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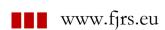University of Turku

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FOREWORD

The School of Languages and Translation Studies at the University of Turku has undertaken the publication of an academic journal in the field of Romanian studies. *The Finnish Journal for Romanian Studies* (FJRS) focuses on different aspects of Romanian culture, mainly as reflected outside Romania, while researchers from around the world are invited to publish, the interdisciplinary dialogue between researchers in the field being heartily encouraged.

The second issue of FJRS brings together research articles from different areas of Romanian studies – literature, society, politics and language, which analyse and revisit the development of concepts, theories and paradigms as offered by specialists from different centres of research.

Our aim is to approach the way Romanians related to the Others and how this meeting, whether linguistic, cultural, literary, political, artistic or social has been perceived from both sides over the years. This discussion on how the interaction and possible transfer is an invitation to revisit old concepts and paradigms in the light of the contemporary European views on state, ethnicity, religion, human rights and freedom, all challenged by the new emerging maps and walls in Europe and not only. We thus express our sincerest thanks to the contributors of the current issue for their novel perspectives brought to the field of Romanian studies as well as to the reviewers of the articles.

The Editors

REVIEWERS FOR THIS ISSUE

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ROMANIANS AND THE OTHERS

THE UNDERDOG OUTSIDE BECOMES AN INSIDE PLAYER: EVOLUTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY ROMANIAN FILM INDUSTRY IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

Until the beginning of the 21st century, the Romanian film industry played a marginal role in the larger European context. In this paper, we shall examine the scenario that followed the fall of the communist regime in 1989, focusing on the complex relations between the Romanian film industry and its European counterparts. As of today, both media and academia have largely analysed the aesthetic, narrative and historical features of the so-called 'Romanian New Wave'. Notwithstanding, institutional and economic aspects allowing the (re)birth of this industry deserve further attention. Fifteen years after the release of the cornerstone of Romanian contemporary film *d'auteur,* Cristi Puiu's *Stuff and Dough* (*Marfa și banii*, 2001), the dynamics of domestic production has evolved. If the pioneers of the New Romanian Cinema of the last decade defined new aesthetic and narrative standards that put Romania on the cinephiles' map, their works thrived in transnational scenarios involving economic, political and media-related aspects. In a process that developed parallel to Romania's admission in the EU, international film co-production and distribution have become key elements for what is now a more stable, yet relatively small film industry. The Romanian context remains one where institutional grounds and public policies for film are still to consolidate. By examining funding mechanisms and institutional developments, we shall analyse how the factors resulting in the birth of a film trend later evolved into a complex scenario giving way to an industry where transnational relations have become essential for a steady production and larger circulation. The key question is: how did Romanian film overcome isolation, becoming an essential player in the European film world?

In his introduction to a collection of texts first published in the French film magazine *Cahiers du Cinéma*, former editor Antoine de Baecque, attests to the prominence of Asian national cinemas as centres of interest for this media outlet. Dating back to 2001, De Baecque's piece points out that film critics periodically promote a country or region as places where some exciting novelties are being made, privileging these works in their publications.[1] Creating trends in the film industry by geographically positioning a set of subjects and aesthetic resources that deserve experts' acclaim and the (cinephile) audience's attention is less a consequence of material, political and social conditions of local industries than of the international media's disposition to put these places on the map.

Attesting to the vitality of Asian and Middle Eastern arthouse film at the time, De Baecque closes his text by daring the reader to muse upon the critics' next destination of choice. The volume was published in 2001, the year when the cornerstone-film of this destination was launched. A few years after the release of *Stuff and Dough* (*Marfa și banii*, 2001), Cristi Puiu's début feature that inaugurated the so-called Romanian New Wave, Romanian films would receive unprecedented coverage on specialized and general press, circulating and receiving accolades in the international film festival circuit and obtaining international theatrical release.

By the middle of the 2000's, Romanian arthouse films were at the heart of the cinephile debate. The Palme d'Or for Cristian Mungiu's *4 months, 3 weeks and 2 days* (*4 luni, 3 săptămâni și 2 zile*, 2007)[2] in Cannes 2007 then crowned the Romanian film fever. In 2016, Romanian cinema has evolved from an 'unexpected miracle', as indicated by Dominique Nasta (2013),[3] into a more complex, varied film industry with steady production and festival circulation. Local and international commentators have also realized the importance of

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[1] Antoine De Baecque, 'Présentation'. *L'Etat du monde au cinéma: Nouvelle Géographie*. IX Petite anthologie des Cahiers du Cinéma, Cahiers du Cinéma, 2001.

[2] All English film titles correspond to the international titles provided by the Internet Movie Database.

[3] Dominique Nasta. *Contemporary Romanian Cinema: The History of an Unexpected Miracle*, New York: Wallflower Press, 2013.

the phenomenon and have launched extensive works that discuss historical and aesthetic characteristics of Romanian films made since 2001.[1]

The first shock caused by young and innovative filmmakers coming from a country with little known film tradition and a particular historical burden has passed. It is then possible to focus on the wider economic and political conditions that favoured the rebirth of a waning industry and permitted its actual thriving. With regard to a set of productions that surpass the *auteur* gems acclaimed by the international press and festival audiences, it is worth to shed some light on complex aspects that have developed throughout the last fifteen years. At the centre of this progression, issues that at first seemed specific to a local scenario can now be analysed as being at the core of the transnational dynamics that permeate the Romanian film industry.

To better understand how certain views of contemporary Romanian cinema have changed, some points deserve to be more carefully examined. First, it is important to track the evolution of international cooperation concerning Romanian films. After the fall of the communist regime, continuities and ruptures in these relations point not only to the specificities of audiovisual market practices, but also to issues related to the advent of Romania as part of the European Union in a broader context. Next, it is useful to review the institutional framework allowing for the bolstering of the Romanian film industry at the wake of the 21st century, with new auteurs emerging albeit relying on a precarious funding system. Finally, the actual scenario deserves further analysis: learning how the Romanian film industry conjugates arthouse and popular film production helps to comprehend the different stakes at play on domestic and international markets. These three pillars show the evolution of international film co-production and circulation dynamics, providing insightful perspectives on the position of what is seen today as Romanian cinema. More importantly, they show how Romania's relations with *other* members of the European film *club* developed, thus guaranteeing its *membership* in this restricted circle.

SEARCHING FOR NEW GROUNDS

Romania's *passage* to the capitalist world has been more a matter of mediatized astonishment than of a continuous, progressive process of political and economic mutation.[2] The 1980's severe economic hardship and isolation in the international sphere left Romania in the margins of the

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[1] A few noteworthy early works on the subject are Alex Leo Şerban's *4 decenii, 3 ani şi 2 luni cu filmul românesc* (Bucarest: Polirom, 2009) and Mihai Fulger's *Noul val în cinematografia românească* (Bucarest: Art, 2006). The authors were originally film critics.
[2] See Lucian Boia's *La Roumanie: un pays à la frontière de l'Europe* (Paris, Les Belles lettres, 2003) and Catherine Durandin's *Histoire de la Nation Roumaine* (Paris, Éditions Complexe, 1994).

mediascape (to use Arjun Appadurai's term)[1] for a decade. However, the country was violently pushed to the centre of media's attention in 1989, being shown as the place of one of the most violent and (therefore) heavily recorded and broadcasted *revolutions* in the former communist bloc.

Unsurprisingly, the cinephile world of the early 1990's saw Romania through the images of its televised revolution. Within the context of political, economic, and institutional chaos left by communism's decadence and ultimate fall, few cinematic works could be made. As a result, film critics and filmmakers turned to analysing the unexpected broadcast images coming from Romania. One of the only two pieces in the early 1990's regarding Romania in the French film magazine and cinephile bible, *Cahiers du Cinéma,* does not examine any Romanian movie, but reiterates the astonishment over Romanian revolution's images on TV.[2] Moreover, at that time, the film most often identified with Romania's 1989 events, making full use of its TV footage in a political statement is the documentary essay *Videograms of a revolution* (*Videogramme einer Revolution*, 1992), by Turkish-German Harun Farocki and Romanian-born director Andrei Ujică. Focusing on a Romanian theme and having some local manpower in the creative crew (like Ujică and editor Velvet Moraru), the film is a German-funded production. However, considering the textual and industrial composition of the documentary, one can easily see it as a perfect example of Romania in a transnational film context.

In the past two decades, the transnational approach has become a mainstream framework for film analysis, overcoming the traditional view of film as a 'national' cultural good. Albeit the difficulty in defining the term *transnational* in film, it is commonly associated to international economic, narrative, aesthetic and institutional flows involving film as both art and industry (Fisher; Smith, 2016).

The unsettling nature of changing social-political-economic systems and the specificity of Romania's unprepared process heighten the perception of the 1990's as an era of instability, where post-communist individuals get trapped between the promise of 'free' choices in a capitalist world and the marginal

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[1] According to Appadurai (1990), mediascapes 'provide... large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and ethnoscapes to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the world of news and politics are profoundly mixed.' In Laura Chrisman and Patrick Williams (eds). *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: a Reader.* Hertfordshire, Prentice Hall, 1993. p 330

[2] Serge Daney. 'Roumanie, année zéro'. *Cahiers du cinéma* 428, february 1990, pp 129-136. The other one is an article by Jacques Morice of 1992 on Romanian communist cinema.

position their home country occupy in the global market, limiting their options in their now favoured role of consumers (Popescu-Sandu, 2010).

At this point, a transnational analysis of the Romanian film industry is the key. In the wake of the 1990's, the whole communist film production system, sponsored by the state and obeying its policies and ideology was being dismembered. The deep multi-sectorial crisis in the early days of Romania's new capitalism did not stop private investors from betting on a sector that had already been suffering since before 1989. As a matter of fact, the disorder of the media sector at the time allowed private companies to acquire licenses for broadcasting. State monopole was in place until 1993, but private channels had been operating part of its daily programme since 1989. If the first private, full-time autonomous national broadcaster Antena 1 had predominantly Romanian capital, North-American resources largely funded the soon-to-be leading channel in revenue, Pro TV, launched in 1995. The television sector rapidly became dynamic, even though these channels and other, less prominent ones faced difficulties to reach full territorial coverage.

Not the same can be said about the film industry.[1] The 1990's saw a steep decrease in theatrical attendance. Television offers became increasingly diversified, and access to video turned easy and cheap, while the theatrical circuit remained outdated. With production resources scarce and decreasing frequentation in a market now dominated by American blockbusters, the Romanian film industry had to start looking abroad to survive.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, audiovisual production had caught the eye of entrepreneurs in the early 1990's. In 1992, Romanian film producer Vlad Păunescu associated with American Charles Brand to launch Castelfilm, a production facility focused on the co-production of North-American and European direct-to-video B-films, series and TV commercials. Atthe end of the decade, after years of decadence, the Buftea studios, the state production facility created in 1957, were finally put into auction as part of Romania's privatization programme. In 1999, CME MediaPro, the American-Romanian group behind ProTV, bought the studios. The group invested heavily on modernizing the facility, which would not only provide production resources for ProTV's shows, but also operate as a film location and services provider for more upscale international co-productions and other audiovisual ventures.

Therefore, by the end of the 1990's, two main orientations predominated the Romanian film industry. If profit-bound American co-productions would precariously provide jobs for technical workforce, Romanian arthouse films

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[1] In *Paysage audiovisuel et politiques publiques des pays candidats dans le secteur audiovisuel – Roumanie.* IMCA Report for the European Commission – DG EAC, March 2004.

were still made, mostly by the same directors who had met positive critical feedback abroad during communism. Lucian Pintilie, Mircea Daneliuc and Dan Piţa would then experience filming in Romania without censorship constraint. Their work, however, did not reach audiences easily. In Romania, local film distribution now faced fierce competition with American films, in a context where theatrical frequentation reached low points for all films. Moreover, arthouse film audiences have naturally been smaller, and their reception has relied heavily on festival circulation and press recognition. Where these spaces are limited in a national scale, the international performance becomes all the more important. Although Daneliuc, Piţa and Pintilie's 1990's films could be seen in competition at major European film festivals[1], they were not received with much enthusiasm by foreign critics. As Romanian film critic and scholar Andrei Gorzo notes, Romanian film *auteurs* in the 1990's were 'stooping to the level of the crudest exploitation filmmaking ..., carrying on in the exhausted aesthetic vein of the Kafkian-Orwellian Eastern European anti-totalitarian allegorical parable' or 'dressing, with overbearing insistence, 'as the sick soul of Romania'[2]. For both cinephile and general audiences, such narratives lacked appeal, missing out on novelty, and making use of an old-fashioned coded discourse.

If Romanian arthouse movies were not easy to export, some filmmakers still managed to find funding outside Romania. Lucian Pintilie, who had immigrated to France in the 1970's after being banned from film directing under Ceauşescu's rule, made the most of his *auteur* status. All of his four films made in the 1990's were French-Romanian co-productions. While commercially oriented, minority co-productions were mostly funded by the United States, France was the main partner of Romanian art film in the decade.

France's history of international cooperation in film industry is part of its own national model that started taking its current shape in the 1940's, and aimed to resist the concurrence of American films. Originally based heavily on public financial support responding to quality criteria, the French system has since incorporated elements also privileging commercial outcome, combining mechanisms that involve public and private funding (Creton,

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[1] Piţa's *Hotel de Lux* (1992) won the Silver Lion award at the Mostra di Venecia, Pintilie's *An Unforgettable Summer* (*O vară de neuitat*, 1994) and *Too Late* (*Prea târziu*, 1996) were both nominated to the Palme d'Or at Cannes, and his *Terminus Paradis* (1998) won the Grand Jury Prize in Venice. Daneliuc's *Patul conjugal* (1993) was nominated for the Golden Bear award at the Berlin Film Festival and *Senatorul melcilor* (1995) for the Palme d'Or in Cannes.

[2] In 'Realism and Ideology in post-2000 Romanian cinema', available at *Lucruri care nu pot fi spuse altfel, un blog de Andrei Gorzo*. Posted on July 25th, 2016.

2014). This mostly functional resistance model has seduced producers and filmmakers around the globe, who in their turn either directly turn to French companies and institutions to technically or financially achieve their works or lobby for the implementation of similar models in their own countries.

International cooperation helps affirming France as a world reference in arthouse filmmaking, which both reinforces the image of French culture in the global sphere, and economically stimulates its own audiovisual sector. If co-production deals have long been an essential part of French film history (Creton *et al.,* 2011; Forest 2001), the 1990's were the decade where (1) the European communist bloc had disappeared, thus giving way to the expansion of the European Union towards Eastern Europe, that had a well-respected cinematic tradition; (2) Eastern European countries were still adapting to free-market and reforming institutions to fit their new international role while struggling with different degrees of economic turmoil; (3) France, for its part, was reaffirming its leading role in Fortress Europe through culture, as shown in the use of the concept of 'cultural exception' to impose protective measures for cultural goods during the Uruguay round of GATT negotiations in 1993.

In this context, the film industry did not escape serving the interests of both sides. In 1990, France inaugurated the Fonds ECO, a fund for French co-productions with Central and East European countries. Co-producing a total of 65 feature films, the fund was essential to keep cinemas in the former communist block alive at times of deep transformation (Creton; Jäckel, 2004). Romanian cinema was an exemplary beneficiary of this strategic tool. The fund was used for supporting both the well-established of Lucian Pintilie[1], and Nae Caranfil's first features, *Don't Lean Out of the Window* (*E pericoloso sporgersi*, 1993) and *Asphalt Tango* (*Asfalt Tango*, 1996).

Even if bilateral co-production deals between France and former communist European countries still stand, the umbrella fund ECO was terminated in 1997. European programmes have replaced it, following therefore the evolutions of the European Union's enlargement.

MEETING EUROPEAN STANDARDS

Launched in 1989, Eurimages is the cultural support fund of the Council of Europe. Operating exclusively in the film industry, it provides funding for cinema co-productions, theatrical distribution and exhibition circuits. Currently, 37 of the 47 member-states of the Council of Europe are members of the programme. Romania joined the Council of Europe in 1993, but only entered the Eurimages programme in 1998. At first, Eurimages

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[1] *The Oak* (*Balanța* 1993), *Too late* (1996) and *An Unforgettable Summer* (1994).

required that co-productions had a minimum of three member-state participants to access funding, but in 1998, bipartite projects became eligible.

Until 2015, thirty Romanian productions by Romanian directors received funding. Ten other films with Romanian participation and foreign directors were also supported. In the same period, the European Audiovisual Observatory listed the release of 200 films with Romanian participation in production schemes. In other words, 20% of the films produced in Romania between 1999 and 2015 received Euroimages production support.[1]

Upon becoming a member of the European Union in 2007, Romania could take part in the audiovisual support programmes that were sponsored and regulated by the European Commission. Its eligibility formally started in 1995[2], after the country officially applied for EU membership, but effective access only came when the MEDIA programme was in its fourth edition, MEDIA 2007 – Romania became member of the EU that same year. Renamed and reconfigured as MEDIA-Creative Europe in 2014, the EU programme now supports audiovisual-related initiatives in various forms: by stimulating the development and distribution of European films and TV productions and promoting their international sales, exhibition and festival circulation, or championing education and innovation in the area. So far, 64 Romanian feature films and TV shows have received development support. Differently from Eurimages, it is not mandatory that the films applying for MEDIA funding be co-productions, making it easier for films made by new Romanian filmmakers to receive financial aid.

Besides production support, both programmes also stress the important role of distribution for vivifying the film industry. Twenty-four Romanian productions (as a major or minor partner) have received distribution support from MEDIA, thus enabling them to obtain theatrical releases in other European markets. Eurimages, in its turn, has helped to diversify the theatrical circuit in Romania, where American films have constantly reached more than 83% of market share. The most interesting data concerning Romania range from 1998, the year Eurimages funding became available, to year2011. Since then, Eurimages distribution funds became available only for its members that could not access the MEDIA-Creative Europe distribution programme, limiting its portfolio.

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[1] The data is available online at: Lumière Database (lumiere.obs.coe.int) and at Eurimages website, 'Funding History' section (coe.int).

[2] Ad Van Loon. 'European Union/Bulgaria/Hungary/Poland/Romania/Czech Republic: Participation in Community framework programmes in AV and other sectors made possible'. *European Audiovisual Observatory.*

Between 1998 and 2011 only 14 films by Romanian directors benefitted from distribution funds to reach other territories, especially in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the exceptions being Pintilie's *Terminus Paradis* (*Terminus Paradis*, 1998), distributed in Switzerland in 1998 and *The Death of Mr Lazarescu* (*Moartea domnului Lăzărescu*, dir. Cristi Puiu, 2005), reaching Belgium in 2006. However, considering the predominance of American films in Romania's limited theatrical circuit, Eurimages has been a key-element in improving the variety of European films with theatrical release in the country. In the 2010's, the number of European titles first released in Romanian theatres hardly reached half of the number of American titles. For instance in 2012, 48 European films, all nationalities included, and 113 American films were released; in 2014, 47 European titles premiered in theatres for 113 American movies. The market shares of European films in the past ten years have been low, ranging from 3.7% in 2013 to the historical positive record of 11% in 2015 (Romanian CNC).[1] Therefore, this additional funding seems essential for the survival of local small distribution companies, that cannot rely on the scarce revenue obtained from its European releases in Romania.

After a slow start, in 2005 the number of European films receiving Eurimages aid for distribution in the Romanian circuit reached its highest point: 35 films of a total of 49, corresponding to 71% of the European

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[1] Centrul National al Cinematografiei, the Romanian Film Centre.

releases.[1] That year, French and Hungarian productions were dominant (eight for each country), but the offer was varied: thirteen European countries had films receiving support, from Italy to Macedonia, from Austria to Denmark. The same ratio of Eurimages funded distribution was maintained in 2006, with a similar variety of nationalities. For the next four years, however, if the total of released European films increased, the part of Eurimages supported distribution diminished.

Crossing data from the Romanian National Film Centre (Romanian CNC) and Eurimages helps delineate the Romanian distribution landscape in the past fifteen years. Between 1999 and 2003, Romanian distributors benefitting from Eurimages funding were few: communist fossil Româniafilm[2] was active - and still is -, receiving support until 2001; however, the company in charge of launching most European successes was Independenţa Films. Its portfolio focused on European arthouse movies, especially those of famous *auteurs*. Until 2003 it had released films by Lars Von Trier, Agnes Jaoui, Aki Kaurismäki, Julio Medem, Nani Moretti, Cédric Klapisch: the European directors that would most surely attract audiences. At the time, some smaller companies would focus on specific national cinemas: Interfilm Rom and GlobCom at first privileged Hungarian films, later diversifying, mostly to other Central European productions. However, in the early 2000's, European blockbusters would also receive support from Eurimages: such was the case of French comedies *Asterix & Obelix Take on Cesar* (*Astérix et Obélix contre César*, 1999), Luc Besson's *Taxi 2* (*Taxi 2*, 2000) and Eric and Ramzi's *Don't Die Too Hard* (*La Tour Montparnasse infernale*, 2001). One company, New Films, would initially focus both on *auteur* and more commercial European titles, from Almodóvar's *Talk to Her* (*Hable con ella*, 2002) to light-hearted French comedy *The Closet (Le Placard*, Francis Veber, 2000).

In 2005, other important distributors saw the light. Asociaţia Moebius and Grafitti Art first focused on Hungarian 'difficult' titles, then diversified their offers to other European productions whose commercial potential was far from granted. In the same year, other important distributors for European and independent film first appeared: Transilvania Film launched Icelandic *Noi, the Albino* (*Nói Albinói*, dir. Dagur Kári, 2003), and Clorofilm released seven films that year alone, including works by Jacques Rivette, Lukas

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[1] Between 1998 and 2003, the numbers varied between three and eight. A leap forward happened in 2004, when 34 films had their distribution in Romania funded by Eurimages (Romanian CNC).
[2] Created in the communist era, Româniafilm was the distribution and exhibition branch of the Romanian film industry. It kept its functions of distributor and theatre administrator after the fall of the regime

Moodyson and Otar Iosseliani. Gradually, Clorofilm, Moebius and Transilvania would be the distributors benefiting the most of Eurimages aid. By the mid-2000's, Independenţa started receiving help mostly for films that were less likely to guarantee an audience, until disappearing from Eurimages beneficiaries' list in 2008. By then, the company was alive and well.

Actually, Independenţa still has a portfolio focusing on European and independent world titles that were successful either commercially or in the festival, cinephile sphere. Even with competition from Clorofilm and Transilvania, which thrive in the same niche, Independenţa still concentrates the main titles that are not American blockbusters in Romania. Releasing between 13 and 18 films in theatres[1], its market share has lately fluctuated between 7% and 9% of the national market. Considering the DVD market, it ranks second in market share among all Romanian distributors, with 10,8% of the releases in 2015. That year, yet another distribution company focusing on European film was created in Romania: Cine Europa, which released ten titles in its first year alone (Romanian CNC, 2015).

Romanian productions are typically distributed by the distribution branch of their production house in theatres and DVD (Romanian edition) or by the same companies focusing on European arthouse films, on DVD only. Even though a fair amount of 'Romanian' films are in fact (mostly) European co-productions, the Romanian National film centre categorizes 'Romanian' and 'European' films separately in its distribution statistics. However, when it comes to production numbers, 'Romanian' films are listed as 100% national, major co-productions or minor co-productions. In reality, 'major' Romanian co-productions and productions made solely with Romanian resources are locally considered a category apart from 'European' films, even if the very fact that Romania is a European country is the main condition for producers to access co-production schemes and for distributors to receive support from supranational programmes.

As discussed above, potential partners largely overlooked the Romanian film industry during the 1990's. Its visibility improved when gaining access to supranational European film funds, a process that concurred its accession to EU membership. Even though this newfound European proximity had facilitated access to co-productions, most of Romanian films were still entirely funded by national resources in the 2000's, including most of those that constitute what the media has called the *Romanian New Wave*. In fact, starting with 2006 onwards, the number of feature films made with 100% of national resources has surpassed that of co-productions. Albeit being object

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[1] Not to mention DVD releases. Romanian distributors normally negotiate both theatrical and DVD releases of European films.

of numerous scandals and never-ending debate, the launching of a National Film Centre, the Romanian CNC, partially explains this scenario.

An act stipulating the creation and structuring of a National Film Centre was already approved in 1990, but more specific legislation shaping the functioning of the institution only began being approved in 1997, when Romania started concretely moving towards EU accession. As Claude Forest (2001) notes, it was a common place in former Eastern European countries to shape new state film institutions accordingly to those already functioning in the West, aspiring more specifically to the French *Centre National de la Cinématographie* model. Therefore, such institutions would not only ensure legal repertoire that allowed for participation in European programmes and regulated the film industry, but would also provide public funding mechanisms. As for the Romanian CNC, in the year 1997-1998 a series of judicial decisions drafting the establishment and functioning of a National Film Office, of a National Film Fund and of a Film Registry were made public. Since then, especially in the early 2000's, the organogram and status of the institution have changed several times, making it difficult to guarantee continuous and coherent support of the sector.

In 2002, the previous decisions were put together in what became the cornerstone of the contemporary Romanian National Film Centre. The Law nb. 630, entitled the Film Law, came into force that year. The extensive text covers simple definitions such as the duration of short and feature films to the complex organization of the film centre. Its main contribution though, is establishing the National Film Fund and defining its sources of income: the Fund would be nourished by the exploitation of CNC property, by a tax on the Film Registry operations, by diverse taxes on sales and rentals of films in different supports (such as VHS, DVD and VoD), on television advertising, on theatrical exhibition revenue (except for that of Romanian films), on the sales of exhibition and broadcasting rights of Romanian films, to name a few. It also further regulated the controversial contest system by which the funds were awarded, that was in place since the end of the 1990's.[1]

From a general, superficial point of view, the efforts for organizing the film sector might seem valuable. In practical terms, however, this shifting model obeyed to political ambitions instead of corresponding to the needs of a sector begging for renewal. Sergiu Nicolaescu, the leading communist film director, and later on also a senator, proposed the law himself. In 2001 and

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[1] The full text of the Law no 630 is available at:
legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocument/40414. Other legal texts concerning the sector can be found at the Romanian CNC website, at cnc.gov.ro.

2002, Nicolaescu was also part of the CNC jury in charge of choosing the projects that would be awarded public funds. Unsurprisingly, in both years, his own projects were awarded, as well as projects by other members of the jury and by their entourage. These projects received funding in detriment of those by younger filmmakers, whose débuts had already achieved better box-office results and critical acclaim. This situation elicited passionate reactions by the professionals who struggled with the system in place. Rising filmmakers like Cristian Mungiu, Cristi Puiu and Radu Muntean and others like Thomas Ciulei, Alexandru Solomon and Nae Caranfil signed an open letter demanding transparency in the contests and the adoption of simple initiatives like clear selection criteria and that members of the jury could not present their own projects (Mungiu, 2003). Finally, the 2002 law was modified. The Ordinance no. 39/2005 replaced the Law of 2002. It preserved its main contributions, but restricted access of members of the selection committee to funds awarded by the CNC contests. The evolution of legal texts also helps understanding the changing debates in place in the local film industry. In 2016, the Romanian Ministry of Culture made the film industry 'its priority'[1] and set up a work group of film experts in charge of delineating the most needed modifications in the 2005 film law. Leading professionals of the 2000's generation, such as Cristian Mungiu and Tudor Giurgiu were part of the team, whose aim was to make the Romanian regulation closer to those of leading European industries and solve problems concerning the limited theatrical circuit. However, the proposal did not enjoy a smooth reception by professionals who felt left behind and saw the renewed sponsoring role of the state as a reminder of communist mentality and a threat to commercially-bound movies[2].

In spite of the odds, Cristi Puiu and Mungiu, who soon would be leading directors of the new generation, both obtained CNC support for their first features, released in 2001 and 2002 respectively. However, they had to face unprecedented trouble to actually get hold of the modest sums they had been awarded. Even though, the constant reactions of the new representatives of the industry gradually paid-off. If transparency and appropriate methodology in the selection of projects was still being periodically challenged, the industry then started making its voice heard. Between 2005 and 2009, many projects that would turn into recognized 'Romanian New Wave' films were awarded CNC funding: Puiu's *The Death of Mr Lazarescu* (2005), that would be awarded more than 20 prizes in film festivals around world, including Cannes and Mungiu's *4 months, 3 weeks and 2 days* (2007), that would receive the highest

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[1] Gabriela Lupu. 'Legea cinematografiei, aprig disputata', *România Liberă* online, August 3rd, 2016.

[2] Petriana Condrut. '58 de cineaşti îi cer premierului să o demită pe Corina Şuteu, ministrul Culturii'. *Mediafax*. August 7th, 2016.

reward of the international festival circuit, the Palme d'Or in Cannes. Both received their merited parts, as well as other films by young directors that would circulate internationally. Productions that had full national funding like Tudor Giurgiu's *Lovesick* (*Legături bolnăvicioase*, 2006), Radu Muntean's *The Paper Will Be Blue* (*Hârtia va fi albastră*, 2006) and *Boogie* (*Boogie*, 2008), Cristian Nemescu's *California Dreamin'* (*California Dreamin' (Nesfârșit)*, 2007) and co-productions like Ruxandra Zenide's *Ryna* (*Ryna*, 2005), Cătălin Mitulescu's *How I Spent the End of the World* (*Cum mi-am petrecut sfârșitul lumii*, 2006), Anca Damian's *Crossing Dates* (*Întâlniri încrucișate*, 2009) and Radu Jude's *The Happiest Girl in the World* (*Cea mai fericită fată din lume*, 2009) were made with CNC support.

By the mid-2000's, the CNC contests were awarding some promising, young filmmakers while still funding films by older directors including Nicolaescu. In 2005, eight Castelfilm's commercially oriented American co-productions also got public funding. By the end of the decade, most of the films released in Romania were made with CNC funding: in 2009, 25 out of 26 and in 2010, 27 of 29 feature films released had received Romanian public funding. The system was not yet fully functional, though: normally holding two sessions per year, there was no contest in 2009, allegedly due to difficulties in implementing new rules for the selection. Considering an average gap of two-years between obtaining funding and finishing a feature film, this may explain the drop on Romanian releases in 2011, to a total of 16 films (Romanian CNC).

The 2010's started bringing to light some bad habits that lingered in the CNC contest: the script for Călin Peter Netzer's *Child's Pose* (*Poziția copilului*, 2011), that later would be awarded the Golden Bear at Berlin Film Festival, did not obtain enough points to receive CNC funding in the first 2010 session. Meanwhile, Nicolaescu's project, that would prove to be a fiasco, was one of the ten features chosen. *Child's Pose* would later obtain CNC support upon reapplying in the following section. In that year, the contest would present two sections for feature fictions, one for confirmed directors and other for first features, alongside separate sections for documentaries, animation, fiction shorts and for the development of projects. This model of separate sections remains to this day, with the number of films awarded at each edition depending on the CNC's and the projects' budgets. Interestingly enough, in the past five years, the same directors that became confirmed *auteurs* in the 2000's and struggled for institutional transparency have been constant names in the list of projects financed. Projects by Mungiu, Puiu, Cătălin Mitulescu, Radu Jude, Corneliu Porumboiu, Adrian Sitaru, Tudor Giurgiu, Florin Şerban have secured their place in the CNC selection.

Furthermore, Romanian film projects with a commercial profile, after facing some initial resistance, have now gained access to public funding. Contemporary directors such as Jesus del Cerro, Cristina Iacob and Iulia Rugină have made national both-office hits oriented to a general audience that do barely make it to the international sphere. Even if their films have achieved some of the best box-office results for Romanian movies, the limited share of Romanian films in the domestic market makes some public funding more than welcome. Giving incentives to films that help develop a larger local audience is a bet that might pay-off in the long run, when this more commercial vein could ideally become self-sustainable. The actual, more coherent profile of the films receiving funding by the CNC is also result of the configuration of the juries that are constantly changing and includes film critics, professionals and scholars that started working or developed their careers concomitantly to Romanian cinema's renewal.[1]

Romanian contemporary films have, therefore, the financial model typical of European small cinemas. Partially financed by national public funding, partially or sometimes fully financed by private partners, often participating in opportunities provided by supranational or bilateral co-production schemes. If the film industry is still finding its way and constantly adapting to new possibilities and obstacles, what started as a media trend with uncertain future now experiences the path to maturity, where local issues find solutions inspired by international examples.

REACHING INDUSTRIAL MATURITY

The start of a new generation of Romanian filmmakers in the early 2000's was not tainted only by problems originating from poor institutional policies and difficult access to funding. Given the local conditions, those young filmmakers adapted to the reality of material conditions: having lived the bleak 1980's and chaotic 1990's, these were people who had been able to go to film school or at least earn a graduate degree, go abroad to live or visit, and had access to cosmopolitan culture but still remembered the hardest years for everyday life in communist Romania. Those were young adults who had surely seen a world of possibilities, but were fully aware that they would not come that easy in a country that occupied a marginal role in the Europe it was part of.[2]

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[1] The results of the contests and the lists of the juries' members can be found at the Romanian CNC website, section 'Arhiva'. http://cnc.gov.ro/?page_id=230

[2] Between 2011 and 2016, the author conducted interviews with key filmmakers of contemporary Romanian cinema, such as Cristi Puiu, Corneliu Porumboiu, Radu Muntean, Radu Jude and Anca Damian, who told about their paths.

The creative solution for these new auteurs was to break with the tradition of coded messages and allegorical discourse; mostly making use of cinematic techniques and narrative resources that would bring about a new kind of realism. Relying on objectivity and simplicity in decor and camera work, developing strong scripts with complex characters, they found an original manner to depict life in contemporary Romania or to communicate their views on communist times, while keeping budgets low (Nasta, 2013; Pop, 2014; Fulger, 2008).

The cornerstone of this kind of filmmaking was Cristi Puiu's *Stuff and Dough*. The movie about three young adults transporting some controversial goods from Constanţa to Bucharest is a comedy and road-movie, where the characters use crude, everyday language and the camera-on-the-shoulder closely follows its subject in a documentary style (Gorzo 2016). The film was selected in the Critic's Week at Cannes, being the first début feature of a Romanian director to make it to the festival in years. It also ran further in the festival circuit, receiving awards in Thessaloniki, Cottbus and Angers and positive attention from the foreign press. However, its reception in Romania was more than deceiving, attracting merely 2000 viewers to the theatres with a total box-office of little more than USD 1,200. The local critical reaction did not compensate the low commercial performance. Actually, it made things worse: the film was too bold for critics still appreciative of a more classical style and disconnected of the new trends in world cinema. Reviews were harsh, denouncing the film's use of foul language and 'bad' cinematography. Exceptions to these points of view were Mihai Chirilov and Alex Leo Şerban (Chirilov; Şerban, 2001). These Romanian critics readily defended Puiu's venture and became supporters of the new Romanian cinema, frequently stressing the qualities of the new directors in their writings and, in the case of Chirilov, also founding Transylvania International Film Festival, the first event of its type to achieve dynamic international standards and the most important film festival in the country to this day.

Puiu's first feature also inspired other young filmmakers, who recognized its innovative quality. If not as bold as *Stuff and Dough*, Cristian Mungiu's *Occident* (*Occident*, 2002) and Radu Muntean's *The Rage* (*Furia*, 2002) were also fresh débuts that attracted totals of 53000 and 61000 spectators to the theatres, excellent results for the local market. The success of Romanian new directors, however, would not be measured by box-office results, but by positive criticism, awards, and circulation in the international sphere.

The Death of Mr Lazarescu (2005) received the *Un certain regard* prize in Cannes inaugurating the wave of awards for features by young Romanian directors such as Cătălin Mitulescu's *How I Spent the End of the World*, Cristian

Nemescu's *California Dreamin'*, Corneliu Porumboiu's *12:08, East of Bucharest* (*A fost sau n-a fost?*, 2006) or Mungiu's *4 months, 3 weeks and 2 days* at Cannes and Berlin festivals between 2005 and 2007. The recurrent presence and accolades in the arthouse film world would quickly attract the foreign press's attention. French magazines *Cahiers du cinéma* and *Positif*, revered cinephile publications that had largely overlooked Romanian films so far, started making place to the films selected in these festivals, and later publishing more in-depth articles on Romanian new films.[1] In this context, the much-criticized expression *Romanian New Wave* is repeated several times, especially in *Positif*. After the Palme d'Or, specialized and non-specialized media outlets from other foreign countries would share the enthusiasm about new Romanian cinema and the *New Wave* label would be largely employed by the press to define contemporary Romanian film.[2]

The awards for Romanian films kept coming, as exemplified by the Golden Bear for *Child's Pose* in 2013 and the Silver Bear for Radu Jude's direction of *Aferim!* (*Aferim!*, 2015) in 2015. Furthermore, the selection of Romanian films at international festivals is no longer an exception. In Cannes 2016 only, Puiu's *Sieranevada* (*Sieranevada*, 2016) and Mungiu's *Graduation* (*Bacalaureat*, 2016) competed in the main section, and Bogdan Mirică's *Dogs* (*Câini*, 2016) was presented at *Un certain regard*. Two shorts, *4:15 PM The End of the World* (*4:15pm, sfârșitul lumii,* dir. Gabi Virginia Șarga and Cătălin Rotaru, 2016) and *All Rivers Run to the Sea* (*Toate fluviile curg în mare*, dir. Alexandru Badea, 2016) also found their place in dedicated sections. The presence in 'type A' film festivals ensures press coverage in Romania and abroad. Other Romanian films circulate more quietly in less prestigious festivals, but also meet foreign audiences and gain recognition by being part of festivals' programmes[3], a process that is useful for finding funding for future projects, via international networking or by receiving points counted for applications at the Romanian CNC.

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[1] Mentions of Romanian new films can be found in *Positif* 539 and 551 and *Cahiers du Cinéma* 602, 608, 613, 616, 625, both in individual reviews of films released in the French circuit or in articles dedicated to the so-called Romanian New Wave.

[2] Ali Jaafar. 'Cannes wins put spotlight on Romania: Awards bring optimism to film business'. *Variety* online, June 15, 2007; Katja Hoffman. 'Romanian cinema on the rise'. *Variety*, online edition, June 22, 2007. Dennis Lim. 'Romanian cinema seizes the spotlight'. *Los Angeles Times*, online edition, January 31 janvier 2008. Bruce Bennett. 'On the Road with the Romanian New Wave'. *The New York Sun*, online edition, 23 avril 2008. A.O. Scott. 'In film, the Romanian New wave has arrived', *The New York* Times, online edition, January 19 2008.

[3] Recent examples are Ana Lungu's *Self-portrait of a Dutiful Daughter* (*Autoportretul unei fete cuminte,* 2015), awarded at TIFF (Transilvania International Film Festival), in 2015 and Radu Jude's *Scarred Hearts* (*Inimi cicatrizate*, 2016) selected in film festivals in Ghent, Mar del Plata, Haifa, Sarajevo and awarded at Locarno.

The continuity of film production, whose high standards keep Romanian films under the cinephile radar is not the only reason to consider the renewal of Romanian film more than a fad. It not only involved the establishment of new aesthetic and narrative grounds, it also directed the local industry to a more mature contemporary model. If arthouse films have a hard time reaching local audiences, they are the export products of choice that sell the idea of a dynamic Romania in the cultural market. Circulation in festivals and awards not only legitimate film *auteurs* intellectually, it helps negotiating co-production deals and sales for international release (De Valck, 2007, Wong 2011). International theatrical release remains a challenge for small film industries. Since the Romanian domestic market still resists to national arthouse productions, the performance of these films in the international market remains key.

The current model also gives commercially oriented films its just value. They do not depend on international repercussion for achieving good results in the domestic market. Among the top ten Romanian releases between 2011 and 2015, four are commercially oriented comedies: Cristina Iacob's *#Selfie* (*#Selfie*, 2014), Iura Luncaşu's *Sweet Little Lies* (*Minte-mă frumos*, 2012), Jesús del Cerro's *Hohoho 2* (*Hohoho 2: o loterie de familie*, 2012) and Virgil Nicolaescu's *Naşa* (2011). Two others ally qualities of *auteur* and commercial film, Iulia Rugină's *Love Building* (*Love Building*, 2013) and Tudor Giurgiu's *Of Men and Snails* (*Despre oameni şi melci*, 2012) (Romanian CNC).

Castelfilm's American co-productions are still made, but they have lost importance in larger the scenario of the sector. In the past fifteen years, co-productions evolved: European co-productions have become more important and diversified. If France, with its efficient funding and production structures is still a favoured partner, other countries such as Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands also appear often in cooperation.[1] More recently, less traditional partners have showed up: Puiu's *Sieranevada* is presented as a Romanian, French, Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian co-production; Adrian Sitaru's *Illegitimate* (*Ilegitim*, 2016) is Romanian, French and Polish. If in the 1990's and the beginning of 2000's minor Romanian participation in American commercial productions were seen as essential for the survival of the film industry and even received support from the National Film Fund, nowadays they are barely mentioned as being part of the Romanian industry. If they still provide technical jobs, they are now identified as a mere product of delocalization. On the other hand, European

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[1] Among Eurimages funded films, 19 out of 30 films by Romanian directors had France as a co-production partner.

co-productions with major or minor Romanian participation are perceived as examples of the industry's dynamism, especially when they attain the 'quality' press or festival label identified with contemporary Romanian films that circulate abroad.

CONCLUSION: THE AFFIRMATION OF A TRANSNATIONAL INDUSTRY

Fifteen years after the aesthetic and narrative turning point of Romanian contemporary cinema, the film sector has become a small industry based on the inevitable transnational model. The main persisting issues for Romanian cinema, namely attracting audiences to theatres and establishing criteria for the national public funding mechanism, only confirm the importance of creating a flow of exchanges with other countries.

These flows played a role in the adoption of a new way of making films in Romania, and now operate in diverse areas surrounding film production, circulation and promotion. Romania's accession process to the European Union allowed the country to gradually accede supranational and international funding via Eurimages and MEDIA programmes or bilateral deals. The very establishment of a National Film CentreCentre providing public funding and regulation, inspired by neighbouring counterparts, also facilitated access to international resources, public or private. At the same time, the difficulties imposed by years of political, economic and institutional crisis forced young filmmakers to find alternative aesthetic and narrative models that would adapt to the scarcity of financial resources without harming their creative beliefs. The resulting works paid off, but once again, transnational flows were essential for its recognition.

Only by circulating in international festivals and creating buzz in cinephile networks this young Romanian cinema could find its place, even in its own country. Furthermore, the fact that Romanian films had previously remained either relatively unknown or related to allegorical outdated images reinforced the novelty aspect of the new works, eliciting enthusiasm of festival selectors and the press. The consistency of Romanian arthouse film production and its continuous presence in the international sphere helped confirming the 2000's generation as key players in the industry, provoking changes in the local institutional scenario and making the production scene dynamic. Large studios such as MediaPro and Castelfilm provided for commercially oriented projects and smaller production companies focusing on arthouse cinema not only survived, but developed their portfolios while also operating as trustful partners in European co-productions.

In this sense, arthouse cinema confirmed a Romanian aesthetic and narrative identity in film as a result of transnational interactions. Today, it is at the core of new flows produced by agents in the global film *milieu*, be they producers,

funders, promoters or simply audience. Meanwhile, Romanian commercial projects also have a transnational dimension, since they are stylistically based on successful, contemporary Hollywood models. This inspiration is strategic in an exhibition market largely dominated by American blockbusters.

Theatrical exploitation remains a challenging terrain in Romania, where general frequency has grown but is still low. The theatrical circuit has to conquer audiences, although not at all costs. If American films remain dominant, the current diversification that is taking place, with distributors improving the European offer and Romanian films targeting diverse audience profiles, might result in more people finally going to the movies.

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WHO SHOULD BENEFIT FROM FREE MOVEMENT? A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON BRITISH AND ROMANIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSES IN THE PRE-BREXIT PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

The right to free movement in the European Union is currently an extremely topical matter, accentuated by the Brexit referendum, and its eventual impacts on the free movement regime. In this article, I analyse how the British Prime Ministers and the Home Secretaries as well as the Romanian Presidents and the Prime Ministers between January 2005 and January 2015 discussed the right to free movement in terms of the benefits and costs it incurs. British statements were collected from the government and party websites, and Romanian statements were collected from the official website of the President of Romania, from the Prime Minister's website as well from the archives of the Romanian government. The analysis reveals that the right to free movement was discussed in the British and the Romanian contexts mainly in connection with social security and brain drain, respectively. The article is divided in two parts, first of which considers theoretical and methodological questions, and the second discusses utility-related utterances about free movement in their political contexts. Finally, I draw my conclusions relying on the sections concerning utility-based questions related to free movement in the British and the Romanian discourses. I argue that the British approach relied on the view that only UK citizens should be entitled to social benefits. Romanian politicians, in turn, balanced between brain drain and benefits for individual citizens. Despite the seemingly different approaches, both perspectives were informed by the view that free movement should benefit societies, or rather, that people should not be a strain on the society. Both also represented free movement as a zero-sum game where one's gain is another's loss, and surprisingly, the national economy in both countries was presented as losing in the game.

KEYWORDS

Romania, free movement, European Union, UK, utilitarianism

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to analyse the British and the Romanian free movement discourses from the utilitarian perspective, which will reveal perceptions towards costs and benefits of EU migration. Particularly in the UK, EU movement has attracted increasing critical attention in recent years, culminating in the referendum on EU membership in June 2016. The question that I ask in this article is, *what sort of cost-benefit arguments do British and Romanian politicians utilize in their free movement discourses*. Romania and the UK provide interesting comparative cases, since Romania has the most mobile citizens in Europe, whereas Britain has been reluctant to host EU citizens, which contributed to the decision to leave the European Union. Britain maintained the maximum period of transitional restrictions for Romanian workers, which only ended in 2014. Also due to these restrictions, Romanians have headed more to Southern European countries, notably in Italy, but their numbers have been on the rise also in the UK. In any case, the numbers of Romanian migrants in the UK are not massive; in 2016, the total number of Romanian citizens was 237,000 in the UK, while the number in Italy was more than 1.1 million and 695,000 in Spain, according to latest Eurostat statistics (2017). When Romania joined the European Union in 2007, the numbers did not drastically grow, since all these countries established transitional restrictions for Romanian workers. The majority of Romanian immigrants are of working age (25–34) and both genders are rather evenly represented (Eurostat 2017). In contrast, according to the Migration Watch UK, the number of UK migrants in EU countries was 1,2 million in 2015, which is a little more than a third of the number of EU citizens in the UK. The situations thus differ considerably: there were approximately 3,2 million EU citizens in the UK in 2015, whereas only 48,000 in Romania, according to Eurostat (2017). Due to these differences in numbers, it can thus be expected that the discourses in these countries also differ.

The task of studying free movement discourses is important, since there are no comparative studies on discourses in the host and sending countries in Europe. The issue has, however, been looked at from single perspectives at a

more principled level. In the scholarly literature, it has been argued that free movement in the EU presents a type of post-national dilemma, where the fact that countries have open borders in the EU contributes to the increase of more nationalist stances voiced in different parts of Europe, most notably in the UK (Tonkiss, 2013a). My analysis demonstrates that the primary reference point in free movement issues appeared to be state interest, which might require restricting free movement. The British approach towards cooperation in immigration matters, in particular, has been reluctant. It has also been argued that the British preferences in the immigration matters include 1) strict immigration policies, 2) focus on external instead of internal controls, 3) supranational cooperation in tackling negative externalities caused by other states' policies and in reinforcing the British immigration control (Ette & Gerdes, 2007: 107–108). In the light of these findings, the British discussion on free movement in the European Union does not appear that surprising.[1] Since Eastern European migrants have been in the focus of the British debates, this article provides an interesting insight to the differences in the Romanian and the British rhetoric.

The period of analysis spans from January 2005 to January 2015. This period allows me to analyse the development from the adoption of the 2004 Free Movement Directive to the time after the end of Romanian transitional restrictions in January 2014. The material consists of utterances of British and Romanian Heads of States and Government and British Home Secretaries. I collected the British documents from the official websites of the government as well as from the websites of the major parties. More specifically, I gathered the documents from the government announcement site as well as from the UK Government Web Archive, where I examined the previous versions of the sites of the Office of the Prime Minister's and of the Home Office in order to find the relevant utterances.[2] Since the speeches at the government website are not allowed not include party political material, I also collected speeches made by the Prime Ministers in their party conferences.

I accessed the Romanian documents from the official website of the President of Romania, from the Prime Minister's website as well from the archives of the Romanian government. As there were no search functions, I

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[1] There have also been studies on the media image of EU migrants, and a study conducted by the Migration Observatory suggests that especially Bulgarians and Romanians are often depicted as criminals in the British press (Migration Observatory, 2014). In addition, a study concerning Eastern European migrants in rural England suggests that Eastern Europeans are not considered at the same level of 'whiteness' as the villagers (Moore, 2013: 1–19).
[2] In the collecting process, I also utilized the search function of the Internet browser, with 'movement' and 'mobility' as my keywords.

went through all the documents at the title level.[1] Since Romania has a semi-Presidential political system, the analysed utterances include those made by both the Romanian Presidents and Prime Ministers from January 2005 to January 2015. The President of Romania should officially represent Romania in the European Council. However, Prime Minister Victor Ponta, who was in office until his resignation in November 2015, questioned this practice. Although it was decided in the Romanian Constitutional Court that the President should attend such meetings, Prime Minister Ponta participated in the Council meetings anyway, and at the end of 2012 when there was a constitutional crisis involving protests, they signed an agreement of cohabitation. In the analysis, I have translated all the Romanian utterances in English and the Romanian original is found in the footnote. Before moving on to examining what the politicians stated about free movement, I present the theoretical and methodological framework of the article.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BASIS

In this article, I only focus on utilitarian arguments, which are by no means the only ones. I have looked at other types of argumentation in the Romanian and the British cases (Heinikoski forthcoming, 2015a, 2015b), but here the focus is exclusively on the alleged costs and benefits of free movement. In utilitarian thinking, free movement is understood in the instrumental sense, a view inspired by the utilitarian moral theory of R.M. Hare (Hare, 1981). In Hare's theory, rights in general should be known intuitively, and the utilitarian deliberation is necessary only when there are conflicting rights (Hare, 1981: 156). Originally, the utilitarian theory was most prominently outlined by John Stuart Mill (Mill, 2000), and Hare also incorporated some Kantian elements in his theory.

According to Hare, moral statements are not descriptive sentences in the sense that their 'meaning completely determines their truth-conditions', and therefore the words true or right should not even be used with regard to moral statements (Hare, 1981: 212–213). When considering the sentence, 'no EU citizen should be prevented from moving and residing in the EU area', in Hare's thinking the proposition is a moral imperative: 'do not prevent EU citizens from exercising their right'. Still, this imperative may conflict with other imperatives, such as preventing people incurring costs for the country from entering. According to Hare, an imperative needs critical and rational assessment in each specific situation.

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[1] The search function of the Internet browser was also utilized in the collecting process, with 'mişc*' 'circul*' and 'mobilitate' as the keywords.

This version of utilitarianism is sometimes called two-level utilitarianism, as it differentiates moral principles at the critical level and at the intuitive level (Hare, 1981: 60). According to Hare, rights in general belong to the class of intuitive moral principles, which everyone should intuitively know and always respect. However, in a situation where there are different rights operating simultaneously, one needs to employ critical thinking in order to determine which rights override others. The only universal and overriding right, according to R.M. Hare, is the 'right to equal concern and respect' (Hare, 1981: 154), referring to the view that all people should be treated similarly. This means that rights should be applied in a manner that promotes the interests of all relevant actors. Ideally, free movement should thus be observed more at the level of the entire EU (or globally), though in practice, domestic politicians tend to focus on their own societies. In the case of conflicting rights, Hare argues that we need to decide: 'on the score of their acceptance-utility, i.e. on the ground that they are the set of principles whose general acceptance in the society in question will do the best, all told, for the interests of the people in the society considered impartially.' (Hare, 1981: 156)

First, it should be determined, which are the conflicting rights with regard to free movement. In political rhetoric, planned restrictions to free movement are often justified in economic terms, and the conflicting right is the right of individuals to maintain their prosperity. Studies suggest that EU migration in general has a positive impact on Member State economies (e.g. Galgoczi, Leschke & Watt, 2009), but politicians might still want to exclude migrants who constitute a burden for the society. If we compare the right to free movement and the right of citizens to demand control over state borders, the results of the acceptance of either right is not clear. In pure economic terms, it appears that the acceptance of free movement would lead to more positive economic results, if discrimination decreased and the potential labour force could be more widely utilized. However, as free movement is not a human right but a right of a selected group of European Union citizens, it may be paradoxically harmful for European integration. With the lack of mutual trust between the Member States, it may turn people against European integration as a whole, such as in the UK, where a referendum on the EU membership resulted in the decision to leave the Union.

Another central idea in Hare's theory is universalization: since the core of Harean moral thinking is to find out other people's preferences, the changing of 'I' and 'you' makes no difference in the universal properties of a moral sentence (Hare, 1981: 122–123). In other words, within moral deliberation, the changing of a person's position (or changing the persons) in a situation should not affect the result. More generally, the moral principles should apply to all people universally regardless of their background.

Universalization in the context of free movement means that the characteristics of the person utilizing the right should not influence the validity of the right. In moral terms, free movement limited to certain people rests on a morally arbitrary principle, namely citizenship (usually equalling to the place of birth).

My starting point for analysis is constructivist, relying on the role of rules in policy reasoning and categorization as a manner for making sense of the world (Onuf, 1989). More specifically, my methodology is based on discourse analysis, adopting the constructivist view that discourses shape and are shaped by reality. The procedure of discourse analysis is inspired by the discourse-historical approach particularly elaborated by Ruth Wodak (Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2009). The discourse-historical approach is based on three dimensions: topics, discursive strategies and linguistic means. The topics of the discourse analysed in this study include free movement and its related phenomena, and I analyse discourse strategies through different argumentative *topoi* of the analysis. Wodak specifies five different types of discursive strategies (Wodak, 2001: 73), but for the purposes of this study, the most interesting include those of justificatory *topoi*. Linguistic means, in turn, are the manners in which these discursive strategies are constructed (Wodak, 2009: 38; Wodak, 2001: 74). Wodak argues that the topoi are 'parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises' (Wodak, 2001: 74). Different *topoi* include those of usefulness/advantage, uselessness/disadvantage, definition/name-interpretation, danger and threat, humanitarianism, justice, responsibility, burdening/weighting, finances, reality, numbers, law and right, history, culture and abuse (Wodak, 2001: 74). In this analysis, I focus on the utilitarian *topos* of usefulness, which the following arguments reflect. Before starting the analysis, my hypothesis was that the costs and problems of free movement would be more emphasized in both cases, but that was not entirely the case.

ANALYSIS ON THE UTILITARIAN POLITICAL REALITY

In this section, I focus on the discourses in Romania and in the UK, which appear to present migration as a zero-sum game where one's gain is another's loss. In the British discussion, the EU citizen's gain was British taxpayer's loss, while in the Romanian utterances, Romania's loss of workers was the host state's gain. In other words, if free movement creates material loss, policies should be reformed. Indeed, while Britain was struggling with too many newcomers, Romanian politicians were worried that their educated young people leave abroad in search of better wages. Still, the general

approach of the UK and the Romanian leaders was surprisingly similar regarding the European Union: the EU was seen as something far away that tried to dictate what to do.

Many of the studies on the benefits of EU migration have been conducted in the UK (e.g. Dustmann & Frattini, 2014: F593–F643), while studies examining the impact on the entire EU are few (Galgoczi, Leschke & Watt, 2009). Still, the positive results have hardly penetrated the British political speeches, and its positive effects in creating European labour markets can also be questioned. The free movement discourses are interesting also in the sense that although the principle serves an economic purpose, it is simultaneously a crucial part in the construction of European identity.

In addition, the question here is about state interests and balancing between material benefits and costs. In this regard, it is important for politicians to fight the idea that some receive benefits from integration, while others do not (Vaciago, 2015: 128–132). This might be related to the approaches towards free movement, especially in the UK. Although the UK citizens are also rather mobile, the fact that many Europeans from other states have moved there (albeit generally contributing positively to the economy) may give the impression that Britain is losing in the game. Overall, the British utterances were not only centred on the material costs and benefits, but the Conservative politicians implied that EU migrants were immoral, claiming benefits they should not be entitled to. In Britain, the 'Europhobia' is also reflected in the rhetoric of the politicians, supporting the argument that Brits see Europe and especially the new Eastern European migrants as its "Other" (Tonkiss, 2013a: 500; Favell, 2014: 275–289).

Romanian politicians, in turn, acknowledged the problem of qualified people leaving the country, but they considered it beneficial for the individuals and for the country in the sense that the movers did not claim employment benefits in Romania. Romania is the country sending most migrants to the EU, which has not been always positively approached in other countries. For example, the UK Government introduced some changes in the social welfare provisions before the end of the Romanian and Bulgarian transitional restrictions in 2014.[1] Romania joined the European Union in 2007, but it had to wait seven years until the largest Member States granted full access for Romanian workers.

According to Romanian politicians, the manner to make free movement more beneficial was to have a smaller number of qualified Romanians leaving the country. Romania has seen a major outflow of both educated and less

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[1] However, some measures may be in breach of the EU legislation but not yet contested (Glennie & Pennington, 2014: 20).

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well-off people towards other EU countries. For Romania, as for other countries that joined the Union in the 21st century, being a full-fledged Member State was naturally connected also to geopolitical factors and identity. For example, in the case of the French expulsions in 2010, Romanian press coverage has been found to focus primarily on free movement as an integral part of European integration (Balch, Balabanova & Trandafoiu, 2014: 1154–1174).

Whereas Romanian politicians were worried about brain drain, British politicians explicitly condemned migrants who claimed benefits in the UK. However, Tony Blair's Labour Government decided not to impose any transitional restrictions for the 2004 accessing countries, and he defended that decision in several occasions afterwards. Eastern European workers were considered to consist of low-skilled workers, thought to substitute for the previous programmes for low-skill migration. Therefore, PM Blair deemed free access economically beneficial, and instead of just perceiving it a benefit for the British employers, he hoped it would be a two-way traffic. The utterance below was made in a joint press conference with the Slovakian Prime Minister, which might explain why the perspective of Eastern Europeans was considered:

> I think probably it is an awful lot easier for people to move between Slovakia and the UK than it was before because we have got free movement, not just of people, but of workers now with the European Union membership. And I think, is it 35,000 Slovaks who are working in the UK - some testament to that. Obviously though people have got to make sure that the proper procedures are gone through. Look, I think in time this will settle down. I think the most interesting thing is that Britain was one of the very few countries to say let's have free movement of workers as well as people. There were many predictions of catastrophe that accompanied this decision, but actually it has not worked like that at all, people have benefited enormously, and I am sure and I hope it is a two-way traffic. (Blair, 2006)

Therefore, Premier Blair deemed free movement granted for all the countries that joined in 2004 as beneficial. Mr Blair mentioned both the free movement of persons and workers instead of focusing only on workers. There were also references to the emigrants leaving for other EU states. In a similar vein, in the below utterance of the Home Secretary of Mr Blair's government, John Reid, we can also find praise for the Polish migrants, who

have been the most numerous in the UK after the 2004 enlargement of the EU:

> The Polish people who have come recently have brought doctors, they've brought dentists, badly needed, they've brought plumbers, they've brought a host of skilled labour to this country. So, we recognise, most sensible people do, that migrants can bring great skills to the United Kingdom but they also want to be assured that immigration will be properly managed and their own public services and benefit systems, schools, hospitals, and other public services, will be protected from misuse by those who come not to contribute but to use and to leave, and at best will be protected from over-demand which means that there is some, in their view, unfair access by citizens of this country. (Reid, 2006)

This reflects a general worry about EU migrants exploiting British social security. Still, Home Secretary Reid assured the listeners of his speech that migration would be managed and public services were not in danger. Minister Reid considered that it was unfair that non-British can use their public services. In moral terms, it would rather appear that it was unfair to restrict the access to welfare benefits on the basis of country of birth, which is an arbitrary occurrence (Huysmans, 2000: 751; Tonkiss, 2013b: 90–91). The subsequent government also presented critical voices (Smith, 2007).

While the British discussion focused on immigrants, the Romanian utterances were more concerned over emigrants. After Romania joined the EU in 2007, the utterances of President Băsescu (PDL) were very positive, considering the fact that many Romanians were leaving the country. President Băsescu still acknowledged that it was good to have the chance provided by the free movement of labour. Therefore, he took a rather individual-centred approach to free movement, where free movement was beneficial for individuals who strove for more. The more positive tone is understandable, given that the Romanian economy was badly hit by the economic crisis, and the GDP fell by 6.6 % in 2009 and resulted in around 315.000 unemployed people from industry, commerce and construction (Stan & Erne, 2014: 35). Therefore, it might also be beneficial for the country to have people working abroad rather than being unemployed in Romania. While the British discourses emphasized that immigrants were costly, the Romanian leaders noticed that national unemployed people were also costly. Graduated people leaving the country was thus a controversial issue in Romania, but the politicians assured to be convinced that Romania did not lose from free movement. President Băsescu explicitly stated that they had to choose between having free movement and keeping the graduated people in

Romania: 'We have to choose between 'we want free movement for workers' or 'we do not want that graduated young people leave us'. I can say you that Romania does not lose from the free movement of workers.' (Băsescu, 2009)[1]

We can see here that the Romanian balancing between enlarging and restricting free movement was very different from that of British politicians, who mainly calculated whether the people who came were beneficial for the state. Romanian politicians, instead, focused on whether they wanted equal right to free movement or whether they wanted to keep their graduates in the country, but the President was strongly in favour of the former. As noted above, although the Romanian economy soared in the 1990s, and in the beginning of the 21st century, it was badly hit by the economic recession beginning from 2008 (Stan & Erne, 2014: 35). During that time, Romania was forced to cut both wages and social security benefits. In the British *Daily Mail*, Romanian President Băsescu even thanked Romanians working abroad for not claiming social security benefits in Romania: 'Imagine if the two million Romanians working in Britain, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, came to ask for unemployment benefits in Romania' (Băsescu, 2010). Thus, the Romanian leaders employed contradictory discourse regarding whether they considered people leaving Romania a positive issue. However, the fact that President Băsescu put much effort in justifying free movement implies that the benefits were not that obvious.

In contrast, in Britain, some politicians have tried to argue that EU migration is beneficial for the country, but the public has not considered such utterances very convincing. For example, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown uttered clearly the benefits of free movement. As the 2010 elections approached, PM Brown emphasized migration's economic contribution, and in the case of EU migrants, the economic benefits were presented as obvious:

> There have been disagreements in the past – for example over whether to impose temporary restrictions on eastern European migrants in 2004. But recent research published by the institute of fiscal studies has the first detailed analysis of the contribution to our economy of the eastern Europeans who came to Britain in the last few years – showing that in every year their net contribution was positive – and that even after 5

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[1] 'Noi trebuie să optăm între: „Vrem libera circulaţie a forţei de muncă" sau: „Nu o vrem ca să nu ne mai plece tinerii pregătiţi". Eu vă pot spune că România nu pierde prin libera circulaţie a forţei de muncă.'

years here they are over 50 per cent less likely than British people to receive benefits or tax credits and over 40 per cent less likely to live in social housing. They pay 5 per cent more than their share of tax, and account for a third less than their share of the costs of public services (Brown, 2010).

In this case, Prime Minister Brown demonstrated an approach in favour of free movement, illustrating that EU migrants were less likely to incur costs for the society, and that they even contributed more than their share of tax. It was not considered unfair that they contributed more than they utilized the public services, while the other way around it would have been unfair, at least according to the logic of Home Secretary Reid. While the British discussion thus focused mainly on the national benefits, Romanian leaders also took into account the consequences for the European Union. For example, in 2012, Prime Minister Victor Ponta stated that entering the Schengen Area was not that important. According to him, Europe has more to lose than Romania: 'After all, Europe has much more to lose than Romania in that we would have free movement' (Ponta, 2012)[1]. It is not certain which European benefits would be created if Romania joined the Schengen Area, since the only practical issue would be the abolition of border controls between Romania and the other EU countries. That would of course facilitate travelling from Romania to other countries, from which some benefits could be drawn from the Romanian perspective. In addition, transport to and from Romania could facilitate trade in the EU, but it is unclear whether the other countries lose something in the current situation.[2]

In Britain, Schengen Agreement was not much discussed, and the UK is not even part of the convention. Although Labour Home Secretaries rarely discussed free movement in the EU, Conservative Home Secretary Theresa May referred to it more frequently, and it appeared to be one of the coalition government's most highlighted topics on the European Union. It seems that the utterances became more centred on the national perspective, although EU migrants were presented as closer to Brits and the non-EU migrants were less welcome. In addition, the G6 meetings of the European Interior Ministers did not report free movement as a major topic before 2012, when Home Secretary May declared to have brought it up. She attacked the European Court of Justice that had taken a stance that protected particularly the right of European citizens to employ their right to free movement. According to her, free movement did not appear as a fundamental right but

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[1] 'Până la urmă Europa are mai mult de pierdut, decât are de pierdut România, că avem circulație liberă.'
[2] In general, the abolition of the Schengen Area would be very costly for the Union, as argued in a study made by the German Bertelsmann Foundation (Böhmer et al., 2016).

something that must be abolished if it did not result beneficial. Home Secretary May often presented utterances in the Parliament regarding free movement after meetings with her European counterparts, and she sometimes used positive descriptions of free movement:

> The UK (Home Secretary) acknowledged that freedom of movement was an important principle of the EU, but it could not be an unqualified one. […] The UK believed the Commission needed to accept that fraudulent claims for social welfare were a growing problem, and that current rules on social security coordination prevented member states from taking the necessary steps to ensure that only those migrating to work and contribute to a host country's economy could access welfare benefits. (May, 2013)

With this, she made the point that migration should be economically beneficial for the host country. In the UK, the politicians often compared the taxes migrants paid and the social services they used, and therefore the ideal situation would be migrants who only worked and paid taxes while did not utilize any services. This reflects the idea of 'welfare chauvinism' where nationality measures entitlement to rights (Huysmans, 2000). In this case, balancing towards the state won, as Ms May considered that the European coordination should be diminished and national decision-making enforced.

In contrast, the Romanian politicians did not discuss who was entitled to which benefits, but emphasized that the other countries benefited from Romanian migration. In a joint press conference with the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, the incumbent President Klaus Iohannis also addressed the problem of brain drain among young Romanians, and declared that:

> The problem of poor migrants is a problem, which, unfortunately, has been too many times confused with the problem of the free movement of workers in Europe. The free movement of workers is a beneficial achievement, enormously important for all of us in Europe. Unfortunately, with regard to Romania, one first thinks of the migration of the poor, which is not numerically significant, and it is considered very heavy, and very rarely a phenomenon is discussed, which is significant, it is problematic for Romania and it is net income for Germany, namely the question of the migration of the

qualified and highly qualified workers who leave Romania for Germany (Iohannis, 2015).[1]

In other words, President Iohannis stated that free movement of educated people from Romania to Germany was a problem for Romania and a net win for Germany, and emphasized that the amount of educated Romanian migrants in Germany was much higher than that of the poor migrants. It is interesting to observe that it did not matter what the poor people did, but the President wanted to stop educated people from leaving, which is rational from the utilitarian perspective. This is a clear example of utility calculation, where the people who constitute a cost to the society (the poor) are allowed to leave as they wish, but something should be done to prevent those who are an economic benefit (the educated people) from leaving. This is something that is visible all the way in the Romanian discourses, although some utterances also praised the free movement of educated Romanians as beneficial.

In contrast to the positive Romanian approach, British Prime Minister David Cameron was particularly vocal about his willingness to limit free movement in the EU. It seems that in the UK, the approach towards the EU and free movement was practical in the sense that if economic benefits could not be drawn, the whole membership should be reconsidered. However, the Labour politicians, while being in the government, did argue that EU free movement was beneficial for the country, a common line of utterances until David Cameron stepped in. Premier Cameron was particularly worried about welfare migration, whereby people allegedly came to the UK to claim social benefits. In light of this, he also declared changes in the social security conditions for EU citizens in 2014, and achieved EU-wide possibility to restrict social security of EU citizens in 2016. The intention of these concessions was to assure Brits to vote in favour of remaining in the Union, but, as we know, they were in vain. Indeed, the belief in the EU creating benefits appears to have faded, also in the light that the nationalist parties such as the British National Party (BNP) and the UK Independence Party (UKIP) are gaining more power (see also Tonkiss, 2013b: 112–121).

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[1] 'Problema migraţiei sărăciei este o problemă care, din nefericire, s-a amestecat de prea multe ori cu problema liberei circulaţii a forţei de muncă în Europa. Libera circulaţie a forţei de muncă este un bun câştigat, enorm de valoros, pentru noi toţi în Europa. Din păcate, când este vorba despre România, se vede prima dată migraţia sărăciei, care nu este semnificativă numeric, şi se vede foarte greu şi foarte rar se discută un fenomen, care este semnificativ, este problematic pentru România şi este un câştig net pentru Germania, este vorba de migraţia forţei de muncă calificată şi foarte calificată care pleacă din România şi vine în Germania.'

There were also references related to the benefits of British citizens in utilizing their right to free movement. Indeed, free movement appeared a principle that should benefit the UK, and all abuse of the principle should be prevented. EU migration constituted also a theme utilized in electoral campaigning, which further polarized the utterances. For example, Prime Minister David Cameron's utterances against free movement became more utilitarian leading up to the 2015 general election, and the costs of free movement were discussed more directly. Prime Minister Cameron referred to EU migration as a strain on Britain, while studies cited by PM Brown demonstrated the opposite, as well as more recent studies published in the UK. Furthermore, while Mr Brown considered free movement beneficial for both Britain and Europe's entirety, Mr Cameron made a cost-benefit assessment only from Britain's perspective:

> Well I don't think that the right answer is for Britain to leave the EU. I think the right answer is for EU reform and then a referendum. And I've set out very clearly the changes in terms of immigration and welfare that need to take place; and they don't, I think, break the principle that there should be free movement because, of course, many British people benefit from moving inside the European Union to live and work in other countries […] Those are 4 of the welfare and immigration steps I've set out. They do require some changes in Europe, but I think they are sensible. They're practical. I'm enjoying talking to European colleagues about them. And I think that is the way to control the abuse of free movement inside the European Union (Cameron, 2015).

This approach appears understandable before the election where politicians focused on the national interest, and national interest was very clear in this case: free movement should exist *because* British people benefit from it. PM Cameron also introduced more restrictions for EU migrants in claiming benefits in the UK, and argued that the right to free movement was being abused in terms of benefit tourism. Apparently, the British perspective was that only people who have contributed to the society are entitled to benefits. One could of course ask, how about children, who may not ever contribute to the society (Tonkiss, 2013b: 90–91)? Although David Cameron did not want to abolish free movement altogether, it was obvious that free movement was to benefit British citizens and not be abused by others. Overall, it seems that the British Prime Ministers, in the hope to be re-elected, needed to be careful in their discourses not to present too close a relation to the European Union. Their utterances were evidently addressed to

their electorates, as they made promises on securing the unfair abuse of the system. While Gordon Brown strengthened his pro-European stance before the 2010 general election, David Cameron expressed more criticism leading up to the 2015 election. The national interest thus did not only derive from material benefits but also from the prospect of gaining votes in elections.

CONCLUSIONS

Free movement was a discussed topic during the British discussion on EU membership before the EU referendum in June 2016. The discourses analysed in this article also point towards different conceptions of free movement in the European Union. The British politicians contended that free movement was justified only if it benefited the British citizens and society. By contrast, Romanian politicians did not put primacy on the Romanian benefits of free movement but wanted to receive full free movement even though it might be economically harmful for the country. This illustrates that British politicians approached European integration rationally and instrumentally, while it appeared a more identity-related issue for Romania. The fact that even those promoting the 'Bremain' side in the referendum were critical of free movement (David Cameron and Theresa May) well reflects the lack of identification with the European Union. Romanian politicians, in turn, seemed to want to identify with the European Union, but felt that the country had to be included in the Schengen Area to be a full-fledged member of the EU family. The UK seems to be heading for a hard Brexit, i.e. leaving the Single Market in order to be able to control the entry of EU citizens.

Andrew Moravcsik notes, while examining the negotiations leading up to the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, that Britain did not see any point in mentioning migration in the treaty, since it was able to control its own borders (Moravcsik, 1998: 425). This might also explain why Britain is so eager to control intra-European migration, and has restricted the access of non-EU migrants, since that they can control in any case. Moravcsik argues that the UK was forced by economic motivations, and the country opposed strongly to common provisions in social and immigration policy for economic reasons (Moravcsik, 1998: 427–428). This tendency is also visible in the analysed discourses, where free movement was considered an economic issue that should be restricted on economic grounds. Labour Premiers Blair and Brown employed a variety of utterances acknowledging the right to free movement and its benefits, while David Cameron argued against free movement and the idea of utilitarian costs appeared to be the strongest justification in favour of free movement. After the start of his first term as the Prime Minister, Mr Cameron's rhetoric became more UK-centred, probably also voicing concern over the rise of UKIP toward the end of his

term. Premier Cameron saw utilitarian costs as the problem in the right to free movement. In contrast, it was not only costs that he discussed but also the idea of abuse and unfair action, which served to alienate EU migrants further by claiming them to be immoral.

In contrast, Romanian utterances demonstrated balancing between 1) free movement as a beneficial achievement and 2) the fact that many educated people leave the country. Although they acknowledged that the solution would be to raise wages in Romania, no practical measures have been adopted in order to really raise them. Romania is thus very different case than the British one. The approach was similar to the British one in the sense that it was considered that the immigrants themselves gained something. Instead, while Romanian politicians argued that Romanian emigrants provided benefits also for the host countries, British leaders deemed that immigration should not provide any strain to their country.

The currently leading party in the UK considered free movement as a problem, which is interesting in the sense that it cannot be easily explained by mere national interest in material terms. Conversely, it may be more related to the political interest in gaining domestic voters. Also in Romania, there were challenges caused by free movement and emigration in Romania, but that did not make the Romanian politicians question free movement. Instead, they considered the problems such to be solved at the national level. This implies that while the national level and the European level were complementary in free movement issues in Romania, in the UK they appeared to be contradictory, at least in the sense that necessary national measures could not be realized in the current framework of the Union. Of course, the situations were different; while a country cannot prevent its citizens from leaving, it has more power in deciding who may enter the country, making immigration and emigration morally asymmetrical (Walzer, 1983: 40).

It is interesting to note that Romania and the UK were both fairly state-centrist, but very different types of discourse were employed in these cases. State-centrism in Romania did not mean that the politicians were against the European Union. Free movement was discussed from the state perspective, focusing on the rights of Romanian citizens and the costs of people moving abroad. In contrast, state-centrism in Britain was more related to the view that the European Union may not benefit the country, but it harmed the country's decision-making power. In other words, Romanian politicians wanted to hold a European state identity while the UK politicians were not willing to give up national sovereignty in e.g. social security issues for EU

citizens. It remains to be seen what the Brits will do with their sovereignty now that they have decided to leave the European Union.

The results of the study represent rather well the results of previous studies, where the UK sees the EU migrants as the Other despite economic benefits (e.g. Tonkiss, 2013b). In contrast, the results also reflect the view that Romanians approach the European Union positively despite the problem of qualified people leaving the country (e.g. Sedelmeier, 2014). All in all, this study has thus demonstrated that despite utilitarian rhetoric, the right to free movement is not only a question of costs and benefits, but the matter of identification with the European Union seems to be the crucial one. It is important for politicians to be able to argue that free movement is beneficial, but identities also matter.

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FINNISH-ROMANIAN CONFLUENCES. SEVERAL LANDMARKS

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ABSTRACT

It is generally thought that there are few connections between Finland and Romania. Nevertheless, a careful analysis can reveal substantial and pertinent proof of the political and cultural relationships and interactions of the two countries. The last three centuries offer conclusive evidence in this regard. The interactions generally refer to different involvements in armed conflicts, some foreign to their national interest and cause: *The Russo-Turkish War* of 1828-1829, which ended in the Treaty of Adrianople, *The Romanian War of Independence/ The Russo-Turkish War* of 1877-1878, the *First* and *Second World Wars*. The period surrounding 1848, interesting and decisive for the 'awakening of the national spirit' brought to public attention important names of these two spaces: Runeberg, Snellman, Topelius, Lönnrot, Maiorescu, Carp, Rosetti, Alecsandri. Later on, regarding diplomatic relations, Matila Ghyka, followed by Raoul Bossy extend to the highest level the already consolidated connections between the two countries. This study tries to illustrate the past, to the image which our contemporaries build on events, actions, feelings, ideas linked to possible common points between Romania and Finland. While writing this article, a key point consisted in researching a rather rich set of memoirs, letters, diaries, notes and writings of men who were part of the war. Out of these, it is worth mentioning those belonging to officers Carol Piper and Carl Gustaf Rehnskiöld of the Great Northern War (1700-1721). The information was gathered through the work of Nicolae Iorga, *Un ofiter român in oastea lui Carol al XII-lea. Câteva Note* (A Romanian Officer in Charles 12th's Army. Some Remarks), published in The Annals of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest in 1912. The memoirs about Romania of the Finnish colonel Gustaf Adolf Ramsay date back to the Russo-Turkish War (1828-1829). Other important documents refer to the correspondence between Charles I of Romania and Duke Nikolai from the time of the Romanian War of Independence (1877-1878). The original letters

are kept in the in the 'Royal House' section of the Central Historical National Archives. The diary of the Finnish Fieldmarshal Carl Gustav Emil Mannerheim *Jurnal de pe frontul românesc 1916-1917* (Diary from the Romanian Front 1916-1917), first published in 2000 and then in 2011 in Romania, have considerably broadened the literature of this research. The information in this journal is unique, and contains details on what we call 'the backstage of history'. Apart from being the mirror of a turbulent history (the events of the Romanian front in the First World War), the document also offers the subjective perspective of its author, a perspective which is inherent to human nature. One might also state that according to how these interactions are intended to be explained, researching history (through this frontline journal as well) has opened a valuable field of investigation.

KEYWORDS

Finland, Romania, confluences, national identities, frontline diary.

Romania and Finland are two countries separated by a specific historical evolution. Nonetheless, the two peoples have enough common elements, as well as a historical route with several points of intersection. The Romanians and the Finnish are young nations that contoured their own national consciousness later than other European peoples. Entire tomes have been written about the insurrections, revolutions of the Finns and the Romanians against those that wished to conquer them. Throughout history, powerful countries such as Sweden and Russia have been interested in the territories inhabited by the Finns. Turkey, Russia and Austria yearned for the territories of today's Romania. That is why we could say that the similarities between the two nations also concern their independence and the creation of their democratic state. Romania has been an independent nation since 1877, while the Finnish gained their independence in 1917. The evolution of Romanian and Finnish in the second half of the 19th century process of rebuilding their national identities had a major importance, which allows us to look at this aspect closely.

One of the leading experts in the history of Finnish-Romanian bilateral relations, Professor Lauri Lindgren, often referred to the similarities between the two peoples saying: 'Romania and Finland are two countries quite far away from each other but their relations became closer in the last decades. What we have presented previously outlined a quite strange situation: The contact between Romanian and Finnish in the last centuries regards times of

crises and wars.' (*Romanian-Finnish Confluences. 85 Years of Diplomatic Relations*, 2005, 36). This is fact. Romania and Finland were involved, throughout time, in successive military confrontations. These took place under the pressure of historical events that shaped the history of mankind: the Great Northern War at the beginning of the 18th century, the Russo-Turkish Wars (1877-1878), the first and second World Wars. As it has been seen, from a historical point of view, both countries had to fight for their national and cultural assertion in a tight corridor left by the strong and dominant states that surround them and all of these circumstances have influenced in a positive manner the current relations. Obviously, after winning its state independence, the Finnish-Romanian relations gained another dimension, now being of a cultural and spiritual nature. The definite European layout of the two countries started in the first decades of the 20th century. Therefore, in this article we shall try to analyse the existence of a continuity in the Finnish-Romanian relations from the first military incursions under the command of the Swedish king, Charles XII, up to the building of tight diplomatic and cultural relations in the 20th century.

1. FIRST POINTS OF INTERSECTION BETWEEN THE HISTORY OF FINLAND AND THAT OF ROMANIA. (THE 18ᵀᴴ CENTURY)

It seems that the first contacts about which we have precise information took place at the brink of the 18th century. While the territory of Finland at that time was under Swedish occupation, professional units of paid Romanian soldiers (known as mercenaries) fought alongside the Finnish troops during the Northern Wars. Nicolae Iorga's article, *Un ofiter român in oastea lui Carol al XII-lea. Câteva Note* (A Romanian Officer in Charles XIIth Army. Some Notes (1912)) rendering an aspect of this matter, is very interesting. It is about the involvement of the Romanian soldier, Sandu Colţea, then in service of the king of Sweden, in the Northern Wars. 'It was well-known that among Charles XII's soldiers, the "unconquered lion' of Sweden, as well as among those of Peter the Great, there were Romanian soldiers, who, thusly found, in a great European battle, the ability to spend a valiant energy, of which their country had no need. He is not named Colţea in documents. The fact that in the list of names there is a reference to Koltza (the name coincidentally reminds us of the Colţea church from Bucharest, which is said to have been built by the Swedish) shows us that he and his regiment of 'Wallachs are well-known.' (Iorga, 1912: 2, our translation).

The information came to the great Romanian historian through a famous archivist in Stockholm, Teodor Westrin, who sent copies of Swedish documents for volume IX of the Hurmuzachi collection. The information concerning the merits brought to Sweden by the Romanian Colţea was edited by Mr Sörensson alongside a collection of letters of other two combatants,

Carol Piper and Carl Gustaf Rehnskiöld from the time of their captivity in Sweden. The authors of the memoirs display attractive demonstrations in terms of truthfulness and in the spirit of historic truth.

One of the events which must be remembered in this regard is the one in which, after defeating the heroic king Charles XII of Sweden (1682-1718) at Poltava (June 28, 1709), troops from the king's army sought refuge on the then-territory of Romania. An emblematic construction of the old Bucharest is linked to this temporal sequence. It is the impressive Tower of Fangs (Turnul Colţea). Historic sources of authority reveal that alongside Romanian builders, Swedish soldiers contributed to its construction. (The information also appears in the *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens* (The History of Transalpine Dacia) book, edited by Sulzer in Vienna in 1787, who says that Swedish soldiers worked on building the tower. Perhaps, this was an act of gratitude from the soldiers who could have been masons or stonemasons as civilians.)

The lavish decorations, in the Brâncovenesc style, with influences of western culture, as well as its spectacular banister with carved lions undoubtedly made this construction the pride of the city for many years. The shattering earthquake of 1802 destroyed large parts of the tower. The venerable vestige of the past built by Swedish soldiers was demolished in 1888, following a decision of the municipality of Bucharest. (Fortunately, in the small Lapidarium near the Stavropoleos church in Bucharest, today we can see several monolithic consoles and old decorations of the former Tower. We owe also admirable pictures of the construction and of Bucharest seen from its top to the Maltese painter Amadeo Preziosi.

In 1714, when the Tower of Fangs was supposed to have been finished, Charles XII, a true 'Napoleon of the North', according to Voltaire, managed to escape from Turkish captivity and to go across the whole of Europe. On his journey home (described in great detail by Voltaire, in his monograph, *The History of* Charles XII, *King of Sweden*), he crossed the Danube at Ruse, to reach the city of Piteşti (Romania). The high guest was accompanied by decree of Prince Ştefan Cantacuzino (1714-1715), by the Grand Guvernor (Vornic) Radu Popescu the whole time while he was in Wallachia. Also a chronicler, he stated: '[…] and coming to Giurgiov, command was given by Lord Stefan to prepare grand abodes for him, until such a time that he will be taken to Ardeal.' (Păduraru, 2007: 1, our translation). It was perhaps the most outstanding personality we meet in this city in this period. Even though he should have crossed the Romanian country in seven days, the three-week stay of the Swedish king in Piteşti was motivated by waiting for the 1500 Swedish soldiers led by General Axel Sparre. A memorial plaque at Budeşti (a locality close to Piteşti) attests that: 'Charles XII of Sweden, chased by his enemies

hid and rested here. 1714' (Păduraru, 2007: 1, our translation). Some notes were sent from Piteşti to the Prime Minister of France, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquess of Torcy, by a French dignitary, which assured him that the King of Sweden had gone to Transylvania on the night of Thursday to Friday (18/19 November) disguised and wearing a brown wig. There are also accounts that on his way to the north-west he spent the night in Zalău (Sălaj County).

It should be reminded that while Charles, the 'untamed lion of Sweden' (Iorga, 1912: 2), as Iorga called him, was crossing Europe in an unrelenting march, Nicolae Mavrocordat (1680-1739) was reigning over Moldavia. The chronicles mention that, unlike the Prince Ştefan Cantacuzino, he did not approve of Swedish troops camping on his territory.

As a retort to the facts recounted so far, there is proof that Romanian troops had spent the winter in the far North in the first half of the 18th century.

Another interesting description related to the Romanian-Finnish connections pertains to Professor Lauri Lindgren from the University of Turku. The article *Oşteni români în nordul Europei în secolul al XVIII-lea* (Romanian Soldiers in the North of Europe in the 18th century) sheds light upon the presence of Romanian soldiers in the Russian troops that had invaded Finland in 1741. The troops commanded by Dimitrie Brânzeskul had stopped in the commune settlement of Laihia. The document offers clear clues on the language, clothing and day-to-day lives of the Romanians who reached Septentrion. The study also presents in an objective manner the reflections of the priest and writer of Botnia, Israel Reinius, on the Romanian soldiers he met on this occasion, and who were stationed here: Upon arrival, the Moldavian regiment of 800 soldiers and servants were starving. The newcomers spoke a new language, yet unheard of, which made communication more difficult. Talking to the soldiers, the priest Reinius found out that Moldavia and Wallachia were their countries. Their language was neither Russian, nor Turkish or Tatar or Polish, but one derived from Latin (he makes note of some expressions: *undivinis mi frat* – where are you going, my brother / where are you coming from, my brother, the *parentenostru ci es in ciel* prayer – the Lord's Prayer). The soldiers were Orthodox; their priest was a Greek monk, who held a mass for them in Greek. The officers and the soldiers listened to the mass with respect. The priest Reinius stated that in the respects of food, they were more particular than the Russians and that while eating, they used plenty of pepper, vinegar and mustard. Some remembered Charles XII's stay at Bender, and that their parents were employed by Swedish groups at the time, according to Lindgren.

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2. FINLAND AND ROMANIA IN 'THE BIRTH-CENTURY OF NATIONS.' (THE 19TH CENTURY)

A mirror of the first Romanian-Finnish contacts, the 18th century leaves us with a rather bitter feeling because of the effective involvement of the two countries in various armed conflicts, estranged from their cause. Starting with the beginning of the 19th century, this fact will change, with emphasis being put on supporting the spiritual and cultural potential of each nation. Reciprocal intellectual exchanges are paramount in this tempestuous century of forming identities, with a natural desire of promoting folklore and the past. But the acknowledgement, yearned for, before depending upon external factors (translations, cultural initiatives, contacts) was internally conditioned by the great production of masterpieces. Elias Lönnrot published the *Kanteletar*, a collection of traditional Finnish poetry (1840/1845), *Kalevala*, his most famous work, becoming Finland's national epopee (1849) and *Suomen Kansan sananlaskuja* / Proverbs of the Finnish People (1842). Zacharias Topelius, journalist, historian, and rector of the University of Helsinki wrote novels related to Finnish history in Swedish. He published *Boken om vårt land* / Maamme-kirja / Book of Our Land (1875), *Vinterqvällar* / Talvi-iltain tarinoita / Winter Evening Stories (1881). Between 1848 and 1860, Runeberg, the national poet of Finland, wrote *Fänrik Ståls sägner* / Vänrikki Stoolin tarinat / The Tales of Ensign Stål (an epic poem which describes the events of the Finnish War 1808-1809). Aleksis Kivi publishes *Kullervo* (1864) and *Seitsemän veljestä* / Seven Brothers (1870), the latter being considered one of the masterpieces of Northern literature. Minna Canth, Finnish writer and social activist published *Hanna* (1886), *Työmiehen vaimo* / The Worker's Wife (1885), *Kovan onnen lapsia* / The Children of Misfortune (1888). The activity of these pioneers is based upon their openness towards universality.

Information travels fast and, immediately after the publishing of the *Kalevala* in Finland, Romanian intellectuals such Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu wrote appreciative reviews of the literary productions in the North. They remarked their originality, the degree to which the long-disputed specificity had been crystallised and how far the Finnish had went in their natural desire to show their creative potential among the countries of the rest of Europe. Zacharias Topelius, a great historian and journalist, wrote about the 1848 Revolution in Wallachia and Transylvania. In 1894, a poem by Johan Ludwig Runeberg was published in Iaşi, and was translated by Gheorge Lazu and prefaced by A. D. Xenopol. Seemingly under a favourable star-sign of beginnings, many translations of Finnish authors began to be published in Romania. At the turn of the 20th century, *Carmen Sylva* waltz by Romanian composer Josif lvanovici became popular in Finland.

Other events worthy to be followed researched in detail pinpoint to an episode from the Russo-Turkish War (1828-1830), which ended in the Treaty of Adrianople when thirty-six Finnish officers from the Russian army crossed the Romanian countries. Some of them (such as Colonel Gustaf Adolf Ramsay) wrote journals and letters. Frederik Nyberg remarked that in Bucharest, in bookstores they were able to find books, translations from different languages, which was quite extraordinary. (Popescu, 2009: 115-130).

In 1860 and 1864, in Romania, Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza founded the Universities of Iaşi and Bucharest, and in 1866 Karl von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became, under the name Carol I, King of the Principality of Romania, which would later become the Kingdom of Romania. This event marks a new wave of westernization, as well as a reaction against the formerly prevalent cultural model, that of Enlightenment. Almost at the same time, in 1863, the *Junimea* literary society was founded in Iaşi. The last thirty years of the 19th century were culturally dominated in Romania by this important society. The Romanian philosophers had a new beginning and, for the first time, an international echo. The thinkers around Junimea were Titu Maiorescu, Alexandru Xenopol, Mihai Eminescu, Vasile Conta.

Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä (1847-1917), Professor at the University of Helsinki, is linked by a destiny similar to that of the Romanian critic Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917). They were contemporaries and had similar concerns: aesthetics, literary critique, theatre, they were Professors at two important European universities, Helsinki and Iaşi. The indisputable influence the two had on young, promising writers makes us believe it was not mere random connection. Taking into account the fact that there is no comparative analysis of what the two meant for the cultural-political stage of the second half of the 19th century, the idea might be of interest for a detailed research.

With a background of a cultural, spiritual and national effervescence, we cannot ignore a major event which marked in blood the end of the 19th century. It is the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 / The War of Independence when, after the battles of Griviţa, Plevna and Vidin, Romania won its state independence, and the Dobrogea region was returned to the mother land. The war resulted in the defeat of Osman Pasha and the surrender of the Ottoman troops. The international political context, the intensifying fights in the Balkan region for the freedom of the nations from under Ottoman domination had constituted the favourable moment for obtaining the objective the Romanians yearned for: gaining their state independence. Romania signed, on April 4th, 1877, in Bucharest, the Romanian-Russian convention which allowed Russian troops to go through Romania on their way to the Balkans, as long as they upheld Romania's territory integrity. The mobilisation of the army had been decreed. Russia

declared war on Turkey on April 12th/24th, 1877, and the Russian troops entered Romania on the newly-built bridge over the river Prut.

On May 9th, 1977, the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mihail Kogălniceanu proclaimed Romania's state independence in a memorable speech: 'Thus, deputies, I do not have the slightest doubt and fear in declaring before the National Assembly that we are a free and independent nation' (Adăniloaie, 2001: 27, our translation). But the words had to be consecrated by action. Even if Romania was not involved, at that time, via any official treaty in the war, the Romanian troops and artillery were supporting the Russian ones in the siege on Nicopolis. The Russian troops were faced with difficulties on the front. The Grand Duke Nikolai of Russia and of the Grand Duchy of Finland (1831-1891) – the supreme commander of the Russian army in the Balkans – was forced to insistently ask for the intervention of the Romanian army south of the Danube. On July 19th 1877, he wrote an encrypted telegram to Prince Carol, asking him to cross the Danube as soon as possible: 'the Turks, gathering their highest numbers in Plevna, are destroying us. Please make fusion, demonstration and, if possible, cross the Danube with the army, wherever you wish, between Jiu and Corabia. This demonstration is imperious to ease my movements.' (according to documents at the National Archives of Romania).

The Romanian Government answered Duke Nikolai's request and the front of Plevna was placed under the command of Carol I. The directed Russo-Romanian attack on Plevna failed again in front of the powerful defensive system of the Ottomans. Thus, in the strategy convened upon by the Russian and Romanian parts, the Romanian army had to conquer the fort of Grivita, considered the element of resistance of the Plevna alignment. On August 30, 1877, on the Tsar's birthday, Major George Șonțu, under whose command was the first battalion of the 3rd Division which opened the attack undertook the first offensive actions. The lack of maps and of references regarding the structure of the Ottoman defensive system of the outskirts of Plevna and the bad weather made their mission harder and, as such, they failed. The conclusion of the war council of September 2nd, in which the Prince Carol I of Romania, the Tsar Alexander, the Grand Duke Nikolai, the Minister of War and several Russian generals took part, was that Plevna could not be conquered through a general assault. Thus, they decided that a siege must be instated, which would force the city to surrender.

Russia was going to bring new troops. The Finnish Guard of 1000 combatants was mobilised, which left from the Helsinki train-station on September 6, 1877 (and not from the harbour, as a famous national song states). The Guard of Finland was on a general training camp in the summer

of 1877 in Krasnoye Selo, and was sent back to Helsinki on August 2ⁿᵈ, 1877. The next day the guards received the order of mobilization. Immediately, prompt actions were taken, among which the recruitment of the Reserve company for reinforcements: 'Already on the September 4ᵗʰ, 1877, an enthusiastic farewell party was given at the willing expense on the city of Helsinki in the brand-new indoor riding arena of the guards.' (Suomen historia, 5: 261- 262, our translation).

An atmosphere of holiday took over the city of Helsinki in the morning of the day of September 5ᵗʰ, perhaps due to a great war-propaganda, tens of citizens coming to cheer the Guard on their way. Those who left for the front did not know that the war would prove to be so long and full of sacrifice. Its journey led through Saint Petersburg, the Baltic States, Poland and Ukraine across the Danube into Bulgaria. The Commander of the Finnish Guard was Victor Procopé. Volunteers were also numerous. From the city of Tampere alone there were almost 200 young men to leave from the very front of the building which today bears the name of 'Plevna'. At that time, the Finnish Guard was 'divided between the loyalty to the Russian tsar and army, and the awakening Finnish nationalism.' (Laitila, 2003: 27, our translation). As this author stated, the worst fights were undertaken by the Finnish Guard at Gornyi Dubnjak. Following the Finnish Guard's participation in this war, Finland (Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire) was given the right to have a national army.

After several days of fierce battle, the Plevna fortifications were conquered. This victory was only made possible by the participation of the Romanian and Finnish soldiers. As soon as the army surrounding Plevna was reinforced, the situation of the Ottoman troops became critical. After this moment, a succession of events followed, events which led to the unconditioned surrender of Osman Pasha to the Romanian colonel Mihail Cerchez. After the fall of Plevna, the Romanian army took part in the fights of Vidin in December 1877, but when the war ended, in the March 3ʳᵈ/15ᵗʰ, 1878 San Stefano Peace Treaty between Russia and Turkey, the Russian Empire was unwilling to keep the promise it made in the treaty signed on April 4ᵗʰ, 1877. Romania lost the south of Basarabia, Cahul, Ismail and Bolgrad, which were part of Moldavia after the Crimean War. Prince Carol was deeply dissatisfied by the fact that he had to surrender these territories.

Mihai Eminescu, who was the editor-in-chief of the *Timpul* newspaper, wrote acid articles regarding this exchange. Otto von Bismarck, the German Chancellor managed to persuade the Prince Carol to accept this arrangement that offered Romania opportunities in regards to economy, due to its access to the Black Sea. Romania becoming independent is a significant moment in the process of modernizing the Romanian state, preparing the road to the

completion of the Romanians' national unity in 1918. Today a museum, the General Russia-Romania Headquarters House in Poradim (locality in northern Bulgaria) housed the victory dinner for the conquering of Plevna. It was here that battle plans were devised and, not surprisingly, where the two commanders, Tsar Alexander II and Charles I of Romania lived. 'Europe shall recognise the merits of Romania', said on the occasion Tsar Alexander.

3. FINLAND AND ROMANIA IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORICAL EVENTS THAT CONFIGURED THE 20TH CENTURY. DIPLOMATIC AND CULTURAL ASPECTS.

Four years before the great event, Ferdinand became King of Romania on October 10th 1914, following the death of his uncle, King Carol I. He ruled Romania during World War I, choosing to fight for the Entente against the Central Powers. The fact that he chose to fight for the aspirations of his people against their royal families, made him to be known in Romania as 'Ferdinand the Loyal'.

An increase of the mutual interest in the culture and traditions of the two countries can be observed in the interwar period. An intensification of the relations between the two countries took place from 1920 to 1923. Väinö Tanner (Finland's first Ambassador to Bucharest) meets King Ferdinand, presenting his letters of credentials for this official capacity. Alexandru Averescu and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Take Ionescu supported the idea of Romania becoming closer to Finland and the Baltic states during this entire period. Under these circumstances, in February 1921, Romania opened its first legateship in Helsinki, under the administration of Dimitrie Plesnilă, Minister Plenipotentiary. During that time, Finland's first elected president, Kaarlo Juho Ståhlberg was governor in Helsinki and Finland had a good impression of what was happening in Romania. During the Agricultural Reform on 1921, prepared by Ferdinand and based on the giving of land to millions of peasant families, Romania had reached a system which was similar to the Finnish one. This reform was stopped in 1929, when the Great Depression began in the USA.

In 1931, when King Carol II ascended to the throne, with the Romanian legateship in Helsinki being closed, Matila Ghyka (1881-1965) was named Romania's Minister Plenipotentiary in Stockholm. This involved, apart from representing his country in Sweden, maintaining diplomatic relations with Finland, Norway, The Netherlands and Denmark. Ghyka was assigned a short-term diplomatic mission in Stockholm. (In Sweden, as in almost all parts of Europe, Ghyka is better known for his work on aesthetics, *The Golden Number – Pythagorean Rites and Rhythms in the Development of Western Civilisations*, which was published in 1931, with a preface by Paul Valéry. It is a lesser known fact that Ghyka was a close friend to Salvador Dalí and many

of Dalí's works, like *Leda atomica* and *The Madonna of Port Lligat*, are based upon the mathematical theories of the aesthetician-diplomat in Stockholm. In fact, the formula Dalí wrote in the lower side of the paintings was one of Ghyka's.)

One cannot ignore the importance held by Marshal C. G. E. Mannerheim (1867-1951) in the Finnish-Romanian historiography. During World War I, Finland was part of the Tsarist Empire. Mannerheim was undoubtedly the most prominent personality of those times. His activity on the war front, as well as in politics, spread over than five decades. He began as an officer in the tsarist army. In 1891, Mannerheim was serving in the Chevalier Guards in St. Petersburg. In 1904, he was transferred to the 52nd Nezhin Dragoon Regiment in Manchuria. He fought in the Russo-Japanese War, and was promoted to Colonel for his bravery in the battle of Mukden. On returning from the war, Mannerheim spent time in Finland and Sweden (1905-1906). He led an expedition to China with the French scientist Paul Pelliot. It is also worth mentioning that during this time he also met the spiritual and temporal leader of Tibet at that time, the Dalai Lama. During World War I, he was a commander of cavalry on the Romanian and Austro-Hungarian fronts. In 1916 he was given command over a Russian division on the front in Dobrogea. Between December 11th, 1916 and January 7th, 1917, Mannerheim was in command of the Romanian-Russian unit, 'The Vrancea Group', comprised of four cavalry groups.

In his *Jurnal de pe frontul românesc 1916-1917* (Diary from the Romanian Front 1916-1917), Mannerheim declared that he had left the activity in the Transylvanian Alps with deep regret. The journal is a living testimony of his activity as grand commander of the 12th Russian cavalry division, but also of the fact that his relation with the Romanians (the friendship with General Alexandru Averescu) was not merely conjectural. The Romanian diplomat, Raoul Bossy, recounts that in a meeting in 1934, 'Mannerheim spoke in the superlative about the bravery and resistance of the Romanian soldiers during the World War I and also of his friendship with the general (later marshal) Averescu.' (Bossy, 1993: 147, our translation). The memoirs of marshal Mannerheim are proof of the fact that in the period to come, he will continue to keep an eye on the situation in Romania in the context of difficult circumstances in which Finland and the rest of Europe lay: as long as the Winter War lasted, the danger on Turkey and Romania – allies of Great Britain and France – was merely theoretical and the resistance of the Finns encouraged them to make common front, stated Mannerheim. He was a fierce opponent of the Bolshevik revolution, directly contributing to the removal of the *red* danger.

After the Finnish Civil War, Mannerheim resigned as Commander-in-Chief, dismayed at the increasing German influence in Finnish military and political affairs. The former officer of the army takes over the responsibility of governing the state in the difficult times after the declaration of independency, as a regent (1918-1919), as a marshal and later, as the president of the National Defence Council (1931) and supreme commander of the army. During the War of Lapland which ended in 1945 with the retreat of the German troops, Mannerheim was probably the only person capable of ruling a country that was in such a critical situation. He led the legendary resistance of Finnish troops against the soviet aggression (the Winter War of 1939-1940). The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Helsinki contains a series of documents regarding Marshal Mannerheim's relations with Romania, in his quality of supreme commander of Finland's army during World War II. On November 1st, 1941, King Michael signs the decree of bestowing the "Mihai Viteazul" military order onto Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim. After receiving this order on December 21st, Mannerheim sent to the chief of Romanian diplomatic relations his homage, speaking in admiration of Romania. Finally, he was elected for the highest role in the state, that of president of the Republic of Finland (the sixth) in 1944-1946, a decisive period for the removal of the consequences of World War II and the definitive assertion of this country as a democratic state. As a brief conclusion, we might state that the Marshal had various types of contacts with Romania, in particular political contexts during World War I and World War II, when he manifested his support and sympathy for our people.

Important monographic volumes were published between 1935 and 1936, such as that of Professor Ion Simionescu about Finland and that of Professor V. J. Mansikka about Romanian folklore, while folk art exhibitions were organised in Helsinki and Bucharest. Väinö Tanner, a leading political figure, a Social Democrat and Prime Minster of Finland, wrote about Romania. At the end of the war, Romania had completed the implementation of the national state unifying Basarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania with the old kingdom. On October 15th 1922, in Alba Iulia, Ferdinand was crowned as the first King of Greater Romania: 'At that time, the translation of Romanian literature continued, Panait Istrati's novels having enjoyed a great success. In the context of numerous cultural events in Finland regarding the Romanian culture, such as book exhibitions, concerts, or mutual visits of journalist, a special moment turned out to be the inauguration of the Romanian language courses at the University of Helsinki.' (Popescu, 2009: 117). If we were to recall other events, we cannot ignore the providential moment of the meeting between Constantin Brâncuşi, the patriarch of modern sculpture and Alvar

Aalto in New York, 1929. On that occasion, the two great artists representing the perfection in simplicity met.

The associations *Romania-Finland* and *Finland-Romania* were set up during World War II. Prominent political and cultural personalities of the two countries were among the founding members: 'In Romania the following volumes were published: *Finland. The Country of Cooperatives* written by Ioan Manof, *The Green Gold of Finland* edited by Romania-Finland Association, *Romania in Confusing Times* by Brita Wrede and *Romanian Issues. The Question of Transylvania* by the Swedish Gustaf Bolinder. In 1944, the volume *Romania. The Latin Island from South-Eastern Europe* was published in the Finnish language, edited by the Finland-Romania Association; it is a book comprising general information, as well as references to Romanian art, science and history.' (Popescu, 2009: 118).

Dinu Lipatti's concert in Helsinki should be remembered as well as the distribution of Romanian movies, translations into Romanian of significant Finnish writers such as Frans Eemil Sillanpää, laureate of the Noble Prize, and also the translation into the Finnish language of some volumes by Mihail Sadoveanu and Lucian Blaga. Even during the Cold War, culture and art were areas where further developments in the Romanian-Finnish relations took place. The cultural and scientific relations developed on the basis of the implementation programs of the 'Agreement of Cooperation in the fields of culture, science and other related fields' (April 29th, 1974). 'Programs concluded for a three-year period and renewed thereinafter. In 1950, the Romanian-Finland Friendship Association is set up, which will organize in the course of time a lot of events regarding the cultural cooperation.' (Popescu, 2009: 119). Vertically articulated to history, modes of the cultural specific of Romania and of Finland, as well as elements of an ethnographic props; traditions, customs intersect with the landmarks of modernity.

It was not by chance that we have not yet mentioned one of the most important contributions on Finland's culture on Romanian soil so far. It is the first complete translation into Romanian of the *Kalevala*, done in 1942 by Barbu Brezianu, an effort for which there are always more words to say. From then on, a series of other editions of the Finnish epopee, the cornerstone of their identity, have been printed. In one of them, published in 1999 by the Cavallioti Publishing House in Bucharest, His Excellency, Mikko Heikinheimo, the Finnish Ambassador in Bucharest stated: 'Barbu Brezianu in as extraordinary person, who has a special role both in Romanian, as well as Finnish culture, both within and outside the two countries. In art, I would describe him as being a builder of bridges, a man who builds cathedrals. We respect him for his age, longevity, for the brightness, intelligence and vision he managed to keep intact. […] Barbu Brezianu has helped me know and

understand Brâncuși better. For example, he made me see that the famous sculpture, *The Kiss*, is not merely the two faces you see from the front, but also two hands caressing. But for this to happen, one must go around the sculpture and look closely. I thank Barbu Brezianu for having taught me to look closely not only at Brâncuși, but also at the Kalevala.' (Brezianu, 1999: 2, our translation). In 1985, the book *Kanteletar. A Collection of Finnish Runes,* compiled by Elias Lönnrot was translated by Lauri Lindgren and Ion Stăvăruș and prefaced by Senni Timonen. *Kanteletar* was published in Turku, Finland. The following year, the bilingual edition of the volume *Anthology of Romanian Poetry* was published in Turku as well.

Many translations of works by renown Finnish authors were published in Romania even in the years of the 'obsessive decade': Aleksis Kivi (*Seitsemän veljestä /* Seven Brothers, the Publishing House for Literature, Bucharest, 1963); Mika Waltari (*Vieras mies tuli taloon /* A Stranger Came to the Farm*,* the Publishing House for Universal Literature, Bucharest, 1969, Translation and preface by George Sbârcea and Sinuhe *egyptiläinen /* The Egyptian *(Fifteen books Containing the Memoirs of Doctor Sinuhe:* 1390-1335 BC), Univers Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999, translated by Teodor Palic, prefaced by Tytti Isohookana-Asunmaa), Sylvi Kekkonen (*Amalia*, the Publishing House for Universal Literature, 1970), Martti Larni, Johannes Linnankoski, Ilmari Kianto, Sally Salminen, Pietari Päivärinta, Edith Södergran, Veijo Meri.

In 1959, the epic *Kalevala* was for the first time translated in verse into Romanian by Iulian Vesper. The fourth complete version of the *Kalevala* epic by Kálmán Nagy (translated from Finnish into Hungarian language) was published in 1972. The first selection and translation of Mihai Eminescu's poetry was published in 1992, in Helsinki, by Liisa Ryömä. Nichita Stănescu, the Romanian poet, visited Finland, among several other countries. George Sbârcea published a volume on the life and work of the great Finnish composer, Jean Sibelius. In 1975, the Romanian lectureship within the Turku University and the Finnish chair in the University of Cluj-Napoca were inaugurated. Today, within the Department for Hungarian Studies in Cluj-Napoca, there is a Finnish Lectureship, run by Molnár Bodrogi Enikő. Since then, several Romanian-Finnish dictionaries and conversation guides have been published. (For example, in 2003, Molnár Bodrogi Enikő and Pályi Éva Ildikó published a *Conversational Dictionary in Finnish for Romanians*). The *Columna Magazine*, a publication of the Romanian lectureship at the University of Turku, appears. The magazine has published valuable studies and translations in the course of time, among which there is a wonderful translation of the Romanian fairy-tale, *Youth without old age and life without death*, a tale gathered by Petre Ispirescu in 1882 and published in *The Legends or Fairy-tales of the Romanians, gathered from the people.*

Alongside these, a certain number of volumes concerning Finland were published. In the same year, 1982, the *Secolul XX /20th Century Magazine* had a special issue dedicated to Finland. We shall insert here a fragment, translated from Finnish, which appeared in *Helsingin Sanomat* on June 17th, 1981, describing the participation of Romanian writers (Andrei Brezianu having been one of them) at the reunion entitled 'Literature and Myth' from Mukkula: 'There would have been no surprise in hearing polite phrases on the Kalevala when opening a conference on literature and myths held on Finnish soil. Alas, the International Writers Conference which opened yesterday in Mukkula, near Lahti, was not only about such homages. The Romanian writer and essayist, Andrei Brezianu, editor of the 20th Century Magazine, brought a new edition of the Romanian translation of the *Kalevala*, refurbishing the old edition, published by his father, Barbu Brezianu, in 1942. He spoke about a translation of the Kalevala in verse: it follows a certain metric pattern, thus partially sacrificing the absolute fidelity to the original. There are aspects of the richness of the work, in which the power and distribution of the stress remains a matter of taste.' (Enescu, 1982, our translation). In his speech, after making a brilliant analysis of the universal dimensions of Romanian mythology, Brezianu showed how Finland's national epopee stayed close to the Romanian reader and specialist. He pointed out that the mythic genius of the Finnish people, gathered by Lönnrot, the one who compiled the *Kalevala* in its written form, is a literary and artistic expression of an intensity of living which is unique throughout the history of Finnish literature. Andrei Brezianu, who had his debut ten years ago, as a translator of Swift's satires, is a writer of fiction and essay. Characterising his own prose, Andrei Brezianu answered our questions by defining his style as pertaining to a species of fantastic realism in which symbols and allegory have their natural place; the myth is, in turn, close to these. Throughout the years, Marin Sorescu, Nicolae Manolescu, Ana Blandiana, Mircea Iorgulescu and others took part in the meetings in Mukkula.

The work of Professor Matti Klinge from the University of Helsinki, *Lyhyt Suomen historia* (A View on Finland's History) appeared in 2001, in Teodor Palic's translation into Romanian. After two more years, new editions of *The Egyptian, Fifteen books Containing the Memoirs of Doctor Sinuhe* (1390-1335 BC) were published in Iași. A scientific article, written by Professor George Pântecan was published in 2010 in Romania. It gathers testimonials of the reciprocal influence the two countries had during the Middle Ages in an impressive number of pages (over 500). The premise of the book, which is the most interesting part of the work (how to explain an ancient Romanian toponym in the North of Europe?) describes an exciting character, Petrus of

Dacia (Peter of Dania), a Swedish monk who lived in the 13th century and received the Dominican order of the province.

Mika Sarlin's book**,** *Romanian Kielioppi* (Romanian Grammar), published in 2011, is an indispensable work-instrument both for students, as well as for teachers interested in the subtleties of the Romanian language. A very interesting work published recently by Paul Nanu gathers in a synthesis Romanian reflections about Finland, *Literatura și cultura finlandeză. O perspectivă românească* (Finnish Literature and Culture. A Romanian Perspective, Iași, 2015)**.**

The Romanian Lectureship of Tampere was opened in 2012, with the support of Professor Jukka Havu and lead, at present, by Andra Bruciu-Cozlean from the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj Napoca. Professor Havu has contributed through his studies, his personal efforts in diversifying the resources needed for teaching Romanian in a northern university, the one in Tampere, directing the interest of students and researchers towards this. In 2014, the Romanian Lectureship of the University of Turku run by Romanian lecturer Paul Nanu, celebrated its 40th anniversary. A special event was organised, at which Romania's Embassy in Helsinki was represented by His Excellence, Cătălin Avramescu. Representatives of the Romanian Language Institute of Bucharest and Professors of the University of Tampere were also present. In the last decade alone, Romania's Embassy in Helsinki has organised many events that have contributed to a better visibility of Romania in the Finland. We would like to recall only the last great intercultural event: in May 3-15, 2015, the Romanian Cultural Institute in Stockholm, in cooperation with the Romanian Embassy in Finland organised the first edition of the Days of Romanian Culture. The Tampere Finland-Romania Association lead by Grațiela Știrbu organises attractive events, such as The day of the Mărțișor (the 1st of March) and The Transylvanian Evening.

CONCLUSIONS

This study cannot claim to be the exhaustive mirror of the vast system of confluences between the two countries, but only offers several considerations from the perspective of its author. History does not exclude, but implies cultural acquisitions, therefore this study makes references to cultural activities, to diverse and rich translations from Finnish into Romanian and vice-versa. History is a spiritual form through which a culture gives information about its past. History and culture cannot be separated, the former being the effigy of the latter. The hereby article was intended to emphasise the continuity of these historical, cultural and diplomatic connections, which were undertaken during nearly the entire three centuries.

One important fact to be highlighted is that the two countries had to survive and create within the narrow space that was left free between states and strong, often oppressive cultures. As far as intellectual exchanges are concerned, there will never be too much done to defeat and surpass the barrier of mentalities and the geo-political borders.

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OVID AND THE NEUTRALISATION OF THE TRAUMA

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ABSTRACT

The present article is an attempt to illustrate the process of acquiring a new identity by Ovid, the Roman poet exiled by Rome to Tomis, as seen by the Romanian author Vintilă Horia in the novel *Dumnezeu s-a născut in exil* (God was born in exile). The problem raised by the title of this article leads, in more general terms, amongst other things, to establishing and nuancing the relations between identity and otherness. Ovid, living his trauma at the beginning of his exile amongst barbarians, neutralises this trauma in and through a long spiritual process, while, at the same time, this neutralisation becomes a conscious acceptance of the Other.

KEYWORDS

trauma, exile, identity, otherness, others, Vintilă Horia.

Vintilă Horia's name is little or hardly known in many countries, for example, in Poland, while his work, never translated into Polish, is obviously not to be found in bookshops either. That is valid also in Romania, his originating country, which he left after World War II, going into exile, first to Italy, then to Argentina and France, to finally settle down in Spain. In Romania, Vintilă Horia is neither widely known nor read, and out of his eleven novels which he wrote in French and Spanish (to speak only about this part of his work!), only five were published in Romanian, the remaining six never being even translated. In other words, he is not well-known in Romania for the following and rather obvious reason – not all his novels and essays have been translated, and thus, as Georgeta Orian states, 'to offer a *definite*, final portrait

of Vintilă Horia *now* would mean to act without knowing all the facts, without having all data about him'. (Orian, 2008: 11)[1]

In Vintilă Horia's case, who was an exiled writer, the theme of self- (re-) definition by relating to traditional or historical values, ultimately to the condition of the exiled is well-known.

One of Vintilă Horia's reference models, both spiritual and existential, was the poet Ovid, exiled by Emperor Augustus to Tomis. As the Romanian writer confesses, Ovid's theme still obsessed him even when he was in Argentina, when he felt Ovid was the symbol of the exile. Vintilă Horia adds that at that time, there had been two thousand years since Ovid was born, and this event was to be celebrated all over the world: 'I was reading books about him, I was rereading *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*. I was on a beach (...) and I was reciting *Tristia* all to myself. I was searching everything that had been written about Ovid at that time. For two years, I was marked by the fever for Ovid. I didn't know what to write – a monography, a novel, a literary study...' (Horia in Rotaru, 2002: 59-60). Thus, Ovid becomes 'a significant that offered the scholarly aspect necessary to a certain exigence of the auctorial discourse not just once'. (Orian, 2008: 73).

Gone in search of his character, Horia lives a true crisis of values: 'I was just becoming aware that I could no longer write as I had done. [...] I was just realising that was I not to write a novel, an important book, I would become a failure.' (Rotaru, 2002: 59)

In 1960, the novel *Dieu est né en exil. Journal d'Ovide à Tomes* was published, prefaced by de Daniel-Rops (l'Académie Française)[2]. In Romania, the novel was to be published under the title *Dumnezeu s-a născut în exil* only 30 years later, in 1990, by Europa Publishing House, in Craiova, translated by Al. Castaing, and revised by the author himself.

Paul Ricoeur states that we need a fictional model in order to understand life, which is an incomplete story, and that is the reason why we need to search for ourselves through fiction. (Ricoeur in Deciu, 2001: 6) According to such a vision, the self is a centre of narrative gravitation, because, in the absence of a narrative or when it faces a crisis, the self becomes the very victim of an identity collapse. (Ricoeur in Deciu, 2001: 6)

The novel *Dumnezeu s-a născut în exil* has Ovid, the exiled poet, as fictional character – the prototype of the human being whose defining trait is that of

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[1] All translated quotations in the text, both from Vintilă Horia's novel *Dumnezeu s-a născut în exil* (God was born in exile), and from his critics are our translations.
[2] Librairie Arthème Fayard, 18 Rue du Saint-Gothard Paris XIV, 1960, col. 'Le Signe', 309 pages.

being banished from Paradise, something which starts a process of fusion between the pain located in a geographical space and the discovery of the unique important space which is that of the soul. This is to be accomplished by Ovid at the Eastern border of the Roman Empire – the end of the world for any Roman citizen. Vintilă Horia imagines the last years of Ovid's life, which the latter spent on the shore of *Pontus Euxinus* as a result of Emperor Augustus's decision, whose reasons remained a mystery kept also by the poet himself. In Tomis, Ovid feels a terrible nostalgia for Rome, the lost space, and which gradually turned into metaphysical nostalgia determined by the need of and search for God. Thus, Vintilă Horia sends us to the poet's work, the lines of which prove Ovid's metaphysical sense and predilection for Pitagora's theories regarding the immortality of the soul and the existence of a unique god, which renders the poet's change as being more credible, and also suggests one of the reasons why Ovid had to go into exile.

Pitagora's teachings which Ovid remembers from Rome and the Thraco-Dacian spirit discovered during his exile and which prepare him for the receiving of the Christian message, slowly and tenderly neutralises the poet's trauma of being exiled[1]. Thus the trauma changes suffering into a modality of knowledge, strengthened by the new scenery, the Dacians' customs and religion where he now lives. Ovid starts to know the world again.

Georgeta Orian, while researching the problem of the exiled Vintilă Horia, underlines that 'thus self-knowledge first means the knowledge of the Other', who must first be discovered, then conquered, and loved, and only lastly known'. (Orian, 2008: 137)

The process of trauma neutralisation with Ovid is very slow and difficult, accompanied by different changes and 'jammings' of the spatial optics. From the very beginning, the contrast Rome – Tomis is enhanced as emotional and spatial opposition. Rome is the space of the past *i.e.* happiness, glory, and splendour, it is the centre of the world, of culture and pleasures. Tomis, on the other hand, is the space of loneliness, and sadness, situated somewhere at the end of the civilised world, populated by 'barbarians who have not reached the subtlety of smile, and who live at the outskirts of gravity and gaiety' (Horia, 1990: 11), with long, heavy winters, with blizzards that shake the roofs, with a roaring sea and with waves 'which turn into wild icy shapes, all these contrasting with the sun and the mild climate of Rome, where what we understand by human means a two-legged animal lacking both feelings and reason.' (Horia, 1990: 19)

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[1] The syntagma 'the neutralisation of the trauma' belongs to Dominik LaCapra, in Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz,* Cornell University Press, New York 1998, p. 18.

'Only Rome is the place worth living', states Ovid, (Horia, 1990: 24) his sole consolation being the hope to return, but the heavy winters and the massive snow falls in Tomis shatter any possibility to communicate with his beloved Rome. He fights with himself, he is miserable, and revolts against his unhappy destiny:

> Who will give me the strength to endure, to shout out this suffering which does not only exist in my mind? Is it the same I, Ovid, the poet of Rome, Corina's lover, he who had and lost *everything*? I had got used to growing old and dying. Humans were created for that. But I am the only Roman citizen exiled in Tomis so far away from all that my life used to be. How could I convince myself that is a normal course of things? (Horia, 1990: 13)

At the beginning, the barbarians in Tomis represent a threatening population, an absolutely foreign social group, to which he could not belong. Georgeta Orian, writing about the problem of otherness, distinguishes three constitutive elements of the idea of otherness, resorting to Tzvetan Todorov's reasearch: the axiological one *i.e.* stating a value judgement, the praxiological one *i.e.* proximity or distance towards the other, and the epistemological one *i.e.* I ackowldge or ignore the identity of the other. (Orian, 2008: 137)

The poet Ovid transgresses such an emotional-psychological trajectory rendered in the form of a diary, which he would have written during the eight years of exile, in the first person narration: 'I, Ovid', the author of the diary, in the novel *Dumnezeu s-a născut în exil*, is the exiled one who, from the very beginning of his arrival in another realm, judges, feels superior, but slowly starts to learn, to come closer to, and cherish the values of the other culture. As Georgeta Orian notices, the relation *I – he* which generates another relation – *here – there*, is to be found in the novel from the very first lines (Orian, 2008: 137): 'I close my eyes in order to read. And in order to kill! And thus I am stronger than he who closes his eyes only in order to sleep, even though this cannot bring him any consolation. [...] Beyond this shriek [...], the roaring of the sea seems to be the very voice of night, as if time had a voice and it would be heard in only one place: here.' (Horia, 1990: 7)

For Ovid, this *here* means, unfortunately, the wild Tomis, while *there* means the Rome he cannot forget, and which he misses so much: 'The second year of my exile starts today. Next year, I will be in Rome, maybe even in a few months' time, when Augustus has certainly died, and my books will be found again in all libraries, and I will tell stories either at the thermae or at home, by the fire [...].' (Horia: 1990: 29)

Yet, for the moment, Ovid, here in Tomis, becomes timidly friendly with Dochia, the Getic servant who initiates him into a new life, belief and happiness: 'Since she has been in my service, it's been more than one year and she has learnt to smile. She has become my friend.' (Horia, 1990: 32) Discovering new horizons of life and happiness, dominated by the deep belief in Zalmoxis and in the immortality of the soul makes Ovid slowly change his attitude as towards his own existence here, far away from his Roman lands, so much loved so far. Thus starts Ovid's spiritual adventure:

> It is really not necessary to have all that you wish for in order to be happy. I know you do not share my view, but still, that is the way it is.' [...] 'You know, Dochia, I used to have all that a man could wish for and still I wasn't happy.' [...] 'We cannot be the masters of our own fate, nor of our own happiness', she added. 'Who is the master then?' She answered without hesitation: 'Zalmoxe.' (Horia, 1990: 26, 27)

This short dialogue between Ovid and Dochia, apparently without significance, has unbelievable spiritual repercussions for Ovid:

> This name was unfolding over us, filling the twilight. [...] I felt touched by its power, and somehow obliged to follow it too. Did he become the master of my destiny before I have even met him? This woman [...] had uttered his name, and I could hear it for the first time, blooming on human lips. [...] I had totally forgotten about my unhappiness, where I was and why. I came to understand what Pitagora had called [...] *the unique god*. And everything disappeared when facing this life which I actually didn't know, but whose knowledge was waiting for me at the end of the world, under the walls of Tomis, as a single possible consolation. (Horia, 1990: 27)

So far, Ovid's tumultuous and even frivolous existence has been 'one relying on experimentation, knowledge and reasonable possession' (Orian, 2008: 138). Everything changes when Ovid steps in the core of the culture he considers to be barbarian, when he starts to get in touch with the inhabitants of this realm, almost inexistent in his past so that he finds out the following in his fifth year of exile: 'Were I younger, I'd ask Dochia to marry me. I would start a new life with her, beyond Ister, and I would send a single letter to Rome. Reading it, Augustus would die a few years sooner.' (Horia, 1990: 129) This proves the deep transformation Ovid has gone through. He makes two trips to the country of the Dacians, which allows him to firmly master his new identity. During the first trip, he meets Mucaporus, a Roman soldier who left the Empire in order to find a new identity amongst the Dacians. Mucaporus helps Ovid understand how happy and rich life can be if lived with the belief in Zalmoxis, amongst foreigners, in the middle of an

unknown place, so far from Rome. During his second trip, when Ovid goes away to find Zalmoxis's priests, travelling new places, he reaches Poiana Mărului, where he meets a Dacian priest, all dressed in white, with white hair and white beard, a priest who was nothing but the soul, turned visible, of the charmed trees. This experience announces the arrival of the Saviour, and reveals the meaning of exile to Ovid from the perspective of a long time awaited arrival of God, announced by both the prophets of Israel and Zalmoxis, the god of the Dacians:

> The distance which keeps you away from your dear ones, by the sky and the land of your childhood is painful. I want you to know that your exile has been given to you as a phase. Do not mourn in Tomis, and prepare yourself for the other, true life which does not know any pain. […] Those who will shall know nothing but joy because they will be in God's light, and this light is nothing but kindness. […] Believe that your soul is the result of your own strain, that you shape it every day out of your good deeds, and that only the soul is immortal. (Horia, 1990: 99)

Suddenly Ovid discovers that the exile, inscribed in the human nature, is part of his terrestrial existence, which is not tragic if accompanied by the immortal soul as it is merely transient meant to prepare man for the afterlife. Thanks to the Greek doctor, Teodor, who tells Ovid, a year later, that he witnessed the birth of the Saviour, the poet is close to understanding the true value of suffering and pain. Ovid confronts himself, thus learning the new possibilities of manifesting his *self*. Consequently, in the life in Tomis, the poet discovers his inner truths, the capacity to suffer and the deep meaning of existence of which he was not aware when he lived in Rome, whose glamour and imperial glitter deceived him for thirty years, as they were mere cruel tyranny and lack of freedom. He used to be the man who knew the rites of a world always ready to amuse itself. Yet he ultimately understands, exiled amongst the Dacians, the meanings of the wise books he has read, he understands the significance of the news he receives from his Roman friends, and he also understands Pitagora better, his teacher of esoteric knowledge. Ovid transgresses in Tomis the way from party to asceticism, from vice to purification. Travelling in order to know the places where he is exiled, Ovid knows many Roman runaways who converted to the religion of the Getae, who prepare themselves for the arrival of the Lord, as they were attracted by the spiritual values Dacia offered them through the hope in life after death. According to Cornel Ungureanu, 'Ovid's Dacia becomes a country of the spirit' (Ungureanu, 1995: 129). Monica Nedelcu states that 'one of the key-aspects of Vintilă Horia's novel is the process of *metamorphosis* or *metanoia* suffered by Ovid in Tomis: the excruciating longing for the lost space –

Rome – slowly turns into metaphysical longing defined by the need of and search for God.' (Nedelcu in Horia, 1990: 200). The longing for Rome, which he lost, 'turns the memory places into landscape spaces' (Ungureanu, 1995: 129), while the space of exile in Tomis changes into space of expectancy and hope, paradise-like, which the poet discovers in the other realm. The paradise-like landscapes of Dacia, the secret paths which Ovid learns from Dochia, a local Beatrice of the poet, the Dacians whom he knows together with their customs – all these make Ovid neutralise the trauma he felt at the beginning of the exile. Georgeta Orian underlines the fact that 'Ovid's old identity does not disappear together with the displacement from the motherly universe, but changes into a stand for the new identity. […] He has the possibility to confront his *own identity* with *hetero-identity*. This phenomenon happens when he gets in contact with otherness.' (Orian, 2008: 142)

The beginnings of Ovid's exile in Tomis are highly unfavourable, and very difficult to take. *Displacement* breaks the calming continuum of identity. The poet feels estranged amongst the Dacians, and is even considered to be a foreigner by the citizens of Tomis because he simply represents another set of values than those accepted by the citizens of Tomis, a sign of both danger and fear. Georgeta Orian writes that 'the fear of the unknown prevents mutual knowledge.' (Orian, 2008: 142) When the poet starts to slowly know the tradition of the places of his exile, he also finds the proper modality to know the other. We can here paraphrase Vintilă Horia's own words, voiced out by Ovid: exile lost its tragic sense, now having an aim which can already be guessed. (Horia, 1990: 172) Ovid understands and accepts – the others are no longer strangers, nor is he one for them, while Rome is no longer the destination of all roads, now 'Dacia, the periphery of the Empire lies at the centre of the world.' (Nedelcu in Horia, 1990: 205) The exile, as estrangement from the native lands, loses its dramatism when Ovid discovers the universality of the human condition, and understands the importance of the spiritual values which should be his preoccupations now above all else. The exile ceased to be traumatising and slowly started to become a sort of 'home' where he has made friends, Tomis becoming a centre, a place where, as Cornel Ungureanu describes is, all the illuminating elements of the beginning of the world.' (Ungureanu, 1995: 127)

When old, Ovid, becoming aware of the political situation in Rome and hearing about different political crimes 'which have become a habit in the Empire' (Horia: 1990: 186), remains without a choice, especially because 'the return to Rome is not viable, at least in the near future' (Horia, 1990: 186). He thus makes the choice to remain in the new lands for good, with his new friends who assure him of both their friendship and respect: 'If your people forget you, we shall not.' (Horia, 1990: 186).

Having come to terms with his new destiny of being a citizen of Tomis, Ovid finds a new homeland, thus accepting 'the conscience of his own difference' (Orian, 2008: 150) but also of his new identity:

I have few years more to live, and I'd better spend them amongst friendly smiles, in the middle of a forest where the centurions have yet not arrived.

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Beyond the Sacred: A Critical Appraisal of Moshe Idel's *Mircea Eliade: From Magic to Myth*

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Abstract

In this article, I discuss the study of Moshe Idel on the Romanian dimension of Mircea Eliade's writings, parts of which I magnify at the expense of others. While largely in agreement with Idel's claims, I find his critical apparatus lacking, insofar as he only takes into account methodological criticism of Eliade from a phenomenological perspective. By making reference to critiques outside this orientation, I seek to supplement Idel's remarks. I also take distance from the biographical and scholarly portrait drawn up by Idel of Eliade's disciple, I. P. Culianu, and offer a more accurate view. Idel presents us with a different way of reading Eliade in his Romanian context, without fully developing such a tendency. I will briefly to sketch out how such a new perspective might look like, one tries to embed cultural developments in their specific socio-cultural context. In the end, I point out the lasting significance of taking into account politics within the field of religious studies as outlined by Idel. By drawing out these diverse strands, I am aware that I preclude the possibility of attaining homogeneity. Yet this characteristic is also not present in the book under discussion, and to try to tie up the loose ends would do a disservice to its form.

Introduction

At the start of his groundbreaking 1988 book on Kabbalah, Moshe Idel outlined his methodology: 'Instead of presenting a historical sequence of Kabbalists or of ideas, I adopt an essentialist attitude to the contents of

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Kabbalistic material that places greater emphasis upon their religious countenance than on their precise location in place and time' (Idel, 1988, XII). One can recognize in this passage's trust on phenomenological analysis an affinity with Eliade's overall attitude to what he termed 'the history of religions', namely the use of hermeneutics in order to grasp the inner working of a religious system at the expense of the socio-historical context in which they develop. But as this present book makes clear, while Idel remains an adept of the phenomenological approach, he is by no means an advocate of the ahistorical, normative attitude which stands at the basis of Eliade's works (Strenski, 1987: 106-109; Allen, 1988: 564; McCutcheon, 1997: 38).[1]

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While the political dimensions of Eliade's life provoked passionate discussions in the West, they have become largely accepted (Rennie, 2005: 2757-2763). By contrast, in Romania the 'revelations' regarding Eliade's past led to much fiercer discussions.[2] While the state of the debate has advanced considerably since the early nineties, when disgruntled nationalists responded to a critical essay written by Norman Manea's on Eliade and fascism by repeatedly setting on fire the mail box of Manea's mother-in-law (Manea, 2013: 31-32)[3], the gravity of the facts has yet to be fully accepted.[1] Research

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[1] An important early critique along of this tendency was offered by Croce (1949: 100-102). One commentator observed that 'in Eliade's case, the construction of an universal *axis mundi* lent meaning to his own subjective vision of what the world *ough* to be and how *homo religiosus ought* to act, rather than how the world really *is* and how *homo religiosus* actually *does* act' (Korom, 1992: 116).

[2] For the evolution of attitudes towards Eliade in Romania, see Keul (2008: 398-416).

[3] For the essay in question, see Manea (1991: 27-36). A slightly different version of this text is available in Manea (1993: 91-124). Attacking Manea for his article against Eliade became a point of pride for many Romanian ex-Cold Warriors. Monica Lovinescu (1923-2008), a journalist who had worked for Radio Free Europe, for example, complained in her diary that she did not get the recognition she deserved, that is of having been Manea's prime detractor in the media (Lovinescu, 2014: 35). One can see in the outrage with which she responded to Victor Farias' *Heidegger et le nazisme* (1987) a prefiguration of such an attitude (Lovinescu, 2003: 248). Such a double-bind mentality, which insisted for cultural freedom for Nazis but not for communists, was typical for many other Cold War liberals (Saunders, 226-228, 250-251). For her trivialization of the Holocaust, see International Commission of the Holocaust (2005: 375-379). In view of such attitudes, the interview granted to Valerian Trifa, Bishop of the Romanian Orthodox Church of Romania and former Iron Guardist, by Radio Free Europe in the late seventies (Puddington, 2000: 251-252) seems to be less of a 'mistake' than is usually argued by the network's supporters. Nae Ionescu (1890-1940), the professor of philosophy at the University of Bucharest who mentored Eliade during and his studies, became popular among Romania's educated classes after programs on this radio station, sidelining his commitment to fascism and lack of regard for academic discipline, built up his image as an important figure of interwar Romanian thought (Voicu, 2009: 118).

on Romanian fascism was an activity to be frowned upon by Romanian intellectuals after the fall of communism, a feature which persists to a certain extent up to the present day[2]. One popular intellectual who is an advocate of Orthodox 'spirituality' declared that investigating the fascist engagements of the likes of Eliade was simply not worth the effort, as it was not vital for the times (Laignel-Lavastine, 1999: 61).[3] His valorization of the relationship between Orthodox Christianity and Romanian history, specifically its unique 'cosmic' character, that of a blend between traditionally peasant beliefs and Christian dogma, came to be much appreciated in a time in which the Church was facing competition of the marketplace of belief from various branches of American Protestant denominations (Verdery, 1999: 72-88). Recently, Dorian David wrote that the attempt to identify in Eliade's exile writings legionary elements seems to him exaggerated, useless, and non-productive (David, 2014: 19-20). Such attitude is not restricted to treatments of Eliade. In a hagiographic study of the Orthodox wiseman, who acted as a fascist propagandist during the interwar years[4] Petre Ţuţea (1902-1991), Alexandru D. Popescu refrains from mentioning violent acts perpetrated *by* the Iron Guard, preferring instead to focus on the violence perpetrated *upon* them by the state, citing uncriticaly at one point as a source for the number of victims a book written by a former adherent of the organization (Popescu, 2004: 273-274).[5]

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[1] See, for example, the apology offered by Eliade's nephew and self-styled celebrity-intellectual (Alexandrescu, 1998: 234). For a critique of Alexandrescu's writings, see Livezeanu (2006: 8-12). The rejection of Eliade's political stances is sometimes concomitant with a tendency to de-politicize the Iron Guard and portray it as a purely 'Christian' organization.

[2] Consider the attacks on the historian Zigu Ornea (1930-2001) for critically discussing the fascist leanings of Eliade and Cioran by authors such as Zarifopol-Johnston (2009: 188, 196) or Ştefănescu (2005: 723-726).

[3] For an overview of the debates unleashed by the discovery of the Fascist past of the leading interwar intellectuals, see Livezeanu (2006). Consider also the reactions to the criticism of Eliade and Constantin Noica (1909-1987) by the Romanian-born Hungarian dissident Gáspár Miklós Tamás (Vasilescu, 2002) as well as the scandal ignited and re-ignited by appearance in 2002, and the subsequent 2004 Romanian-language translation, of Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine's study of the lives of Cioran, Eliade, and Ionesco. For a balanced evaluation of the book's strong and weak points, see Frank (2012: 136-154).

[4] Ţuţea continued to profess admiration for the Iron Guard until the end of his life. He also considered antisemitism to be caused by the Jews (Ţuţea, 1997: 19), held democracy in low regards (*ibid*, 39) and declared his support for Mussolini, Hitler, Franco and Salazar (Ţuţea, 1992: 319).

[5] The same premises inform a study of the philosopher Constantin Noica (Lavric, 2007). Not only does the author of this book systematically downplay the lifelong aversion to democracy of his subject, but he also purposefully distorts the history of Romanian fascism, its crimes against the Jews, and the Holocaust in Romania (Alexandru, 2007: 414-432; *ibid*, 2009: 85-99). The book was lauded by two of the most prominent members of the Group

Works on religion in Communist Romania were done in the shadow of Eliade's figure, to the extent that his Romanian biographer speaks about the development of a 'myth of Eliade' during the seventies (Ţurcanu, 2003: 470).[1] His influence remains overwhelming to this day (Ricketts, 2002: 78-85).[2] To take only one example, a study regarding the 'religious' meaning of death, for example, is characterized by a *sui generis* interpretation of religion, passion for Dacian rites, criticism of modernity, and fascination with 'primitive' lifestyles (Toplean, 2006: 136-137, 287-288). Written mostly by people who do not possess the adequate and sufficient philological, theological, or anthropological training, a considerable of studies uphold Eliade's methodology and the soundness for his research.[3]

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for Social Dialogue (Grupul pentru dialog social), liberal NGO, namely Gabriel Liiceanu and Andrei Pleşu, and was awarded the prestigious 'Titu Maiorescu' prize of the Romanian Academy. The lauding of a work which whitewashes such acts of violence stands in stark contrast with the group's proclaimed values of democracy and human rights.

[1] In turn, Eliade also kept up with developments in Romanian academic culture, showing interest, for example, in the nationalist theories of literary critic Edgar Papu (Verdery, 1991: 349 note 48). In contrast to phenomenological approaches, structuralist approaches have received little attention. The most valuable addition, sadly overlooked, is Marcus (1975). Autochtonists complained that the works of Claude Lévi-Strauss were available in translation while those of Eliade were not (Verdery, 1991: 2). One can interpret Adrian Marino's book on Eliade as a bitter attack against structuralism, considering that the thinkers singled out for criticism in it are the same that he attacks (and blames) in his autobiography for not enabling his entry into French academic life, namely Roland Barthes and Tzevan Todorov. See Marino (2010: 159-160, p. 166). Unfortunately, there is no entry on Romania in Bubík & Hoffmann's (2015) otherwise thorough volume on the study of religion in the former Eastern bloc. Scholars working on Eliade in communist Romania were very much aware of his ties to the Iron Guard. See, for example, Marino (Marino, 2000: 84; *ibid*, 2010: 241).

[2] Eliade continues to be credited in Romania with the invention of the discipline of 'the history of religions' although it long predated him (Masuzawa, 2001: 430).

[3] Among the figures one can name are: Gabriel Liiceanu, Andrei Pleşu, Andrei Oişteanu, and H. R. Patapievici. These authors are not equipped to make to make authoritative claims regarding the validity of Eliade's research. Consider the following sweeping statement: 'Eliade became a point of reference for today's humanities, for his ability to recompose the structure of human depth based on the entirety of man's spiritual history from the period of the Neolithic until that of the present' (Liiceanu & Pleşu, 1991: 5). The problem with such a totalizing is not so much that it neglects to emphasize the importance of specialized knowledge, rather it abolishes it completely: it is hard to conceive of a single person who can live up to those standards. In asking us to believe that Eliade did, such authors endow Eliade with aura of greatness that aims to prevent criticism. While knowledge of a certain subject is not dependent on an academic degree in a certain field, someone who does make a claim to knowledge in a specific domain necessitates proving his qualifications. Objecting to the critique of Eliade's depiction of Dacian religion and his use of Greek sources by historian Dan Dana (see Dana, 2008: 268-287) Andrei Oişteanu considers such criticism to be politically motivated 'attacks' on Eliade's persona (Oişteanu, 2014: 43-44). As Oişteanu lacks

Considering this situation, Moshe Idel's work is an important contribution to the ongoing debate regarding Eliade's legacy. While studies of Eliade's formative period have been written before[1], Idel masterly manages to weave a new narrative based on his reading of Eliade's writings and the secondary literature. Unlike former accounts by Adrian Marino and I. P. Culianu, which are deeply apologetic to the point that they become hagiographical[2], Idel maintains an ambivalent attitude towards Eliade's work.

Idel's thesis is that Eliade's work can be split into two periods, characterized by a shift from active practice to narrative: from ritual to myth, technique to symbol. He concentrates not only on the academic work, but also on his fiction, journals, correspondence and autobiographical writings, as they are interlocked by a series of themes and motifs, and also by Eliade's tendency to insert his own life experiences within his publications. One can say the same of him that Steven Wasserstrom said apropos of Ernst Jünger (1895-1998),

the relevant skillset to evaluate the historiography of Antiquity (as shown by Dana 2011: 129-137), his objections, can be at best qualified as misguided. The lacking scholarly quality of studies relating to Eliade or done in his style was predicted by Zwi Werblowslty since the eighties (Werblowsky, 1989: 129-136).

[1] Among the studies on Eliade's Romanian period that are accessible to Western audiences, one can consult the following: Doeing (1975), Culianu (1978), Marino (1981), Strenski (1982, 391-404), *ibid* (1987, 70-103), Ricketts (1988), Ţurcanu (2003), Müller (2004), Skarżyńska (2010: 19-25), Dana (2012), and Halk (2013, 169-184). Cristina Cristina Bejan, executive director of the Washington located culture and arts collective 'Bucharest Inside the Beltway', is currently preparing a book about the Criterion Association, based on her PhD. dissertation at Oxford, which contains valuable information about Eliade's years spent in Romania (2009, esp. 37-59, 168-177, 193-199). I would like to thank Mrs. Bejan for kindly sharing her manuscript with me. Adriana Berger, Eliade's research in his last years at Chicago assistant planned to write an intellectual biography of Eliade for the New York based publishing house Hill & Wang (Berger, 1994: 72 note 1) but was stopped on account of the threat of legal action on the side of Eliade's widow (Junginger, 2008: 32 note 31).

[2] The problem with Marino's book was best summarized by the anthropologist Lawrence E. Sullivan: 'Nowhere does Marino point to faults or fissures in Eliade's project. Marino is deliberate about this; he writes 'faithful to the spirit of Eliade', with whom he claims 'common orientation in thought' in order to 'assist' in the establishment of a modern systematic hermeneutics […] Indeed, Marino straightforwardly advocates Eliade's positions with a 'militant hermeneutic' geared to invite criticism rather than provide it. The book is meant to form an organic part of Eliade's corpus' (Sullivan, 1982: 326). Unfortunately, this tendency continues to affect the work of the people most familiar with Eliade's Romanian period, such as his biographer, bibliographer and editor, Mircea Handoca. Although he characterizes Handoca's contributions as 'quite obvious and extremely useful', Idel nonetheless warns against his tendency to reject criticism leveled against Eliade as invalid (Idel, 2014: 3). For a critique of Handoca's approach, see Rizescu (2012: 281-284).

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that is that he 'deployed paragraphs between letter, essay, and fiction more or less without differences accountable to genre' (Wasserstrom, 2010: 348).[1]

The key to Eliade's success was his promise to reveal completely the hidden meanings of the subject matter he investigated. This approached lacked the ambiguities and cautiousness characteristic of academic writing – a medium with which Eliade kept an uneasy relationship all through his life[2] – but made him wildly popular among the wide public. As Wasserstrom noted with regard to Eliade's oeuvre: 'The paperback, like the museum, made that experience accessible to anyone who could afford its minimal charge […] Anyone who could afford to buy the book, so to speak, could have a look at the ancient secrets […] For Eliade, the author was active and the audience passive' (Wasserstrom, 1999: 110).

But if the mass readership was prepared to take Eliade's claims at face value, the same was not true of scholars working in the domains he claimed to have an expertise. Idel's is part of what one could call the revisionist history of the 'history of religions', a movement which could claim as its manifesto Edmund Leach's biting review of Eliade's English language works. Leach brought to attention to Eliade's recycling of his writings, the theological underpinnings of his analyses, critically read his bibliographies, measured his claims against their source material, illuminated the detachment and outright irreverence his studies had towards consistency, and criticized the lack of contact with the subject matter of his writings, which existed for Eliade inside only library walls (Leach, 1966: 28-31).[3] Insofar as Idel's work is a part of this broader corpus of study, the criticism brought forth by him and other

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[1] The two authors knew and admired each other's work, and even collaborated at one point (Eliade, 1988: 205-206; Neaman 1999, 189-190; Țurcanu, 2003: 458-461). Compare Eliade's convinction with Jünger's views on the metaphysical drives of society (Herf, 1984: 101-102) as well as their shared passion for morphological classification and archetypes (Nevin, 1996: 82-83, 215-218).

[2] 'Eliade's work – even though it seduced many in the university – wisely kept itself a good distance from any serious or difficult epistemological debate' (Dubuisson, 2010: 141). For Eliade's perception of his need to subvert academic knowledge from within, see Eliade (2010: 104). Arvidsson points out that Eliade's phenomenological approach had a reactionary character, insofar as it sought to protect religion from the onslaughts of modernity (1999, 344). See in this sense Lincoln (2012: 15-30).

[3] Barth wrongly asserts that is a review of only one book (2013: 66 note 8). For the reaction of Eliade to this article, or better said lack of, see Țurcanu (2003: 463-464). It must be said that critical attitudes to Eliade's work during the period were by no means confined to this article: a review by Saler (1967: 262-263) echoes many of the observations made by Leach. Furthermore, Henri H. Stahl (1901-1991), one of 20th century Romania's greatest sociologists, seemingly without any contact with Leach's critique, also denounced Eliade as a library scholar (Stahl, 1983: 151-155, 167-168).

researchers is similar. However, as a phenomenologist, Idel is largely in agreement with Eliade's methodology, and his critique ultimately provides a model of how this model could be improved. However, not all critics of Eliade accept the validity of phenomenological analysis, and Idel does not take into account this factor, which leaves a gap in his critical apparatus. I shall provide some references for this type of critique in order to suggest interested readers point for further reference.

In his critique of Eliade's writings on Kabbalah, Idel's evidence is damning: Eliade had no contact with the relevant source material and based his interpretations of works of popularization written by figures associated with nineteenth century esotericism.[1] Eliade read such books as a teenager and continued to rely on interpretations found in them for the rest of his mature life (Idel, 2014: 62-67; 159-161).[2] Even his contact with Gershom Scholem did not change things: Eliade simply picked and chose out of Scholem's works the concepts that suited his pre-existing idea of Jewish 'mysticism' (Idel, 2014: 162-166).[3] The dichotomy he establishes between a life-affirming, liberating, 'spiritual' Kabbalah and a rigorous, rigid, and ultimately sterile Rabbinic Judaism is reflective of the Christian bias against Judaism[4], and as such tells us more about the persistance of Christian prejudices towards Judaism (seen as: lived religion versus legalism) than it does about Kabbalah.[5]

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[1] Though he later came to frown upon the figure of Helena Blavatsky (1831-1891) and her Theosophical Society (Eliade, 1976: 51-52, 65-66), he was fascinated in his youth by works such as Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* (1877), which he read in French translation (Țurcanu, 2003: 39-40).

[2] Eliade did not quote these texts later in life, but the conceptualization he got from them was grafted upon whatever new relevant material in terms of subject matter he encountered. The treatment of Kabalistic and Zoharic literature is not the only instance of such an approach. When analyzing Eliade's texts referring to Babylonia and other ancient Middle Eastern cultures from which he draws his idea of the axis mundi, one can find an identical approach of reusing the same sources from his youth, even though later research published during his lifetime had debunked the basis on which they were drawn (Korom, 1992: 106). Smith concludes that 'there is no pattern of the 'Center' in the sense that the Pan-Babylonians and Eliade described it in the ancient Near Eastern materials' (1987: 16). The same linguistic mistakes in Sanskrit and Pali that Eliade made in the first edition of his book on Yoga, based on his doctoral dissertation, which appeared in 1936, were present in the 1969 second, revised English edition of the study (Gombrich, 1974: 227).

[3] 'Eliade's unspecified method is not rigorous enough; it deals with religious matters which lie beyond empirical verification; and it is mainly deductive, based on adhered to metaphysical assumptions' (Saliba, 1976: 116).

[4] Idel does not mention that one of the sources that informs Eliade's treatise on the history of religions is Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's (1654-1704) anti-Jewish hackwork, *Entdecktes Judenthum* (Eliade, 1958: 166). On Eisenmenger, see Boettcher (2005: 209-210).

[5] Jonathan Z. Smith observes that at Eliade's method in *Patterns* (Eliade, 1958) 'consists of encompassing morphology in a metaphysical hierarchy' (Smith, 346). For the Christian bias

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Such a distinction would have been alien to the Kabbalist, who by no means abandoned Halakhic practice. Equally problematic is the monolithic view of religions based on the manner in which they interpret time: Christianity and Judaism view it in a linear manner, while Hinduism in a cyclical way. Idel points out that straightjacketing Judaism as horizontally minded excludes multiple phenomenologies of time. Cyclical interpretations can also be found in Kabbalistic literature (Idel, 2014: 145-149).[1]

Considering the brevity of the study, the amount of information covered is breathtaking. In chapter three, for example, Idel deals with the representation of death throughout the corpus of Eliade's writings. Considering the vastity of the subject, which could be treated in a monograph of its own, the author nonetheless manages to cover the essential topics and themes to which Eliade relates death: sacrifice, sexuality, and meaning. Especially important are the references to Eliade's analysis of two folkloric texts, namely the ballads *Miorița* and *Meșterul Manole* (Idel, 2014: 118-127).[2] Without going into details, Idel rejects the characterization of these myths as exemplary of Romanian culture and calls forth for a historicization of the theme of death in nineteenth and early twentieth century Romanian literature, one that also takes into account narratives in which death is not fetishized.[3] Eliade's

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inherent in this method, see ibid (334). In this sense, see also Saliba (1976: 103) and Schopen (1991: 18-19).

[1] A valuable discussion about Eliade's misconstruction of the Biblical perception of time is to be found in Segal (1978: 165-168).

[2] The genesis of Eliade's study on Romanian folklore is described in Eliade (1988: 204). An American anthropologist who studied funeral laments in the Maramureș region observed that in his study on Romanian folklore (Eliade, 1972) he 'constructs his own vision of the peasant community that extensive fieldwork cannot corroborate' (Kligman, 1988: 358 note 47). For a similar critique, see Stahl (1983: 151-219). Stahl concluded that no matter how interesting and erudite Eliade's study of mythology might be, it was in no way reflective of the practices of the Romanian peasantry. It is amazig how supporters of Eliade manage to overlook such criticism. After mentioning Eliade's reading of the *Miorița* as a manifestation of the 'terror of history', Adrian Marino sends readers to Kligman's book to find a common point of view (Marino, 1998: 212)

[3] Idel closes his discussion on the subject by calling attention to the fact that 'neither was the Orthodox in its entirety necessarily antisemitic' (Idel, 2014: 127). While this certainly the case, the authority on which he rests this assertion is by no means an adequate one: Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu (1916-1992). Before becoming a priest, Gheorghiu worked for the Ion Antonescu government and wrote glorifying accounts of the Romanian army's invasion of Bessarabia and its subsequent persecution of the region's Jewish population. After fleeing from Romania after 1945, he became famous in France after publishing the novel *La vingt-cinquième heure* (1949). His success dwindled after in the early fifties revelations of his antisemitic past reached the French press (Astalos, 2001: 339-342; Laignel-Lavastine, 2002: 414-415; Djuvara, 2012: 164-167).

writings about 'traditional'[1] Romanian rites and customs are also put in the context of the early twentieth century wave of enthusiasm for peasant spirituality (Idel, 2014, 226-237), found in the works of authors such as poet-cum-philosopher Lucian Blaga (1895-1961) and archeologist Vasile Pârvan (1882-1927).[2] This was always a bookish interest, for Eliade had no interest in dealing with really existing peasants.[3] While accepting the gist of Idel's critique, one should have reservations about what Idel holds Eliade would have discovered had he actually undertaken direct research amongst the peasantry: shamanism. Idel holds that 'shamanism was found in the Carpathians', and draws a comparison between Hassidic mysticism and shamanic experiences (Idel, 2014: 170-171), a position which replicates Eliade's ahistorical approach.[4]

It is also amazing to note how freely Eliade could speak about 'primitives', taking into view that his career spanned the Boasian revolution,

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[1] In view of the work by Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983), I consider we ought to be skeptical of the facile and automatic associations of the word *tradition* with concepts such as 'Geist', 'character', 'rootedness', 'timelessness' and 'authenticity'.

[2] A brief summary of the period, along with the relevant bibliography, is to be found in Verdery (1991: 46-70). Although he never denied coming into contact with the works of these authors, Eliade always took pains to point out that no influence upon him can be ascertained. Thus, when discussing Blaga's philosophical œuvre, he wrote that he was interested by the similarity of his optimistic views on culture with the latter's, though he arrived at it from different premises (Eliade, 2008: 196). Lucian Blaga also professed a belief in the survival of pagan vestiges in 'traditional' Romanian culture (Blaga, 1973: 131-132), which Eliade also shared (Eliade, 1943: 7-9; *ibid*, 1987: 164; *ibid*, 1980: 1-26). For Blaga's influence on Eliade, see Strenski (1987: 122-128) and Doeing (1975: 26-27).

[3] He preferred to impose his own views on the peasants. For example: 'The peasant mentality is by excellence an ontological one' (Eliade, 2006: 381). Henri H. Stahl invited him, without success, during the 1930's to assist the sociological expeditions headed by Dimitrie Gusti in the Romanian countryside (Stahl, 1983: 168). Ultimately Eliade believed that a historian of religion can have a much better grasp of such material compared to a folklorist (Eliade, 1985: 117-118). This did not prevent the author of one of the most important histories of the study of folklore in Romania to list Eliade as a folklorist (Bîrlea, 1974: 540-542).

[4] If anything, Eliade *too often* found traces of shamanism in the cultures he was studying. When it comes to shamanism, Richard Gombrich observed that in order to formulate a connection between yogic and shamanic practices, Eliade doctored his source material (1974: 225-227). Caroline Humphrey wrote that Eliade turned 'the inspirational religious practices of North Asia into a timeless mystery', and that he presented it as though it 'were some metaphysical entity making its presence felt despite history and societies' (Humphrey, 1996: 191). For a critique of the metaphysical assumptions that underlie such a comparative approach, see Huss (2014: 3-19; *ibid*, 2016). Pertinent to the discussion are also the contributions of Taussig (1986), Lewis (1989: 181-188), Francfort et al (2001), Harvey (2005: 139-152), Znamenski (2007), and Hutton (2007).

functionalism, structural anthropology, and the decolonization movement.[1] Considering Eliade's endless recycling of studies from his youth, coupled with his disinterest in doing any type of field work, one cannot but agree with some of critique of Eurocentric modes of thought by intellectuals from former colonies and the Third World.[2] Was this a case of unfortunate use of language, or a misguided persistent dependence on nineteenth-century terminology? No, because for Eliade there was a clear line leading from 'archaic' religious systems to more developed one, one that led 'from primitives to Zen' (Eliade, 1977). It is therefore not a neutral term. This is seen more clearly one takes in consideration the fact that Eliade aligned his scholarly efforts with the strategic aims of American Cold War foreign

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[1] Consider Eliade's disparaging comments about anthropologists (Eliade, 1973: XVII; *ibid*, 1984: 65). For his rejection of structuralism, see Eliade (1985: 162-163). Steven Wasserstrom notes that 'although he borrowed heavily from the 'data' provided by working anthropologists, he was otherwise ardently opposed to almost all forms of conventional anthropological explanation' (Wasserstrom, 1999: 263 note 5). This has not stopped some of his Romanian followers from labeling him an 'anthropologist' (see, for exemple, Zub, 1981: 301-310). Characterizing Eliade's knowledge of the history of anthropology 'abysmal', Edmund Leach concluded that the last theoretical development with which he was familiar with was the Viennese Kulturkreis School (Leach, 1966: 29-31). Carlo Ginzburg raises the question of the extent to which Eliade de projected his own beliefs about when dealing with peasants or non-Western societies, arguing that he 'preferred to impose his own irresistible categories on a vast amount of (mostly secondhand) evidence' (Ginzburg, 2010: 323), an argument also raised by Benedetto Croce (1949: 101-102). Along this direction, see Murphy (2001: 35-47) and Saliba (1976: 99-141). For Clifford Geertz's criticism of Eliade, who taught in the same period as Eliade at Chicago, see Girardot (2010: 149). As such, Boia's claim that "Eliade ranks among the handful of scholars who have extended the field of human sciences considerably during the past century" is erroneous beyond a doubt (Boia 2001: 253). An exception is represented by Beata Skarżyńska, who in her study of the Polish reception of Eliade is positive towards Eliade, focusing on Eliade's integration of Bronislaw Malinowski's and Wacław Sieroszewski's research in his studies, in the context of his wider aquintance with the writings of Polish scholars such as W. Jabłoński, J. Przyluski, R. Ranoszek, S. Scheyer, and A. Smieszka (Skarżyńska, 2010: 36). I would like to thank my friend Magdalena Dziaczkowska for helping me out with this last reference.

[2] Notwithstanding the justified criticism towards Edward Said's notion of Orientalism, when dealing with the ardent textualism of Eliade's oeuvre I cannot but find a consonance with his observation that that for the Orientalist, the prime contact with his subject matter is not a direct one. He does not go 'first to Oriental sources for correction and verification, but rather to other Orientalist works' (Said, 1995: 67). Orientalism is also defined as 'a system for citing works and authors' (*ibid*, 23). Consider also Said's observation that H. A. R. Gibb uses the notion of 'religion' in order to reduce the complexity of social life for people in the Middle East (ibid, 279) in the context of Eliade's *sui generis* approach to religion. Unlike Said, I would be more casuistic and argue that this practice of *some*, but not *all* Orientalists. On the connection between European imperialist projects and 'religion' as a universal notion, see Chidester (1996), Fitzgerald (2000), Dubuisson (2003), Masuzawa (2005), Josephson (2012).

policy: of 'In time, the study of 'primitive' religions of Africa and South America began to be encouraged by universities […] when Asia has reentered history and when 'primitive' societies are on the way to achieving independence, the study and correct understanding of the religious concepts that structure these exotic civilizations constitute a necessity in the political realm. Diplomats, economists, and technologists sent on missions in Asian countries, especially former colonies, must be initiated beforehand, and not only by missionaries and anthropologists' (Eliade, 1988: 194, 208).[1]

Ultimately, as Idel points out, when approaching works of the Romanian historian of religions, the reader 'is impressed by the certainty with which he presents his ideas, and even more so by his repetition of his main concepts when applied in different contexts, without significant qualifications' (Idel, 2014: 252).[2]

The figure of I. P. Culianu (1950-1991), one of Eliade's most faithful disciples – one could even say apprentice, looms large in the book. Having as his main goal the achievement of academic recognition and success[3], Culianu – or Couliano, as he later presented himself, probably in order to obscure his Romanian origins[4] – found in Eliade the figure who could help him achieve his professional ambitions.[5] His vast knowledge and tragic unresolved

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[1] On the Cold War background of the flourishing of religious studies in the US, see McCutcheon (2004: 41-69). In the book under discussion there is only a brief reference to the Cold War context of Eliade's American career (Idel, 2014: 258).

[2] For the rhetorical devices by which Eliade imposes the reception of his works and the manner in which he interprets his material, see Dubuisson (2010: 141-145); for the adepts of the *sui generis* approach to the study of religion in general, see McCutcheon (1997: 65-71)

[3] A red line that runs through Culianu's and Eliade's correspondence consists of the former asking the latter to help find a study and letter a job position in an American university. See in this sense the letters from 5 February 1973 (Culianu, 2004: 49-50), 1ˢᵗ of June 1976 (*ibid*, 82-83). Notwithstanding Culianu's impressive qualifications, one is left wondering whether he would have gotten his position at the Chicago Divinity School had it not been for Eliade's efforts, in view of his rejections from Fordham (*ibid*, 99) and Harvard (*ibid*, 270) Culianu's Doktorvater Michel Meslin characterized him as 'a go-getter with the instincts of an *arriviste*' (cited in Anton, 1996: 155, emphasis in the original). Ultimately, it was a case of *tant d'arrivisme pour si peu d'arrivage*.

[4] Consider his remarks in a letter to Eliade from the 3rd of August 1979 in which he specifies that for 'obvious reasons', his name should appear in print as Couliano (Eliade & Culianu), According to this letter Culianu had no intention to change his name, as he wanted his name to remain the same in all binding legal documents (*ibid*). In view of this, it is hard not to speculate on what those 'obvious reasons' were.

[5] Consider the following passage from a letter to his friend Gianpaolo Romanato from the 9ᵗʰ of November 1978: '[…] I understood how much I depend on him [Eliade] ultimately (from all points of view), as a result of which I adopted a more respectful and prudent attitude' (Romanato, 2003: 135). Take into account the manner in which Culianu used Eliade's reputation in order to advance his own views (Anton, 1996: 227-228).

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murder led to a broad interest on with his figure in Romania. However, with few exceptions (Dana, 2008: 373-374; Moagă, 2010: 75) writings on his life and work tend to gravitate toward the hagiographical, written by people with no expertise in the academic study of religion.[1] There is thus a risk thatthe reputation of Culianu as outstanding scholar of religion will preclude any future criticism of his work. Idel's work presents us with an idealized version of Culianu' scholarly endeavors.

He hints that his death could have been caused by his critical attitude towards the Iron Guard and Eliade's past. Yet there isn't any basis for such speculation, more worthy of a thriller than of an academic study. Insofar as it is made by Idel, one must try to determine whether it is any way justified. A former Legionary living in Chicago area, Eugen Vâlsan, area quoted by Idel quickly dispels any notion of rancor between the Guard's former members – which were by that time in old age, hardly capable of performing stealth assassinations – by stating that Culianu was considered part of the 'family' and his desire to marry a Jewish woman was his own business (Idel, 2014: 215-216).[2] Culianu's own knowledge about the Iron Guard was hardly

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[1] The above mentioned studies evaluate Culianu's writings dealing with certain specific topics. Among more general evaluations of his oeuvre, which also deal with methodological issues, I would single out Iricinschi (2006: 191- 235) and Dumbravă (2013: 103-124) as valuable contributions. Yet even such a learned account as Iricinschi's postscript to Culianu's published MA dissertation, in which his writings on Gnosticism are placed in the context of contemporary research, is overly positive towards Culianu. Iricinschi mentions that Culianu is referenced in Williams' revisionist account of the study of Gnosticism (1996). He informs readers that Williams praises Culianu (Iricinschi, 2006: 192 note 1), but not that Williams ultimately faults Culianu for his 'traditional grouping' of Gnosticism and for treating his data in a monolithic fashion (Williams, 1996: 50). While Culianu still accepts a typology of Gnosticism, Williams rejects it. Irinischi also fails to mention the other most important evaluations of Culianu's final study on Gnosticism, namely the reviews by Pearson (1993: 468), Desjardins (1993: 75-82), Tite (1993: 496) and Segal (1994: 67-71) of Culianu's final book on Gnosticism. I would like to thank Prof. Tite and Prof. Segal for kindly sharing with me the aforementioned articles.

[2] For the begining of the Legionary exile, see Veiga (1989: 218-219). It is beyond a doubt today that Eliade kept in touch with such figures (Wasserstrom, 1999: 132; Laignel-Lavastine, 2002: 485). Vintilă Horia (1915-1992) was one of them. Horia was a rabid antisemite, fascist propagandist and and former press attaché in Rome, who was sentenced to death *in absentia* by the post-1945 government in the war crimes trial (International Commission of the Holocaust in Romania, 2004: 319) and who continued for the rest of his life to support fascist, authoritarian and racist regimes (Djuvara, 2012: 164; International Commission of the Holocaust in Romania, 2004: 48). After 1945, Horia became well known as a novelist in France and Spain (Astalos, 2001: 379-385). As in the case of Gheorghiu, revelations about his fascist past affected his literary success: the Prix Goncourt which he received for his *Dieu est né en exil* (1960) was not annulled, but neither was it handed to him. Horia corresponded with Eliade (Eliade, 1999: 434-484) and wrote a chapter about Eliade's

formed by a detached study of its history, as the place where he learnt most of what he knew – and it should be pointed out that Culianu's musings on Romanian history, at least as how they appear in print, were not of high scholarly quality: – consider, for example, his statement that Romania's interwar economy was better than that of the countries which were on the losing side of the First World War (Culianu 2006: 348).[1] Culianu never systematically studied the history of Romania, and what he did know about Romania's fascist past was based on hearsay from other émigrés and from reading Guardist histories in the library of Iosif Constantin Drăgan in Milano, a figure with fascist sympathies and ties to the Romanian communist regime (Anton, 1996: 87).[2] Culianu never truly denounced Eliade's embrace of fascism and his antisemitism, if anything he tried to minimize it as much as possible until the very end of his life[3], and there is no evidence to suggest he would have done otherwise had he lived.[4] His review of Eliade's memoirs and of the first volume of Mac Linscott Ricketts' biography of Eliade is an exercise in understatement. The only people denounced in the essay are by no means Legionaries, but rather contemporary Western and Indian scholars of religion, who fail to rise up to the standards of Eliade's youth (Culianu,

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fiction in a volume dedicated to him (Horia, 1969: 387-395). For his account of the relationship, see Horia (1986: 23-24). Since 1989, there have been various attempts to 'rehabilitate' Horia, supported by a considerable number of Romanian intellectuals (Alexandru, 2009: 91-100). Monica Lovinescu and her husband Virgil Ierunca (1920-2006), continued propagating Horia's 'innocence' in spite of the insurmountable evidence to the contrary (Rotaru, 2002: 222, 226).

[1] On the state of Romania's economy during the time, see Heinen (1986: 40-54). Nonetheless, Andrei Oişteanu references him as an economic authority on the rise of capitalism in the Romanian states (Oişteanu, 2009: 142).

[2] This research was done at a time when Culianu professed admiration of the regimes of Salazar and Mussolini. Liviu Bordaş refers rather euphemistically to the fact that in this time Culianu's opposition to the extreme-right did not manifest itself too clearly in this period of his life (Bordaş, 2014: 86). To state matters correctly, it did not manifest itself *at all*.

[3] In a posthumously published review of a series of books dealing with Eliade's life, Culianu placed the blame for Eliade's turn to the Iron Guard not on Eliade himself but on Nae Ionescu, Eliade's mentor: 'especially in 1937, he got carried away for a while by Ionescu's contagious delirium' (Culianu, 1992: 160). He denied the veracity of Eliade's antisemitism – 'Did Eliade ever embrace the antisemitic tenets of the movement? According to both himself and Ricketts, he never did' (*ibid*) – and further minimalized it as 'relatively short episode in a long life' (*ibid*). Moreover, he insisted that after this 'painful slip in youth' (*ibid*, 161), Eliade became an apolitical scholar (*ibidem*), something which is not empirically true. The review ends with a superlative assessment of Eliade as a champion of democratic values and multiculturalism: 'Notwithstanding the 1937 episode, Eliade as a scholar still remains one of the most lucid fighters for the cause of the Other, those many who were neglected, oppressed and misunderstood during the long history of Western civilization' (*ibid*, 161). The interpretation of Eliade's American biographer regarding his antisemitic journalism has been contested by later researchers. See Volovici (1991: 126-127 note 85).

[4] Consider also his mawkish eulogy to Eliade (Culianu, 1986: 2-3).

1992: 157-161).[1] Moreover, Culianu bestowed upon his mentor the honor of being a precursor to postmodernism.[2]

Idel writes that when he spoke with Culianu in 1988, the latter 'stated that he had no idea about Eliade's rightist past, a contention about which I am convinced' (Idel, 2014: 214). However, existing evidence points to the contrary.[3] As one critical commentator noted, Culianu's desire to protect his former idol 'cannot fully explain the discrepancy between his public apologia and his private view that Eliade had been a supporter of the Legionnary Movement' (Junginger, 2008: 41-42). As such, Culianu conciously lied about his knowledge about Eliade's past, and purpusefuly distorted and obfuscated deatails his life and work.[4] Furthermore, I find Idel's contention that Culianu 'was a cosmopolitan figure who did not privilege one form of religion over the other, especially in the last phase of his thought about religion' (Idel, 2014: 227) equally untenable in light of his attacks on the Reformation and Protestantism in general in his *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*[5], fueled by

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[1] See also his attacks on the anthropological critics of Eliade, and anthropology in general (Culianu, 2006: 381).

[2] Such an approach would later be taken by Bryan Rennie (1996). For critique of this tendency, see Olson (1999: 357-385). The fact that Culianu never truly contested his master's legacy undoubtedly played an important role in his overwhelmingly positive reception in Romania. It is important in this sense to note the virtual non-reception of two other figures that Eliade regarded as his most gifted students: Jonathan Z. Smith and Bruce Lincoln (Culianu, 2004: 97), who later rejected his methodology. Compare the moving portrait of Eliade in Lincoln (1999: 146) with Culianu's distortions.

[3] A letter written by Culianu to Gianpaolo Romanato in 1978 clearly proves that he knew about Eliade's past long before the date of this conversation (Romanato, 2003: 134-135). The omission to take account of this fact is aggravated by the fact that the study in which this account is available is listed in Idel's bibliography. Furthermore, Adrian Marino mentions in his memoirs that after discovering Eliade's pro-fascist and antisemitic during the late seventies he immediately informed Culianu about them (Marino, 2010: 241; Marino, 2000: 83-84).

[4] Valuable material which could lead a light on what produced this doublethink, such as Culianu's diary and portions of Eliade's postwar journal, still awaits publication. Moreover, these documents could also throw light upon the Horia Stamatu affair. Stamatu (1989-1912) was a former ideologue of the Iron Guard who began a successful career as a literary critic and poet after evading Romania (Astalos, 2001: 632-635). Irked by an article of Culianu's in which he sensed allusions to his political past, Stamatu denounced him to his friends, including Eliade. Monica Lovinescu and Virgil Ierunca, who were friends with Stamatu, mediated the conflict. Ierunca politely asked Culianu to make peace with Stamatu, a request that was duly noted, as he immediately backed off (Culianu-Petrescu, 2006). Culianu had the courage to take up arms against Stamatu after the latter died. Idel makes no mention of this episode. See Anton (1996: 115-116)

[5] For an analysis of his biased and distorted presentation of the Renaissance and the Reformation, as well as the normative undertones of his critique of modernity, see the

what can only be described as a visceral hatred of Germany and all things German. Roughly, Culianu presents in this book a radical variant of the Sonderweg thesis regarding German history, according to which the seeds of Nazism were planted at the time of the Reformation. But Culianu goes beyond this and finds the Germans to fault not only for their own 20th century dictatorship, but for 'totalitarianism' in general, which resulted from the disenchantment of the world and the suppression of Renaissance imagination. As a result of the Reformation a large number of women were killed on the accusation of witchcraft, and the German lands are singled out as an especially vicious site from Northern Europe (Culianu, 1999: 153-154).[1] Moreover, Culianu finds Germans guilty not only for developing the Third Reich, but also the Soviet Union, as the German authorities allowed Lenin to return from his Swiss exile to Russia, therefore setting in motion the October Revolution. The later spread of communism in Eastern Europe ultimately led to Culianu's American exile. He openly gloated at the thought of Germany's financial troubles following the 1990 unification (*ibid*, 97-98). Each and every German had to suffer in atonement for the ills they brought upon the world ('De ce mă bucur de câte ori Germania are de înfruntat mari probleme? Din mai multe motive […] dar, pe scurt: fiindcă Germania a creat toate nenorocirile acestui secol […] Pentru asta, și pentru multe altele, lasă-i să plătească. Pe toți 'echte Deutscher''). Apart from being unabashedly xenophobic, this account (*ibid*, 95-98) presents us with a highly predetermined view of history, which can ultimately be qualified as paranoid (in the sense used in Hofstadter, 1996: 3-40). It is as if history were akin to a set of dominoes who are set up by forces upon which the individual has no control over. In this instance, the one who tipped the pieces of was German, therefore all the faults of modernity are placed upon their shoulders. Therefore, I would argue *pace* Idel that his observation that Eliade's academic writings 'turned more and more prescriptive rather than descriptive with the passage of time' (Idel, 2014: 16) applies equally well to Culianu.

Idel makes clear in the beginning that Eliade's thought is marred by incoherence, and suggests that this type of inconsistency was characteristic of figures such as Mihail Sebastian (1907-1945) and Eugène Ionesco (1909-

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reviews of the book by Bornstein (1989: 228-230), Peters (1989: 359-361) Winkler (1989: 300-301), Gosselin (1990: 806-807*)*, Webster (1990: 640-641), Copenhaver (1992: 544-548), and Osheim (1993: 136-137). By contrast, in Romania, due to Culianu's prestige, his statements about the Renaissance are taken as definitive. See, for example, Braga (2010: 17).

[1] Roberts and Naphy note when looking at the statistics concerning executions for infanticide and sodomy in during the entire period when witch-hunting was carried out throughout on a wide scale throughout Western Europe, it becomes apparent that in comparison to witchcraft, both infanticide and sodomy – which had higher rates of execution – were considered much more serious offenses (1997: 5, 8 note 27).

1994), citing pertinent examples (Idel, 2014: 21). Without going into detail, I would suggest that this type of attitude was a characteristic of Romanian intellectual life of the interwar period, which would explain how successful careers were maintained across the ever changing political situation.[1] Such decisions came to have tragic results for a certain part of the country's population. The historian Leon Volovici observed that:

'Antonescu's dictatorial regime increased the degree of duplicity and brought it into the open. Having accepted important cultural or political functions, intellectuals with a democratic tradition who had so far been proud of their 'pro-Jewish' reputation now found themselves in a situation in which they had to sign decress excluding Jews from Romanian cultural life and had to supervise and police their strict supervision […] While accepting the dictator's overall policy, these intellectuals also participated in, or tacitly approved, the severe anti-Jewish measures, even though the measures contradicted their former democratic beliefs' (Volovici, 1991: 179-180).

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[1] We lack an adequate sociological study of the political shifts undergone by Romanian intellectuals of the period which would show how changing political allegiances corresponded to claims of authority within a certain field, desires of political influence, or the yearning for economic security (and in some cases all three at once). Ideological chnges need not account only for the will to improve one's situation, they may also serve to protect one from paying the price for his beliefs in a situation which no longer condones those beliefs. Public acts of renunciation are guarantess of one's safety. As far as case studies go, analysis of the careers of the philosopher Nae Ionescu (Bejan, 2009: 26-34) or the sociologist Traian Herseni (Momoc, 2012: 270-282) confer a useful illustration the above mentioned model. Katherine Verdery's functionalist description of how intellectuals held up their disciplines as the most suitable ones for defining national identity in the aftermath of Romania's unification is also valuable in this regard (Verdery, 1991: 41-71). A future analysis should have as its goal the combination of micro- and macro- analysis to provide a complete picture of the political life of the interwar Romanian intellectual. This is not to say that one can point to a strict determinism between one's inner convictions and external reality. It may so happen that is certain cases it was the result of the whim of the moment or haphazardness. While keeping this in mind, one should not abandon analysis in favor of delegating the inner self as unknowable. By upholding the impenetrability of subjectivity, one risks discarding the very concrete results that decisions have in the world. I draw here attention to Susan Neiman's conceptualization of intentionality and judgment, based on Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Notwithstanding the lack of clarity of Arendt's definition of intention and her 'embryonic' account of judgment, Neiman finds in her work a basis on which to argue against the privileging of intention when it comes to making moral claims. Intention is internal and subjective, while judgment is external and objective. It is impossible to fully understand someone's intentions, even one's own, because they defy scrutiny. The proper domain of moral accounting is then that of acts, which belong to the public sphere. (Neiman, 2001: esp. 79-85). Thus, 'there is no room behind a judgment that needs to be evaluated or explored – a judgment is constituted by the act of judging itself' (*ibid*, 81).

To mark the celebration of Romania's successful invasion of the USSR, *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* marked its 8-9th issue from August-September 1941 as an open homage to Ion Antonescu. Among the figures who contributed with pieces adorning the festive mood were: Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, Dumitru Caracostea, Constantin C. Giurescu, Tudor Arghezi, Gala Galaction, Ion Minulescu, Petru Comarnescu, Mihail Sadoveanu, Sextil Pușcariu, Nichifor Crainic and Ion Pillat. The philosopher C. Rădulescu-Motru (1868-1957) praised the Third Reich's war effort as the liberation of Europe from 'pagan Bolshevism' (Rădulescu Motru, 1941: 244-245). Ion Minulescu (1881-1944) sang the lyric praises of the 'Christians' who retook Bessarabia (Minulescu, 1941: 381-382). Ion Pillat (1891-1945) similarly entitled his celebratory poem *Prayer* (Rugăciune), but he hinted more at the peasant's eternal communion with the earth and at the previous Dacian mastery of the province and less to Christian symbolism (Pillat, 1941: 7). In a closing statement, the literary critic and folklorist Dumitru Caracostea (1879-1964) stated that starting with the number in question, authors who showed sympathy to 'esthetic' or 'liberal' orientations, as well those favorable to 'Semitic ideology and literature' had no place in the magazine's future. To the extent that authors who made themselves guilty in the past of such tendencies showed that they have recanted and ready to offer their services to the Romanian nation, the magazine will once again accept contributions from them (Caracostea, 711).[1] Reading the list of contributors ready to sing hosannas to Romania's alliance with the Third Reich[2] is disquieting into itself, to know that many of the authors had previously professed liberal, leftist or even apolitical positions is even more so. The inconsistency of Romanian intellectuals to which I previously alluded to was best captured by one of the leading Social-Democratic journalists of the time: 'today, the abandonment of the convictions one previously fanatically upheld, and in which others were advised to believe in, is something normal which no one thinks about criticizing. To switch one's allegiances from one party to another, to take of a uniform in order to put on another, to go from being a

[1] For the submission of magazines and newspapers of the time to the goals of Ion Antonescu regime, see International Commission of the Holocaust in Romania (2004: 91-102).

[2] It can be argued that these authors were merely praising the reconquest of territories which had unjustly been taken by the Soviet Union as a result of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. But Antonescu's war effort was not an opportunistic alliance with the Nazis made merely to secure Romania's former borders, it was an ideological commitment to which Antonescu held unto until his death. It would have impossible to find Jewish soldiers in the Romanian troops fighting alongside the Germans as in the case of Finland: Antonescu' war was concomitantly one of reconquest and one aimed at solving the 'Jewish question' in Romania. As antisemitism became a state policy during 1940 and 1944, one cannot claim that the above mentioned authors did not know to what they were signing unto.

democrat to being a reactionary and from left to right or vice-versa is interpreted as a sign of intelligence, which merits applause and requires admiration' (Kalustian, 1976: 300-301).[1]

CONCLUSION

The most important merit of Idel's study is to remind us once again of the manner in which for such a long time the discipline of religious studies has successfully managed to posit itself outside political considerations:

"It seems that the study of religion has dimensions that are hardly purely academic, and they include not only the scholar's biography, but also the political circumstances that framed his scholarly activity" (Idel, 2014: 258).

Idel states that he will not going into the issue of Eliade's scholarly reception into the US and Western Europe, but he does point out that one must take into account that many positive reviews came from scholars who had similar right-wing political sympathies (Idel, 2014: 258). This deserves some elaboration. Ultimately, the question of politics within the framework of religious studies needs to be extended beyond its Romanian context. Considering the ambiguous relation to fascism had by various scholars as Georges Dumézil (Lincoln, 1991: 231-238; *ibid*, 1998: 187-208; Arvidsson, 2006: 240-253) Giuseppe Tucci (Benavides, 1995: 161-182, Garzilli, 2012), Jan de Vries (Hofstee, 2008: 543-551, Stig Wikander (Lincoln, 1991: 147-149; Arvidsson, 2006: 232-235; Timuş, 2008: 205-225; Åkerlund, 2010), Raffaele Pettazzoni (Strausberg, 2007: 365-392)[2], Wilhelm Schmidt (Brandewie, 1990: 200-242; Arvidsson, 2006: 253-282) or Otto Höfler (Ginzburg, 1989: 135-140; Arvidsson, 2006: 180-238) – whom Eliade either knew personally or referenced in his writings throughout his life – one is no longer as shocked by his adhesion to the Legionary movement. Idel's book is an important contribution for the understanding of Eliade in his national context. Future studies should try to look in the international context which made possible

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[1] Leon Kalustian (1908-1990) is an unjustly forgotten figure today, but he represents a rare type: an intellectual who, more or less, upheld his ideals and tried to maintain his dignity irrespective of the political regime he found himself in, and always paid the price for it.). In view of Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine account of Ionesco's association with the Antonescu regime, for which he served as cultural attaché in France, one should be more careful in lionizing him as *the* example of ethical behaviour during the thirties – at least until further research adequately explores Ionesco's Vichy period. See, for example, Lupas (2014: 74-91), in which Ionesco's choice to stop publishing articles in a magazine that shifted to the far right is taken as sign of resistance to fascism. Thus non-collaboration (a passive act) is confused with opposition (an active one).

[2] Hans Thomas Halk observes that Strausberg left out mention of Pettazzoni's signing of the 1938 Manifesto della Razza (Halk, 2013: 188).

the construction of an apolitical discourse relating to the study of religion of which he belonged. The question becomes not one of how such scholars hid their political pasts – while not flaunted in the open, the matter was more or less well known during their lifetimes – but rather what was the context in which such a past was made irrelevant. Norman Manea observed that Eliade's humanism 'does not diminish but rather aggravates the question of his involvement with fascism' (Manea, 1994: 111).[1] No easy separation delineates Eliade's politics from his scholarly project of the 'history of religions'. After the skeletons in the closet have been exposed, one can no longer revert to the old positions.

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[1] Liberals in post-communist have failed to come to terms in regards to Eliade, but also in regards to other figures with a similar track record.

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THE ROMANIAN CULTURAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL PATTERN AND THE EXPRESSION OF EMOTIONS. SOME DIACHRONIC AND SYNCHRONIC ASPECTS

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims to identify some characteristics of old Romanian (16ᵗʰ – 18ᵗʰ centuries) '*emotionology*' (Stearns; Stearns, 1985) and its related cultural-anthropological parameters, based on the affective conceptualization and lexicalization in a representative corpus of old Romanian texts. For the old Romanian culture three cultural dimensions seem to be salient: *collectivism* (undergoing *a social-cultural frame of interdependence*), *extroversion of self* (as a consequence of the *collectivistic* feature) and the existence of *social-communicative hierarchies*. We focus on the *expression of emotions* parameter, analyzing some contexts that illustrate the high transparency of emotions in the old Romanian culture. In the last part, we illustrate this cultural characteristic by a case study, analyzing the contextual-semantic occurrences of the word *a săruta* [*to kiss*].

KEYWORDS

emotions, cultural-anthropological pattern, affective conceptualization, expressive-emotional isotopies, contextual-semantic analysis

1. PRELIMINARIES

The present paper deals, in broad terms, with the cultural-anthropological pattern of the Romanian culture and its intercultural and cross-cultural communicative implications. More precisely, in what follows we propose a brief analysis of a particular and relevant topic: the expression (linguistic and

non-linguistic) of emotions in the old Romanian culture (16th-18th centuries). Emotions represent a sensitive topic in various recent works, which is approached from different and complementary perspectives (psychological, sociologic, cultural, linguistic etc.)[1].

The basic assumption is that emotions represent a fundamental cultural marker for a particular cultural setting, diachronically and diatopically variable. The appraisal and the expression of emotions can instantiate important intercultural divergences and, thus, understanding their culture-dependent functioning becomes a sensitive issue from the anthropological and communicative point of view.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Recent studies (Markus; Kitayama, in Kitayama; Markus (eds.), 1997: 341-343, Mesquita; Frijda; Scherer, 1997: 257) claim the existence of some *core cultural ideas*, in any culture, varying according to the values and concepts considered to be essential within the limits of that particular cultural setting.

According to this cultural characteristic, the existence of various *cultural-affective patterns* was underlined. Different societies display different *cognitive models for emotions*, that can be defined as 'one's structure of beliefs concerning what brings each emotion about, what its mechanisms are, what to do about it, how to evaluate its occurrence, and so on' (Russell, 1991: 428). Hence, different cultures present different conceptual patterns of representing the (same) emotional phenomena (and, implicitly, different corresponding emotional lexicons).

A classic dichotomy in intercultural anthropology (Hofstede, 1984) distinguishes between *individualistic cultures*, which are defined by a social-cultural frame of independence, and *collectivistic cultures*, whose characteristic is a cultural frame of interdependence. Following one of these two cultural patterns, affectivity may be brought forward using various means of expression and instantiation (Triandis, in Kitayama; Markus (eds.), 1997, Şerbănescu, 2007: 157-161[2]).

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[1] For a critical synthesis of the main theoretical and methodological paradigms in the study of emotions as a psychological, sociological, cultural and linguistic phenomenon, see Lutz; White, 1986, Reddy, 2001, cf. also Stoica, 2012, 2015.

[2] In individualistic cultures, emotion is an intimate, personal, subjective experience, and involves the need of lexicalization and expression; the individualistic cultures are more sensitive to negative emotions. In collectivistic cultures, emotion is an in-group experience, involving an intercommunity coping; emotions tend not to be expressed, lexicalized (their expression is considered to be a virtual factor of societal disturbance); collectivistic cultures perceive and share more intensively positive emotions.

Emotions are the result of an individual appraisal, but automatically regulated by the social-cultural requirements and norms of interaction. The self is a part of an extended cultural grid, 'or meaning system, or schema [...]. It consists of language and a set of tacit social understandings [...], as well as of the social representations and practices that reflect and enact these understandings in daily life' (Markus; Kitayama, in Kitayama; Markus (eds.), 1997: 95)[1].

Basically, emotions display a double facet: on the one hand, they represent human universal categories, and, on the other hand, they are subjective realities/facts depending on and shaped by the social and the cultural setting to which they belong. The same emotion can be experienced differently, in two different cultures or within the same culture. Thus, emotions are subject both to diatopic intercultural variation, and to diachronic intra-cultural variation. Interesting differences (and resemblances) in verbal and non-verbal codification of emotions may emerge, which enables to distinguish between cultures with emotional hyper-conceptualization or hypo-conceptualization, as well as between extroverted and introverted cultures (Levy, 1984: 397-411).

All these variables frame the so-called *emotionology* (Stearns; Stearns, 1985[2]) that defines a set of social-cultural rules/scripts for experiencing and expressing emotions – the so-called *feeling rules* (see Hoschschild, 1979: 124), *display rules* – expected, allowed or forbidden to the insiders of a social community in various communicative contexts[3].

From this perspective, emotions are processes of mediation between individuals and context, providing individuals with 'a set of socially shared scripts' (Markus; Kitayama, in Kitayama; Markus (eds.), 1997: 339) that help them cope with the in-group cultural demands, constraints and expectations.

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[1] 'Although human emotional endowment is no doubt largely innate and universal, people's emotional lives are shaped, to a considerable extent, by their culture. Every culture offers not only a linguistically embodied grid for the conceptualization of emotions, but also a set of 'scripts' suggesting to people how to feel, how to express their feelings, how to think about their own and other people's feelings, and so on. In fact, a culture's lexical grid and its repertoire of 'cultural scripts', including 'emotional scripts', are closely related' (Wierzbicka, 1999: 240).

[2] For the theoretical social-constructivism paradigm of emotions, see also Harré, 1986, Lutz, 1988, Oatley, 1993.

[3] The concept of *emotionology* does not refer to the real felt emotion, but more exactly to emotion recommended to be felt and extroverted, according to a relative strict set of rules active within a certain community in a certain historical period. 'Emotionology [...] normally governs what people think they should be experiencing' ('[societies] use norms to organize the personal reactions to other people's emotions and personal regulation and perception of one's own emotions', Stearns, 1986: 14).

Briefly, each culture has an in-group emotional script that is part of a larger cultural-anthropologic pattern.

Language remains the most relevant way to access the affective reality, and more precisely the affective lexicon that is specific to a particular linguistic code in a particular cultural context (see Enfield; Wierzbicka, 2002: 2). The lexicon can be used as a tool to en/decode a cognitive and cultural pattern of emotions. Any language is culture-dependent, and its lexical-semantic selections become the reflection of this cultural determinism. Cultural differences emerge not only in lexicalization, but basically in the conceptualization and expression of affective phenomena (Wierzbicka, 1986: 594, see also Wierzbicka, 1999, 2009).

3. THE OLD ROMANIAN CULTURAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL PATTERN OF EMOTIONS

Starting from this theoretical framework, in what follows we shall present the synthetic results of the broader research that we undertook (Stoica, 2012), dealing with the conceptualization and lexicalization of emotions in old Romanian (16th – 18th centuries) and its cultural implications, based on a large corpus of old Romanian texts. One basic aim of this inquiry was the demarcation of a cognitive pattern of emotions, understood as an exponential part of an extended cultural-anthropological pattern of the Romanian space and time.

Briefly, for the old Romanian culture three basic social-anthropological parameters seem to be salient: *collectivism* (involving *a social-cultural frame of interdependence*), *extroversion of self* (as a consequence of the *collectivistic* characteristic), and the existence of a *social-communicative hierarchy*. As a complementary aspect, the *religious dimension* can be added; the religious feeling represents an essential dimension of the old collectivistic mentality, the sacred being part of the individuals' everyday existence in the Middle Ages.

Our focus will be on one of the above-mentioned cultural dimensions: *the emotional-expressive parameter*, which is particularly salient for the old Romanian cultural-affective pattern and undergoes relevant diachronic mutations. What is specific to the old Romanian culture is the high transparency of the emotions and their manifestations even if we deal with a collectivistic culture.

As it is well known, prototypically, the collectivism is connected with a certain censorship of emotions (their feeling, but especially, their extroversion and transparency) (cf. Asian collectivistic cultures), which are perceived as a factor of disturbance of the in-group harmony or as a source

of uncertainty. For the old Romanian times, the opposite phenomenon can be noticed: the displaying, the in-group sharing of emotions that functions as a sign of belonging to a given community; thus, emotions should be expressed according to a recognized and in-group validated set of rules. *Collectivism* and the *extroversion of self* are in this way coexistent and inter-dependent.

3.1. COLLECTIVISM

The corpus lexical data bring forward a rather frequent *social-collective* semantic feature, conveyed by many words from the affective lexicon. Prototypically subjective emotions, such as *sadness, fear, joy* etc., become contextually relational, transitive, motivated by the constraints of the cultural and mentality background. Moreover, some social emotions are hyper-lexicalized: *ruşine* (*shame*), *pizmă* (*envy), dragoste* (*love*). Terms designating a dysphoric emotional context, specific to an entire community, are also quite frequent: *(ne)norocire – necaz – năpastă – nevoie – răutate – patimă – păs* (*distress – trouble – pain – suffering*)[1]. Last but not least, extremely frequent are also social-affective words (terms designating social interactions, marked by a certain emotional involvement/evaluation – positive/negative): *a ierta* (*to forgive*)*, a mulţumi* (*to thank*)*, a-şi bate joc* (*to mock*)*, a se certa* (*to argue*)*, gâlceavă – scandal – sfadă – vrajbă – zâzanie* (*quarrel – fight – scandal – conflict – intrigue*) etc., or declarative-affective words (designating verbal acts, implying an affective/expressive dimension): *a lăuda* (*to praise*)*, a ruga* (*to ask for*)*, a slăvi* (*to honour*)*; a ameninţa* (*to threat*)*, a bârfi* (*to gossip*)*, a blestema* (*to curse*)*, a cleveti – a defăima* (*to defame*)*, a huli – a înjura – a sudui* (*to swear*)*, a mustra* (*to admonish, to reprove*)*, a pârî* (*to tell on*) etc.

All this affective lexicon puts forward the importance granted to the validation/invalidation (sanction) of the personal image/face (*a defăima* to defame*, a batjocori* to mock* etc.), to the hierarchization of the interlocutors' role (*a mulţumi* to thank*, a lăuda* to praise*, a ruga* to ask for, to pray*, a ameninţa* to threat*), or to a conflictual social interaction (*a se certa* to argue*, gâlceavă – sfadă* quarrel* etc.).

Hence, our corpus illustrates a cultural pattern that values the in-group emotional experience. In the old Romanian epoch, emotions are to be felt and expressed within the community. They remain individual realities, but coordinated by and related to the interpersonal (strategic) needs.

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[1] As the lexicalization of some emotional concepts in Romanian is more diversified than in English and taking into account the polysemy of many words from the old Romanian emotional lexicon, it is quite difficult to find suitable equivalents for every single term from a synonymic series. Accordingly, in some cases, we give only global lexical-semantic equivalents.

3.2. THE EXTROVERSION OF THE SELF

Connected with the collectivistic parameter, the emotional-expressive dimension is also a hyper-marked, salient characteristic of the old Romanian cultural pattern, configuring a complex *semiotics of emotions*. An emotion becomes transparent through an associated expressive behaviour (facial expressions, oral-expressive and somatic-behavioural manifestations etc.), governed by the feeling and display rules which are active within the community. The expressive behaviour has a symptomatic value, semiotically indicating an emotion. All corpus data suggest a transparent, extrovert affective cultural pattern. Emotions have to be displayed, recognized, decoded and shared within the community, according to a semiotic code of expressive behaviour, traditionally established and culturally limited.

3.2.1. EXPRESSIVE-EMOTIONAL ISOTOPIES

Old Romanian texts record many words designating expressive behaviour, recurrent and frequently redundant; it is the case of terms like: *a plânge* (*to cry*), *a boci* (*to wail*), *lacrimă* (*tear*), indicating intensive emotions such as *fear, sadness, anger*, hyper-conceptualized in the old Romanian times.

These emotions are expressed by highly intensive forms, and the expressive extroversion implies not only a somatic manifestation, but also a complex behavioural script, according to the norms of emotional exhibition/censorship prescribed by the community emotionology. The old texts frequently illustrate the dynamic extroversion of *sadness/anger/love* etc., involving dramatic gestures and actions, sometimes aggressive, self-oriented, part of a stereotypical ritual, traditionally framed. The lexicalization reflects this stereotypical, ritualistic behaviour: *a se bate cu palmele peste obraz și peste cap* (*to slap one's own face and head*), *a-și rupe părul/ veșmintele* (*to rip one's own hair/clothes*), *a-și tunde părul* (*to cut one's own hair*), *a se clătina* (*to wobble*), *a-și bate pieptul* (*to beat/punch one's own chest*), *a-și frânge degetele* (*to twist one's own fingers*), *a leșina* (*to faint*) etc.

Examples (1-2) point out a self-aggressive gestural and verbal exhibition of **anger**, designated by words like: *a plânge (to cry), a-și da palme (to slap oneself), a-și smulge părul (to rip one's own hair), a-și despleti părul (to untie one's hair), a-și da pumni în cap (to punch one's own head), a se zgâria cu unghiile (to scratch oneself with one's own nails), a blestema (to curse), a răcni (to bawl)*:

(1) tată-său Alicsandru Ecsapărâtul [...] nemic nu știe de fiiu-său, c-au luat domnie. Și cum au înțeles, au și-nceput a **plânge** ș-**aș da palme peste obraz**, ș-**aș zmulge părul din cap și din barbă**, ș-**a blăztăma** pe fiiu-său, căci au priimit domnie. (IN 322v)

'His father Alicsandru Ecsapărâtul […] knew nothing of his son, that he accepted the throne. And when he learnt, he started to **cry** and **slap** his own **face**, and **rip** his **hair** and his **beard**, and **curse** his son for accepting the throne'

(2) au sosit și sora Sofianii și, cum au întrat în casă, s-au apropiiat de trup, o au văzut neîntocmită de moarte […]. Ea îndată, precum vrea fi nebună, **ș-au despletit părul** și // **să zgârâia cu unghile** și **să ucidea cu pumnii în cap** *și în piept* și **răcniia** ca un leu [...] cât de glasul ei s-au strânsu mulți bărbați și muieri. (VS 99v-100r)

'Sofiana's sister came and, when she entered, she came closer to the body, and saw her unprepared for death […]. Immediately, as if she was crazy, she **untied her hair** and **scratched herself with the nails**, **punching** strongly her **head** and **chest**, and **roaring** like a lion [….], so that many men and women gathered, hearing her voice'.

Examples (3)-(5) include emotional isotopies indicating the behavioural expression of **sadness**; affective words like *jale* (*sorrow, grief*) are associated with intensive collocations illustrating the specific expressive, self-aggressive behaviour, culturally framed and codified: *a săruta* (*to kiss*), *jelanie* (*crying, sorrow*), *suspin* (*sob, sigh*), *a plânge* (*to cry*), *a-și rupe cărunteţile/părul* (*to rip one's own hair*), *a-și rupe/sparge veșmintele* (*to rip one's own clothes*), *a cădea* (*to fall over*), *a se clătina* (*to wobble*), *a-și frânge degetele* (*to twist one's fingers*), *a-și bate pieptul* (*to punch one's own chest*) etc.:

(3) Dacă audzi că este ficiorul lui, sări de să **rugă** și începu **a-ș rupe cărunteţile sale și veșmintele** de pre sine. Și cursă de **cădzu** pre trupul Svinţii sale și-l **săruta** de grăiia: „O, vai de mine, fiiul mieu cel *iubit*! Pântru ce-m făcuș **suspin** cu mare **jelanie**?! [...] Cadi-mi-să **să plângu** cu **jele** și cu **amar**, sufletul meu! Iar daca audzi maica Svinţii sale că este ficiorul ei, începu **a-ș sparge veșmintele** sale și **rumpându-ș părul** său… (Al 14r-v)

'When he heard it was his son, he hurried to **pray** and started to **rip his own hair and clothes.** And he ran and **fell over** his Holyness's body and **kissed** him and said: "O, poor me, my *beloved* son! Why did you bring me so many **sighs** and great **sorrow**?! […] It is now for me to **cry** in **sorrow** and **bitterness,** my dear soul! And when his Holyness's mother heard that it was her son, she began to **rip** her own **clothes** and **hair**…..'

(4) Începu **a plânge**. Atunci s-au pliroforisit că s-au pierdut Imberie. [...] Deci nu mai avea nădeje a mai fi viu el; și **păru ș-au tunsu**, și pre el îl **jălea**. (Imb 140v)

'he started to **cry.** Then he understood Imberie was lost […]. Having no hope he was alive, he **cut his hair, wailing**.'

(5) Iar părintele și maica Svinţii sale să ține amândoi de nesilie Svinţii sale, **clătinându-să** și **bătându-să în peptu său** și **frângându-ș degitile**. Iar nora lor **plânge** cu **jele** mare. (Al 15r)

'And his Holyness's father and mother hold his Holyness's coffin, **wobbling** and **punching their chests** and **twisting** their **fingers**. And their daughter-in-law **cried** with great **grief**.'

Example (6) (illustrating a separation between parents and son) does not explicitly lexicalize **sadness**, but this can be easily reconstructed through the numerous words that indicate the specific somatic-behavioural expression: *a*

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suspina (*to sob*) – *suspinuri* (*sobs*), *a ofta* (*to sigh*) – *oftături* (*sighs*), *a lăcrima* (*to weep*) – *lacrimi* (*tears*), *a plânge* (*to cry*) – *plângere* (*crying*), and also through the expressive lexical collocations indicating a highly intensive gestural language: *a îngenunchea* (*to knee*), *a ridica mâinile spre cer* (*to raise one's hands to the sky*):

(6) Amândoi [...] mai tare **plingea** şi de la inemă **suspina, ohtând**. Iar când au fost să le **sărute mâinile** Erotocrit, **au îngenunchet** amândoi, şi **au rădicat mâinile la ceriu,** şi **sărutându**-l şi cu **lacrămi** udând pământul, **să ruga** şi pre Erotocrit îl **blagosloviè** din inemă şi cu mare **plângere** îl **săruta**. Dar Erotocrit văzind atâte **ohtături** cu **suspinuri** [...] *au lăcrămat* şi de la inemă **au suspinat** şi cu multi **lacrămi** ş-au luat zioa bună (EA 91-91v) 'both […] were **crying** even more and were **sobbing** from the bottom of their hearts. And when Erotocrit was about to **kiss** their **hands**, they both **knelt** and **raised** their **hands to the sky**, **kissing** him and **wetting** the ground with **tears,** they were **praying** and **blessing** Erotocrit and **kissing** him, *deeply* **crying**. And Erotocrit, hearing so many **sighs** and **sobs** […], **weeped** and **sobbed** from the bottom of his heart and said good-bye in many **tears**'.

Quite frequently, a highly intensive and complex expressive behaviour is associated with **love** (*romantic love, filial-parental love*), combined with **sadness** (usually caused by the partner's absence – intentional or forced), and, thus, displayed in a strongly dysphoric dimension. Especially starting with the 18th century (the epoch when the individual affectivity begins to be put forward in the Romanian cultural pattern), *love* is redundantly extroverted using a specific mimic, gestural and behavioural language:

(7) Îşi spune Erotocrit **pătimile** lui cu mari **ohtături**, şi **suspinând săruta** fereastra, închipuind că **sărută** pre Aritusa. Dar Aritusa, auzind **patimile** lui, cu **suspin plângea** şi de la inemă **ohta** şi tăcea. (EA 73)
'Erotocrit told about his **sufferance** with deep **sighs**, and **weeping** he was **kissing** the window, imagining he was **kissing** Aritusa. But Aritusa, hearing his **sufferance**, was **crying**, **sobbing** and **sighing** from the bottom of her heart and kept silent'

(8) Când s-au înştiinţat fata craiului, Militina, că tată-său vre să o dea soţâie lui Ciubulaiu, inima ei **s-au întunecat în sânge** şi **lacrămile curge pârău din ochii ei. Îş bate pieptul** şi **îş rumpe părul capului**. Vre mai bine să să omoare sângură decât să fie soţâie straşnicului şi scârnavului tătar" PM 16r

'When the king's daughter, Militina, heard that her father wanted to marry her to Ciubulaiu, her heart **darkened in blood** and *her* **tears flowed like** a **river**. She **punches** her **chest** and **rips** her **hair**. She prefers to kill herself than be the horrible Tartar's wife' .

All this complex lexicalization of emotional-expressive behaviour attested by old Romanian texts illustrates the dynamic, intensive and transparent affective cultural pattern that is specific to the Old Romanian culture.

3.2.2. A CASE STUDY: A SĂRUTA (TO KISS)

In what follows, we shall illustrate the previously presented cultural characteristics by a concise case study, analyzing the contextual-semantic occurrences of a verb that designates a particular emotional-expressive behaviour: *a săruta – to kiss*. In our corpus, the word has a high frequency, which points out the importance of the social-emotional manifestations for the old Romanian cultural pattern.

The word conveys an affective-social semantic meaning – 'to touch with your lips, as a sign of respect, friendship, humbleness or as an erotic manifestation' (DEX, our trans.), or as a greeting.

A săruta indicates a form of social interaction, implying either a close intimate interpersonal relationship, or a formal, ceremonial one. In both cases, this gesture follows quite closely the specific societal *display rules.*

Accordingly, two basic functions can be distinguished for *a săruta*, on the basis of the corpus occurrences:

   (a) marker of a *genuine emotional* state. Prototypically, *a săruta* designates the somatic-behavioural expression of *love* (Rom. *dragoste*) or *friendship* (*prietenie*), possibly accompanied by respect, admiration, humbleness etc.

   (b) marker of a *pseudo-emotional* state. In this case, it designates a stereotypical affective-expressive behaviour, performed as part of a formal, ritualistic protocol (of social interaction), which was currently followed within the period of time taken into account. Frequently, it functions as a sign of a **public** exhibition and recognition of a particular social or kinship relationship.

(a) For the first case, *a săruta* can be a lexical-expressive marker for various facets of *love* (see the typology of love in Kemper, 1978):

● *romantic love*

(9) Nici să gândeşti sau să cugeţi că te vei apropiea de obrazul meu ca să mă **săruţi** (EA 74)

'don't even think about coming closer to my face to **kiss** me'

(10) Haricliia, *îmbrăţoşind* pre Theaghen, **sărutându**-l de mii de ori, udându-l cu totul prin *lacrămi*, [....] au zis: – Priimăsc aceste temeri ale tale celi pentru mine [...] pentru că n-ai îngenunchet *dragostè* cè cătră mine, din nenorocirile celi multe (Et 22)

'Haricliia, *hugging* Theagen, **kissing** him thousands of times, *soaking* him in *tears* [...], said: I accept your worries about me [....], for you didn't give up your *love* for me because of the many troubles you've passed through'

(11) S-au dus şi la Melixima să-ş ia zuoa bună. Iar Melixima *au leşinat de plânsu* şi aşă **sărutând** Melixima pi Skinder pi amândoaă feţili obrazului (Sk 29v)

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'[He] went to Melixima to say goodbye. And Melixima *fainted out* of *crying* and Melixima **kissing** Skinder on both cheeks'.

(12) Îşi luasă o fată [...] de-o ţinea în braţi, de-o **săruta** (IN 246)

'[He] took himself a girl.... and hugged her, and **kissed** her'

(13) Îl **săruta** cu mari *plângeri* şi *ohtături* pre Erotocrit şi cu multe *lacrămi* îi zice aceste cuvinte (EA 79v)

'[she] **kissed** Erotocrit *crying* and *sighing* and with many *tears* she told him those words'.

● **brotherly love**:

(14) Ş-au luoat zuoa bună unul di altu, **sărutându-să** *frăţişti* (Sk 30)

'they said goodbye, *brotherly* **kissing** each other'

(15) Auzind şi boierii, merseră de **să sărutară** şi foarte *să bucurară* (Imb 144v)
'The boyards, hearing this, **kissed** each other and very much *rejoiced*'

● **filial-parental love**:

(16) Şi sculându-să, **au sărutat** pe *mumă-sa* şi pre *surori-ş* şi pre *rudenii*, iar ei au început a o întreba ce au pătimit" (VS 101r)

'And, rising up, [she] **kissed** her *mother* and *sisters* and *relatives*, and they started to ask her what happened to her'.

(b) More interesting and more relevant to the Romanian cultural pattern is the second facet of the term *a săruta*. There are many contexts in which the word designates a stereotypical behaviour, expected to be performed according to a societal expressive script. These contexts reflect the existence of a quite complex and compulsory system of norms (*the display rules*), that require the ritualistic expression not only of an emotional relationship, but especially of the **public** (*id est* collective, in-group) recognition of a hierarchization of the social roles. In these contexts (implying a hierarchization of authority) a new semantic dimension is added – /+ *respect*/. At least four cases of instantiation of *kissing* can be delimited:

1. *A săruta* (*to kiss*) as the gesture that consecrates *filial-paternal love*, in ritualistic forms, pointing out the recognition and the awareness of the paternal/maternal authority (especially in formal contexts of separation or regathering). The particular form of actualization is *a săruta mâna* (*to kiss one's hand*), as a sign of love, and, especially, of respect. *A săruta* can also be contextually associated with *a strânge în braţe, a lua în braţe* (*to hug*) (or, rarely, with *a da mâna cu – to shake hands*), indicating a more complex complementary affective behaviour, displaying intimacy:

(17) ....este mumă-sa Olimbiiada. Şi **dede mâna** cu ie şi o **sărută** dulce. Şi ie iară-l **sărutăm** şi pre fiul său Candusal (A 52r)

'.... it is his mother, Olimbiiada. And they **shook hands** and **kissed** her dearly. And she **kissed** back her son Candusal'

(18) mumă-sa-l **luo în braţe** şi-l **sărută** (A 54v)

'his mother **hugged** him and **kissed** him'

(19) Să timpina cu maica lu Alexandru, şi **să strânseră în braţe** şi **să sărutară**, şi zise Olimbiada: „Bine mi te aflaiu, suflete şi inima mea [....], fata mea, Roxando, împărăteasă a toată lume!" Şi o **sărută** dulce" (A 65r)

'[she] met Alexander's mother and they **hugged** and **kissed** each other and Olimbiada said: "Welcome, my soul and heart, my dearest child, Roxanda, empress of the entire world!". And [she] **kissed** her dearly'

(20) Să tîmpinară pre covor şi **să strânseră în braţă** şi **să sărutară**. Şi zise Olimbiada: „Bine mi te aflaiu, suflete şi lume me, dragul meu Alexandre, împărat a toată lume!" Şi **să sărutară** şi purceseră la cort" (A 65v)

'They met on the carpet and they **hugged** and **kissed** each other. And Olimbiada said: "Welcome, my soul and whole world, my dearest Alexandru, emperor of the entire world!" And they **kissed** each other and went to the tent'

(21)   Şi aşa s-au dus Erotocrit la împăratul. Iar împăratul, văzindu-l, l-au **sărutat** de tri ori. Aşijderi şi împărăteasa Artemi l-**au sărutat** (EA 124v)

'And Erotocrit went to the emperor. And the emperor, seeing him, **kissed** him three times. And the empress Artemi **kissed** him the same way'

(22) Aritusa, **sărutând mâna** împăratului, tatălui său, şi a maicăi sale şi au zis (EA 125).

'Aritusa, **kissing** the emperor's **hand**, her father's, and her mother's, said...'

2. Other contexts seem to illustrate a particular semiotic function of *kissing:* a sign of reconciliation or recognition of a certain social role, performed in a **public** context. In these cases, the collectivistic parameter is emphasized, *kissing* (*a săruta*) being a culturally codified gesture, stereotypically indicating *love* (*dragostea*), displayed in front (and within) of an entire community:

(23) Şi aşa **au sărutat mâna** împăratului Eraclie şi împăratul încă **au sărutat** pe Pizostrat şi **s-au iertat**. Iar Pizostrat îndată s-au dus lângă Aritusa şi cu mare *dragoste* o **săruta** şi *tot norodul s-au bucurat* (EA 127v).

'And [he] **kissed** emperor Eraclis's **hand** and the emperor **kissed** Pizostrat and they **forgave each other.** And Pizostrat went to Aritusa immediately and **kissed** her with great love and all the people **rejoiced**'

(24) Craiu, văzând că Poliţionu la nimică nu este vinovat, l-au rădicat pre el şi l-**au sărutat** (PM 36v)
'The emperor, seeing that Poliţionu is not guilty of anything, raised him up and **kissed** him'.

In the contexts above, the public-collective dimension of *kissing* is underlined by complementary lexical collocations: *a ierta* – 'to forgive'; *tot norodul s-au bucurat* – 'all the people rejoiced'.

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3. In other contexts, rather frequent, *a săruta* indicates a reverential form of expression for the *religious love* and *respect* (at the same time). The ritualistic expressive-behaviour is *a săruta moaştele* (*to kiss the holy relics), a săruta poalele hainei* (*to kiss the bottom of one's coat*) or *a săruta mâna* (*to kiss one's hand):*

(25) **săruta moaştele** *mulţumind* lui Dumnezeu (LC 101)

'[he] was **kissing** the **holy relics**, *thanking* God'

(26) *Toţi boiarii şi oamenii* **sărută moaştele** sfântului, iar tu nu vrei să le **săruţi**, dar în ce chip *huleşti* pre sfinţiia-sa aşa? (LC 102)

'All the boyards and all the people **kiss** the saint's **holy relics**, and you don't want to **kiss** them, why do you *profane* His Holiness like this'

(27) Domnul cu credinţa sufletului şi a inimii *cuprinse* coşciugul cu **moaştele** sfântului în braţe [...] şi le **sărută** cu *lacrăme* şi cu multă *veselie* (LC 101)

'The emperor, with all the faith of his heart and soul, *hugged* the coffin with the saint's **holy relics**, and **kissed** them in *tears* and with a lot of *joy*'

(28) Sfântul Ioan Gură de Aur au luat Evangheliia şi [...] au mers la născătoarea de Dumnezeu, **sărutându-**i sfintele margini ale hainelor ei (VD 284v)

'Saint John Chrysostom took the The Gospels and [...] went to Mary, Mother of God, **kissing** the holy borders of her clothes'

(29) **Sărutând** masa cea sfântă, şi evanghelia cea dumnezeiască şi cinstita cruce [...] şi l-*au blagoslovit* [...] mergând toată boierimea de i-**au sărutat mâna** (LC 218)

'**kissing** the holy table and the saint Gospels and the holy cross [...] and, *blessing* him, [...], all the boyards went to **kiss** his [the emperor's] **hand**'.

4. The religious pattern of emotional behaviour (illustrating the public deferential relation to an authority) is also transferred to the laic context, with the same function, reflecting the specific Middle Age hierachization of the social roles; the collocation designating this expressive behaviour is *a săruta mâna împăratului* (*to kiss the emperor's hand*):

(30) Mers-au de **au sărutat** şi **mâna** *împăratului* (LC 154)

'they went to **kiss** the *emperor's* **hand**'

(31) S-au bucurat toţi, şi **au sărutat mâna** *mării-sale*, şi *au mulţumit* (RP 533)

'they all rejoiced, and **kissed** *His Highness's* **hand**, and *thanked* him'

(32) Alexandru **sărută-**i **mâna**, elu-l puse lângă el în jilţiul lui de auru şi-l **sărută** pre Alexandru şi-l *blagoslovi pre cap* (A 11v)

'Alexandru **kissed** his **hand**, and he put him next to him in his golden chair and **kissed** Alexandru and *blessed* him on the head'

(33) Cându să aduna veziriul cu unul de acéia [dregători ai curţii sultanului], spun că le **săruta poala** hainelor (MClet 227v)

'When the vizier met one of those [governors in the Sultan's court], they say he **kissed** the **bottom** of their coats'.

In all the previously discussed contexts, collocations such as *a săruta moaştele* (*to kiss the holy relics*), *a săruta mâna* (*to kiss one's hand*), *a săruta poalele hainei* (*to kiss the bottom of one's coat*) designate stereotypical social behaviours, imposed and expected within a particular cultural setting. They do not convey the manifestation of a real emotional experience, but only a standard, ceremonial social behaviour, showing the interpersonal hierarchization of authority (a cultural parameter prevalent and salient for the old Romanian society) (see also, in the contexts above the collocation with the declarative-affective verbs: *a blagoslovi* (*to bless*), *a ierta* (*to forgive*), on the one hand, and *a mulţumi* (to *thank*), on the other hand, indicating deferential subordination).

4. FINAL REMARKS

The above concise analysis of old Romanian contexts illustrating the expression of emotions aimed to underline the saliency/importance of the **extroversion** of **emotions** for the old Romanian cultural pattern and its particular correlation with the **collectivistic** and the **hierarchical** (laic and religious) cultural dimensions. The frequent affective isotopies point out an intensive behavioural expression of feelings, as part of the community's emotionology, traditionally and culturally shaped and framed.

The particular case of *a săruta* reflects *in nuce* the relevance of the emotional transparency in the old Romanian epoch and also the importance of complying with the in-group sterotypical, ritualistic demands of the emotional manifestation. The *extroversion of self* and *collectivism* are closely connected in the old Romanian culture; showing an emotion (according to the prescribed set of *display/feeling rules*) means showing (and, hence, affirming) the group affiliation.

 If we take into consideration the diachronic evolution of these features and make reference to the present-day Romanian culture, few mutations can be noticed. For the case of *a săruta* (framing a particular expressive interaction) we can observe an interesting diachronic extension of its pragmatic use: *sărut mâna* (initially designating only a stereotypical gesture displaying the recognition of the (respectful) interpersonal hierarchy) becomes a particular form of greeting in modern Romanian – index of a rather informal deferential interpersonal relation (which codifies also age and gender parameters: 'form of greeting or thanking addressed to a woman or to an elder person' – 'formulă de salut sau de mulţumire adresată unei femei sau unei persoane mai în vârstă', DEX).

We can also notice the preservation of the ceremonial use of the gesture designated by this word, in the particular religious context, traditionally

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framed and still essential for the Romanian anthropological pattern: to kiss the priest's hand and the holy relics are still current and expected ritualistic actions (usually performed within the frame of a religious ceremony), as a marker of institutionalized respect and recognition of a hierarchical authority relationship (sacred-profane).

Recent studies of intercultural communication have delineated the following profile (according to the cultural dimensions developed by G. Hofstede) for the present-day Romanian culture: 'mostly collectivistic culture, displaying high distance power, mostly feminine, high uncertainty avoidance and short term orientation' (Șerbănescu, 2007: 306); 'at the same time, it is a culture with a high degree of contextual dependence, present oriented' (Vasilescu, 2007: 207, our translation).

The affective cultural pattern distinguished for the old epoch (analysing the affective lexicon of old Romanian) partially confirms this modern profile: the collectivistic feature, the importance of social validation and the protection of personal image, the recognition of the social hierarchy and subordination (see the high distance parameter, in Hofstede's terms), the tendency of uncertainty avoidance by constant reference to a firm set of social rules (laic and religious). Yet, the only cultural dimension that seems to be different in relation to the present-day cultural pattern is the **emotional extroversion**. This is required by the cultural set of *display rules* that govern all the in-group individual manifestations.

The emotional transparency tends to diminish in modern times. As it was underlined (Rosenwein, 2006), modernity brings the emphasizing of individual affectivity (even inside the collectivistic cultures), the control and a certain discipline of emotional manifestations. This dynamics is also valid for the Romanian cultural-affective pattern.

CORPUS

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Book Reviews

DEFORMED IMAGES OF AN OCCUPIED PROVINCE. RUSSIAN TRAVELLERS IN BESSARABIA[1]

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The question Galina Corman asks herself in her PhD thesis aims at the elements that make up the image Russian travellers (soldiers, clerks, scholars, educated people) had in their minds about Bessarabia during the occupation of 1812-1918 and at the way they interact, by stabilizing it or modifying it in time. This image is shown as being the complex result of a special colonial discourse (the colony being a territory in the immediate vicinity of the Empire), shown as Eurocentric and Orientalizing (although the conquered territories lie in the West of the Empire), imperial and only then nationalistic, animated by various mythologies, with Messianic accents as well as of utopic modernism, in itself an answer to the Orientalizing discourse, untouched by the Enlightenment. Russia is, on the other hand, the object of this discourse which has been Orientalized according to the Western 'mental map'.

Bessarabia, as region between the rivers Prut and Dniester and as political entity appears only in 1812 along with the Russian occupation, after the sixth Russo-Turkish war of 1806 and as a result of the Peace of Bucharest, by means of which the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire divided the Principality of Moldavia among themselves. The Russian Empire also took the eastern part of Moldavia, while the western part, between the Prut and the Carpathians, stayed under Ottoman sovereignty.

Initially, 'Bessarabia' only designated the southern part of the region, nowadays known as the Budjak, governed by the Basarab princes of Wallachia. In 1918, Bessarabia proclaims its independence, and in the same year the historic Moldavia is remade within the borders of modern Romania by means of the unification decided by the Country Council. The history of Bessarabia during the Russian period bears some common traits with the

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[1] Galina Corman, *Das Bessarabien-Bild in der zeitgenössischen russischen Reiseliteratur 1812-1918*, Veröffentlichungen des Moldova Instituts Leipzig (MIL), herausgegeben von Klaus Bochmann und Vasile Dumbrava, Band 6, Leiziger Universitätsverlag, Leipzig, 2015, 373 S.

history of Finland's occupation (1809-1917), although there are some notable differences: while the Grand Duchy of Finland kept its independence until 1917, Bessarabia lost its autonomy in 1828. Galina Corman suggests a periodization of this era of Bessarabian colonization based on the image circulated by the travellers, as well as on the annexation policies, often contradictory, succeeding during this time. The investigated set of texts is remarkable, counting more than 40 authors, among them being Pushkin, Alexander Fomich Veltman, but also General Alexandre F. Langeron, a gifted negotiator for the Russians at the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 1812 (as a result of which Bessarabia got under Tsarist rule, despite the imminent danger represented by Napoleon's offensive, which the Turks were not aware of). Thanks to this large set of literary, travel, fiction and field research texts, the results of the analysis are trustworthy as well as a true revelation.

A typical image of Bessarabia in the first two decades of the 19th century is that of a territory that was half Asian. In the imaginary Russian geography, the identification – not only political, but also social, and cultural – of the territory between the rivers Prut and Dniester with the Ottoman/Turkish land is more convenient, although, at the time of the annexation, there were not any Turks or Tartars living there. The landscape, society, the aristocratic elites – everything seems to the travellers to be Asian even if contrary to evidence.

Of course, except for the faith, which was Christian-Orthodox and, as such, 'European'. At the same time, Russia was being confronted with a new situation, in which the newly conquered western peripheries proved to have a political, social, economic, and cultural organization that was superior, even from a Russian perspective, to that of the metropole (see Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich*, 2008). Pushing Bessarabia to the south on an imaginary map and the reduction applied to the history of the respective territory served, in a broader sense, to the disqualification of the western border of the Empire, as well as to the promotion of a better self-image as an element of civilization in this area of competition and contact. At the same time, Bessarabia, as an occupied region, was deprived of its own symbolic capital.

Thus, Catherine II legitimated her intervention in the Balkans by means of her wish to answer to abstract, idealized duties towards the Byzantium, which was conjecturally and provisorily moved to Athens. Athens takes over the symbolic attributions of the Byzantium, the Russian Empire was not able yet to reach.

The discovery of Bessarabia as a 'locus anticus' did not lead to the increase of the prestige of the region or its inhabitants in the eyes of the Russian travellers, which did not stop it from seeing itself as a continuator of the

Roman antiquity (translatio imperii), whose traces it just happened to find in the civilized Europe. Through a very efficient perspective reversal, Ovid, the Roman poet, became a Russian character, exiled among the local barbarians. Svinin confuses things in such a manner that he places Ovid not among the Gaete and Sarmatians, but among the... Slavs, whose language he supposedly learned and used to write his poetry. The Latinity of these places is confiscated to their own benefit. The same decapitalization process, followed by confiscation is applied to the language of the locals as well, which was a Latin language: the language of the Moldavians is a Romance language, yet somehow archaic and unable to serve superior goals, which is why it massively uses helpful Slavic words. Despite possible mystifications, the local population is not able to use the cultural Latin argument and so much the less the historic one. Svinin is also the author of a legend saying that when Voivode Dragoş, a descendent of the Roman colonists, returned to the area in order to found the Moldavian Principality, he met Jazko, a Slav beekeeper, who had rights over this deserted territory. And even if the multi-centennial existence of the principality could not be contested, at the moment of the Russian occupation, the Principality of Moldavia was a state at the end of its rope, whose history was about to come to an end. The territory between the rivers Prut and Dniester thus receives a short, Russian history. This territory becomes a 'recent' territory, and the travellers discover here their own places of memory, connected to the fights with the Turks. Galina Corman identifies a positive image of the region in this era, yet it does not freely alternate with the negative image, but only refers to this 'recent' and 'Russian' territory, which does not clearly emerge from the analysis suggested by Galina Corman: only this way the nature becomes paradisiac, southern, and Bessarabia, 'Little Italy', when it serves the supply needs of the Empire and the policy of colonization with new populations. As soon as it is regarded as a foreign territory, with another history, with another population, it turns into an exhausted, failed territory or, in view of the multi-ethnicity otherwise stimulated by the colonization policies, 'Sodom' or, in the best case, 'Babel'.

At the end of the 1820s and up to the middle of the 19th century, the Bessarabian territory became normal, i.e. it was integrated in the Empire, which allowed it to appear exotic, southern, and Italy-like. The quarrel with the past became less important than the administration of the 'future'. 'Home' in Bessarabia means, especially the parts inhabited by the Lipovans (Old Believers, *raskolniki*) who took refuge here, in the former territories of the Ottoman Empire due to religious persecutions. They were revalued now as being the true Russians, the guardians of the old traditions, like the Russian peasants, who had escaped serfdom in Russia, and had settled in Bessarabia and Bugeac.

The Bulgarians also have a good image, even better than that of the German colonists, which allows the Russian travellers to feel more comfortable when travelling in this area.

Anyway, the present is all that matters and it is superior to the past thanks to the new facilities developed: roads, coffee houses, etc. Yet, it does not completely satisfy the travellers' expectations.

The development of the province leaves a lot to be desired, similarly to Georgia. According to the travellers, this is the exclusive fault of the local inhabitants and, of course, never the fault of the administration. Here, Galina Corman is a victim of her own sources, which happens frequently with imagology studies. The author blames the local elites, yet she analyses them by means of the same sources. The sources are biased and subjective and avoid any control of the other side: the words of the travellers are never written with the possibility in mind that those depicted by them, the locals, could read and, possibly, revolt, take attitude or wish to correct the perspective they are seen in.

There is no principle of dialogue in these texts. This is why even the local elites – at least the men – who keep the Ottoman clothes cannot be only interpreted as a refusal to become more civilized, but also as a form of resistance, of keeping one's own identity, which the colonizing discourse wants to eliminate. The hospitality itself of the local elites is seen as a sign of cultural inferiority and discredited as such. The author also shows that the limitation and the subsequent total elimination of autonomy, which go well along with the neutralization and marginalization of the local elites, lead to the progress of the regional development. The author gives the example of the agricultural exploitation of the fields and the exports. The legitimate question is, nonetheless, who takes profit from this development, and Corman must concede that it has barely served the region as such. On the other hand, this study lacks a comparison with the progress made in the Romanian Moldavia, since society modernizes here as well. Given the fact that both regions are progressing, the question that arises is whether the progress they make has the same pace. The same kind of optical deformation can also be observed when the progress of the communist society is estimated as such, without reference to the parallel development of neighbouring states and regions. Progress cannot be measured but by comparison. Moreover, the tendency of the province to stay behind is certain as compared to the Russian metropolises, where the travellers come from, or as compared to Poland or Finland, but not as compared to other regions of the Empire. The logical question in this respect is the following: what are its causes (since Moldavia was the territory where the Russo-Turkish wars are being fought), and how much could be recovered considering the occupation

(of Bessarabia) as compared to the conditions of development in Western Moldavia. The discussion itself initiated by Galina Corman regarding the development of the school system in Bessarabia shows that the Russian policies were inconsistent and did not aim at raising the level of alphabetization as such, but at integrating and 'normalizing' the territory by means of its Russification, represented by the lowering of the number of schools. Starting with 1870, the Romanian language was prohibited in schools, in the official and confessional correspondence and in public institutions. The fact that the local elites would not have had any chance to contribute on a sustained basis to the prosperity of the region, due to the simple fact that they represented the foreign element, especially beginning with the second half of the 19th century, is implicitly proved by the author's analysis of the Jewish minority of the province. The Jewish minority was also stigmatized for the simple fact that the Jews had often been economically successful.
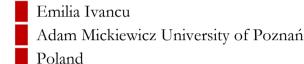
The same thing happened with the German minority, which also became the subject of an aggressive marginalizing discourse during the reign of Alexander III, during the effervescence of Russian nationalism. The author feels the need to return to this matter at the end of the thesis, by showing that Russia's expansion in this territory did not bring the benefits in the region that the travellers claim.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Bessarabia was a 'Russian garden' that did not resemble Italy anymore, and also a territory that was more and more foreign and mixed due to the decrease of imperial patriotism and the emergence of Russian nationalism. This generalized impression is due to the observation according to which the russification process seemed to have failed. The towns were mostly inhabited by Jews and the Moldavians townspeople seemed to have been assimilated by them. This was a new occasion to attack the myth of the Romanian Latinity: there were voices saying that the Roman colonization was made with legions of Jews from Palestine. The general impression was of resistance to integration, which was considered to be a Russification. The local population was also said to be ungrateful for the efforts made by the Russian administration. There also appears the fear that the so-called 'Pan-Romanianism' could claim Bessarabia.

The Russian imaginary investment process in Bessarabia stops along with the end of the Tsarist domination in the year 1918. It cannot be depicted in a simple narrative manner, since territorial policies and the context of 'reading' the territory change during a century. Moreover, some personal perceptions could be out-of-phase, contributing to an inconsistent, sometimes even contradictory picture. This is why the periodization suggested by the author,

as well as the resumption of the analysis of certain *topoi* in different eras are welcome for the understanding of the complexity of this phenomenon. After 1918, the phantom picture of Bessarabia shall be depicted by Romanian travellers. It is another kind of image, whose main feature is the dialogue. This image is accessible due to the language and to the dissemination to the locals and must answer to their representation needs and requests. The research performed by Galina Corman stops at this point. A comparison of the two images would have outrun the intent of the paper, although it would not have made it less interesting. Although the study is well documented and intelligent, it suffers from a certain academic pedagogic and scholastic style, for which the author cannot be made responsible, but the current manner in which the PhD programmes are being led nowadays.

A doctoral thesis is not a workshop paper, in which the author needs to exhaustively prove the fact that he/she understands the instruments and methods used. It justifies itself by means of the results obtained after the rigorous employment of methods and the correct use of concepts and instruments. Galina Corman's remarkable work loses in the chapters dedicated to explaining essential concepts or historical facts (which are less known, though) what it could have won by means of a broader comparative analysis.

BETWEEN FACTS AND POLITICAL DOGMAS: *WRITING HISTORY IN A PROPAGANDA INSTITUTE. POLITICAL POWER AND NETWORK DYNAMICS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA* BY FRANCESCO ZAVATTI. A REVIEW[1]

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'Among the available instruments, history has been considered by the Romanian communist regime as the most important cultural instrument for gaining legitimacy among the population.' (Zavatti, 2017: 324) This statement runs as a conclusion as well as an epitome in Francesco Zavatti's doctoral dissertation entitled *Writing History in a Propaganda Institute. Political Power and Network Dynamics in Communist Romania,* and published in the series of doctoral dissertations of Elanders Publishing, in Stockholm, 2016. In order to reach this conclusion, the author employs and develops a thorough research regarding the activity of the Institute for Historical and Socio-Political Studies (IHSPS) of the Central Committee in Romania, which was founded in 1951, under the name of the Party History Institute – a replica of the Marx-Lenin-Engels Institute in Moscow. It was closed in 1990, after Ceausescu's fall. Nevertheless, the dissertation developed by Francesco Zavatti not only analyses the relation between state, history writing, power and scholarship in the given period of time, but it also presents both an external context and a domestic one for the trajectory of history writing during the communist regime.

The book has 338 pages of written text, to which adds a rigorous list of referenced titles, as well an index of names. The study is structured in three parts – the first presenting the methodology adopted, a description of previous research on the topic, the presentation of the sources used (archival sources, autobiographies, interviews) and the motivation of the study, interestingly but somewhat too intricately and thus too unclearly described.

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[1] Francesco Zavatti, *Writing History in a Propaganda Institute. Political Power and Network Dynamics in Communist Romania*, Elanders, Stockholm, 2016, 338 p.

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'The first reason is given by the trend of Romanian politics during the Cold
War and its fallout on history-writing […] – Romania appears to be a country
where the phases of uniformity, fracture, rupture and diversity from the
Soviet political and cultural model are better described by the use of those
concepts.'(Zavatti, 2016: 47) The second reason is the 'perennial quest for
legitimacy of the Romanian Communist Party', which the latter never seemed
to gain. (Zavatti, 2016: 47)

Part Two and *Part Three* of the dissertation represent the analysis proper. The
second part is dedicated to the development of the canonical historical
discourse employed by the Party History Institute, starting with the taking-
over of the power by the communists in 1948 until the moment when
Ceausescu became the First Secretary of the State in 1965. The first half of
this part, encompassed in Chapter 4, presents the political and the historical
circumstances in which history writing was dictated by the Stalinists
institutions in Moskow, thus employing two stages in the politics adopted, as
they have been identified by Francesco Zavatti: the attempt of the Soviet
Union to build a new people, the Soviets, to counter-fight the multi-ethnic
ethnic state, the emergence of the Russian nationalism, and then the
adaptation of the population to the new context in both historical contexts,
in which scholars were taught to speak 'Bolshevik' (Zavatti, 2016: 116-117).
The same pattern, states Zavatti, was applied to the Eastern countries where
communism was installed, in a combination of control, propaganda with the
aim of founding a new civilisation, where history writing was a key-element.
The author also presents here the two ways in which propaganda and history
writing functioned during the decade of Stalinism – the first half contains the
Stalinist communism which created a canonical discourse which meant that
'for the good of the party, the falsification of history was acceptable' (Zavatti,
2016: 161), and in which the discourse direction was dictated from Moskow.
On the other hand, the period between 1955 and 1964 shows how the voice
of the party, and thus that of the Institute turned from communism into
national communism, having two topics on the agenda: the first one was 'to
write a synthesis of the party and of the workers' movement, and the second
– to write the history of Romania'. (Zavatti, 2016: 148) Moreover, by 1964
one more important change had been made: involving young researchers and
the role of institution of the Romanian Academy was re-considered and re-
evaluated and, with the aim of the development of the national culture; thus
young researchers came to the frontline of history writing.

Part Three of the book tackles the Ceausescu regime, dividing it into three
chapters, and three periods of time: the transition from the politics of
Gheorghiu-Dej to Ceauescu's (1965-1968), the peak of national communism

(1968-1974), and Romania in 'the closed horizon' (1974-1989). Ceausescu's regime started from what was called 'relative liberalization' and ended with a culmination of the propaganda and power that cannibalized the process of history-writing, culminating into what was named the new Dark Age. One important observation made by Francesco Zavatti is that actually the so-called liberalization was nothing but the announcement of the very difficult years to come. (Zavatti, 2016: 193) The three parts are very well-documented, with a huge amount of information, and with an accurate depiction of the relation that Romania had during that time both with the USSR and the other Eastern countries. One important event highlighted by the author is the organisation of the World Congress of Historical Studies Society held in Bucharest, when the community of the historians celebrated 2050 years since the creation of the Daco-Roman centralised state under Burebista's rule. The importance of the Congress consisted in a firm statement of the independence of Romania from the USSR ideology, on the one hand, but the Congress was also meant to favour the elevation of the leader, even at an international level.

An important chapter in the book is dedicated to the aftermath of Communism, and to the way the Romanian Academy and the Nicolae Iorga Institute renewed themselves, even though with great struggles on behalf of Papacostea and terrible pressures from the former communists, led by President Ion Iliescu. The changes suffered by the entire Romanian society that had a hidden feeling of guilt are a reflection of the tribulations that Romania went through during Communism, as well as the process of history writing caught between power and propaganda, and topped by Ceausescu's cult of personality.

The chapter allotted to *Conclusions* underlines the picture that the study 'provides an understanding of the interplay between need for control by political power and the effective agency of the scholarly community' (Zavatti, 1016: 322) within the framework of a communist system i.e. the Romanian one, and also one with its very particularities. An important aspect of the conclusions is the fact that Romania had few political *dissidents*, the majority of the population having taken part into the processes of *compromise* and *opportunism*. The condemnation of Romanian communism as criminal, through the Report of the Presidential Commission for the Study of Communist Dictatorship in Romania (Zavatti, 1016: 332-333) is appreciated as positive, but yet considered biased because of the modality it was used as political weapon.

Francesco Zavatti's book proves to be an exhaustive approach upon the process of history writing under communist propaganda in Romania, as well as an extremely useful instrument for historians impossible to be neglected in

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future studies upon similar topics. Moreover, it is a useful reading also for researchers in connected fields as it also offers a broad picture on historical events both in Romania and in the neighbouring countries during Communism. The bibliography is extremely rich, covering both Romanian and foreign sources.

One of the most valuable resources the author uses for documentation are the interviews the author took to different historians involved in ISISP, its neighbouring institutions as well as today's researchers in communism. Yet references to these interviews are only made mostly in the footnotes, and probably a transcription of the interviews or of fragments from them in Addenda at the end of the study would have been extremely useful and of great interest. Moreover, a list of the interviewed persons would have been very handy as well as, even though references are made in footnotes, the reader does not have a clear image of the contribution the interviews represented for the study.

The exhaustive character the book has also bears, especially for the first chapters, a rather abstract tone, sometimes the reader feeling the need of exemplification as, for instance, in the section dedicated to *Sources and source criticism.* This sometimes is counter-balanced by very rich sentences and information which can make the text from time to time difficult to follow.

Writing History in a Propaganda Institute. Political Power and Network Dynamics in Communist Romania is an important study for the researchers in Romanian communism, Romanian historiography as well as for a wide range of researchers but probably, beyond its acribia and academic rigour, a very important quality the book benefits from is the objectiveness such a study would take, and which has been offered by the distanced, unprejudiced foreign eye of Francesco Zavatti.