket. The publisher – an undertaker. The artist is always the victim. But sometimes the victim kills the Archive».[24] The conception of the archive as a living organism that can have an independent life and can attack his creator is continued in *Archive as an alien*. Here Zakharov focused on the role of the archive in contemporary art, an era characterised by the progressive loss of importance of exhibitions, and the problematic role of curators, denouncing their working attitudes more and more connected to the market than to culture. An excerpt from the text says: «It is important to be responsible for the quality of the information. In any event, I, as an artist-archivist, can and must, while creating my photo and video archives, be responsible for them if the times demand it, entering into a new, active dialogue with the Archive of culture and offering co-authorial arrangements to curators and dealers».[25]

The inclination to the end and death flowed in his big installation *Postscript after RIP: A Video Archive of Moscow Artists' Exhibitions (1989–2014)* displayed at Garage Museum of Contemporary Art in Moscow, in 2015, shown in Figure n.6. With this artwork, Zakharov publicly declared the end of his activity as archivist staging the death of the archive through the construction of a cemetery where sculptural structures in the shapes of folders stood for coffins. Through the folder ring the audience could watch hours and hours of video he recorded during the exhibitions of Russian artists, as visible in Figure n.7. In the critical text accompanying the catalogue, Sven Spieker defines Zakharov's dualism with the specific terms of "archiviophilia" and "archiviophobia", as the two tendencies between the positive and the negative attitude, with which he identifies two opposite and complementary souls that, intermittently, animated his archival practice.[26] Each folder contains one entire year of recordings, and thus show another aspects of his dichotomy as Zakharov sometimes recorded in the more professional and objective way as

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[23] Vadim Zakharov, "Shiva's method: archive, collection, publishing house and artist", Vadim Zakharov, Alina Fedorovich (eds.), *Kollektsija i Arkhiv Vadima Zakharova. Collection and Archive by Vadim Zakharov* (Moscow and Köln: NCCA and Pastor Zond Edition, 2009), p. 16.

[24] Vadim Zakharov, "Shiva's method: archive, collection, publishing house and artist", pp. 16-17.

[25] Vadim Zakharov, "The Archive as an Alien", Alla Rosenfeld (eds.), *Moscow Conceptualism in Context*, (New Brunswick: Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University; Munich and London: Prestel, 2011), p. 363.

[26] Sven Spieker "A Double Archival Imperative in Vadim Zakharov's Work", Sasha Obukhova (ed.), *Vadim Zakharov. Postscript after RIP: A Video Archive of Moscow Artists' Exhibitions (1989–2014)* (Moscow, Garage museum, 2015), pp. 8-11.

possible to him, sometimes in the most amateurish way. The resulting images could therefore represent another level in the double identity of Zakharov, divided between the Moscow tradition made of autarchy and self-production, and the immersion in the glossy style more typical of the Western lifestyle. An opposition that also recalls the phrases that Zakharov wrote is the catalogue of the exhibition: «It's time to admit that any lifelong project of preserving all things important eventually becomes meaningless when it turns into a routine».[27] The desire sometimes leaves his place to the tiredness, and the feeling of obligation to one big project as the establishment of an archive and the choice to follow this new institution by himself, during his private time. In the same text he continues theorising the idea of the archive as a killer: «The "killer archive", as I have come to call it, was controlling my life and my thoughts. I became tired of running away and hiding from it in my bathroom and under my bed».[28]

The bureaucratic aspects, practicality and usefulness of the archive completely disappeared in the name of an absolute exhaustion that he mixes also with anxiety. The fear of an artist that, afraid of being persecuted by the dedication and obligation to his archive, decides to kill his relation with the archive, closing it and selling one part of his video archive in an edition of ¼ to the Museum Garage. A gesture that sounds like the acceptance that finally time has come to accept the historical value of the collected item, and the changed scenario would open another to another aspect. Since 2012 the same institution started an acquisition policy concerning artists' archives, with the aim of collecting important documents for the history of Russian culture and art, that otherwise would risk to disappear or to be acquired by other countries. This choice tells a lot about the condition of Russian art history that is still a quite recent discipline due to its socio-cultural and political history. The lack of institutions until the 1990s, apart from the official ones, which unluckily record only information on official Soviet art, still affect the knowledge of this artistic scene. Especially because the history of institutions, even in the capital Moscow, was important but not easy, for economic and cultural limitations that continued for decades. Meanwhile, many artists acted differentiated roles, as Zakharov, playing a role in the construction of their own Art History, and hopefully to the diffusion of their culture and art, or Kulik performing as a dog. Nevertheless, the discomfort felt by several artists, before for being marginal in their local areas, was soon transformed into the concern for feeling marginal and misunderstood even if working internationally. The animality as metaphor of the struggle to be part of a wider

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[27] Vadim Zakharov, "P.S", Sasha Obukhova (ed.), *Vadim Zakharov. Postscript after RIP: A Video Archive of Moscow Artists' Exhibitions (1989–2014)* (Moscow, Garage museum, 2015), p. 122.
[28] Vadim Zakharov, "P.S", p. 122.

and international scene, shown at the beginning of the article, thus seems to be just one of several responses given by artists living the fight that still impacted the so-called art from Eastern Europe. Today it is therefore primary to understand the role played by artists, writing articles for magazines and catalogues, creating collaborative projects based on the investigation of identities in a transitional period, reflecting and creating artwork about the historicisation of their own work in decades that saw the growing emergence of the Global Art History and of the hypertrophy of images. In his text *The archive as alien* Zakharov appears to find his personal solution highlighting the role of artists as well as in the use of archives as a strategy and a source to give roots to the development of art that could stay also in the future. «The artist's personal responsibility, and the curators' rejection of the positivistic idea of utilizing the Archive of culture as a mechanism for achieving their goals, could become a turning point in the understanding of how and toward what goals we aspire in art, and what will remain after us».[29]

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[29] Vadim Zakharov, "The Archive as an Alien", p. 363.

Figure 1, Vadim Zakharov, *Moscow conceptualism presented by Vadim Zakharov. Terms*, 2018. Exhibition view "Hello World. Revision einer Sammlung" at Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin. Photo Alessandra Franetovich. Courtesy the artist.

Figure 2, Vadim Zakharov, *Moscow conceptualism presented by Vadim Zakharov. Terms*, 2018. Exhibition view "Hello World. Revision einer Sammlung", in Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin. Photo Alessandra Franetovich. Courtesy the artist.

Figure 3, Vadim Zakharov, *Fountain. Acqua Sacra*, 1992. Courtesy the artist.

Figure 4, Vadim Zakharov, *History of Russian art from the avant-garde to the Moscow conceptual school,* 2003. MMK, Museum für Moderne Kunst Frankfurt am Main. Courtesy the artist.

Figure 5, Vadim Zakharov, *History of Russian art from the avant-garde to the Moscow conceptual school,* 2003. MMK, Museum für Moderne Kunst Frankfurt am Main. Courtesy the artist.

Figure 6, Vadim Zakharov, *Postscript after R.I.P*, 2015. Exhibition view of the installation presented at Garage Museum, Moscow. Courtesy the artist.

Figure 7, Vadim Zakharov, Postscript after R.I.P, 2015. Exhibition view of the installation presented at Garage Museum, Moscow. Courtesy the artist.

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