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RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION, EXILE AND THE MAKING OF THE LONG REFORMATION (1500–1800) IN ROYAL HUNGARY

ZSOMBOR TÓTH [*]

Abstract This paper intends to focus on the Calvinist and Lutheran refugees of Royal Hungary in order to introduce the major types of exile cases and to evaluate their particular significance in the relevant historical and intellectual contexts of the late seventeenth century. It will argue that the emergence of a reformed confessional identity may well have been influenced by exile experiences, yet the Hungarian case displayed some special features, such as the close interrelatedness of martyrological discourses with patterns of early modern proto-nationalism. It will conclude establishing that the delayed character of both persecution and the emergence of a protestant martyrology demand a rather different perception of Reformation too. Taking into account the historical facts that it was only the Edict of Tolerance (1782) and its validation (1791) that terminated religious persecution and granted free practice of religions, the concept of long Reformation appears to be the most fitting application to the Hungarian case.
Keywords Long Reformation, confessional exile, protestant martyrology, nostalgia, patriotism, István Nagy Szőnyi, Georgius Lani.

I. Introduction

Early modern exile experiences, as a consequence of religious persecution, often contributed to the emergence of confessional identities during Reformation era.[1]

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[1] I am referring to the emergence of those protestant martyrological discourses that after a first period of ambiguity during the sixteenth century evolved into determining markers of confessional identities. For further considerations see: Robert Kolb, *For All the Saints: Changing Perceptions of Martyrdom and Sainthood in the Lutheran Reformation* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987); Robert Kolb, "From Hymn to History of Dogma. Lutheran Martyrology in the Reformation Era," in *More than Memory. The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity*, ed. Johan Leemans (Leuven–Paris: Dudley, Peeters, 2005) 295–313; Diana Wood ed., *Martys and Martyrologies*

Moreover, early modern persecuted refugees whether they were Scots or French Huguenots finding refuge in the Netherlands, English Protestants enduring European or even transatlantic exile, including forced migration undertaken by Catholics, Anabaptists, and Jews, all appear to have been part of one comprising transnational historical process. A particular form of early modern exile is the one described as confessional migration unfolding throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and located predominantly to Central and Eastern Europe.[2] Indeed, confessional migration appeared to be a multifaceted phenomenon that emerged from the antagonisms between the persecutory authorities and the persecuted individuals or communities, both Protestant and Catholic. The reaction to having been persecuted in early modern times must have been rather complex; for when the conflict escalated uncontrolled violence would unavoidably break out, therefore the grim perspective of execution or even mass murder seemed a rather realist scenario. As opposed to these options, forms of exile and displacement, justified by a genuine early modern martyrology allowing the persecuted one(s) to run away from their persecutors, could have certainly been one of the best choices an early modern individual might have had.

However, contrary to cases of western exile experiences ensuing from persecutory actions, forced migration in early modern Eastern Europe, and in particular on the territories of Tripartite Hungary[3] reveal a somehow different situation. As Reformation had been embraced without any significant opposition and

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Studies in Church History 30 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); Gregory Brad, *Salvation at Stake, Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Irene Backhus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003); David K. Anderson, *Martyrs and Players in Early Modern England* (Ashgate: Routledge, 2014).

[2] For the concept of confessional migration and its various interpretations see: Heinz Schilling, "Confessional Migration as a Distinct Type of Old European Long Distance Migration," in *Le migrazioni in Europa, Secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1994), 175–89; Bettina Braun, "Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge: Eine Spurensuche im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 130 (2010): 505–76; Alexander Schunka, introduction to *Migrations in the German Lands, 1500-2000*, ed. Jason Coy, Jared Poley, and Alexander Schunka (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2016), 8–10. Alexander Schunka proposes in the same volume an excellent article with references to Central Europe and Hungary as well: Alexander Schunka, "No Return? Temporary Exile and Permanent Immigration among Confessional Migrants in the Early Modern Era" in *Migrations in the German Lands, 1500-2000*, ed. Jason Coy, Jared Poley, and Alexander Schunka (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2016), 67–87.

[3] The concept of Tripartite Hungary describes the division of the former late medieval Hungarian Kingdom into three major parts, such as the Habsburg-controlled Upper or Royal Hungary, Ottoman Hungary, and the Principality of Transylvania, a semi-independent state under Ottoman suzerainty.

a multidenominational society supported by laws and diet had been implemented both in Royal Hungary and Transylvania, there were neither victims nor organisers of any kind of religious persecution, at least, certainly not before the second half of the seventeenth century. Moreover, not only were the persecutory forces missing, but also the martyrs and the martyrologies were rather unknown to early modern protestant communities residing in Tripartite Hungary. Yet, migration and exile, due to the particular military and geographical situation of the divided Hungarian state, constituted a most common course of action of social mobility or political enterprises. In addition, for many Hungarians having been located at the border of the Pagan and Christian worlds, or even worse, having been posited on the battlefield of the permanently conflicting Christian and Ottoman military forces, exile constituted the sole option in terms of survival irrelevant of their religious convictions whatsoever. With the advent of Habsburg military superiority over the Ottomans corroborated with the imposed absolutism of imperial policy, this situation altered essentially. The beginning of the systematic persecution of Protestants culminating in the so-called decade of persecution or *persecutio decennalis* (1671–1681), brought about, indeed, confessional forced migration and displacement.[4]

Accordingly, the declared aim of this paper is to focus on the Calvinist and Lutheran refugees of Royal Hungary in order to introduce the major types of exile cases and to evaluate their particular significance in the relevant historical and intellectual contexts of the late seventeenth century. I shall argue that the emergence of a reformed confessional identity may well have been influenced by exile experiences, yet the Hungarian case displays some special features, such as the close interrelatedness of martyrological discourses with patterns of early modern proto-nationalism. I will conclude suggesting that the delayed character of both persecution and the emergence of a protestant martyrology demand a rather different perception of Reformation too. Emphasizing the historical fact that it was only the Edict of Tolerance (1782) and its validation (1791) that terminated religious persecution and granted free practice of religions, the concept of long Reformation[5]

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[4] Zsombor Tóth, "Persecutio decennalis (1671–1681). The Lutheran Contribution to the Emergence of a Protestant Martyrology in Early Modern Hungarian Culture: The Case of Georgius Lani", in *Luther in Calvinism: Image and Reception of Martin Luther in the History and Theology of Calvinism,* ed. Herman J. Selderhuis and J. Marius J. Lange van Ravenswaay, Academic Studies 42 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2017), 335–53.

[5] The first occurrence of the concept of long Reformation dates back to the late 1990s. Secondary literature on long Reformation includes: Nicholas Tyacke ed., *England's Long Reformation 1500–1800* (London: UCL Press, 1998); Peter G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation: Religion, Political Conflict, and the Search for Conformity, 1350–1750* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Peter Marshall, "(Re)defining the English Reformation", *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009): 564–86; John McCallum, ed., *Scotland's Long Reformation. New*

appears to be the most fitting application to the Hungarian case. The determining impact of forced migration upon the development of an early modern Protestant identity is best observed in the historical, theological and intellectual context of the long Reformation.[6]

II. Historical Contexts: Persecution and Forced Migration in Tripartite Hungary

The particular nature of Reformation implemented on the territory of the Tripartite Hungary appears to reinforce the historical claim that the Hungarian political and clerical elite decided to have chosen a tolerant stance towards the process of confession-building. Accordingly, both Royal Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania opted for a religious policy supporting religious liberty and religious toleration granted by laws. It is not surprising in this historical context that the diet of Pozsony (Bratislava) held in September 1608 endorsed religious liberty as an unalienable right of the population inhabiting Royal Hungary. In a similar manner, it had been confirmed on two occasions (1568, 1595) that all four religions (Lutheran, Calvinist, Antitrinitarian and Catholic) were accepted and protected denominations allowed to be freely professed in the Principality of Transylvania. It is safe to assert that in Tripartite Hungary, at least during the sixteenth century, political will protected and supported a multidenominational religious culture refraining from any religious persecution or coercion.[7]

With the increasing distrust of the Hungarian estates towards the Habsburg administration and military strategical planning, the surprising peace-treaty of Vasvár (1664) signed by the Habsburgs unleashed unexpectedly intense passions. A major political and military crisis would emerge as the Protestant estates openly expressed their disagreement and decided to revolt against the Habsburg rule. Although the Habsburgs managed to uncover the initial conspiracy (1671) and execute its protagonists, the supporters of the opposition were still far too

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Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c. 1500-c. 1660 (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Sari Katajala-Peltomaa ed., *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

[6] For further details regarding the application of the concept to Hungarian historical, social, and cultural contexts with a particular emphasis on methods and historiography see: Zsombor Tóth, „Hosszú reformáció Magyarországon és Erdélyben I.: konfesszionalizációk és irodalmi kultúrák a kora újkorban (1500–1800). Módszertani megjegyzések egy folyamatban lévő kutatáshoz [Long Reformation in Royal Hungary and Transylvania (1500–1800): Methodological Remarks Regarding Early Modern Confessionalization(s) and Literacy]," *ItK* 123 (2019): 719–39.

[7] For a historical survey on the course of events that helped establish Reformation on Tripartite Hungary see: Zsombor Tóth, "The Importance of Being (In)Tolerant, the Strange Case of Transylvanian Puritanism" in *Reformed Majorities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Herman Selderhuis et al., Academic Studies 23 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 91–3.

numerous and a military conflict erupted. The rebellion led first by Mihály Teleki (1672) and then by Imre Thököly (1680), was sustained by the Ottoman Porte and the Principality of Transylvania as well.[8] The tensed situation consistently escalated due to the unrestrained persecutory actions of the Jesuits assisted by the imperial army and directed against the Protestants inhabiting Royal Hungary.

Furthermore, the Habsburgs under the plausible pretext of conspiracy had organized a merciless campaign against the intellectual elite, mostly Calvinist and Lutheran ministers and pastors, whom they accused of ideological agitation and of inciting the population against their ruler, the emperor. Three hundred Calvinists and Lutherans were sentenced to death on the charge of treason against the Emperor and the Kingdom in April 1674. Moreover, those Calvinist and Lutheran ministers who had refused to recant were sent to labour as galley-slaves in 1675. Those who survived this extreme punishment were released only after the political intervention of the Dutch Republic, when the Habsburgs, probably under the international political pressure and burdened by multiple wars, decided to withdraw the initial sentence in 1676. Still, these survivors were not allowed to return home; after having been liberated they would experience a new type of persecution, that is, exile and all the traumatic implications and consequences of such a condition.

The violent events of the so called *persecutio decennalis* (1671–1681) with its merciless intensity and horrifying repertoire of brutally applied coercion shocked both the Hungarian and the international Protestant communities. For the very first time during the history of Hungarian Reformation religious persecution produced numerous victims, for those who did not die in prison became refugees looking for support either in Transylvania or in Western Europe. With the growing number of the persecuted ones, the Hungarian Protestants Churches felt resolute to declare the advent of a new era, for both the refugees and their families left behind agreed that they had been experiencing extraordinary times, an era of the martyrs and confessors willing to bear witness to the truth. The battle had begun; the True Church (*Vera Ecclesia*) had to find her valiant soldiers-like martyrs willing to confront and prevail over the False Church (*Falsa Ecclesia*) and her army commanded by the Antichrist. Experiences of exile as direct consequences of religious persecution brought about the emergence of a Protestant Hungarian martyrological paradigm for the very first time after one and half centuries of Reformation.[9]

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[8] Zsombor Tóth, "The Homiletics of Political Discourse: Martyrology as a (Re)Invented Tradition in the Paradigm of Early Modern Hungarian Patriotism," in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 547.

[9] For further insights into how Calvinist and Lutheran martyrologies evolved after the events of the decade of sorrow see: Zsombor Tóth, "'Calvinian Anthropology' and the Early Modern Hungarian Devotion: The Case of István Nagy Szőnyi, the First Hungarian Martyrologist", in *Anthropological Reformations – Anthropology in the Era of Reformation*, ed. Anne

III. Types of Religious Persecution and Exile

As the particular development of Reformation within Hungarian territories, briefly surveyed in the previous section, testifies for it, neither acts of religious persecution nor narratives of martyrdom before the 1670s were familiar beyond measure to early modern Hungarian Protestants. Indeed, one can justly claim that the *persecutio decennalis* commenced rather unexpectedly and neither historical experience nor any Hungarian native literary tradition as an antecedent had helped people understand what had been going on or what would have happened in the near future. Still, with its various forms of violence persecution was unstoppably thriving at the beginning of 1670s and it would not be halted for a whole decade. The aim of this section is to provide a basic classification of displacement cases and introduce them in the historical and intellectual context of religious persecution suffered during the decade of sorrow.

The trial held in the spring of 1674 was certainly a major event of persecution which greatly contributed to the growing number of Lutheran and Calvinist refugees forced to flee from Royal Hungary. Some of them would head towards west, others, probably hoping a miraculous remediation of the unbelievable situation, preferred to stay closer and found refuge in the Principality of Transylvania under the protection of the Protestant prince Mihály Apafi (1632–1690). This type of forced migration had started, in fact, well before the trial proper. Some of the Lutherans, especially the descendants of those families whose ancestors had already experienced Habsburg persecution while living on Czech territories, decided not to wait for the trial, but leave immediately.[10] Thus the decade of sorrow, even before the infamous death sentence on some 300 Protestants had been pronounced, saw a massive migration, both *internal* and *external*, as some found temporary refuge in Transylvania, while others tried their luck at more distant western locations.

Eusterschulte and Hannah Wälzholz, Academic Studies 28 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 415–28; Tóth, "Persecutio decennalis," 335–53.

[10] A great number of Czech Protestants forced into exile after the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) had settled down in Royal Hungary. Yet, their escape from persecution proved to be only temporary, as they would become subjects of the same Habsburg persecutory religious policy during the 1670s. For instance, the Pilarik family and their offspring had to endure this most remarkable 'twofold persecution.' For a detailed assessment of their case see: Papp Ingrid, "Lutheránusok rabszíjon: az üldöztetés és a fogság irodalmi ábrázolása Piláriktól Krmannig [Lutherans in Shackle: Literary Representations of Exile and Imprisonment from Pilárik to Krmann]" in *Börtön exilium és szenvedés* [Prison, Exile and Afflictions], ed. Anita Fajt, Emőke Rita Szilágyi, and Zsombor Tóth (Budapest: Reciti, 2017), 77–86, esp. 77–78.

A distinct group of Protestants that would choose exile in Western Europe was constituted by those who had survived serving at the galleys. This cohort of liberated prisoners deserves all the more our attention, as they were the promoters of a martyrological message and self-representation enthusiastically received, for instance, in Zurich by professor Johann Heinrich Heidegger and his immediate theological entourage in 1676. Others, though members of the same group, had had some difficulties in obtaining the financial, political or even spiritual support that would have helped them return to the distant fatherland. All in all, the disparate destinies of those involved in this extreme experience, despite the rather different course of actions they had followed, coincided in one major fact: they had all suffered religious persecution with a lasting impact upon their social, physical and spiritual condition.

Indeed, this type of forced migration ensuing from religious persecution had certainly influenced the life of individuals or even larger communities as well. For not only numerous households and large families lost their homes, but even institutions of education and their student body were obliged to flee as well. The appalling case of the Calvinist College of Sárospatak is a relevant example to be examined in this paper. The religious persecution or its threatening perspective during the decade of sorrow constituted the main cause for undertaking *individual* or *collective* exile. In order to propose a better understanding of the various types of displacement, such as internal, external, individual, and collective exile, I intend to provide detailed examples for each and every one of them.

III. 1. Internal Exile: The Case of the Calvinist István Szőnyi Nagy

István Nagy Szőnyi (1633–1709) was one of those Calvinist priests whose life had been dramatically altered by the persecution of the early 1670s. Szőnyi Nagy seemed to have followed the standard carrier of the elite Calvinist intellectuals of the era, which would have provided him a decent living and a significant social promotion. He had commenced his studies in Debrecen, then as a *peregrinus academicus*, he shortly attended some western universities, presumably Utrecht and Groningen. Upon his return to Hungary, he would take over the ministry of Torna, a significant Calvinist location in Royal Hungary. At this incipient stage of his career as a minister he had been confronted with the cruelty of persecution as soon as 1671. With the assistance of a Habsburg military unit, a certain Jesuit, referred to as Pater Herko, had commanded several intimidating actions against the Calvinist residents of Torna. Apart from spreading fear and terror amongst the population, the ultimate aim of the entire operation was to occupy the Calvinist church and throw the Calvinist minister out from his office. Szőnyi Nagy, though had bravely confronted the Jesuit Pater Herko and even resisted the provocations of the soldiers, would finally give in and handed over the key of the Church. Though initially Szőnyi Nagy had been

resolute not to leave his flock, later, in order to avoid a more violent conflict and spear the lives of his clergymen, he opted for fleeing. With growing regret in his heart, he committed himself to come back as soon as possible. The details of this affair had been immortalised by Szőnyi Nagy himself in a short narrative account published in 1675.[11]

This humiliating event deeply influenced his life. Szőnyi Nagy went to Debrecen, but soon departed for Transylvania, which would become not only a major and recurring destination of his internal exile in the years to come, but his home for the concluding part of his life as well. Having entered the territory of the Principality of Transylvania, a safe haven for all Protestant refugees coming from Royal Hungary, including the army of the rebels lead by Pál Wesselényi (1654–1694), Szőnyi intended to establish himself as a minister serving a Calvinist community. Yet, after some short periods of services, he decided to join the military campaign against the Habsburgs and became a preacher in the army of the rebels in 1675. Not only did he dedicated himself to preaching, but he embarked on a writing career, producing what is justly regarded the very first Hungarian Calvinist martyrology that served as an ideology of the rebellion against the emperor as well. With the suggestive title of "The Crown of the Martyrs" and dedicated to Pál Wesselényi the supreme commander of the rebel army, Szőnyi Nagy's book constituted a strong claim to equate the spiritual fight of the Protestant priests and the military combat undertaken by the rebels. Szőnyi Nagy apparently produced a genuine Protestant martyrology following the example of the major early modern martyrologies from John Foxe to Pantaleonus or Crespin, including Rabus as well, but he was also determined to articulate a piece of Calvinist political theology of loyalty insisting on the idea that a martyr was equally committed to the True Church as *Ecclesia* and the fatherland as *Patria*.[12]

It was this context of political theology that enabled him to set forth a genuine definition of martyrdom tailored to the ideological priorities of the persecuted Protestants and the justification of the rebels' military actions for having fought against their ruler. According to Szőnyi Nagy:

> He who bears witnesses to the Justice of Christ and undertakes in any possible manner suffering for the Gospel's truth is declared to be a martyr. In this broad sense, therefore, all those persons who serve the Lord honestly with their minds and souls every day, are considered to be martyrs, for they bear witness to the Truth.[13]

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[11] The narrative account of his persecution had been attached to his martyrology and published together as one single book: István Nagy Szőnyi, *Mártírok Coronája* [The Crown of the Martyrs] (Kolozsvár: 1675).

[12] Tóth, "Calvinian Anthropology," 420.

[13] Szőnyi Nagy, *Mártírok*, 5.

While developing the particular features of his own concept of martyrdom nurtured from his experiences of displacement and religious persecution, Szőnyi Nagy followed Calvin and Tertullian and their sometimes-contradictory views as to whether running away from the persecutors had been allowed or not. In addition, Szőnyi Nagy asserted that having been persecuted and forced into exile was a challenge that had to be accepted for it clearly constituted an act of martyrdom:

> Martyrs are those persons who are refugees, who fled from the bloody hands of the persecutors, for they bore witness to the Truth. Therefore, they have lost all their fortune, houses and values and became servants among strangers and foreign peoples. They are in continuous necessity, and they are crying and sighing. Petrus Martyr writes about them: *Est enim ipsa fuga confessionis species. Quis enim non maluerit domi suae manere, bonis suis frui, suae gentis hominum familiaritate uti, quam pauper et ignotus in longinquam regionem peregre proficisci*? (Fleeing from persecutors is, so to say, a way to bear witness to the Truth. For, who would not rather stay at home at his own place and house, keep all his fortune and live amongst his own nation, than go in exile to distant places?[14]

With his own exile account[15] cleverly added as an appendix to this book, Szőnyi Nagy successfully established a Hungarian discourse of martyrdom which clearly expressed that forced migration, as a result of religious persecution was an affliction that had to be endured with patience and steadfastness by the chosen ones. For these sufferings of the brave chosen were the unmistakable proof and paramount attribute of their martyrdom. Not surprisingly the experience of forced exile and the condition of being a refugee left long-lasting marks on Szőnyi Nagy's mental world, some traumatic memories that he would render into influential texts after the 1670s. To promote more efficiently his concept of martyrdom with the central idea that enduring exile was the equivalent of bearing witness to the truth, a conduct pattern attributed exclusively to martyrs, Szőnyi Nagy committed himself to writing in other genres than martyrology as well. His thesis of martyrdom having claimed that the patient sufferings of afflictions would have been rewarded with the crown of the martyrs, as a motive, occurred in his funeral sermons as well (cf. Szőnyi Nagy: 1686). Moreover, he emphasized the connections between a Calvinist, even Puritan-like practice of piety and the perspective of martyrdom. His prayer book

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[14] Szőnyi Nagy, *Mártírok*, 5-6.
[15] As I have mentioned it before, Szőnyi Nagy provided an exhaustive narrative account of his experience titled: *The Sad Story of the Persecution and Exile of István Nagy Szőnyi from the Parish of Torna*. See. Szőnyi Nagy, *The Crown*, O5r-O8v.

published in 1681 was designed deliberately to stress the significance of exile and its undertaking as an act of martyrdom. The prayer book suggestively titled *The guiding star of the pious soul while at home or during various wanderings* dedicated in several special sections prayers accommodated to the status, condition, and situation of exile.[16]

It appears that Szőnyi Nagy was successful in establishing a Hungarian Calvinist paradigm of martyrology. Not only did he publish the written account of his own persecution and exile, but complemented his own experience with a theological and political support. Martyrdom envisaged and promoted in this particular manner relying on the Calvinist theology and political theology as well, soon would become a major ideology to resist the growing Catholic and Habsburg influence oriented against the Protestant communities. Lay people, whether influential individual of the Calvinist elite or simple political migrants, while confronted with the harshness of prison or exile often identified themselves with the martyrology and the martyr-concept formulated by Szőnyi Nagy. Furthermore, the increasing number of ego-documents reproducing exile or prison accounts following this martyrological pattern as a means of self-fashioning suggests a remarkable *autobiographic turn* in the Hungarian and Neo-Latin prose after the decade of sorrow.[17] This process sometimes referred to as Calvinist life-writing,[18] I believe, culminates with the first Hungarian translation of John Calvin' life in 1758. The manuscript authored by László Huszti,[19] rendered to Hungarian Theodor de Béze's latin narrative (*Ioannis Calvini*

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[16] One of the prayers conceived and written typically for individuals in exile was given this suggestive title: *The morning prayer of the exiled man grievously lamenting his condition and longing for his family and beloved homeland.* See. Szőnyi Nagy István, *Kegyes lélek vezér csillaga, Istennek otthon s uton valo járásában* [The Guiding Star of the Pious Soul While at Home or During Various Wanderings] (Debrecen: 1681), 134–41. This prayer book was rather popular, for after its first publication in 1681 two further editions were printed out in 1687 and 1714.

[17] A most remarkable representative of this literature and life-writing was Count Miklós Bethlen (1642–1716). Bethlen, an influential politician and ardent Calvinist, while in prison in Vienna (1708–1716), produced a narrative of his life, both in Latin and Hungarian, following the genre of the *récit martyrologique*, depicting himself as a martyr of the Calvinist Church and the Principality of Transylvania. For further details on Bethlen Miklós's life and puritan devotion see: Zsombor Tóth, "A Man for All Seasons: Exile, Suffering and Martyrdom in the Autobiography of Miklós Bethlen", *Hungarian Studies* 2 (2012): 273–83.

[18] Catharine Randall Coats, *(Em)Bodying the Word: Textual Resurrections in the Martyrological Narratives of Foxe, Crespin, de Bèze and D'Aubigné* (New York: Lang, 1992), 1–32. A further significant contribution by the late Irena Backus surveys the entire corpus of early modern narratives immortalising the lives of the reformers: Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008).

[19] I had discovered this unknown manuscript in 2017, and I published it in 2019. It is a remarkable source that casts a new light on early modern Hungarian Calvinism and Calvin's

Vita a Theodoro Beza Genevensis Ecclesiae ministro accurate descripta) published in 1575 together with Calvin's correspondence.[20]

It is safe to conclude that Szőnyi Nagy's efforts to articulate a Calvinist martyrology developed from exile and displacement experiences reinforced the conviction shared by his contemporaries and fellow-sufferers that loyalty towards the Ecclesia or Patria was an extraordinary act, not accessible to ordinary men, for it were only the martyrs who would have lived up to these harsh expectations.

III. 2. External Exile

Having revisited Szőnyi Nagy's case of individual and internal exile allows us to reiterate one of the central theses of this article. While confronted with persecution the Protestant elite sought to formulate a theological or even a political ideology to help endure and survive this type of affliction. As mentioned before, Szőnyi Nagy authored the very first Hungarian martyrology, one predominantly articulated from the perspective of Calvinism. Lutherans, who experienced similar persecution, would promote their concept of martyrdom as well. This subsection provides cases of external exile focusing on Lutheran refugees, who contributed to the formulation of a Lutheran martyrological discourse during and shortly after the decade of sorrow.

The scandalous trial of 1674 proved to be the first major outbreak of hatred against the non-Catholic population of Royal Hungary. As the persecutory actions followed the standard procedure imposed by Habsburg confessional policy, there were certainly not few, who would have remembered the events of a similar persecution organized against the Czech Protestants after 1620. With threatening pressure upon their everyday lives, some decided not to wait for the worst. A cohort of Lutheran émigrés, who left Royal Hungary at the beginning of 1670s, headed towards German territories hoping to find refuge there.[21] Though, none of them proposed a genuine martyrology imitating the extant literary genres, still several refugees, after having been enrolled as students, would express their interest in the study of persecution and exile as theological-historical phenomena.

For instance, Esaias Pilarik, the offspring of an important Lutheran family from Upper Hungary, after having been cited to the same court in 1674, chose to

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popularity in the Principality of Transylvania. I proudly recall that the online publication occurred exactly on the 500th anniversary of Theodore de Béze's birth (June 24, 2019). See. László Huszti, *Calvinus János élete* [The Life of John Calvin] ed. Zsombor Tóth, ReTextum 10 (Budapest: reciti, 2019).

[20] *Ioannis Calvini Epistolae et responsa. Eivsdem I. Calvini Vita a Theodoro Beza Genevensis Ecclesiae ministro accurate descripta.* (Genevae: apud Petrum Santandreanum, MDLXXV).

[21] Eva Kowalska, „Confessional Exile from Hungary in 17th Century Europe: the Problem of Mental Borders" in *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusáková (Pisa: University Press, 2007), 229–242, here 239.

migrate instead of converting to Catholicism. As a religious refugee he found support in Wittenberg, where he carried on with his studies, as he had written and then defended a theological dissertation dealing with the issue of persecution.[22] Another Lutheran victim of persecution, Georgius Krüger was the author of a philosophical disputation which reflected on the issue of exile.[23] Moreover, there is a distinct group of Lutheran memoirist, Tobias Masznicius, Johannes Simmonides and Georgius Lani, who recorded their experiences while having been imprisoned or brought to trial. They were all persecuted Lutheran ministers, who had refused to recant or admit the invented charges of high treason. The uniqueness of their biographical works is due to their eye-witness testimony, complemented by a certain theological reflection making use of martyrological considerations. After they had escaped in 1675, they wrote and published their memories either in Latin or in German, which had some far-reaching consequences.[24]

Out of these three, Georgius Lani (1646–1701) deserves a special treatment. [25] As one of those talented Lutherans students, who had profited of a prolonged stay abroad, he studied theology and philosophy in Wittenberg in 1662. He turned back home to start a career as a rector and minister in Korpona, Upper Hungary. With the outbreak of the persecution of the 1670s, unavoidably, he too was summoned to appear in front of the court in March 1674. As he had refused to sign and accept the charges, he was first imprisoned, and then chosen to be transported to the galleys. During the prolonged travel to the galleys, he profited of the momentary disregard of the military escort and escaped. Though he was not captured he was not allowed to return home, thus he became a religious refugee, who joined his liberated fellow-prisoners and went to German territories in 1676. He found support there and established himself in Leipzig, but never turned back home. Instead, he carried on with his studies, and he would obtain a doctorate in theology.[26]

Lani had his own significant contribution to the exile literature and Protestant martyrology of the decade of sorrow. Not only did he write in both Latin

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[22] Esaias Pilarik, *De Persecutione Verae Ecclesiae* (Wittebergae: Johann Sigismund Ziegenbein 1676).

[23] Georgius Krüeger, *Disputatio philosophico-practica de exilio* (Wittebergae: Henckelius, 1674).

[24] Tobias Masznicius, *Unerhörter Gefängniss-Process* (Halle: 1676); Georgius Lani, *Martyrum Protectoris, Consulatoris et Assertoris. Narratio Historica, Crudelissimae & ab Hominum memoria nunquam auditae Captivitatis Papisticae, necnon ex eadem Liberationis Miraculosae*, (Lipsiae: 1676). Simonides's work (*Galeria Omnium Sanctorum*, 1675) remained in manuscript and was published only in 1865.

[25] For further details concerning Lani's life and oeuvre see: Eva Kowalska, "Klesch, Láni und die anderen. Zur Typologie der ungarischen Exulanten des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Comeniana* 20/21 (2007): 49–64.

[26] Tóth, "Persecutio decennalis," 344.

and German the story of his persecution, but he produced within a volume of selected Latin oration, a remarkable text incorporating his own experiences of persecution in the ancient and early modern Lutheran tradition of martyrology.[27] When treating the concept proper, he differentiated between two types of martyrdom, one that involved bloodshed and another one that did not. Furthermore, this typology of *martyrium cruentum* and *incruentum* was rendered to the more prevalent differentiation between martyrs and confessors:

> [Martyres] Duae vulgo constituuntur species Martyrii. Incruentum, qvod eorum est Confessorum Christi, qvi sanvinem qvidem non fundunt, sed pro Christo & veritate Evangelii multa indigna, calumnitas, ignominiam, carceres, exilia & infinita alia pericula forti subeunt & sustinent animo, parati ipsam qvoqve subire mortem, si ita Deus velit, & necessitas ferat. Alterum est Cruentum eorum, qvi ita libere Christum corum Tyrannis profitentur, ut ipso actu non bona modo omnia negligant, sed & vitam ac sangvinem profundant.[28]

Accordingly, Lani explained that the confessors bore witness to Christ and the Truth of Gospel; therefore, they were willing to endure with patience prison, exile, and all kinds of calamities, or sometimes even death provided that God wanted or necessity imposed it. As for Martyrs, they bore witness to Christ in front of the tyrants and willingly shed their blood or sacrifice their lives. The most relevant textual antecedent articulating this typology is the shared tradition of the Fathers, for Lani referred to Augustin and Cyprian. As a result of this particular theological contextualization of the concept of martyrdom, Lani seemed to define exile or forced migration as an act of martyrdom that unavoidably would cast the role of confessor or martyr on the person enduring this affliction.[29] Hence Lani's theoretical approach to martyrdom defined his own and his fellow-refugees' accounts of their persecution as afflictions in multiple perspectives. It had clearly reinforced the status and genre of these narrative accounts as martyrological narratives (*récit martyrologique*);[30] but most importantly incorporated them into a genuine Lutheran martyrology insisting on the idea that those afflictions constituted unmistakably acts of martyrdom

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[27] For an examination of the oration with the focal point on Lani's perception of martyrdom see: Tóth, "Persecutio decennalis," 347–48.

[28] Georgius Lani, *Hermathena sive Orationes panegyricae* (Lipsiae: apud Michaelem Russworm, 1682), 240–41.

[29] Tóth, "Persecutio decennalis," 347.

[30] For the concept of récit martyrologique see: David El Kanz, *Les Bûcher du Roi. La Culture Protestant des Martyrs (1523–1572)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1997), 123.

While Lani, Szimonides, and Masznicius were able to escape during the travel to the galleys, there was a distinct group of both Calvinist and Lutherans priests, who had served at the galleys and they would only be liberated in 1676. The survivors of this group had been set free on February 11, 1676 only to find out that a new type of affliction would await them, exile in Western Europe. As they were not allowed to return to Hungary, they looked for support in the nearest Protestant territories such as Switzerland or further north the Netherlands or even England. The individuals of this group had already formulated for themselves, of course, as an ideology of survival, a certain tenet of martyrdom. It appears that they construed and defined their sufferings in the theological context of early modern martyrdom. While in prison and later on at the galleys, this predisposition to refer to martyrdom evolved into a deliberate self-fashioning frequently displayed both in private letters or official documents. For instance, Stephanus Beregszászi in a letter sent to his wife on May 30, 1676, when reflecting upon the destiny of his fellow-prisoners clearly stated:

> Seven of us had been incarcerated in the prison of Kapuvár, but only three of us survived. Out of some other poor seven, all of them of Reformed religion, jailed in Sárvár, only three remained alive. That already makes 16 of those who suffered martyrdom for Jesus Christ.[31]

After having been liberated the Hungarian exiles often used the definition of *exul Christi*, or *exul pro Christi religione* when referring to themselves. [32] Furthermore, they had relied on the literary means of collective representations too,

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[31] Lajos Pap Maklári, "Séllyei István levele. Beregszászi István levele [The Letters of István Séllyei and István Beregszászi]," *Sárospataki Füzetek* 7(1863): 60–6, here 62.

[32] The expatriate Balázs Köpeczi in a holograph letter addressed to Ludovicus Thronczius on July 1678 refers to himself as '*exul pro religione Christi*.' This letter has been published: László Zsigmond Bujtási, "A megszabadított gályarab prédikátorok küldöttsége Hollandiában [The Deputation of the Liberated Hungarian Priests to the Netherlands]" in *Történetek a mélyföldről* [Stories from the Low Countries], ed. Réka Bozzay (Debrecen: Print Press kft, 2014) 63–7. In a similar way with Köpeczi, several of the Hungarian exiles accommodated in Zürich signed and added short entries to the album amicorum of Johann Heinrich Fries (1639–1718) defining themselves as '*exul*,' or '*exul pro Christo*.' See: Ádám Hegyi, "A gályarab lelkészek bejegyzései Johann Heinrich Fries (1639–1718) albumában: magyarországi diákok Bázelben és Zürichben 1677 és 1720 között [Of the Entries Added by Hungarian Refugee Priests to the Album of Johann Heinrich Fries (1639–1718). Hungarian Students in Basel and Zürich from 1677 to 1720]," *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 11(2010): 9–27, here 11). It appears that the Hungarian refugees whenever relying on this formulation, were actually following a most influential tradition established previously by Lutherans more than a century ago, around the 1550s. (Vera v der Osten-Sacken, "Lutheran Exiles of Christ in the Sixteenth Century", *JEMC* 3(2016): 31–46, here 31–5).

when they published their *Apology* in 1677 and 1678.[33] It must have been a rather popular text as the 1704 edition of Hornius's ecclesiastical history also republished it.[34] However, the refugees attempted to gain support from the Calvinist and Lutheran churches of Western Europe by claiming that their suffering constituted an act of bearing witness to the truth, a truth that had been assimilated at Western universities and brought back and spread all over in their homeland.[35] The collective representation formulated in such manner reinforced the idea that the Hungarian exiles were confessors and martyrs who had endured terrible afflictions for the cause of Reformation and their reformed belief. Furthermore, their proved loyalty to the Vera Ecclesia, as they intended to remind their Protestant sympathizers, came at a high price for some of the exiles had died in prison or at the galleys, others had suffered tremendously.

Although even the temporary hosting of the refugees was not unproblematic at all for the receiving early modern communities, there were undeniably situations when the much-afflicted Hungarian clergymen had enjoyed almost unlimited support in every respective. This was surely the case of Zürich, where the Calvinist Church and the University in a joined effort offered their utmost. 21 individuals of the refugees had been hosted here from May 19–20, 1676 to October 22, 1677. When they first reached Zürich in May, 1676, the famous professor of the University of Zürich, Johann Heindrich Heidegger (1633–1698) saluted them with a Latin oration. Two of the refugees István Mórciz Harsányi and István Séllyei had been immortalised on canvas by Conrad Meyer; the martyr-like depiction of the two was further emphasized by the subscription added to the painting, referring to them as the living martyrs of Christ.[36] Indeed, apart from political and financial support, the Swiss helped the refugees bring their cause in the centre of European public attention. The Hungarian refugees came to be regarded as living martyrs in Zurich, and their cause was promoted as one worthy of the common interest of Protestants all over Europe. The *album amicorum* of the refugee István Séllyei(1627–1692) Calvinist priest and bishop, contains the entries of several Swiss intellectuals, which as a reliable historical source convincingly testifies for this fact.[37]

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[33] *Apologia Ministrorum Evangelicorum Hungariae*…, (Ultrajecti: 1677).

[34] Georgius Hornius, *Historia ecclesiastica* (Francofurti ad Moenum: 1704), 786–807.

[35] Hornius, *Historia*, 803: "…nos ob illam fidem pati, quam in vestris Academiis didicimus et in patriam nostram reportavimus."

[36] The oil painting of the two Hungarian refugees, István Séllyei and István Harsányi Móricz, is still being preserved at the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich.

[37] It is very suggestive the Latin description of this particular item by Johannes Jakobus Wagnerus, who explicitly formulated that Stephanus Séllyei together with his Hungarian brothers after having endured several afflictions and martyrdom for the Gospel (post multas diras durasque afflictiones atque martyria ob. S. S. Evangelium perpessa) returned to Hungary on October 20, 1677. This source was published: Mihály Zsilinszky, "Egyháztörténeti emlékek a

While Conradus Buckhardus, the Calvinist pastor of Zurich, declared Séllyei the martyr of Christ (*Martyri Christi*) and his supreme invincible soldier (*invictissimus athleta*), Johann Heindrich Heidegger described Séllyei as a most esteemed hiero-martyr (*pretiosissimus hieromartyr*). Professor Heidegger expressed his unconditional support for the Hungarian refugees in a different way as well. He insisted that the issue of martyrdom be incorporated in the curriculum of the University as well.[38] Finally, Rudolph Hofmeister's remarkable entry confirmed too that the sufferings of the valiant Hungarians had been a clear sign of the persecution endured by the true church claiming that 'Ecclesia persecutionibus crescit, et martyriis coronatus est.'[39]

The western exile of the Hungarian refugees came to an end by 1681, as most of them had decided to return either for a temporary or for a permanent stay to Royal Hungary. Some of them had already undertaken this home journey in 1677–1678. This decision was not without risks, as only the diet of Sopron ratified the law which granted them safe return and recommencement of their offices as ministers in 1681. The conclusion of the decade of sorrow (1671–1681) was an extraordinary moment in the history of Hungarian Reformation. The gravity and often tragic intensity of the persecution, whether it consisted of imprisonment or exile, brought to surface the true commitment and loyalty of the Protestant clergy, as some of them had accepted to suffer or even die in order to bear witness to the truth. It took almost 150 years for the Hungarian Lutheran and Calvinist Churches to find their martyrs and confessors, whose sacrifice bolstered up the status, position, and self-esteem of all Hungarian Protestants. Once established the Protestant martyrological tradition imposed a particular understanding of Reformation, one that would lastingly influence and inspire new martyrs and confessors during the eighteenth century as well. It is safe to assert that religious persecution and martyrdom brought about the long Hungarian Reformation concluded only at 1791, when the Edict of Tolerance (1782) received validation from the Diet.

III. 3. Collective Exile: The Destiny of the Persecuted Calvinist College of Sárospatak

The previous subsections have introduced examples of internal and external exile experiences that involved both distinct individuals and smaller communities. The task of this particular subsection is to provide an example of internal and collective

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Zürichi könyvtárból [Sources Concerning Hungarian Church History Preserved in the Library of Zürich]," *Sárospataki Füzetek* 3(1866): 75.

[38] Thesis defences and public examinations reflecting on the issue of martyrdom had been organised and took place under Heidegger's supervision: Johann Jakob Hottinger, *Dissertatio de marytrio* (Tiguri: David Gessner, 1677); Johann Heinrich Heidegger, *Consolatio Christiana s. martyrum, omniúmque persecutions sustinentium* (Tiguri: David Gessner, 1678).

[39] Zsilinszky: "Egyháztörténeti emlékek," 457.

exile case, one that involved one of the most important Calvinist institutes of education, the Reformed College of Sárospatak. It had been founded as a trivial school in 1548, but soon after would become the most prestigious educational and cultural institute of the Hungarian Calvinist intelligentsia. [40] With the increasing support of the Hungarian nobility, especially under the patronage of the Rákóczi family, the former modest trivial school developed into a most esteemed College, one that attracted even Johan Amos Comenius (1592–1670), who would become a member of the faculty from 1650 to 1654.[41] Having set up a printing shop in Sárospatak, the Calvinist patrons of the College added further major perspective to the nourishment of this cultural establishment. Furthermore, the untimely death of the young Zsigmond Rákóczi (1622–1652) made possible a most generous book donation for the library of the college. Some 2000 items of excellent Latin and Hungarian books, mostly reflecting the recently passed prince's excellent intellectual orientation and taste, had been transferred to the college and made available for students and faculty members. Despite these promising developments the College and its student body, including the faculty as well, would soon face a sad turn of events.

George the II. Rákóczi, the Calvinist Prince of Transylvania and patron of the College of Sárospatak, who used to be landlord of the Sárospatak estate, died in 1660. As the College had always been financially supported by the Calvinist landlord of the estate, the last two Rákóczis, father and son, as Princes of Transylvania, did their utmost to provide the necessary funding for its untroubled functioning. With the dead of the prince in 1660, the situation became uncertain. It would worsen, when George II Rákóczi's widow, Zsófia Báthory together with his son, Francis, decided to convert to Catholicism in the same year. The aggravation of the situation reached a climax, when the Jesuits had been invited to the city and domiciled there to the great horror of the Calvinist residents and clergy in 1663. With the advent of the persecution against the Protestants, Habsburg forces entered the city in the spring of 1671. On August 5, 1671 the Calvinist Church had been occupied by troops; events seriously escalated, as the imperial army took control of the college too, and forced out its inhabitants in October 21, 1671. Moreover, the buildings had been handed over to the Jesuits, though they did not install themselves in it at once as they only rented them. Given these circumstances, the students and the faculty had to leave the city. It was the beginning of their internal and collective exile.

They first headed to Debrecen, then they went to Transylvania, as the Prince of Transylvania, Michael Apafi offered them support and protection. They were invited to occupy the buildings of the former Calvinist College of Gyulafehérvár

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[40] For the early modern history of the Reformed College of Sárospatak see: Dénes Dienes and János Ugrai, *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium története* [The History of the Reformed College of Sárospatak] (Sárospatak: Hernád, 2013), 19–48.

[41] Dienes and Ugrai, *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium*, 35–6.

(Alba Iulia), a city located in the north-western area of the principality. After having covered a distance of 500 kilometres they arrived to their final destination to Gyulafehérvár, a location that would host the exiled Reformed College of Sárospatak for almost half a century. Soon the College restarted its activity, new students were recruited and the education was reorganized at this new residence as early as January 1672. Due to the generosity of Prince Mihály Apafi, the college functioned here until 1716. In order to preserve its identity, the College defined and referred to itself in every official document as the Reformed College of Sárospatak and Gyulafehérvár.[42] The forced migration of the whole institution with its student body and faculty members produced damaging consequences. The printing shop and only some of the holdings of the famous library could have been rescued. A significant corpus of both books and manuscripts had been lost for good. No wonder that in these circumstances the College of Sárospatak could not function anymore as efficiently as it used to. This was in fact the common destiny of several other Calvinist colleges and churches as the persecution and the Catholic restauration spread and gained terrain in Royal Hungary. Indeed, the exile of a whole College including not only the body of students, but the faculty members and the assisting personnel convincingly depicts the tragic dimensions of the *persecutio decennalis.*

Unfortunately, the college would not be spared from further troubles and persecutions. After it had already spent 44 years in Gyulafehérvár the Habsburg military inflicted further damage on this institute. The College was forced out of the city and an unexpected period of exile would start anew in 1716. It took two more years to find a solution. On April 30, 1718 the College of Sárospatak exiled to Gyulafehérvár was united with the Calvinist primary school of Marosvásárhely, located some 120 kilometres away in the centre of Transylvania. This concluding event of collective and internal exile that took place already in the eighteenth century, suggestively points to the fact that persecution once started in the 1670s would last over a century and ought to be evaluated in the historical and intellectual context of a long Reformation.

However, apart from the afflictions endured by the main actors, students and faculty members of the college, it is remarkable how various objects and mostly books had preserved too, the extreme experience of multiple displacements. There is a rather significant body of books, precisely 103 titles (approximately 125 books) that also testify in a rather particular way to this exceptional exile. As a consistent part of the holdings of the former library of the Reformed College of Sáropatak, had been transported first to Gyulafehérvár, then to Marosvásárhely there are still items that had been marked as the possessions of the Library of the United college of Sárospatak, Gyulafehérvár and Marosvásárhely: *Liber Bibliothecae Colegii*

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[42] Dienes and Ugrai, *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium*, 45.

Sarospatachino-Albano-Marosvásárhellyensis.[43] Not only did these books preserve in this way their fate as lifeless objects transported during travel but immortalized the very vivid and emotionally charged experience of having been forced to leave and undertake exile. Furthermore, they raise a very challenging methodological issue, namely, how religious persecution and exile looked like form the perspective of books and other populations of objects?[44] Books or manuscripts, though lifeless objects, display an almost similar vulnerability as human individuals when confronted with the extremity of forced migration. The disappearance of a rare text, either book or manuscript could be sometimes, without exaggeration, a tragic loss, for it is a reminder of human fallibility and the evanescence of everything which is man-made, including books.

IV. Conclusion

It is possible to conclude that the religious persecution of Protestants in Royal Hungary brought about displacement and exile in a more or less similar manner as everywhere in early modern Europe. Yet, the Hungarian case displays unmistakably some specific features.

First of all, religious persecution supported by Habsburg political will and military interventions broke out only in the second half of the seventeenth century (1671–1681). It appears that both exile experiences and a certain literary canon narrating these events, often from the perspective and reliable accounts of eyes-witnesses commenced only in the 1670s and evolved well into the eighteenth century. Accordingly, the emerging Protestant martyrological paradigm, through the discourses of its both Calvinist (Szőnyi Nagy) and Lutheran (Georgius Lani) authors and survivors promoted a martyrology that incorporated the ancient authorities of the Primitive Church and some of the early modern influential texts as well.[45] The idea that undertaking exile or displacement as an act of witnessing reiterated and endorsed the claim that he who had suffered in exile, though not executed, would

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[43] Regarding the history of this particular corpus see: Mihály Sebestyén–Spielmann, "A Sárospataki (-gyulafehérvári) Református Kollégium Marosvásárhelyen őrzött könyvei [The Books of the Reformed College of Sárospatak and Gyulafehérvár Preserved at the Bolyai-Teleki Library of Marosvásárhely]" in *Emlékkönyv a Teleki Téka alapításának 200. évfordulójára 1802–2002* [Teleki Téka Album: Commemorating the Establishment of the Teleki Library 200 years ago, 1802–2002] ed. Deé Nagy Anikó et al. (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2002) 272–89.

[44] I am referring to the application of the so called 'it-narrative' or object narrative. Further methodological insights and applications are to be found in: Leah Price, "From the History of a Book to a History of the Book," *Representations* 108(2009): 120–38; Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 144.

[45] For a thorough assessment how the ancient and early modern martyrological tradition had shaped the discourse of Hungarian Protestants see: Tóth, "Persecutio decennalis," 347–48.

certainly qualify as a martyr. Therefore, martyrdom without bloodshed as *martyrium incruentum*, appeared to be a genuine and accepted act of witnessing that promoted the confessor-type of early modern martyr or martyrdom. Nevertheless, this perspective reveals a particular feature of early modern Hungarian martyrdom. As the persecution of the Protestants started with and under the pretext of rebellion against the emperor, the martyrological discourse had been impregnated with concepts such as spiritual and bodily freedom that transcended the discourse to another realm, toward a proto-nationalistic and patriotic self-perception. As early as 1675 Szőnyi Nagy in the very first Hungarian martyrology already attempted to amalgamate piety with bravery, and the spiritual and physical dimensions of the struggle, resulted, it seems, in a coherent propaganda focused upon *freedom* as an unalienable right in both a political and religious-confessional sense. Moreover, Szőnyi Nagy sought to equate military combat with religious and confessional resistance by attributing common motivations, aims and ideology to their supporters, namely soldiers and clergymen. Thus, a spectacular transformation from marytrology as an act of witnessing towards a predominantly political theology of loyalty, referring to a commitment to both *Vera Ecclesia* and *Patria* took place that evolved later on, into the nostalgy (*nostalgia*) of the political exiles, who considered themselves martyrs of the fatherland they had to leave against their will.[46] This is how early modern patriotism as *amor patriae* or *pro patria mori* appropriated the original concept of martyrdom in the excruciating circumstances of exile.

Finally, it is also remarkable how the martyrological accounts of sufferings both in Latin and vernacular nurtured the development of the Hungarian memoir-literature and the very first attempt to formulate an ecclesiastical history of the persecuted Protestant church in Royal Hungary and Transylvania. Though these first known or unknown attempts often remained in manuscripts and in their contaminated copies, for only a very few of them would be published with remarkable delay, they still function as sources to the history of religious

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[46] The suggestive example of János Komáromi (?–1711), a political refugee spending several years in Nicomedia, suggestively reveals how the concept and terminology of martyrdom had been taken over and applied to political exile in order to express a patriotic commitment to the fatherland. Komáromi, for instance, defined himself in his writings as martyr of his fatherland. For an elaborated examination of this case see: Tóth, "The Homiletics of Political Discourse," 545–68. For the emergence and the Hungarian reception of the concept of nostalgy (*nostalgia*) see: Zsombor Tóth, "De Nostalgia: A kora újkori kényszermigráció politiki diskurzusa [Nostalgy as a Political Discourse Reflecting on Forced Migration]" in *Politica philosophiai okoskodás": Politikai nyelvek és történeti kontextusok a középkortól a 20. századig* [Political Languages and Historical Contexts from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century]*, ed. Gergely Tamás Fazakas et al. (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Történeti Intézete, 2013), 117–36. For the very first and original formulation of the concept of nostalgia see: Iohannes Hofervs, *Dissertatio cvrioso-medica de nostalgia* (Basel: Jacobus Bertschius, 1688).

persecution. A persecution that had commenced as late as 1671 and went on until the Edict of Tolerance was first promulgated (1782) and then reconfirmed in 1791. These exile cases providing valuable historical insights into the nature and historical reality of religious persecution question as well the validity of the traditional Reformation concept incorporating all these events and characters into one master narrative. For it has become clear, I believe, that only a long Reformation concept stretching the historical confines of Reformation related events from the fifteen to the very late eighteenth century would justly assess these exile experiences as determining components of the historical phenomenon defined as early modern religious persecution. Reformation(s) in Tripartite Hungary may well have unfolded rather differently, but the concluding event of the historical process of Reformation occurred, when the supreme political will expressed predisposition toward compromise only at the end of the eighteenth century.

DIALECTICS, RHETORIC, AND FUNCTIONAL ISSUES IN EARLY MODERN HUNGARIAN RELIGIOUS DISPUTES. POLEMICS RESEARCH IN A LONG REFORMATION PERSPECTIVE

CSILLA GÁBOR[*]

Abstract The study deals with 16th and 17th century Hungarian printed polemical works considering religious disputes a typical form of communication in the age of Reformation and Catholic renewal. Its conceptual framework is the paradigm or research method of the long Reformation as an efficient assistance to the discovery and appreciation of early modern theological-religious diversity. The analysis examines several kinds of communication which occurs in the (religious) dispute, and explores the rules and conventions along which the (verbal) fighting takes place. Research shows that the opponents repeatedly refer to the rules of dialectics refuting each other's standpoints accusing them of faulty argumentation, i.e., the wrong use of syllogisms. Dialectics is, namely, in this context not the *ars* with the help of which truth is found but with which evident truth is checked and justified in a way that the opponents can also be educated to follow the right direction.

Keywords Religious dispute, polemics, religious pluralism, Long Reformation, dialectical argumentation, syllogism, marginalia.

Novel Propositions in Reformation Research – A Selective Review

The already obvious statement of Reformation research, that "religious disputes are a typical form of communication in the age of Reformation and Catholic renewal"[1] seems as a useful starting point for our chosen topic and its wider context (extending beyond an international and literary-historical approach). In order to thoroughly

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[1] János Heltai, "A 16–17. századi magyarországi hitviták adattárának tervezete" [A Project of the Database of Religious Disputes in Hungary in the 16–17th Centuries], in *Tenger az igaz hitrül való egyenetlenségek vitatásának eláradott özöne: Tanulmányok XVI–XIX. századi hitvitáinkról* [The Flood of Disputing the Inequalities on True Faith: Studies on Our 16–19th Century Religious Disputes], eds. Heltai János, Tasi Réka (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem BTK Régi Magyar Irodalomtörténeti Tanszék, 2005), 254.

rethink its essence and characteristics, it is worth starting from further afield than what the study of polemic literature in the strict sense offers. Recent research on Reformation history highlights the emergence of pluralism in Europe in connection with the symbolic date of 1517; for example, the revealing title of the volume that publishes a selection of the lectures held at the RefoRC conference organized in Wittenberg in 2017 is *More than Luther: The Reformation and the Rise of Pluralism in Europe*.[2] The studies included in this volume deal, among others, with topics such as the doctrine of justification and pluralism in the post-Tridentine Catholic Church,[3] Reformations in the early modern period in East-Central Europe,[4] or the Calvinist Reformation and the rise of pluralism in Europe.[5] In order to emphasize diversity, the editors downright gave the title *Reformations* to one group of studies in the volume. Evidently, each study raises a distinct concept of pluralism and conceptual or methodological approach to the core of the issue; yet, one aspect connects them, namely that all of them focus on and describe in operation the real diversity of views on religious content and of formation stories (subsequently classified under the same umbrella term).

Obviously, such thematization is not entirely new, it has been present in the scientific discourse for at least a good decade. Researches on the science and history of religion already prefer to speak about the religious pluralism of the Middle Ages, not necessarily without conflict but in many situations non-violent,[6] and Reformation as a term referring to the age is ever more frequently utilized in the plural in order to indicate that plurality forms an inherent part of this period.[7] This is how the users of the term suggest that the change called Reformation took place not uniformly but in many ways over time and in different regions; furthermore, that it is insufficient to

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[2] *More than Luther: The Reformation and the Rise of Pluralism in Europe*, eds. Karla Boersma, Herman J. Selderhuis (Göttingen: Vandehhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019).

[3] Wim François, Antonio Gerace, "The Doctrine of Justification and the Rise of Pluralism in the Post-Tridentine Catholic Church", in *More than Luther*, 15–44.

[4] Edit Szegedi*,* "Calvinisms in Early Modern East Central Europe (1550–1650)", in *More than Luther*, 59–77.

[5] Herman A. Speelman, "The Calvinistic Reformation and the Rise of Pluralism in Europe", in *More than Luther*, 257–268.

[6] Cristoph Auffarth, mit Beiträgen von Ulrich Berner, Winfried Frey, Kocku von Stuckrad, Nocole Zeddies, *Religiöser Pluralismus im Mittelalter? Besichtigung einer Epoche der europäischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007). It is in this context that the writings included in the volume analyse the interaction between the Antiquity and Christianity and pay attention to phenomena of scientific and religious transfer such as astrology. They mark the end of mediaeval pluralism in the violent persecution of the heretics.

[7] Here we refer to one single volume of studies which both regards the issue as a historical and theological event and approaches it as a historiographic category and cultural myth: *Multiple Reformations? The Many Faces and Legacies of the Reformation*, eds. Jan Stievermann, Randall C. Zachman (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).

consider the simplifying models of reception when we want to understand this complex phenomenon, but we should pay attention to the hermeneutic specificities of this reception, to the relationship between the existing and the assimilated tradition.[8]

A new, yet increasingly accepted discourse in the research of early modernity and the 16th century in particular is the tendency to relate the religious dissent caused by the dramatic turn around the events of 31 October 1517 leading to the Reformation and church schism not merely to the crisis of the Papacy and the tensions resulting from violently repressed reform endeavours, but also to (late) mediaeval spirituality[9] which defined Luther's socialisation as an Augustinian monk, in which basic issues such as the doctrine of justification, the general priesthood of the believers or the criticism of papacy were common discussion topics. In this context, the title of Volker Leppin's book speaks about foreign Reformation,[10] and argues that Reformation is more mediaeval than we might think. In his view, the way in which Luther connected these mediaeval(ish) issues and the way in which different interest groups used and abused of his theses can be regarded as new.

The paradigm, research method or practice of the long Reformation[11] can be an efficient assistance to the discovery and appreciation of early modern theological-religious diversity and the understanding of how embedded in tradition the reformers' activity is, for instance by widening the so far customary temporal limits. A pioneering work to the best of our current knowledge, the volume of studies that investigates the phenomena of the long Reformation in England, focuses on the three centuries between 1500 and 1800;[12] the collection of studies dealing with the long Reformation in Scotland in a similar frame examines the period approximately between 1500 and 1660.[13] Peter G. Wallace's monograph, rethinking the European processes in the same conceptual and/or terminological frame, operates with a slightly different time frame, indicating the period between 1350 and 1700;[14] the Northern European long Reformation is placed in time,

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[8] Cf. Zsombor Tóth, „Hosszú reformáció Magyarországon és Erdélyben I.: konfesszionalizációk és irodalmi kultúrák a kora újkorban (1500–1800)" ["Long Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania I.: Confessionalizations and Literary Cultures in the Early Modern Period (1500–1800)"], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 123 (2019): 724–726.

[9] Cf. the conference organized in Erfurt in 2005 for the 500th anniversary of Luther entering the Augustinian order. The conference volume: *Luther und das monastische Erbe*, hrsg. Cristoph Bultmann, Volker Leppin, Andreas Lindner (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

[10] Volker Leppin, *Die fremde Reformation: Luthers mystische Wurzeln* (München: Verlag C.H.Beck, 2016).

[11] Called practice by Tóth, idem, 719.

[12] *England's Long Reformation: 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (London: UCL Press), 1998.

[13] *Scotland's Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c. 1500–c. 1660,* ed. John McCallum (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

[14] Peter G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation: Religion, Political Conflict, and the Search for Conformity, 1350–1750* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

approximately again, between 1300 and 1700 by the editors of the volume.[15] It is thought-provoking, then, that Thomas A. Brady, reviewing the English-language specialist literature on German Reformation published between 1970 and 2005 by highlighting research agendas, uses the terms confessionalization and long Reformation as belonging together, almost as synonymous syntagms, while he also reflects on the fact that the attention of research (after emphasizing the rupture for a long time) has been recently directed upon the exploration of (partial) continuity that can be characterized by having late mediaeval roots.[16] He also mentions that as a consequence of the approach based on confessionalizaton and long Reformation respectively, the history of the Catholic Church can be placed on new historiographic grounds: he also discusses "Catholic Reformation" as one of the driving forces of modernization (albeit regarding it as a phenomenon similar to when a wolf gets among the sheep).[17]

In this context, the members of the research group hope that the examination of the processes in Hungary and Transylvania in the period between 1500 and 1800, conceived as a multidisciplinary research practice, carried out for five years with the support of the Lendület grant won in 2018, can bring new insights. The lead study of the project entitled *Hosszú reformáció Kelet-Európában (1500–1800)* [Long Reformation in Eastern Europe (1500–1800)] has been recently published by the leader of the research group, Zsombor Tóth.[18]

The Early Modern Religious Dispute: A Form of Dialogue? Preliminary Considerations

Let us now regard our narrower topic. If we approach the early modern dispute works from the perspective of the authorial and editorial intentions, we can suppose that their authors often conceived them to be dialogical – at least in the sense that

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[15] *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe: c. 1300–1700*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Raisa Maria Toivo (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016).

[16] Thomas A. Brady, "From Revolution to the Long Reformation: Writings in English on the German Reformation, 1970–2005", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 100 (2009): 48–64. An important statement on page 59: "The idea of the Long Reformation and the confessionalization thesis, with its core theme of discipline both as noun and verb, sparked new insights on several classic themes."

[17] Brady, "From Revolution to the Long Reformation", 60: "A far more dramatic, and in the long run probably more productive, feature of the confessionalization thesis and the Long Reformation was the inclusion of the Catholic Church. This put a new cat among old pigeons, for it utterly leveled the ranking of Protestantism and Catholicism in the old narratives of how Europe became modern."

[18] Tóth, „Hosszú reformáció Magyarországon és Erdélyben" ["Long Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania"], 719–739.

they wished to elicit some sort of reaction from the adversaries. The question, then, is whether the potential of dialogicity is inherent in such polemical situations: the alternative views, insights, truths obviously come to the surface; however, is their existence legitimate from the same authorial viewpoint? This question was raised by Gábor Kecskeméti in the opening lecture of the conference entitled *Forms of Dialogue in Early Hungarian Literature*, organized in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) in 2018, albeit not primarily in connection with polemic genres, and also referring to possible research attitudes. Nevertheless, we can also extend this question to the disputes, and we can point at the potential implied in the situation: "the formal characteristics of dialogue can obviously become the media of the conceptual features of dialogicity."[19]

Before proceeding any further, let us remember for a moment the religious pluralism of the Middle Ages, stemming from one root, displaying diverse local variations and, in this context, the custom of "dialogues" and disputations which are actually acts of power; and let us refer to the centralization endeavours but also to the interreligious cultural exchange (e.g. Arab borrowings).[20] As regards form and "purpose", the disputes that we propose to discuss are somewhat based on these argumentative traditions. Consequently, the simple yet important question is whether such a "dialogue" leads anywhere, and if yes then why not. In other words, what kind of communication occurs in the (religious) dispute, and along what rules and conventions does the clash of views take place?

It is a widely spread view in the specialist literature of the history of rhetoric that polemics as a rhetorical term does not actually exist and there is no doctrine elaborated specifically in connection with it in the system of the speech genres either. This is the beginning of the entry "Polemik" in the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*; the entry continues saying that polemics is, on the one hand, a specific procedure, the method of (verbal) fighting, on the other hand, it has been the literary type of public debate especially since the early modern period.[21] Although it is not expressly formulated, it is inferred in this statement that, accordingly, polemics does not even have a theory. We might come to a similar conclusion reading the subtitle of Jürgen Stenzel's study on rhetorical Manichaeism, *Proposals for a* [*Kind of*] *Theory of Polemics*, whose starting point is that the rhetoric of the dispute can be traced back to the theory of the ancient praising and reprimanding

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[19] The edited version of the lecture is forthcoming in the conference volume: Gábor Kecskeméti, *Dialógus a régiségben – dialógus a régiségről* [Dialogue in Antiquity –Dialogue on Antiquity], page 3 in manuscript.

[20] Cf. in detail: Cristoph Auffarth, "Pluralismus, Religion und Mittelalter: Das Mittelalter als Teil der europäischen religionsgeschichte," in *Religiöser Pluralismus im Mittelalter?*, 16–19.

[21] "Zum einen bezeichnet P. (...) eine bestimmte Verfahrensweise, eine Methode der Auseinandersetzung; zum anderen (...) einen literarischen Typus öffentlichen Streitens insbesondere seit der Frühneuzeit" (*"Polemik", in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik VI.*, ed. Gert Ueding (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003), 1403.

speech. Then, the German researcher promises that his study will offer heuristic guidelines to the analysis of polemic texts,[22] and he fulfils his promise by describing it with the characteristics of the aggressive speech, he speaks about rhetorical Manichaeism and, by adapting Roman Jacobson's model, also about dispute situation, dispute topic, transmitter and receiver, that is, attacker and attacked, who can occasionally even exchange roles.[23] Eventually, Kai Bremer proposes an analogous approach; in his monograph dealing with 16th-century German Orthodox and Lutheran disputes, he outlines the research situation of the topic and comes to the conclusion that both literary studies and rhetoric have dealt with the issue of polemics at the level of case studies; however, they haven't yet solved the problems of clarifying the basic terms and answering the basic questions.[24] Needless to say, the case studies mentioned by him and each briefly evaluated by him are of an impressive number, apply various approaches and rely on exceptionally diversified source materials.

Still, there are reflections on the dispute and the methods to be applied to them, and there also exists the term using polemics in the sense of indicating a genre: Johann Heinrich Alsted's treatise first published in 1620 (before he was invited to Transylvania) is entitled *Theologia polemica*,[25] even if scholarship regards it as an "essentially ironical work."[26] Although it does not provide detailed guidance on the methodology of the dispute, in the prolegomena it formulates a few imperatives, among them, the general aspects referring to the tone or the contender's attitude (e.g. disputes must be held decently, being aware that we are in front of God and not in the theatre,[27] or love is compulsory also in the heat of the debate: distinction must be made between the error and the erring person[28]), and

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[22] Jürgen Stenzel, "Rhetorischer Manichäismus. Vorschläge zu einer Theorie der Polemik", in *Der Literaturstreit*, eds. Franz Josef Worstbroch, Helmut Koopmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1986), 3.

[23] Ibid., 5–6.

[24] Kai Bremer, *Religionsstreitigkeiten. Volkssprachige Kontroversen zwischen altgläubigen und evangelischen Theologen im 16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: May Niemeyer, 2005), 7.

[25] I used the second edition of the work, revised by the author: Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Theologia polemica* (Hanau: Konrad Eifrid, 1627).

[26] Reference to his monographer, Howard Hotson in Márton Szentpéteri, Noémi Viskolcz, "Egy református–unitárius hitvita Erdélyben 1641-ben" ["A Reformed–Unitarian Religious Dispute in Transylvania in 1641"], in "*Tenger az igaz hitrül való...*" ["*The Flood of Disputing...*"], 93. On Alsted, see also: Márton Szentpéteri, *Egyetemes tudomány Erdélyben: Johann Heinrich Alsted és a herborni hagyomány* [*Universal Science in Transylvania: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Herborn Tradition*] (Budapest: Universitas, 2008).

[27] "Debent autem tractari & Theologice, id est, sancte, non vt in hominum theatro sed vt coram Deo" (Alsted, *Theologia polemica*, 63.).

[28] "Iudicium charitatis adhibendum in feruore disputationis. (...) dispiciendum, qualis sit error & quales sint personae, quae errant" (Alsted, *Theologia polemica*, 64.).

ones prescribing the mode of controversy: disputes must be held not *topically* but *apodictically*,[29] while he advises caution in connection with syllogistics – he emphasizes the difference between speech and disputation.[30]

This warning leads further towards clarifying the role of dialectics. When polemically discussing religious doctrines, the application of the art/craft of dispute (*bene disputandi scientia*) is fundamental, in other words, it is the warrant of the exploration of truth. And in this context, it is possible, as partners skilled in principles measure their knowledge, force and truths against each other.

Reflections on dialectical construction – Hungarian examples

The dedicatory letter addressed to the reader of Péter Pázmány's *Kalauz* prepares the reader that it "for the most part comprises the arguments according to the rule of the dialecticians, *in forma*, in a short and clear form, to better highlight their strength."[31] The syllogism-case itself becomes a field of debate, as it goes on: "the errants do not like a struggle within such strict limits", although "Christ himself often used this kind of argumentation. He proves with an entire *Syllogismus* that he does not drive out Satan with the power of Satan."[32]

Péter Pécsváradi in the dedication to his supporter, Benedek Fodor, of his counterargument written against Pázmány anticipates the same thing, but in different words and more details: "I have never intentionally avoided any of his serious arguments (…) I used nice *summae* and evidence for my writing: (…) I have contained the arguments of the Archbishop into different types of *Syllogismus*, to make it clearer what their answer is. I have bettered and adjusted the *status* of *controversiae*, the essence of debates, which the Archbishop has twisted in many places."[33]

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[29] "Non topice, id est, probabiliter et in vtrumque partem, sed apodictice disputandum est in Theologicis." (Alsted, *Theologia polemica*, 65.).

[30] "Syllogistica doctrina tanquam euerriculum Sophismatum adhibeatur, cogiteturque aliud esse perorare, aliud disputare." (Alsted, *Theologia polemica*, 65.).

[31] *bizonyságit* "nagy részre a dialecticusok törvénye szerént, *in forma,* rövid kötésbe és bizonyos formába foglal[ja], hogy nyilvábban kitessék erősségök." Pázmány Péter, "Hodoegus. Igazságra vezérlő kalauz" [Hodoegus. Guide to Truth], ed. Ignác Kiss (Budapest: M. Kir. Tud.-egyetemi Nyomda, 1987), 10. (Pázmány Péter Összes Munkái III.)

[32] "nem szeretik az illyen szoros korlátban-valo harczolást", pedig „ö-maga Christus, sokszor követte az illyen bizonyitás formáját. Eggyütt, egész *Syllogismus*-sal bizonyittya, hogy ö nem üz Ördögöt, ördög hatalmával" Ibid. The biblical locus referenced: Mt 12,25-26.

[33] "Egy *argument*umat, avagy okoskodasat, az melly valamire valo volt, szan szandekkal el nem kerültem (...) szep függö *summa*kkal es tanusagokkal irasomat hasznositottam: (...) Az Ersek bizonysagit *Syllogismus*okban es azoknak bizonyos nemeiben foglaltam, hogy nyilvabban valo lenne mire felelnek es mit felelnek. Az *controversiak status*at, vetekedesek sarkat, mellyeket az Ersek sok helyen el forditott volt, meg igazitottam, es megh jobbitottam." Pécsváradi Péter,

Based on the two short quotes above, although the texts do not directly respond to each other, it can be suspected that the very same things that should dissolve the conflict actually just deepen the differences in the thoughts of the debating parties. An adequate illustration of this process is an instance in the debate of András Monoszlói, Miklós Gyarmathi and Péter Pázmány regarding the cult of saints. In his dedication to the reader, Monoszlói refers to the argument of the "opponents" that the Bible does not say anything about the saints mediating for us, so it is useless to trust their mediation. His answer is that the conclusion is faulty, because "the conclusion is not that it does not exist if it is not written, because if we use this negative way, we can deny many things, and a negative argument is worthless and mean, as the dialecticians say."[34] In his answer, Gyarmathi also refers to the rules of dialectics when he refutes the Catholic standpoint, which claims that the mediating power of saints derives from our asking help from the living: "The Argument of the living for the dead is not fitting and is not right".[35] Or even more explicitly, referring to the "common and certain" rule of dialectics: "*Conditionalis nihil probat, nisi conditio impleatur:* a conditional talk proves nothing unless the condition is met. It is also certain: *Conditio impossibilis nihil inducit*, if the condition is impossible, nothing derives from there."[36]

In the next round Pázmány again reproaches Gyarmathi for using faulty argumentation: "among those almost thirty arguments that he presents starting from page 17 of his book, many are so faulty that even young students would realise they are worthless, and as they say *non sunt in forma,* not put in a good form; therefore permitting the first and second part, they would deny the *consequentia,* namely that the consequence of all these is what Gyarmathi wants to get out of

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Feleleti, Pazmany Peternek (...) Ket könyvetskeire [Answer to Two Booklets by Péter Pázmány] (Debrecen: Rheda Peter, 1629), b2. (RMNY 1427)

[34] "nem következnec semmikeppen az, hogy ninch meg irva, tahat ninch ugy, mert igy *negatiue* ha probalunc, sok dolgot el tagadhatunc, *negatiue* penig, valamit probalni az Dialecticusoknal, igen ala valo hituan bizonyetas" Monoszlói András, *De invocatione et veneratione sanctorum* (Nagyszombat, 1589), e3. (RMNY 633.)

[35] "Nem illik es nem esik jol az elevenekrül az meg holtakra az Argumentum". Gyarmathi Miklós, *Keresztyeni felelet Monozloi Andras vesperini püspök es posoni praepost könyve ellen, az mellyet irt De invocatione et veneratione sanctorum* [Christian Response Against the Book of András Monoszlói, bishop pf Veszprém and Provost of Pozsony, Written De invocatione et veneratione sanctorum] (Debrecen: Lipsiai Pal, 1598), 137v. (RMNY 830.)

[36] *"Conditionalis nihil probat, nisi conditio impleatur*: Haval valo beszed semmit nem bizonit, hanem ha az mirül az conditio, az ha vagyon, be tellyesedik. Az-is bizonyos: *Conditio impossibilis nihil inducit*, ha lehetetlen dolgot vet ember haul valamiben, abbul semmi nem következik". Gyarmathi, *Keresztyeni felelet Monozloi Andras vesperini püspök es posoni praepost könyve ellen*, 158 r–v.

them."[37] To make his point clearer, he gives an example as well: "Gyarmathi reasons as follows: »*We must get assistance from those who we believe in, to whom the Holy Spirit guides us, who is above all else, who has all power, who has true love for us, cares for us, who is our hope, who is omniscient, etc; but only God is who has all this: therefore we must only ask Him for help.*« Gyarmathi might almost just as well say this too: One has to love and honour he who saved us by his holy blood, and reconciled us with the Lord God; and this is no one but Christ: so we must only love him. And for this reason, I do not have to love the Lord God, nor my neighbour."[38]

In fact, all three authors object because of the same thing, that the opponent used a faulty syllogism: the major and the minor propositions are not related in such a way that their connection may necessarily lead to the conclusion drawn.[39] Because when dialectics, the science of definitions and analyses, is the organising principle, it comes as obvious for the debating partners introduce their own doctrines as syllogisms, and prove that the other partner used faulty syllogisms or other faulty dialectical principles.

A dialectical construction in practice

The interdependence of dialectics and rhetoric is formulated without too many details in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*. Part II.20 mentions two kinds of discourses: "since there are two kinds of speech, the continuous which is called rhetoric, and the concise which is called dialectic (the relation between which was regarded by Zeno as being so intimate that he compared the latter to the closed fist, the former to the

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[37] "azok közül az egy heán harminc erősség közül, melyeket előhoz az ő könyvének 17. levelén elkezdvén, sok oly férges vagyon, hogy még a tanuló ifjak is eszekbe vennék, hogy semmirekellők, és amint ők szokták mondani *non sunt in forma*, nem öntötték jó formába; annak okáért megengedvén az első és második részét, tagadnák a *consequentiá*t, azaz tagadnák, hogy ezekből az következik, amit Gyarmathi ki akar satolni belőllök." Pázmány Péter, *Keresztyéni felelet a megdücsőült szentek tiszteletiről (1607)* [Christian Response about the Veneration of the Glorified Saints], ed. Ajkay Alinka (Budapest: Universitas, 2016), 59.

[38] "így okoskodik Gyarmathi: »*Azt kell segítségül hínunk, akibe hiszünk, akihez a Szentlélek igazít, aki mindenek fölött vagyon, akinek minden hatalma vagyon, aki igazán szeret minket, őriz, ótalmaz bennünket, aki mi reménységünk, aki mindennel bíró etc; illyen pedig csak az Isten: tehát csak őtet kell segítségül hínunk.*« Szinte ezen formán így is okoskodhatnék Gyarmathi: Azt kell embernek szeretni, tisztelni, aki minket megváltott szent vérével, megbékéltetett az Atyaistennel; ilyen pedig egyedül csak a Krisztus: tehát csak őtet kell szeretnünk. És annak okáért sem az Atya Istent, sem felebarátomat nem kell szeretnem." Ibid.

[39] On the relationship of polemics and dialectics, see Barbara Bauer, *"Die Rhetorik des Streitens"*, Rhetorica 14 (1996), 41.

open hand), even the art of disputation will be a virtue."[40] The two attributes pointing to the two kinds of discourses in the original text are *perpetua* and *concisa*:[41] the effect of the latter is to group the arguments into points and new paragraphs, according to a set order, *ordo*. Whatever the subject of the debate, the comfortable and flexible, frequently used structure is the justification or refutation of the proposition based on the Bible, the Holy Fathers (the patristic inheritance), and, in certain cases, the synodal decisions (*concilium*), followed by the detailing of the opponent's errors as the conclusion, and further subject-specific arguments, if needed. For example, the first article of Miklós Telegdi's *Egy nehany jeles okai* (*Some significant reasons*) equally calls the communities of Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and the anti-Trinitarians errants, proves their heresy with the help of biblical places and quotes from the Church Fathers, to draw the conclusion leading on to the next chapter: "Everyone can realise from what I will write in the followings that Martin Luther and his heirs are the inventors and creators of erroneous teachings."[42]

András Monoszlói's *De invocatione et veneratione sanctorum* has a similar structure: it alternates chapters which prove the legitimacy of the veneration of saints and the mediating power of the saints with chapters which refute and explain the "errors" connected to this subject. His special arguments for proving the mediation of saints: "That saints pray for us is obvious because of their miracles"[43] – proved by a catalogue of miracles performed by the saints of Christian antiquity, based on the writings of Saint Augustine and other Church Fathers. The eight chapters of *De cultu imaginum*[44] comprise the dogmatic aspects and theoretical issues of the veneration of images depicting Christ, Virgin Mary and the saints, while taking into account "the old heresies against images", clarifying the Catholic teaching using biblical and Patristic arguments, and refuting the counter-arguments of the

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[40] Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, Loeb Classical Library edition, 1920, vol. I, online: https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio_Oratoria/2C*.ht ml#20 (Accessed in October 2020).

[41] The Latin edition used: M. Fabii QUINTILIANI *Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, recensuit Car. Timoth. Zumptius (Lipsiae, 1831), 101: "Itaque cum due sint genera orationis, altera perpetua, quae rhetorice dicitur, altera concisa, quae dialectice".

[42] "Luter Marton es az ö maradeki hamis tudomannac talaloi es alkotoi legyenec, azokbol mellyeket ennec utanna iroc, akar kies eszebe veheti." Telegdi Miklós, *Egy nehany jeles okai mellyekert Telegdi Miklos pechi püspöc nem ueheti es nem akaria uenni Luter Martonnac es az ü maradekinac tudomanyat* [Some Significant Reasons why Miklós Telegdi, bishop of Pécs cannot and does not Take the Learnings of Luther and his Followers] (Nagyszombat, 1581), 6v. (RMNY 496).

[43] "Az szentec érettünc valo esedezeseknec, niluan valo volta, chodakbol bizonyul" Monoszlói, *De invocatione...*, 479–541.

[44] Monoszlói András, *De cultu imaginum. Az idvössegre intö kepeknec tiszteletiröl valo, igaz tvdomany* [De cultu imaginum. True Learning about the Veneration of Pictures Warning of Salvation] (Nagyszombat, 1589). (RMNY 632.)

"errants". Chapters that demonstrate and chapters that refute alternate here as well, the source of the argument is again the Bible and Christian Antiquity, but in this new context of the age of the Reformation. As István Bitskey rightly notes in this respect: "This was a re-reading of the icon debate in the Hungarian literature of the turn of the 16th and 17th century."[45]

Péter Pécsváradi's thoughts on dialectical argumentation and his own working method have already been presented, but it is worth taking a closer look at how he constructs his refutations. Pécsváradi seems to lead the reader by the hand as he presents the steps he takes in the thinking process.[46] However, more importantly, the questions that guide him can all be traced back to the most frequent interrogative words: what [is the ecclesia], what [is the universal ecclesia], whether Pázmány, the archbishop believes the invisible state of the church on earth,[47] and if he does, "How does he say (…) that the *Ecclesia* can be seen and known in all times?"[48] As we can see, he divides Pázmány's arguments in the relevant parts of *Két rövid könyvecskék* and the *Kalauz* to simple and compound questions, and his conclusion after listing and answering them is that "the Archbishop contradicts himself and other Papists."[49] If we read through this reasoning, divided into sections and subsections, we can also see that these texts are not merely *concise*, as required by the discipline, but also *perpetua*, with carefully joined parts.

The (at times unworded) rhetoric of inequality

The examples above suggest or imitate polemical situations in which the debating partners have equal chances in the fight, and carry their own knowledge and beliefs. The fact that I quoted printed sources, implied a kind of power position as well: the author or his supporter possessed the financial or technical possibility of printing. (In this case, I think that the evidence of the existence of a manuscript culture is not relevant). To suggest how privileged it is who has access to it, and how unprivileged who hasn't, I will refer to two "struggles" (one now, and one later), where one of the parties had most probably not had the opportunity to publish their contribution in a printed form. We know of a certain János Dávid who replied to the work of Miklós

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[45] Bitskey István, "Képtisztelet vagy bálványozás? (Pázmány hitvitái a szentek ábrázolásáról) [Veneration of pictures or idolatry? The polemics pf Pázmány regarding the depiction of saints]," in "*Tenger az igaz hitrül való...,*" 68.

[46] "Ez meg hallott kérdéseknek utanna, mennyünk immar az Ersek irasara (...) Hogy vilagosb legyen mit akarjon; nyomozzuk irasat illyen kerdesek szerint"... (Pécsváradi, *Feleleti, Pazmany Peternek*, 354.)

[47] Pécsváradi, *Feleleti, Pazmany Peternek*, 355.

[48] Pécsváradi, *Feleleti, Pazmany Peternek*, 356.

[49] Pécsváradi, *Feleleti, Pazmany Peternek*, 356.

Telegdi, Catholic Bishop of Pécs, but we do not know the text of the response. We know little about the author as well, Jenő Zoványi mentioned him as one of the signatories of the Synod of Galánta in 1592, which stipulated the separation of the Helvetic direction from the Lutheran-type diocese.[50] Later he wrote about him that he was, "so it seems," of a Helvetic direction, and in this respect he added that "he did not let Telegdi's work pass without a word".[51] We know about this response and its partial content from another print, András Monoszlói's *Apologia* from 1588.[52] According to the full title, the work is a response written instead of Telegdi to the Protestant side's counterarguments and in defence of the first writing, three years after the death of the Bishop of Pécs. Monoszlói also reproaches him for hesitating between the branches of the Reformation: "You are a Calvinist, but you follow Luther".[53]

At the same time, he says that János Dávid claims that he is independent from the various trends: "you usually say (…) that you did not follow any of them."[54] Aware of his obvious superiority, Monoszlói can very easily dispute János Dávid's position as priest in a cultural and religious centre such as Trnava (Nagyszombat) ("I can't call him a priest for he would not like it and I would offend my God with it too"[55]), "magnanimously" calling him a "*deák*" (a scribe or student). He goes on about the writing: "not a book, because a book has meaning, but that writing (…) has no head nor feet, and it confuses the branches of faith, as I will prove in due order".[56] Monoszlói's usually very careful citing method also betrays that it is most probably a manuscript text: the *Apologia* contains no references to any page- or chapter numbers, not even in case of word-by-word, italicised quotations.[57]

Marginalia in the Printed Book: A Mode of Reading

If we look at dispute works (since it is not only the polemical readers who comment on what they have read; notes of approval are also added), "polemising on the side

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[50] Jenő Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestantizmus 1565-től 1600-ig* [The Protestantism in Hungary from 1565 to 1600] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977), 163.

[51] Uo., 300.

[52] András Monoszlói, *Apologia a közönseges kerestyen hit agazatinac es az Anyaszentegyhaz bizonyos fö vallasinac oltalma, DAVID IANOS felelete ellen, ki ellenzette Telegdi Miklos, Peechi Pispöc irasat, melyben nem akarta Luthernec vallasat venni* [Apologia of the Universal Christian Beliefs and Special Main Creeds, against the Answer of János Dávid, who Oppoesed Miklós Telegdi, Bishop of Pécs's Book of not Accepting Luther's Belief] (Nagyszombat, 1588). (RMNY 620).

[53] Monoszlói, *Apologia*, 169.

[54] Monoszlói, *Apologia*, 210.

[55] Monoszlói, *Apologia*, B1r–v.

[56] Monoszlói, *Apologia*, B1v.

[57] Monoszlói, *Apologia*, B1v.

of the page" is, as is well known, a sign of reader activity, a particular way of engaging in polemics,[58] the possibility of expressing refusal. This can be particularly exciting when somebody adds glosses to a piece of writing personally related to him. A Transylvanian polemics, starting as a discussion at the table and continuing in writing, is a variation to the situation outlined above, in a different denominational context and with another function.   The initiator, later patron of the dispute is the Princess Consort Zsuzsanna Loránttfy: the oral polemics between the court pastor Pál Medgyesi and the old pater of the local Jesuit mission, Dániel Vásárhelyi, took place in her house in Kolozsmonostor, not devoid of any representational and propagandistic character, with the aim of entertaining and educating those present rather than with a serious theological stance. After the dispute, Dániel Vásárhelyi handed in to the princess consort a short piece of writing about his tenets, which were "shaken", then briefly answered by Medgyesi; this was followed by Vásárhelyi's longer counterreply, to which later Pál Medgyesi responded in his surviving work also published in print, entitled *Szent atyák öröme* [*Holy Fathers' Joy*].[59] Dániel Vásárhelyi's texts also addressed to the princess consort did not appear in print, so far we have no knowledge of the existence of the manuscript either, thus his writings can only be reconstructed to some extent based on the allusions and

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[58] Cf. István Bitskey, "»Nem úgy bátya!« Marginálisok Pázmány *Kalauz*ában" ["»Not so, brother!« Marginalia in Pázmány's *Guide*"], in *"Nem sűlyed az emberiség!" Album amicorum Szörényi László LX. Születésnapjára [*"Humanity Doesn't Decline!" Album amicorum on László Szörényi's 60th Birthday"*], editor-in-chief József Jankovics, eds. István Csörsz Rumen, Zoltán Szabó G. (Budapest: MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 2007), 476. On the research possibilities of the topic, see Zsombor Tóth, "Hitvita és marginália: Megjegyzések a „(hit)vita" antropológiájához (Esettanulmány)" ["Religious Dispute and Marginalia: Notes on the Anthropology of "(Religious) Dispute" (A Case Study)], in *"Tenger az igaz hitrül való..."* ["*The Flood of Disputing...*"], 175–197.

[59] It is worth reading the entire long title, because it contains the basic question of the book and the way it connects to the biblical-patristic tradition, as well as the recurrent theological stigmatization of the opponent: Pál Medgyesi, *Szent atyák öröme. Az Messias Jesus Christusnak Maria elöt személy szerént létének, s-örök Istensegének az O Törvénybéli Jelenésekböl, Sz. Irás, jó okok, és a jozanb régi* Doctoroknak *értelmek szerént-való világos meg-mutatása; sok egyéb tudásra idvességes és gyönyörüséges dolgokkal egyetemben: Daniel Vasarhellyi Jesuita Professus Paternek, amaz nagysagos angyal Gen. 32. v. 24. etc. és Exod. 3. v. 2. etc. s az Jehovah nev, és az közölhetetlen isteni tulaydonsagok s-munkak felöl samosatenizalo, és abban fülig merült tsekely tzikkelyinek meg tzikkelyezesekre, Irattatott* [Holy Fathers' Joy. That is the Clear Exploration of Messiah Jesus Christ's Personal Existence before the Virgin Mary, His Eternal Deity Shown from the Epiphanies of the Old Testament, the Holy Bible, Good Reasons and Sound Doctors; Together with Many Salutary and Delightful Things: Written against the Slight, Samosatenizing Articles of the Jesuit Professed Father Dániel Vásárhelyi about the Great Angel in Gen 32,24 and Exod 3,2 etc. and the Name Jehovah and the Ineffable Divine Attributes] (Gyulafehérvár: Typis Cels. Principis, 1640) (RMNY 1826).

quotations of the *Holy Fathers' Joy*. The written material was analysed by János Heltai, paying attention to the theological issue raised, to the textual context of the polemics and, in connection with this, to the unavoidable power aspects.[60] A copy of the *Holy Fathers' Joy* is preserved in the department of the Early Modern Hungarian Library collection in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca, which contains the collection of the Roman Catholic School,[61] in which the entries and marginalia defying, refusing, refuting Medgyesi's accusations derive from Vásárhelyi's hand.[62] I presented the marginalia myself;[63] in summary, it can be said that they are defensive rather than attacking or derisive remarks, providing a reading of the first oral, then written polemics completely different from that of Medgyesi: there are differences in how the details of the "contests" are remembered, in the evaluation of particular episodes and also in the interpretation of the real meaning of the spoken words. Further comments made in the book are keywords, probably reminders, mostly referring to the content of the printed material, corrections concerning typographical errors or other types of misspelling, sometimes qualifying attributes, rarely subtle offenses. The remarks refusing the statements from the main text are recurrent phrases; the old pater reacts to Medgyesi's statement with the expressions *calumnia*, *ridiculum*, *gugolás* [squat], *nem igaz* [not true], *gyarlo* [frail], *kabaság* [befuddlement] or *delirium*, noted at the side of the page.

Based on the marginalia, it would be hard to give a reassuring answer to the question whether the Jesuit father read Medgyesi's printed book with the intent of responding to it or out of curiosity due to personal involvement. The resigned voice and surprising mildness of his annotations may be the sign of tiredness: a year after the book was printed and he received it, Dániel Vásárhelyi died; it is unlikely that the most important goal of the last months of the Jesuit priest's life was the school analysis-type subject of the identity of the angel who led the Jews out of Egypt and fought with Jacob. And perhaps it is not an exaggerated assumption either that he

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[60] János Heltai, „»Szent Atyák öröme«. Medgyesi Pál és Vásárhelyi Dániel hitvitája" ["»Holy Fathers' Joy«. The Religious Dispute between Pál Medgyesi and Dániel Vásárhelyi"], in *Europa Balcanica-Danubiana-Carpathica 2/a. Annales, Cultura – historia – philologia*, ed. Ambrus Miskolczy (Budapest: ELTE BTK Román Filológiai Tanszék, 1995), 224–235.

[61] Shelf Reference: BVM I. 58.

[62] Lajos György, *A kolozsvári Római Katolikus Lyceum-könyvtár története 1579–1948* [*The History of the Library of the Roman Catholic Lyceum from Cluj-Napoca 1579–1948*] (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994), 47.

[63] Csilla Gábor, "A széljegyzet dicsérete – Medgyesi Pál és Vásárhelyi Dániel vitája" ["The Praise of the Marginalia – The Dispute between Pál Medgyesi and Dániel Vásárhelyi"], in Csilla Gábor, *Laus et polemia: Magasztalás és vetekedés közép- és kora újkori szövegtípusokban* [*Laus et polemia: Glorification and Contest in Mediaeval and Early Modern Text Types*] (Debrecen–Kolozsvár: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó– Bolyai Társaság Egyetemi Műhely Kiadó, 2015), 291–205.

did not (would not) see much point in continuing the debate under the given unequal conditions.

Language Shifts, Translations and the Functions of the Religious Dispute

A classic example of a religious dispute started in one language and continued in another is related to Pázmány's *Kalauz*, more precisely, to its first, 1613 edition. A systematic and comprehensive response to the Hungarian-language apologetic and polemical work, following some Hungarian-language clatters and twitters (*sibogások and csiripelések*, these are Pázmány's words),[64] came thirteen years later from Wittenberg, written in Latin, with the title *The Morning Star of True Catholicism.* It was authored by the prestigious professor with an extensive scientific life work, Friedrich Balduinus.[65] Pázmány responded to this again in Hungarian, in his work *A' setét hajnal-csillag után bujdosó luteristák vezetője* [Guide of the Lutherans Seeking the Dark Morning Star], whose title ironically refers to the work of the Lutheran professor.[66] Emil Hargittay interprets this choice in the light of Pázmány's engagement in the arena of international controversy, reminding that much earlier, in 1605, he published in Graz, in Latin, the *Diatriba theologica* in which he defended Robert Bellarmine's polemical writing. Agreeing with János Heltai, Hargittay formulates the conclusion that "with his superior knowledge of materials and excellent command of Latin, Pázmány deliberately directed (...) the answer against Balduinus into the Hungarian language environment".[67] Directed back, we can add to this statement, since his aim, in this case, was not to internationalise the polemics but to promote the recatholicization of Hungarians.[68] He could afford not to engage

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[64] After the publication of the *Guide* in 1613, on the Lutheran and Calvinist side Imre Zvonarits, Benedek Nagy, István Milotai Nyilas and János Kecskeméti C. gave partial responses to some questions raised by Pázmány.

[65] Friedrich Balduinus, *Phosphorus Veri Catholicismi: De via Papatus, & viam regiam ad Ecclesiam vere Catholicam & Apostolicam fideliter monstrans, facemque praelucens legentibus Hodegum Petri Pazmanni olim Jesuitae, nunc Cardinalis Ecclesiae Romano-Papisticae* (Wittenberg: Caspar Heyden, 1626).

[66] Péter Pázmány, *A setét hajnal-csillag-után bujdosó luteristák vezetője* [*Guide of the Lutherans Seeking the Dark Morning Star*], prepared for publication by János Kiss (Budapest: M. Kir. Tud.-egyetem, 1901), 477–819. (Pázmány Péter Összes Munkái, V.)

[67] Emil Hargittay, "A *Kalauz* védelmében: A setét hajnalcsillag után bujdosó lutheristák vezetője" ["In Defence of the *Guide*: Guide of the Lutherans Seeking the Dark Morning Star"], in *Útmutató. Tanulmányok Pázmány Péter* Kalauzáról [*Guide. Studies on Péter Pázmány's* Guide], ed. Ibolya Maczák (Budapest: MTA–PPKE Barokk Irodalom és Lelkiség Kutatócsoport, 2016), 47.

[68] Cf. János Heltai, *Műfajok és művek a XVII. század magyarországi könyvkiadásában (1601–1655)* [*Genres and Works in the Publication of Books in Hungary in the 17th Century (1601–1655)*] (Budapest: Universitas Kiadó – Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2008), 110.

in the language shift – as he said, for the *spiritual cure of his nation* [*nemzetének lelki orvosságáért*][69] – since it was, after all, the professor from Wittenberg who "broke the rule" somehow.

Furthermore, similar cases of polemics interrupted because of the language shift occurred at other times and places as well. After his catholicisation, Mihály Veresmarti (formerly a Calvinist preacher), who after his conversion made a serious career in the "papist" clergy, contributed in Hungarian to a dispute started in Latin: he responded to the – Latin – response of Balthasar Meisner[70] Lutheran theologian from Dresden to the writing of the Belgian Jesuit Leonardus Lessius.[71] (Veresmarti himself previously translated Lessius' work into Hungarian[72]) In a following work of his, Meisner vehemently called him to account for the use of the *peregrinum idioma*[73] and, at the same time, for not respecting the rules of the dispute regarding language use, for example, why his work was not translated into Hungarian if its refutation was written in Hungarian. In his proposition, he reflects on the unequal debate situation arising from the language shift: the one who cannot get familiarized with both parties' arguments cannot compare them and judge their truth value.[74] Veresmarti, however, although he was the one who broke the rule, no longer reacted to this.[75] It is evident here as well, just like in the above case of the counter-response given by Pázmány to Balduinus, that the aim is the "spiritual" service, that is, education of the vernacular community.

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[69] Cf. Pázmány, *A setét hajnal-csillag...* [*Guide of the Lutherans*...], 480.

[70] Balthasar Meisner, *Consultatio catholica de fide Lutherana capessenda, et Romana-Papistica deserenda. Opposita hereticae Consultationi Leonardi Lessii* (Wittenberg: Johannes Richter, 1611).

[71] Leonardus Lessius, *Quae fides et religio sit capessenda consultatio* (Antwerpen: Jan Moretus, 1609).

[72] Mihály Veresmarti, *Tanáchkozás, mellyiket kellyen a külömbözö vallások közzül választani* [*Consultation on Which of the Different Religions to Choose*] (Pozsony, 1611). (RMNY 1025)

[73] Balthasar Meisner, "Responsio ad Praemissam censuram puerilem Michaelis Vörösmarti, Plebani Selliensis in Hungaria", in = Balthasar Meisner, *Consultatio Catholica de fide Lutherana capessenda, et Romana-Papistica deserenda* (Wittenberg, 1615), 626: "Prima est peregrinum idioma. Nam Consultatio mea Scripta est Latine, ut & Lessii: sed Plebanus noster respondit Hungarice. Sed cur non lingua Turcica vel Indica? Haec enim idiomata magis ignota sunt."

[74] Ibid.: "Si Hungaris Latinae linguae ignaris gratificari voluit, cur non & meam Consultationem ineandem linguam verti curavit? Nec enim potest institui collatio utriusque dissertationis, si utraque non intelligatur."

[75] Explanation and interpretation: Ágnes Baricz, "Tanácskozás és környéke: Veresmarti Mihály fordításairól és vitáiról" ["Consultation and Its Environment: On Mihály Veresmarti's Translations and Disputes"], in *Devóciók, történelmek, identitások* [*Devotions, Histories, Identities*], ed. Csilla Gábor (Kolozsvár: Scientia, 2004), 137–161; Ágnes Baricz, "Veresmarti Mihály és hitvitái" ["Mihály Veresmarti and His Religious Disputes"], in *"Tenger az igaz hitrül való..."* [*"The Flood of Disputing..."*], 85–92.

Matthias Hafenreffer's (1561–1619) *Loci theologici*[76] is a strange and interesting case of the "internationalisation" of a dispute basically conducted in Hungarian. The work of the Tübingen representative of early Lutheran orthodoxy was first published in 1600, that is, almost one and a half decade before Pázmány's *Guide* appeared. The first book of the three-part work is about God, Genesis and the Holy Scripture, the second one summarizes the doctrine of angels, while the topic of the third book, of central role, is man, and among these coordinates, pivotal themes such as the free will, predestination, sin, faith, justification, etc., are discussed.[77] Pázmány himself makes reference to this work, this provides the ground for the fact that the Hungarian translation made by Imre Zvonarits situates Hafenreffer's work in relation to the *Guide*. The *Praefatio* of *Szentírásbeli hitünk* [78] attacking Pázmány – its author is Benedek Sármelléki Nagy, schoolmaster from Kőszeg – recommends to the readers the Hungarian version of the book written earlier as a response to the *Kalauz*, as a work with the support of which "Pázmány's *Guide* is being taken binded to Hafenreffer's house" [Hafenreffer hazahoz kötve viszik Pazman Kalauzzat].[79] In this way, the translation becomes a sort of Lutheran *Kalauz*, to refer to the title of a study by Dávid Csorba.[80] Its function will be to appear as the worthy refutation of Pázmány's apologetic treatise (in spite of the fact that it was written earlier), in this way its original character is also modified in the new cultural, linguistic context.

Closing Remarks

In this essay, we did not have the opportunity to look at entire texts of disputes or multi-round disputes as conceptual constructs, however, our examples showing the mode of argumentation perhaps provide a glimpse into the fact that these are coherent constructs within their own system. In this way, it is indispensable to raise the question: if each disputing party is right (within his own system), in other words, if each contrasting standpoint is somehow valid at the same time, then how can the

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[76] I used a later edition of the work: Matthias Hafenreffer, *Loci theologici, certa Methodo ac Ratione, in Tres Libros tributi* (Tübingen: Georg Gruppenbach), 1603.

[77] The analysis placing in focus the significance of the work from the perspective of the history of theology: Friederike Nüssel, *Allein aus Glauben: Zur Etwicklung der Rechtfertigungslehre in der konkordistischen und frühen nachkonkordistischen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 185–198.

[78] Its full title: Imre Zvonarits, *Az szent Irasbeli hitunk againak bizonyos moddal es rendel, harom konyvekre valo osztasa* [The Division into Three Books of Our Faith based on the Holy Scripture] (Keresztúr: Farkas Imre, 1614). (RMNY 1072)

[79] Zvonarits, *Az szent Irasbeli hitunk* [*Our Faith Based on the Holy Scripture*], B2r.

[80] Dávid Csorba, "Kálvinista Kalauzok" ["Calvinist Guides"], in *Pázmány nyomában: Tanulmányok Hargittay Emil tiszteletére* [*In the Wake of Pázmány: Studies in Honor of Emil Hargittay*], eds. Alinka Ajkay and Rita Bajáki (Vác: Mondat Kft, 2013), 103–111.

contradiction created by the mutual refutations be understood? A possible, but evidently not final answer to this is the attitude of the age to dialectics: dialectics, in this context, is not the *ars* with the help of which truth is found but with which evident truth is checked and justified in a way that the opponents can also be educated to follow the right direction; what is more, through it, the disputing opponent can better understand the standpoint that he defends.[81] And what makes it impossible for those belonging to different confessional communities to allow for views differing from theirs is the longing for the security of divine approval; this search for security hides the values also existing on the other side,[82] making the parties mistrustful towards the undoubtedly existing surfaces of communication.

The survey of entire series of disputes is good for something, after all, albeit somewhat creating the impression of the senselessness of the polemics (it is not characteristic that the parties would convince or understand each other, or would move towards each other from their own position): the actual existence of religious pluralism manifests in operation before the researcher, together with the chances and boundaries of this operation. It also becomes clear that the skilled preachers of both the Catholic and various Protestant communities systematise and summarise the pivotal topics of their own conviction in relation to that particular *other*, and even if they ignore the common surfaces for the most part, they create authorial and conceptual achievements worthy of each other. Furthermore, it is also revealed that the religious dispute has not only passions but also (even unwritten) rules of the game and etiquette: non-compliance with these can also group on the same side those who are otherwise conceptually very far apart.

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[81] Bauer*, "Die Rhetorik des Streitens"*, 44–45.
[82] Wallace, *The Long European Reformation*, 5.

The Long Reformation at the Micro Level and from a Regional Perspective. On a New Text of the Romanian Reformation in the Hațeg Region

KATALIN LUFFY[*]

Abstract The study examines the issue of the long Reformation in a manuscript that originated in the late 17th century, the first decades of the 18th century. The manuscript is the product of the Reformation in Romania, whose linguistic and regional peculiarities are at least as important as its lay and occasional nature: we have not discovered another source that documents communal but not ecclesiastical, individual, but not solitary religious piety. We hereby undertake the micro-level analysis of this document.
Keywords Long Reformation, Reformation of the Romanians, the Hațeg region, manuscripts, translation, cultural transfer.

I. Introduction

In the case of the Romanian Reformation, two phenomena, often running/acting in parallel, must be taken into account. One, aimed at the internal renewal of the Eastern Orthodox Church, named by Ana Dumitran "the Reformed [Eastern Orthodox] Church" (*biserica ortodoxă reformată*), is a phenomenon particular to Transylvania; in this case, from the point of view of book culture, we refer to Simion Ștefan's translation of the New Testament, or to Ioan Zoba's volumes, who worked in Vințu de Jos. The other, the body of texts, largely left in manuscript, written for the community of practitioners of the Romanian-language Reformed (Calvinist) denomination.[1] I relate to the latter topic by presenting a specific set of texts from the manuscripts related to the Reformation of Romanians in the Hațeg region. The opportunity to publish the manuscript was provided by the Lendület (Momentul) Programme of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as part of the project entitled

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[1]A similar view of the two interpretations of Romanian Reformation is represented by Előd Sándor Ősz, see *A román nyelvű református liturgikus kéziratokról*. [On the Reformed liturgical manuscripts in Romanian]. Manuscript.

Long Reformation in Eastern Europe (1520–1800), while the concept of the project encouraged further examination of the manuscript. In the publication of the manuscript,[2] the most important task was to localize and date the codex, to separate the group of texts, as well as to explore the source of the ecclesiastical and popular texts of the codex. I **aim** here to interpret the relationship between the manuscript and mediality, its connections to the Transylvanian regional Reformations, and its interpretation as a phenomenon of religious and cultural transfer. The timeframe and interpretation framework offered by the concept of the Long Reformation,[3] in the case of this manuscript, provides an insight into one of the regional (micro-)histories of the Transylvanian Reformation, thus we can consider our manuscript as a relevant example of the Transylvanian pluralism of Reformation(s).[4]

II. Historiographical considerations / historical contexts

We use this pluralism in several senses: on the one hand, we mean by it the fragmentation of Romanian Reformation, its periods, its differences by region, but we also mean the pluralism of linguistic forms, the often-multiple linguistic transfers of Reformed text, i.e., the interpreting operations within the acts of translation. This is a case of multiple transfer, as we shall also see instances of texts translated from German into Latin and then transferred to the Hungarian culture, and from there to the Romanian culture. Transfer and pluralism can be the two key words of grasping the Romanian Reformation, representing both procedure, action and its outcome. This, however, can only become visible if we do not interpret the history of Transylvanian Protestantism according to the Western model of confessionalisation, and mark its end in the middle of the 17th century. If we allow a broader time perspective and we do not analyse the different regions as a whole, it becomes clear that the Reformation of the Saxons, Szeklers, Hungarians, and even Romanians did not coincide at all, and it took place as a result and under the influence of different confessionalisation processes, with significantly different timings. Nevertheless, their connection is indisputable, the specific historical and social situation of the four established religions and the emergence of the Eastern Catholic Churches are a

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[2] *Brázovai feljegyzések / Însemnări din Breazova* [Notes from Breazova]*,* sajtó alá rendezte és a bevezető tanulmányt írta / ediție îngrijită și studiu introductiv de Katalin Luffy [redacted by Katalin Luffy, introductory study by Katalin Luffy]. (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2019) [Cluj-Napoca, Transylvanian Museum Society].

[3] See Zsombor Tóth's programmatic study: "Hosszú reformáció Magyarországon és Erdélyben I.: konfesszionalizációk és irodalmi kultúrák a kora újkorban (1500–1800) (Módszertani megjegyzések egy folyamatban levő kutatáshoz)" ["Long Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania I.: Confessionalizations and Literary Cultures in the Early Modern Period (1500–1800)"], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 123(2019), 719-739.

[4] See the use of the notion: Tóth, idem, 720.

process of the same long Reformation."[5] The extension of the time limits is also a methodological issue, as it allows for a long-term perspective in which the circa 200 years of the fragmented history of the Romanian Reformation can become part of the same narrative, and can be traced along the lines of the text production of the connections between its phases.

It is well known that we can define three phases of the Romanian Reformation, and in the light of recent explorations,[6] at least four.[7]

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[5] Ibid., 722.

[6] *A Hunyad-Zárándi Református Egyházmegye Parciális Zsinatainak végzései, 1686–1718, 1810–1815* [The Decrees of the Partial Synods of the Reformed Diocese of Hunyad-Zaránd,1686–1718, 1810–1815]*,* ed. Buzogány Dezső – Ősz Sándor Előd (Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós Sajtóközpontja, 2000) (Erdélyi Református Egyháztörténeti Adatok, 4); *A hunyad-zarándi református egyházközségek történeti katasztere*: *1686–1807* [The Historical Cadastre of the Reformed Parishes of Hunyad-Zaránd: 1686–1807]*,* ed. Buzogány Dezső – Ősz Előd Sándor (Cluj-Napoca, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2003–2007) (Historical data of the Transylvanian Reformed Church).

[7] The first monograph on the Reformation of Romanians: Juhász István, *A reformáció az erdélyi románok között* [Reformation among the Romanians of Transylvania] (Kolozsvár, Grafika, 1940), see also: Idem, "Nyugati missziós törekvések a románoknál" [Western missionary aspirations among Romanians]*,* in *Magyarok és románok,* Deér József – Gáldi László (ed.), vol. II. (Bp., Athenaeum, 1944) (A Magyar Történettudományi Intézet Évkönyve) [Yearbook of the Hungarian Institute of Historical Sciences], 251—336. In recent decades, a number of studies and source publications have appeared in print. Our concept was mostly shaped by the following: Sipos Gábor, "A reformáció továbbélése a hátszegi románok között" [The survival of the Reformation among the Romanians of Haţeg], *Europa. Balcanica-Danubiana-Carpathica. Annales* (2/A), (Bp., 1995) 236–243 (republished: Idem, *Reformata Transylvanica* (Cluj-Napoca: EME, 2012), 211–221; Idem, "Román református eklézsiák oltalomlevele 1700-ból" [Protection letter of Romanian Reformed Parishes from 1700], *Europa. Balcanica-Danubiana Carpathica. Annales.* (2/B), (Bp., 1995), 356–359; Idem, "Relaţiile Bisericii Reformate ardelene cu Bisericile româneşti în prima jumătate a secolului XVIII" [The relations of the Transylvanian Reformed Church with the Romanian Churches in the first half of the 18th century], *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica,* 10/II (2006), 11–14; Ősz Sándor Előd, "Felekezet- és etnikumközi kapcsolatok a 17–18. századi Hunyad-Zarándi Református Egyházmegyében" [Interfaith and interethnic relationships in the Reformed Diocese of Hunyad-Zaránd in the 17th and 18th century], *A hunyad-zarándi református egyházközségek...,* [The Historical Cadastre of the Reformed Parishes of Hunyad-Zaránd...] 3, 5–24; Idem, "Kálvinizmus a periférián" [Calvinism on the peripheries], *Kálvin időszerűsége, Tanulmányok Kálvin János teológiajának maradandó értékéről és magyarországi hatásáról* [Calvin's timeliness, Studies on the lasting value of John Calvin's theology and its influence in Hungary]*,* ed. Fazakas Sándor (Bp., Magyarországi Református Egyház, 2009), 263–288, Idem, "Auswirkungen des Helvetischen Bekenntnissen auf die Rumänen", *Calvin und die Reformiertentum in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Helvetisches Bekenntiss, Ethnie und Politik vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918,* hgg. Márta Fata, Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff, 2010) (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 155), 111–132*;* Szegedi Edit,

After the 16th century antecedents – the short-lived Romanian Protestant/Reformed superintendency (1566–1582?) –, in the 17th century its second phase can be linked to the religious policy provisions of Transylvanian princes. This period was a strong period of denominational confessionalisation in Transylvania, and the religious policy provisions also defined the framework of the Romanian diocese and the functioning of its organization.[8] Part of the largely Romanian population fleeing Caransebeș and moving to the Hațeg region in 1658, before the Turkish invasion, was reformed, while the other part was of the Eastern Orthodox faith. This led to the exponential increase in the number of Reformed Romanians in Hațeg, and the satisfaction of religious needs – from the use of the building of the church, through ecclesiastic life and the demand for religious texts – required the performance of new tasks. After the death of Michael I Apafi, the establishment of the Transylvanian Gubernium, that is, after about 1690, the life of the Principality changed fundamentally: during the Habsburg rule, due to the strong Catholic renewal, the religious union[9] that took place between 1697 and 1701 generated new denominational debates. The Greek Catholic Church, established by imperial decree, put Romanians at a crossroads: they were in principle free to choose which of the four recepta religio ("received religions") to join. However, there was no doubt that the aim of the imperial religious policy was to direct the Romanian population of Transylvania towards the Catholic religion. Nevertheless, a part of them, the ten Romanian priests in the Hațeg region, who were under the authority of the Transylvanian Bishop, together with their congregations wanted to remain under the Transylvanian Reformed Bishop, even if they knew it would not make their lives easy.[10] By this time, bilingual Reformed congregations already

"Rumänische konfessionelle Identitäten im Fürstentum Siebenbürgen", *Orthodoxa Confessio? Konfessionsbildung, Konfessionalisierung und ihre Folgen in der östlichen Christenheit Europas,* hgg. von Mihai D. Grigore – Florian Kührer-Wielach, (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 265–291.

[8]The Reformed religion is not a de iure, but a de facto "state religion" during the time of the Reformed Transylvanian princes, see Szegedi, *idem.*, 291; Buzogány Dezső, "Bethlen Gábor és a vallási türelem" [Gábor (Gabriel) Bethlen and Religious Tolerance], *Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis,* 6(2015), 240.

[9] For a summary of the history of political events from the rich scholarly literature see Trócsányi Zsolt, *Habsburg politika és Habsburg-kormányzat Erdélyben, 1690–1740,* [Habsburg politics and Habsburg government in Transylvania] (Bp.: Akadémiai, 1988), 279–286; Ernst Christoph Suttner, "Die Siebenbürger Kirchenunion an der Wende zum 18. Jahrhundert," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica,* (2008/12/1) 7–41; a new case study: Szirtes Zsófia, "A románok vallási uniója Rabutin főparancsnok szemével. Nagyszegi, Sztojka és a protestáns elit 1701-ben" [The religious union of the Romanian through commandant Rabutin's eyes. Nagyszegi, Sztojka and the Protestant elite in 1701], in *Catholice reformare. A katolikus egyház a fejedelemség korában* [Catholice reformare. The Catholic Church in the age of the Principality], ed. Diósi Dávid – Marton József, (Bp.–Cluj-Napoca, 2018), 313–351;

[10] Sipos, *A román református…,* idem; Ősz, *Felekezeti…,* idem, 6.

existed in the Hațeg region, and we also have information on the common church use of the Reformed and Orthodox congregations.[11] We also know of the founding of a new Reformed parish in this region at the beginning of the 18th century; this parish was established in the very area where we localise our manuscript: it happened on the initiative of a few nobles from Densuș, Ciula Mare, Nălațvad și Peșteana, but we lose their traces until 1772.[12] According to the source-edition of Előd Ősz and Dezső Buzogány on the church history of the area, due to the destruction of data, in the Hațeg Basin we no longer have information on Reformed Romanians after 1719; on the other hand in the Zărand Basin new congregations with Romanian-speaking members appear in the 1740s,[13] and this also confirms the previous assumptions in the scholarly literature according to which after the three traditionally understood stages of Romanian Reformation – the 16th century beginnings followed by the age of the Transylvanian Principality (of course, with its great internal differences and discontinuities), and the period of the religious unions – a fourths stage needs to be taken account, and, according to the sources, this is confirmed by what happened in the Zărand Basin.

III. The characteristics of the text corpus

If we take into account the Reformed texts written in Romanian, that is, only those which were specifically intended to satisfy the religious-liturgical and educational needs of the Reformed Romanians, and we do not consider opuses published in Romanian as a result of the Transylvanian Reformation but priests and adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church in mind, we can see that a substantially larger portion of these texts are manuscript texts. Several factors could have caused the fact that they remained manuscripts. We have a lot of information about the encouragements to make and print translations for the Romanian population, which is why it may come as a surprise that there are relatively few printed Romanian Reformed texts. We have no room here to address the reasons for this,[14] we shall provide a list of manuscript religious texts.

The first in line is Sándor Gergely Agyagfalvi's hymnal, compiled in Hațeg in 1642, in the time of George I Rákóczi, whose missionary religious policy definitely

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[11] Sipos, *A reformáció…,* idem; Ősz, *Felekezeti…,* idem 9–13.; Ősz, *Auswirkungen…,* idem, 125.

[12] Sipos, *A reformáció…,* idem, 216; Ősz, *Felekezeti…,* idem, 10.

[13] Ősz, *Felekezeti…,* idem, 8.

[14] Further information can be found in Levente Nagy's DSc. dissertation, defended in 2019: *A román reformáció, mint magyar-román kulturális transzferjelenség a 16–17. században* [The Romanian Reformation as a phenomenon of Hungarian-Romanian cultural transfer in the 16th and 17th centuries] (Bp., ELTE, 2018), link: http://real-d.mtak.hu/1095/ (Accessed in September 2020).

left its mark on the history of the Reformation of Romanians.[15] The following is a psalter and hymnal from the 1660s for church and/or school use.[16] This may be related to the growing number of Reformed Romanians in the rural Hațeg area, and thus to the increased demand for bilingual worship. The third one is a fragmentary text: it was probably this period when Mihály Halits senior (1615–1671) noted down the two psalm fragments that survived in his copy of Pál Keresztúri's volume entitled *Csecsemő keresztyén* ['Infant Christian'], published in 1638.[17] Levente Nagy is certain that the highly educated Mihály Halits senior was familiar with the aforementioned hymnal which was noted down around 1660, and copied from this volume in addition to his own translation. The fourth can be dated to the time of the disputes around the *Diploma Leopoldinum.* János Viski, the court priest of the Kendeffi family of Sântămăria-Orlea, compiled a hymnal in 1697.[18] The last item on this list is the hymnal[19] translated/copied in 1703 by István Istvánházi, who worked in Râu de Mori, and thus the volume becomes a relic of the period immediately after the religious union. These manuscripts have several features in common: all of them were written using the Latin alphabet and following the Hungarian orthography, all of them were translated from Hungarian, and all of them were written in the Hunyad-Záránd region, the historical area of the Hunyad-Záránd Reformed Diocese.

If we look at the external features of these manuscripts, their formatting and the way the text is arranged, it can be seen that, apart from the old Halits manuscript, each is a carefully crafted *book*: three of the four manuscripts[20] have a title page indicating the place and time of recording, they contain the name of the complier/translator, they do not have any corrections, and all of the four manuscripts are fair-copy texts without corrections, meaning that they are manuscript books, *manuscript publications.*[21] These codices did indeed function as

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[15] It can be found in the Archive of the Reformed Diocese of the Trans-Tisza Region under the RMK 556 call number.

[16] In the Library of the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy, call number Ms. R 1813 – the text was published by Daniele Pantaleoni, *Texte românești vechi cu alfabet latin. Psalterium Hungaricum în traducere anonimă din secolul al XVII-lea* [Old Romanian texts written with the Latin Alphabet. Psalterium Hungaricum in an anonymous translation from the 17th century] (Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest, 2008).

[17] In the Library of the Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj-Napoca, call number: RMK 257.

[18] In the Library of the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy, call number Ms. R 1502.

[19] In the Library of the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy, call number Ms. U 579.

[20] The manuscript, compiled in the 1660s and perhaps intended for church-school use, is anonymous and it does not include a location (call number Ms. R. 1813).

[21] See the methodological basis for the concept in Tóth, Zsombor, *A kora újkori könyv antropológiája. Kéziratos irodalmi nyilvánosság Cserei Mihály (1667–1756) írás- és szöveghasználatában* [The Anthropology of the Early Modern Book: Scribal Publicity and Writing Habits in Mihály Cserei's (1667–1756) Oeuvre] (Bp., reciti, 2017) (Irodalomtörténeti füzetek. 178.); Idem, "Kéziratos nyilvánosság a kora újkori magyar nyelvű íráshasználatban:

publications, that is, as a corpus of texts in public circulation, worth and suitable for further copying, similar to the copying of the important opuses published in print; their compiler was *the author*, as it was his text that was read, used and sometimes continued or rewritten. We see this proven in our case as well. Levente Nagy's study convincingly demonstrates the overlaps between the Agyagfalvi hymnal and Viski's volume, and proves that, in addition to his own translations,[22] the relevant hymn in the hymnal compiled around 1660 is identical with the one noted down by Mihály Halits senior.[23] István Istvánházi's hymnal is not known in its "original" version, i.e., in Istvánházi's autograph manuscript, but from a copy from 1769. The existence and survival of these manuscripts was thus ensured by a *manuscript publicity*, in which they represented a referential value; simply put: they were used, and they survived through this usage. At the same time, the Agyagfalvi hymnal can be an excellent example of the parallel existence and collective use of texts in print and in manuscript: although it is not possible to know when the manuscript was linked to Alsted's Catechism published in 1639 in Alba Iulia,[24] records testify their early collective use, this being most important proof for the fact that the Catechism was used together with the hymnal in a Romanian-language context.[25]

If we establish the criteria of the manuscript book and scribal publication as established on the basis of the above codices, then the question remains: how does the manuscript of Mihály Halits senior, as a manuscript, fit into this concept. The highly educated Mihály Halits both wrote and read. According to Levente Nagy, the psalm fragment showing a strong resemblance to the text of the anonymous codex could have been memorized by him, and the other psalm could in all likelihood be his translation. These two fragmentary translations show how a text that lives on in a manuscript brings another text to life, that is, it had an audience that it could have inspired. It is clear, then, that the mechanism of life of the somewhat underrated manuscript texts, considered to be in the second line of literature, can be thought of as at least as productive as that of those published in print. Reading and writing, copying and creating (the latter can even be translating) is a common act, not a "private" activity.

The situation is similar with texts belonging to the broad category of *miscellanea*. In addition to family and other personal records, mixed manuscripts containing religious/literary texts can be included in the same circulation, distribution, and production of texts as the ones presented above.

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medialitás és kulturális másság. Módszertani megfontolások" [Scribal Publicity in the Early Modern Hungarian Language Writing Habits: Mediality and Cultural Alterity. Methodological Considerations], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 119 (2015), 625–650.

[22] Nagy, ibid. 238–239.

[23] Ibid. 232–233.

[24] *Catechismus religionis christianae*, RMNY 1764.

[25] Nagy, ibid., 210–211.

III. 1. An all-encompassing book from the 17ᵗʰ-18ᵗʰ centuries

The next manuscript text of the Romanian Reformation also originates from the Haţeg region, and has recently been discovered, making it the sixth on our list. The manuscript[26], which today contains 52 pages, has no binding, some of its stitched pages are missing and it is certainly not complete. This omniarium, containing estate-management records, a plethora of ecclesiastical texts and others classified as belonging to the popular literature, was compiled among the rural nobility, on the estates of the Brázovai family, at the end of the 17ᵗʰ and the beginning of the 18ᵗʰ century. The localisation and temporal classification were aided by the texts related to estate-management (containing estate censuses of the Brázovai family), but the forms of the writings from different hands clearly show 18ᵗʰ century hands. It is important to point out that the only identifiable writer of the manuscript is Izsák Brázovai, whose wife is remembered as a widow in a court decision issued in 1758.[27] In addition to him, in the case of the estate-management records, we can also identify the writing of two hands, while in the case of ecclesiastical and popular texts, three clearly separable hands. In the manuscript we have a single handwriting that also wrote estate notes and ecclesiastical texts: the hand that began the codex also wrote a prayer. Nevertheless, the other hands of the estate records did not write any text that could be classified as ecclesiastical or popular literature. This relatively strong separation of the handwritings depending on the content of the text, which can be observed between estate censuses and ecclesiastical and popular texts, does not work in the same way for ecclesiastical and popular texts. In this case, there is a hand that noted down both ecclesiastical and popular texts. The notary of the estate-related texts could also be a person outside the family, a property supervisor, a steward.

The genesis of the omniarium can probably be explained by practical reasons, and it is not necessarily only related to the Brázovai family, but to the Latzug family as well, who fled the Banate of Severin after 1658 and moved to the Haţeg region, as the first pages of the manuscript contain the estate censuses of

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[26] Location: Direcţia Judeţeană Hunedoara a Arhivelor Naţionale, fond: Societatea de Ştiinţe şi Arheologie a comitatului Hunedoara. Colecţia de documente. Nr. dos. 23 (fără dată). [Hunedoara County Directorate of the National Archives of Romania, the Hunedoara County Society of Sciences and Archaeology. Document Collection. No: 23 (not dated)].

[27] *Hotărârea guberniului în procesul Evei Doboli, văduva lui Isac Brazovai pentru diviziune* [The government's decision in the trial of Eva Doboli, Isac Brazovai's widow for division]*,* Sibiu, 19 aprilie 1758. – Arhivele Naţionale Deva, Fond: Societatea de Ştiinţe şi Arheologie a comitatului Hunedoara. Diplome. Pachetul XXXII, Nr. act. 81, anul 1758. [Deva National Library of Romania, The Hunedoara County Society of Sciences and Archaeology. Diplomas. No XXXII, no doc. 82, year: 1758]

Gáspár Latzug.[28] However, the records initiated in regionally significant case, in the possession of the Brázovai family it subsequently became a document of family interest, and from then on this manuscript intended to ensure the preservation of memory for other purposes and with a different interest.

We do not discuss the estate-related texts in the following, but will take a closer look at the most exciting texts in the manuscript, the products of ecclesiastical and popular literature.

These texts were not fair copies, but occasionally noted down, and may have been motivated by their functionality. It is not a fair copy manuscript, prepared for publication: it contains occasional entries, "things worth preserving, remembering", and this is true not only in the case of estate-related texts, but also in the case of other types of texts in the manuscript: the texts with a spiritual function are not noted one after the other, separately from the estate-related entries; their record was defined by occasionality. While the language of the estate-related texts is basically Hungarian (place and border names occur in Romanian), ecclesiastical and popular texts alternate in Romanian and Hungarian. We are also confronted with a confusing diversity of genres: prayers, religious contemplations, religious teachings, sermon excerpts together with/among ancient proverbs, calendar poems, prescriptions, prognosticons alternate in two languages.

III. 2. Micro-level textology: prayer, contemplations, religious teaching, sermon and popular texts in the omniarium

By text type, we can summarise the manuscript texts as follows:[29]

III. 2. 1. It contains nine prayers and two liturgical texts (Credo, Ten Commandments); eight of the nine prayers are almost all complete, in the case of a prayer, however, only the title can be deciphered. Six of these are Romanian, three are Hungarian. With one exception, the sources of all of the prayers could be identified. The source of one of the prayers entitled *Rugetsunye pentru reminyerá*

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[28] Documents relating to the Brázovai family from the archives of the former Hunedoara County Historical, Archaeological and Natural Science Society, now preserved in the Deva National Archives, can provide important data for the family history of the Brázovai family. For the history of the Latzug family in the 16-17th century see Ligia Boldea, "Date asupra patrimoniului funciar al familiei Lăţug de Delineşti (secolele XVI-XVII)" [Data on the land patrimony of the Lăţug de Delineşti family (the 16th and 17th centuries)], in *Vocaţia istoriei. Studii în memoria profesorului Nicolae Bocşan* [The vocation of history. Studies in memory of Professor Nicolae Bocşan]*,* redacted by Ligia Boldea, Rudolf Gräf (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2017), 69-79.

[29] I will not cite the texts here. They can be read together with their sources in the publication of the text (Luffy, idem). The page numbers are the page numbers of the manuscript as well as those of the sources used for identification.

rodiluj, can be found in Péter Debreczeni's prayer and contemplation book, entitled *Tizenkét idvösséges elmélkedések*[30]: *Könyörgés, hogy az mi földi gyümöltsinc meg tartasanac* [Prayer that our earthly fruit should be kept.].[31]Although Kegel's volume was also translated by the Lutheran István Deselvits in this period,[32] it becomes clear from a comparison of the texts that the translator from Breazova used one of the editions of the Reformed author's volume. There are two more prayers in the manuscript copied from Kegel's Hungarian translator's volume, Péter Debreczeni: The one entitled *Az mi ellenséginkért avagy azokért, akik minékünk gonosz akaróink* [For our enemies or for those who are our ill-wishers][33] is complete, while the text entitled *Hogy az Christus seberől emlekezett hathato orvoság minden mi háboru probaink ellen* [That remembering Christ's wounds is a powerful medicine against all of our enmities and trials][34] contains only the title in full, the rest is only fragmentary. The other five Romanian prayers, *Rugetsunye en vreme gje szetsete*[35] (*Szárazságnak idejére való Imadság*) [Prayer for the time of drought], *Rugetsunje pentru pekát*[36] (*Bűnbotsánatért való Poenitentia tartó ember Imádság*) [Prayer of man holding penitence for sin], *Reggeli ének* [Morning song]*, Reggeli ének* [Morning song],[37] come from the very frequently used, very popular prayer book, published several times, entitled *Mennyei Tárház kulcsa*[38] [Key to the heavenly treasury],

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[30] The first edition of Péter Debreczeni's Reformed translation: Leiden, Wilhelmus Christianus, 1637 (RMNy, 1678), and we know about six subsequent publications: Levoča, Lőrinc Brever, 1638 (RMNy 1730), Bardejov, Jakab Klösz, 1639 (RMNy 1755), Levoča, Brever, 1668 (RMK I. 1064); Levoča, Brever, 1672 (RMK I. add. page 1337a), Levoča, Brever, 1685 (RMK I. add. page 1339a); Levoča, 1704 (no copy available, RMK I. 1694).

[31] The prayer in the codex: [27ᵛ-28ᵛ]. When specifying source texts, I indicate the data of the edition I used for identification. Debreceni (Levoča: Brever, 1685), 444–445.

[32]István Deselvits's translation was published twice: Levoča, Lőrinc Brever, 1639 (RMNy 1772), Ulm, Johann Görlin, 1653 (RMNy 2497).

[33] [29ᵛ-30ᵛ]; Debreczeni, idem, 392–393.

[34] [23ᵛ]; Debreczeni, idem, 310–312.

[35] [30ᵛ–31ʳ]; Szatmárnémeti Mihály, *Mennyei Tárház Kulcsa* [Key to the Heavenly Treasury] (Cluj: Veresegyházi, 1673), 106–110.

[36] [31ᵛ–32ᵛ]; Szatmárnémeti, idem, 78–78.

[37]In the case of the prayer entitled *Reggeli ének* [Morning song] on page no 50ᵛ as well as the text entitled *Reggeli könyörgés* [Morning prayer], preserved on a separate page which used to belong to the codex, but is now kept in a separate file (call number: ANR DJ Hunedoara, Fond Societatea de Istorie si Arheologie a Comitatului Hunedoara, nr. dosar 20, fără dată), only the title is Hungarian, both of them are rhyming prayers translated to Romanian.

[38] First edition: Cluj-Napoca, Veresegyházi Szentyel M., 1673 (RMK I, 1149); Cluj, Veresegyházi Szentyel M., 1676 (RMK I, 1194) Levoča, Brever S., 1679 (RMK I, 1239); Cluj, Veresegyházi Szentyel M., 1681 (RMK I, 1262); Debrecen, Töltési I., 1685 (RMK I, 1332); Cluj, Veresegyházi Szentyel M., 1702 (RMK I. 1588b); Debrecen, Vincze Gy., 1703 (RMK I, 1666); Levoča, 1706 – RMK I, 1716; Bardejov, 1708 – RMK I, 1743. The RMK (Old Hungarian Library) does not include

written by the very prolific and one of the most read authors of his time, Mihály Szatmárnémeti, the dean of the Kolozs-Kalota Diocese from 1681. The source of the Hungarian language *Könyörgés* [Prayer][39] could not be found, and our search in the prayer books of the period would be in vain, as these were intended for the "community", presenting an example of personal prayers of the faithful outside liturgy. This very beautiful prayer, however, is not said by the congregation, but by the preacher: Turning to Jesus, he asks that the listeners be moved by what he says, and prays for the opening of their hearts.

It can also be seen from the titles of the prayers listed here that the manuscript contains prayers for both private piety and community devotion, and from the thematic point of view it can be divided into everyday prayers, that is, ordinary ones, or prayers for "special" times (the latter includes prayers against droughts and prayers for our enemies, although that these could also have been texts of personal piety). None of the prayers belong to the ones said at the administration of sacraments, before (or after) going to church, at funerals etc., therefore, at occasions which would relate exclusively to pastoral duties, and thus these prayers were written down for lay use. The only exception is the prayer in Hungarian written on separate pages. However, this text cannot only be tied to the pastoral duty, but can be also understood as a prayer of a person who could have completed college education (a court teacher, a steward) as the leader of house devotions.[40]

III. 2. 2. Seven separate texts (excerpts) can be considered religious contemplations, these survived in nine text fragments: after finding the source texts, it became clear which fragments belonged together. In all probability, there was also a period when the estate-related and ecclesiastical texts were written down in parallel, as the manuscript has several pages on which both types of texts are alternatively present.[41] Due to the fragmentation and the confusion caused by the non-adjacent parts of the text, the number of contemplative texts can only be determined with some uncertainty, and we have not been able to fully explore their sources. Their language is alternating in this case as well: three Hungarian and seven Romanian texts, among which we also find one that continues the Romanian translation by copying the Hungarian text. One Romanian and one Hungarian text fragment could not be identified. The sources of contemplative texts are also

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the 1696 (RMK I, add. page. 1488b), the 1699 (RMK I., add. page 1541a), the 1702 (RMK I, add. page 1650a) editions from Cluj.

[39] On the pages belonging to the codex but kept in separate files, see footnote 37!

[40] "The books of prayers were written primarily for the private use of the laity, and certain prayer books (especially sung prayers even as hymnals) could have been used during liturgical and para-liturgical occasions, such as house worship." FAZAKAS, *idem,* 15.

[41] 22^v, 24^r, 26^{r-v}, 30^r, 49^r.

diverse. Among these we meet the author who also appears in the case of the prayers: an excerpt of a few lines was copied from Péter Debreczeni's volume, the fragment starting with *Mi képpen nyerhetni meg a mennyeknek országát?*[42] [How to win the Kingdom of Heaven?] Nevertheless, the same copying hand is also familiar with the "handbook" of pious practice written by Pál Medgyesi, perhaps the most important Hungarian Puritan author of the period, and translated some of it into Romanian: The Hungarian title of the text *Mint szabja az kegyes ember magára az edig hallott és olvasott Istene és maga esmeretétt halladék nélkül* [How the pious person makes without delay his own the knowledge of God and of himself that he has heard about and read],[43] is followed (after the insertion of a short estate-related record) by the Romanian-language fragment; at the same time, from the same volume, he chose to translate the fragment entitled *Despre omul tsel nye neszkut gje nou si pegubit, gjeszpre kinurillje luj tselje ku njevoj* [About the troubles of the man who is not born again and about the anguish of the one in need]. [44] In the case of the Medgyesi translations, we need to highlight the linguistic performance of the translator from Breazova: he managed to translate the Hungarian text rich in images, parables and metaphors of the Puritan author without losing its strength, and while he did not try to find his own voice, the Romanian language version became a text that strongly encourages piety.

The longest continuous ecclesiastical text of the manuscript is *Dje [s]pre krutsá száu Ameritsunyá fiilor luj Dumnyeszéu káre pátu en tottye Dszillyelje,*[45] and this fragment opening up mystical depths discusses the everyday bearing of the cross of God's children. The original of the text is Martin Moller's Manuale ad Praeparationem ad Mortem (first edition: 1593), which was translated into Romanian based on Boldizsár Zólyomi Perina's Hungarian language translation by the Breazova translator, who after translating the text into Romanian, copied longer parts from the same volume.

Unfortunately, the source of a very exciting contemplative passage could not be found. The fragment entitled [46] *Dgyeszpre dtzua dsudgyetzuduj de pe urme*[47] is exciting because it seems to evoke a different world compared to the fragments

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[42] [28ᵛ]; Debreczeni, idem, 431–342.

[43] [26ᵛ–27ᵛ]; in the 1677 Cluj-Napoca edition of the *Praxis*: 154–156.

[44] [28ᵛ–39ʳ]; the title of the Hungarian fragment: *Az újjá nem született, és el kárhozandó embernek nyavalyás állapottyárúl* [On the miserable condition of the damned man who is not born again]*,* idem, 67–68.

[45] [33ʳ–37ᵛ]

[46] I indicate here that the identification of the short Hungarian-language fragment entitled *Maga meg esmeretire vallo hasznos regullák* [43ʳ⁻ᵛ] is yet to be carried out.

[47] [44ᵛ–46ʳ], [50ᵛ] – the fragments that can be found in two different locations of the codex are certainly part of the same text.

presented above: its powerful naturalism, its eschatological vision does not exclude a Catholic or even Eastern Orthodox source.

III. 2. 3. We identified one religious teaching in Hungarian in the manuscript, whose source is the book of Imre Pápai Páriz, another Puritan author, Michael I Apafi's instructor. The volume is entitled the *Keskeny Út* [Narrow road],[48] it was first published in Utrecht in 1647 and then lived on to see ten more editions.

III. 2. 4. We assigned four fragments to the group of texts belonging to the genre of the sermon, all written in Hungarian: one's source could not be identified,[49] while three fragments were copied by one of the writers of the manuscript from three different sermons published in a book of sermons on psalms,[50] by Mihály Tofaeus, Michael I Apafi's court chaplain, the Bishop of Transylvania. The texts rich in parables, of high encyclopaedic value, can also be understood as religious readings, and this representative volume could easily find its way to the Reformed population living in the Haţeg region.

III. 2. 5. Texts classified as non-ecclesiastical texts are very diverse in terms of content. Some of them can be classified as belonging to popular culture, such as the calendar poems for the months or Prognosticons (three poems, one of them without an identified source[51]), and perhaps the verses written around the coats-of-arms of people[52] can be considered a calendar poem (similar enumerations occur in 17th century calendars). Both identified calendar poems are copied from Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis's print for the year 1702, published in Cluj.[53] The only Latin texts in

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[48] PÁPAI PÁRIZ Imre, *Keskeny út, mellyet az embernek elmejébe ütközö haboru gondolatoknak köbeiböl es sok féle kételkedeseknek sürüjeböl a mennyire lehetett, ki irtott Papai Pariz Imre,* Utrecht, Johannes Noortdyck, 1647 (RMNy, 2196), 16–18, 24–26. – [39ʳ–40ᵛ]

[49] [24ᵛ–25ʳ]: The fragment entitled *Joszágos Csellekedett* [A good deed].

[50] Tofeus's sermons were not recorded by him, but by his scribes noted them down by ear, and thus this volume also carries the peculiarities of oral sermons: *Szent Soltárok Resolutioja* [The resolution of the Holy Psalms] (Cluj, Veresegyházi Szentyel M., 1683) (RMK I, 1302); [22ʳ] Isa: 22: v. 20. 21. Starting with *Egy lator vén róka istentellen emberűl van emlékezet* [Recollections of an old, wicked, godless man]: Szent Soltárok…, 774–775.; [23ʳ] *Az Soltárnak versei szerint megtanulhattyuk ezeket az dolgokat* [We can learn these things from the verses of the Psalm]. – idem: 128–129; [51v] *A' Tudomány részei szerint megtanulhatunk illyen három dolgokat* [We can learn these three things from the parts of Wisdom]*: – idem: 69.

[51] Entitled *Prognosticon perpetua* on pages [46ᵛ–47ʳ].

[52] *Az töröknek czímere a hold* on page [21ᵛ], 11 rows noted down one next to each other.

[53] *Uj és ó Kalendáriom Cristus Urunk születése után való 1702 Esztendöre,* Melly Magyar Országra, Erdélyre, és egyéb Tartományokra-is alkalmaztatott Neubárt János astrologus által [New and Old Calendar for the year 1702 after the birth of our Jesus Christ, applied to Hungary, Transylvania and other Provinces by the astrologer János Neubárt] (Cluj,

the manuscript are quotations from Ovid, Ovid is quoted partly in Latin and partly in Hungarian.[54] These quotes are maxims about true friendship, perseverance, he could have collected them from anywhere, from school textbooks to any collection of quotes. The same category of popular texts includes the Romanian-language zodiac and a list of prescriptions started in Hungarian ("orvoság aki meg nem tarthattja hugját" ['medicine for those who cannot keep their urine']), but continued in Romanian, a collection of texts useful in everyday life. He notes down two recommendations for urinary incontinence, one for nosebleeds, one for menstruation, there are prescriptions against fleas, helping the healing of wounds, and finally, a rather strange procedure on how to determine whether a woman with a terminal illness is still alive or not. Such prescriptions can be found in both herbariums and calendars, perhaps the scribe from Breazova used such publications, nevertheless, he could have also relied on his own experience or on common wisdom.

The zodiac or the prescriptions also fall into this category.

One of the most exciting lay texts in the manuscript is the Romanian-language zodiac. It "stands out" from the rest of the texts in every way. In the text tradition containing Hungarian-language prognostications, such texts are not known in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is safe to say that its source was not a printed book but a text circulated in manuscript, that spread and survived in handwriting despite the strong protests of the Greek Orthodox Church. Unfortunately, the zodiac starting with *Mensis Septembris*[55] contains only five months, and they are not in a sequential order: we have September, August, April, May, and February, and their texts are not complete within one given month. According to the genre, they should encompass the predictions about the character, illnesses, marriage/marriages and lifespans of the children born in that particular month, separately for boys and girls; however, our manuscript contains only "prognostications" referring to boys in the case April, May, August and September, while in the case of the month February copied on page 45ᵃ, only the parts referring to girls were included. Thus, out of the different genres of astronomical predictions, the scribe from Breazova used the so-called *rojdenic*[56] subtype in his book. Such a text is known today from the manuscript

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Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós, 1701) (RMK I, 1655). (Identification by Judit P. Vásárhelyi and her team, to whom I hereby express my gratitude for their help.) – [43ᵛ–44ʳ], [47ᵛ–48ʳ]

[54] He quotes Ovid in Latin and Hungarian on page [25ᵛ], in Hungarian on page [50ʳ].

[55] [42ᵛ–42ᵛ; 45ʳ]

[56] Of the astrological-type prognostications, the *rojdenic* is a prophecy based on the month and astrological sign of a person. The other two types are the *gromovnic* and the *trepetnic*, the former predicting the future of man and that of the world from lightning, depending on what month, under what zodiac sign these occur; and the latter draws conclusions from man's physiognomy regarding his character and life, as well as his future. On the different versions of prognosticons: Nicolae Cartojan, *Cărțile populare în literatura românească* [Popular books

copied by Ioan Românul around 1620, unfortunately it is not complete either.[57] Both the Breazova manuscript and Ioan Românul's copy preserve the prophecy for the boys born in September, and it seems that the two almost literally coincide, so such a *rojdenic* text could have been in front of the copier from Breazova. There is one significant difference between the two: the scribe from Breazova did not preserve the names of the months according to the Byzantine calendar (nor the constellation names used later, from the second half of the 18th century),[58] a sign that the community in which this manuscript was compiled, did not use the Byzantine calendar, and thus he adapted to his own cultural medium the text which was not used here. The direction of the transfer is different: it does not transmit the products of Protestant culture to its Romanian/Hungarian-speaking community, but brings a text of Slavic origin in a community that follows Calvinist religious beliefs. It is quite obvious that the recording of these zodiac fragments was connected to a given occasion, and that the scribe was, as before, a bilingual person, and was fluent in both Romanian and Hungarian. At the end of the prognostication for the month of August, he writes in Hungarian: "[i]fjabbik Russsori Mihálj eben az hóben született Augusztusban" [Russsori Mihálj jr. was born in this month in August]. Certainly, these months could be linked to the birth of the child of a family member or a close acquaintance, or a person with an important position in the area, about whom they wanted to acquire prior "knowledge" in this way as well.

If we merge the zodiac of the Breazova manuscript and Ioan Românul's manuscript, it will contain eight months, which may be one of the important results of this textual examination. A similar type of text – according to Nicolae Cartojan, the discoverer of Ioan Românul's text – only survived from the second half of the 18th century.

IV. Summary The micro-level of the Long Reformation: transfer, translation, and mediality

Our manuscript can therefore be classified as miscellanea, since the texts recorded in it were in all likelihood intended for reading before the community; in terms of the broad genres and subject matters of the listed texts, occasion could justify their record, and the production of this corpus of texts was not the work of a single

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in Romanian literature]*,* Bucureşti, Ed. Enciclopedică Română, 1974 (new edition); chapter.: *Literatură astrologică de prevestire* [The literature of astrological predictions]*,* p. 217–229.

[57] Ioan Românul's manuscript was preserved in the *Codex Neagoeanus*, published by: Nicolae Cᴀʀᴛᴏᴊᴀɴ, *Cel mai vechiu zodiac românesc: Rujdeniţa Popei Ion Românul (1620)* [The Oldest Romanian Zodiac: Parson Ion Românul's Rujdeniţa (1620)]*,* Dacoromania. Buletinul "Muzeului Limbei Române, anul V(1927–1928), 584–601.
http://documente.bcucluj.ro/web/bibdigit/periodice/dacoromania/pdf/BCUCLUJ_FP_279430
_1927-

[58] See Mihăilescu's related examples: idem, 83–84.

author/translator, but a collective work aimed at offering acceptable texts to the community, thus nurturing communal piety. These are individual and community texts, texts intended for the community based on individual selection; this also shows the religious sensitivity of the period, functioning even as some kind of a measuring device for this sensitivity, as Doru Radoslav put it, a true „liber laicorum".[59]

After the identification of the manuscripts, it became clear from which volumes the scribe/scribes from Breazova translated. The readings of the translators were important works of the 17th century that were related to the important ideological currents of the century. Most of them were texts for the exercise of individual and community piety, for the deepening and strengthening of faith, and in view of the way these were selected, occasionality could have dictated their transfer to Romanian. As we have seen, the transfer took place through several languages: the Latin translation of a German original was translated into Hungarian; using the German original and the Czech version, they translated texts into Hungarian. Nevertheless, we can also see cases of direct transposition: a book translated from English into Hungarian without Latin mediation and of course we have texts originally written in Hungarian. It is not necessary to prove that translation is also an interpretive operation: the same interpretive behaviour is applied in the case of striving for a faithful translation; rendering the exact message in another language is not only an issue of language, as the texts also have to be adapted to the needs, traditions and knowledge of a given community, so that these texts can be considered meaningful texts. Printed text is thus returned to manuscripts, and its altered medium allows for further use and expands its functionality. Nevertheless, it is precisely translation that changed not only the mediality of the texts, but broadened the range of users from the linguistic point of view. The Breazova scribes alternating between Hungarian and Romanian texts, using various sources, show us a captivating example of bilingualism. The ecclesiastical texts seen here invite Romanians and Hungarians into a shared spiritual and cultural space, in which it is not language (not to mention ethnicity) but religion which prevails: it is a particularly rich linguistic and cultural community of the Reformed people in the Hațeg region, and our manuscript is one of the textual remnants of this peculiarly unfolding Reformation of the Romanians.

Translated from Hungarian by Noémi Fazakas.

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[59] For criteria of religious miscellanea see Doru Radosav, *Sentimentul religios la români* [The religious sentiment in Romanians] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1997 (Collection Homo Regligiosus), with a special regard to 64–68.

WHITE MOUNTAIN AS A PLACE OF REMEMBRANCE

INGRID PAPP[*]

Abstract Emperor Ferdinand II's Catholic troops won a crushing victory over the Protestants' army at the battle of White Mountain (Bílá Hora), near Prague, on 8 November 1620. Shortly after that, White Mountain became a place of remembrance and a symbol of prevail for the Catholic Bohemians. Servite monastery and a church attached to it, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, were built on the battlefield, with support from the Emperor, which symbolised the victory of the Emperor's troops and that of the Catholic Church. White Mountain was an important place for Protestants as well. For Protestant Bohemians, the defeat was the beginning of the end of their religious freedom. Their works keep quiet about the events leading to and succeeding the battle. However, their narratives about the events of their personal lives and sufferings did use the name of this symbolic place as a point of reference for a new time frame. For them, White Mountain was a place, a cause, and a take-off of losing their homes and properties, and those of their compelled escapes and exiles.
Keywords White Mountain, place of remembrance, exile, Czech language, funeral sermon.

The battle of White Mountain (Bílá Hora) was fought at White Mountain in the vicinity of Prague, on 8 November 1620, where the united armies of Emperor Ferdinand II joined battle with the troops of the countries of the Czech crown (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) and their allies.[1] The battle went on for less than two hours and concluded with the victory of the imperial army but it did not cause a major loss of human lives on either side. After this, the victorious army could march to the suburbs of Prague without encountering resistance, and despite the fact that because of the coming of the winter and their insufficient military power would not have allowed a siege of the town, because of its gates having left open, it was easy and quick to be occupied and plundered. The leaders of the imperial army gave their

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[1] Ivana ČORNEJOVÁ et al., zost., *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české*, vol. 8, *1618–1683* (Praha: Paseka, 2008), 58–64.

people permission to free plundering in consequence of which noble palaces and burghers' houses fell victim to the invaders, and not even the houses of the Catholics were saved.

Following the battle, the leaders of the noble uprising gathered on 8–9 November to discuss the further plans. They agreed not to attempt to gain back Prague but to hand over the town to the imperial army. Despite that his advisors encouraged him to stay and reorganize his remaining troops, Frederick V of the Palatinate, the Czech king elected by the insurgents left the city and fled to Silesia the day after the battle with his household and the Czech nobles who supported him.[2] The king did not intend to stay there for long, he planned to travel further to the Low Countries and then to England, where he would ask for help from his father-in-law, King James I, to continue the fights. The participants of the uprising considered the leave of Silesia only temporary. They expected that Frederick would find allies, collect army and continue the fights from the direction of Silesia.

When Frederick left Prague, he left his whole chancellery behind, which after the capture of the city fell into the hands of Maximilian, elector of Bavaria. The documents of the chancellery contained details of the royal election, the uprising and the name of all who had taken part or had had important role in the events.[3] The confiscated documents were the bases of persecutions, lawsuits and confiscations against the nobles and burghers who took part in the uprising. The Bavarian elector who led the imperial army promised that the leaders of the revolt would not be killed but he left every further decision to the emperor. Ferdinand II on 11 February 1621 established a committee to investigate the role of different persons in the uprising.[4] Karl I, prince of Liechtenstein was elected as head of the committee, who ordered thirty leaders of the uprising to "appear at court within six weeks." Most of the listed persons, including the ruler, left the country by then and were at Brandenburg; something well known at the imperial court. Karl again ordered the leaders on 2 April to appear at court within three days. As it did not happen, on 5 April, the decision was made and the listed persons were condemned to death and forfeiture of their properties for their involvement in uprising against the emperor.[5] This, in the period usual form of sentence, made it possible to donate lands to German and Spanish nobles who were loyal to the emperor. From the countries of the Czech crown the punishment was afflicted on Bohemia the most seriously as this was the center of the uprising (Defenestration of Prague, 1618) and it was the Bohemian nobility that dethroned Ferdinand II. Twenty-seven people (three nobles, seven knights and seventeen burghers) paid with their lives at the

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[2] Otakar ODLOŽILÍK, "Ze zápasů pobělohorské emigrace", *Časopis Matice moravské* 56 (1932): 1–58, 369–388; 57(1933), 59–157, 3.

[3] ČORNEJOVÁ et al., *Velké dějiny zemí…*, 65–68.

[4] ODLOŽILÍK, "Ze zápasů…", 9.

[5] Ibid., 12.

Main Square of Prague's Old Town on 21 June 1621.[6] In Moravia sixteen rebellers were convicted but their death sentence was moderated to imprisonment. Just as in the case of Bohemia the confiscated lands in Moravia were also donated to persons loyal to the emperor. In Silesia the revolting nobles got off even more lightly – John George I, elector of Saxony made a bargain with the emperor in the so-called Dresden agreement that the nobles could ransom their part in the revolt in gold.

The Battle of White Mountain and the following events initiated a major refugee wave towards the neighboring countries. The first wave, directly after the battle itself headed to Silesia after which these emigrants forming groups carried on their way to Brandenburg, Stettin, Přemyslov (Primiswald), Mecklenburg and Berlin. The second wave – set out after the executions – included families of the executed members of the revolt as well as Protestant nobles. The third wave took to the road after the codification of the Revised Ordinance of the Land in Bohemia in 1627 and the year after in Moravia. Amongst the fugitives there were numerous intellectuals and rich burghers who settled in the neighboring countries such as Hungary and Saxony.

The reason for fleeing was that Act XXXIII/A of the Ordinance denoted Catholicism the only accepted religion. This order forced the mostly protestant population of the Czech lands to make a big decision, either to convert to Catholicism, denying their faith, or to flee from the country, leaving their possessions behind. The Czech refugees did not convert to Catholicism, they rather left the country. They were waiting in the neighboring countries for the situation to improve, but as it did not happen, they assimilated linguistically and confessionally within the related communities.

The confiscations were the most serious in the Czech lands and after the introduction of the Ordinance many Protestant nobles, intellectuals and bourgeoisie left the country. Their emigration created a big social vacuum which in a short time was filled by German and Spanish nobles, intellectuals and officers. The majority of the immigrants who arrived to the Czech lands spoke German, unbalancing the usage of Czech and the German languages. In the countries of the Czech lands, apart from Czech, German had also been considered an official language. 1615 decrees were issued and designated Czech to be the only official language but in the period of the uprising as a number of native German speakers had important positions amongst them, such as Count Jindřich Matyáš Thurn or Linhart Colona z Felsu[7] not even the Czech estates kept to these decrees, consequently strengthening bilingualism which had been prevailing for a long time by then.[8] With the arrival of the newcomers, after the Battle of White Mountain, the scale turned to the

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[6] ČORNEJOVÁ et al., *Velké dějiny zemí…*, 77–84.

[7] Josef PEKAŘ, *Postavy a poblémy českých dějin* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1990), 147.

[8] BERKES Tamás, *Ködképek a cseh láthatáron: Irodalom- és eszmetörténeti tanulmányok* (Budapest: Kalligram Kiadó, 2009), 26.

dominance of the German language and rolled back the role of Czech in the common communication. The political and social transformations concerned even the local Catholics.

After the failure of the uprising of the Jesuits, who had been considered to be the bad advisors to the emperor, they could return to their stations to continue their activity, however they had to rebuild everything from the ground up.[9] Their convents, churches and all their movables perished; therefore, they could rebuild their houses and start their activities in the Counter Reformation with the support of the imperial court and the Catholic nobles. Prague was the first station where they could return, and later they managed to get in possession of their previous convents in the countryside.[10] Jesuits saw the place of the Battle of White Mountain as a site of victory where the Catholic empire defeated the heretic Protestant estates that revolted against their rightful ruler. The Catholic leading class saw it clearly that in the new political and social situation the identity forming elements of the countries and peoples of the Czech crown needed new foundations in order to legitimize the situation both in the view of internal and external common opinion. It was ever more important as after the defeat at the battle the country's internal structures changed radically as it was registered as one of the "crownlands" of the Habsburgs. It was important for the Catholic Czechs to emphasize that the beginnings of their faith go back to a long time. The renewal of the feast of Saint Procopius and the growing interest in pre-Hussite Czech history was strongly tied to this effort.[11]

An outstanding person of this period was Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688), who lived as a Jesuit priest and was an important researcher of Czech history. During his life he lived in a number of centers of the order such as at Český Krumlov, Prague, Olomouc, and Jičín. His career made it possible to engage in historical research. He completed his first historical work, the *Epitome historica rerum Bohemicarum* in 1669 the edition of which was halted by Martinic the chief-captain of Prague and only was published in 1677 after the permission of the emperor.[12] He wrote his most significant work in 1670, the Latin language *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica, praecipue Bohemica*, which because of its content was not allowed to be printed during his life but which not even the author was intending to published. Even a century later in 1775 it was printed after by-passing the censorship and was not much later put under investigation. Although it was not included on the list of prohibited books, the Prague Gubernium ordered the collection of its copies, laying

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[9] KOVÁCS Eszter, *"Légy cseheknek pártfogója, magyaroknak szószóllója…": Cseh–magyar jezsuita összefüggések a kezdetektől 1773-ig* (Budapest: PPKE–OSZK, 2015), 51–54.

[10] Ibid., 53–62.

[11] BERKES, *Ködképek…*, 27.

[12] BERKES Tamás, "Hogyan jelent meg Balbín Dissertatiója 1775-ben?", in *Amicitia: Tanulmányok Tüskés Gábor 60. születésnapjára – Beiträge zum 60. Geburtstag von Gábor Tüskés*, ed. LENGYEL Réka, 271–283 (Budapest: reciti, 2015), 271–283.

them to waste.[13] The author wrote his work in defense of the Czech language in which he complained about the untenable situation in Bohemia. The most important reason according to him was that Czechs admitted the foreigners (Germans, Spanish, French), and the immigrants, apart from the large profit and the rich wives did not appreciate or respect the Czech language, customs and traditions.[14] The author lists the periods of Czech history when the Czech language was endangered and in which Germans became the dominant. One of these was for instance the period following the death of King Ottokar II (1230–1278) when "masses of Svabians and Brandenburgers crowded the country, so ten Germans counted to each Czech."[15] He mentions the Kutná Hora decree of Wenceslas IV issued in 1409 which strengthened the role of the Czechs at the University of Prague and gave rise to the emigration of the Germans (university professors and students) and the foundation of the University of Leipzig.[16] Balbín denoted the noble revolt as the biggest threat to the nation and the language. According to him the Protestant aristocrats pushed the country into devastation assisting not theirs but foreigners to gain power. Although the Battle of White Mountain broke the power of the heretic estates "most of the Czech lands were distributed to foreigners, by and large to soldiers, and the country as a game to be eaten as feast, a hare thrown amongst hounds was torn to pieces."[17] Balbín emphasized the opinion of the Catholic side when he considered the noble revolt as an uprising of the estates against their lawful ruler and the Battle of White Mountain as the repression of the unlawful lords. But he does not see White Mountain as place of glory. Despite that he admits it was "lucky place" for the Catholic faith in the meantime it was a fate twisting event,[18] the beginning of the Germanization and the effacing of the old Czech population. He compressed the negative experiences of the seven-hundred-year long co-habitation of the two peoples in his work[19] and raised his voice for the preservation of the Czech peoples, language and customs. His work has a dichotomy, repulsion against the incoming German nobles, burghers and officers, and in the meantime an absolute loyalty and trust towards Habsburg power and the emperor.

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[13] BERKES, "Hogyan jelent meg…," 283.

[14] Bohuslav BALBÍN, *O šťastném někdy, nyní však přežalostném stavu království českého*, zost. Josef DOSTÁL, Národni knihovna 1 (Praha: Druzitvo přatel studia, 1923).

[15] Bohuslav BALBÍN, "Értekezés a szláv nyelv, nevezetesen a cseh nyelv védelmében," trans. MAYER Judit, in *Esszék és tanulmányok: Hét évszázad cseh irodalmából*, vol. 1, ed. Jaroslava PAŠIAKOVÁ, A cseh irodalom könyvtára, 72–100 (Bratislava: Madách Kiadó, 1988), 78.

[16] BALBÍN, "Értekezés…," 80.

[17] BALBÍN, "Értekezés…," 85.

[18] Bohuslav BALBÍN, *Krásy a bohatství české země*, zost. Helena BUSINSKÁ, Naše vlast (Praha: Panorama, 1986), 72.

[19] BERKES Tamás, *A cseh eszmetörténet antinómiái*, Res publica nostra: Közép- és kelet-európai összehasonlító irodalomtudomány 8 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2003), 78–79.

The Protestants who chose to flee and settled in the linguistically related Lower Hungarian communities – thanks to the Treaty of Vienna and the military campaigns of Gábor Bethlen – compared to the situation in the countries of the Czech crown enjoyed incomparably wider freedoms and could practice their religion for a long time. Their intellectual center can be associated with the printing press they brought with them where they printed works written in exile.[20] All the Biblical Czech language funeral sermons between 1637 and 1711 in Hungary – with one single exception, a funeral oration from 1684[21] – were published by this emigrant press.[22] Amongst the commemorated as well as the clerics who held these sermons many were not from the Kingdom of Hungary but Bohemia or Moravia. The preachers saw an opportunity in these funeral sermons to reflect on the historical events they experienced in their homelands. Being chased is a recurrent element in their sermons, and they remembered each thing that happened to them since then in relation to that basic moment of fate. In the *personalia* parts of the funeral sermons the preachers discussed the lives and deeds of the dead. The events immediately

[20] GULYÁS Pál, "A trencsén–zsolnai könyvnyomda," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 67 (1943): 118–123; PAPP Ingrid, "Egy felső-magyarországi könyvműhely szerepe a 17. századi lutheránus reprezentációban", in *Egyház és reprezentáció a régi Magyarországon*, ed. BÁTHORY Orsolya and KÓNYA Franciska, Pázmány irodalmi műhely: Lelkiségtörténeti tanulmányok 12, 315–323 (Budapest: MTA–PPKE Barokk Irodalom és Lelkiség Kutatócsoport, 2016).

[21] RMK II, 1544.

[22] The detailed investigation of this body of sources has been going for years now and a monograph has been published recently based on this work. See: KECSKEMÉTI Gábor and PAPP Ingrid, "A magyarországi szlovakizáló cseh nyelvű halotti beszédek kutatásának helyzete," in *Docendo discimus: Doktoranduszhallgatók és témavezetőik közös tanulmányai a Miskolci Egyetem Irodalomtudományi Doktori Iskolájából*, ed. HUSZTI Tímea, 7–14 (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem BTK Irodalomtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2013); PAPP Ingrid, "A 17. századi szlovakizáló cseh nyelvű halotti beszédek forrásainak bemutatása," in *KoraújkorÁSZ: Koraújkor-történettel foglalkozó doktoranduszok tanulmányai*, ed. KÁDÁR Zsófia, KÖKÉNYESI Zsolt, and MITROPULOS Anna Diána, KoraújkorÁSZ tanulmánykötetek 1, 106–118 (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2014); PAPP Ingrid, "Cseh exulánsok a felső-magyarországi városokban," in *Kultúrjav. Írásbeliség és szóbeliség irodalma – újrahasznosítva: Fiatalok Konferenciája 2014*, ed. BARTÓK Zsófia Ágnes et al., Arianna könyvek 9, 137–143 (Budapest: reciti, 2015); PAPP Ingrid, "Cseh menekültek Felső-Magyarországon a fehérhegyi csata után," in *Hely, identitás, emlékezet*, ed. KESZEI András and BÖGRE Zsuzsanna, 301–313 (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2015); PAPP Ingrid, "A lutheránus egyház alapítóinak emlékezete a 17. századi szlávjkú magyarországi evangélikus polgárság körében" [Remembrance of the founders of the Lutheran Church amongst Slavic-tongue town citizens in the 17th-century Hungary], *Történelmi Szemle* 59, no. 2. (2017): 299–314; PAPP Ingrid, *Biblikus cseh nyelvű gyászbeszédek a 17. századi Magyarországon: A nyomtatott korpusz bemutatása és irodalomtörténeti vizsgálata* [Funeral sermons in Biblical Czech in the seventeenth-century Hungarian Kingdom (Presentation and literary analysis of the printed corpus)], Historia litteraria 34 (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 2018).

preceding the Battle of White Mountain however never were part of them; they always referred only to the sorrowful events which resulted in their undesired flee from their homeland. Their silence can probably be attributed to a number of factors. On the one hand even if the emigrants could feel safe in their related Slavic communities in Hungary they still lived in areas under the authority of the Habsburgs and could not express their thoughts freely on the events. On the other hand, it probably caused confusion amongst them that the Protestant estates and the Catholics who supported the uprising[23] in fact ungrounded and in hope of further Protestant supporters elected Frederick V as king who was proven to be neither suitable nor prudent. After the defeat at White Mountain, he fled from the country as soon as possible leaving the capital without defense and leaving behind his whole chancellery which had tragic outcomes regarding the estates and burghers who supported him in the countries of the Czech crown. Amongst the emigrants who settled in Hungary one finds people who left their families and possessions after the Battle of White Mountain therefore when discussing their struggles and spurn they found it better to remain silent about these circumstances.

The defeat at the Battle of White Mountain was the beginning of a number of processes both for the Catholics and the Protestants. Although Catholics could return to their homeland and the Jesuits could start their activity in the Counter Reformation, in parallel, the Germanization of the countries of the Czech crown began. Foreigners were placed in key positions of the country to whom the Czech language and customs meant nothing. For the Protestants, it became the starting point to the historical process that led to the loss of the homeland and the dispersion of the intellectuals. For the citizens of the countries of the Czech crown White Mountain became much more the place of forgetting than of remembrance.

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[23] PEKAŘ, *Postavy a poblémy…*, 156.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF RECREATION IN HUNGARIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGES (16–18.-C.)

DÁVID CSORBA*

Abstract The aim of this essay is to find some hints and data about how the meaning of sport was interpreted in conduct books in the early modern Hungarian literature. Here, the attributes of sport are said to further piety in the perspective of regulation: man should not serve God every day through sportive tricks, but through zealous routine of life, as a recreation form of a Christian. The laws of Hungarian Protestant Colleges (17th–19th centuries) include canons for many arts of sport and the conduct book also addresses regular exercises for preaching and praying as if they were acts of recreation.

Keywords Recreation, Protestant Colleges, conduct books, *Praxis pietatis*, Long Reformation.

The present essay aims to point out how a recreation form has lived throughout many centuries, and meanwhile it hardly ever changed its form that was unlike the recreation of the Reformation Era. Pál Medgyesi, a famous Hungarian preacher (1604–1663) translated *The Practice of Piety* into Hungarian as *Praxis pietatis* (1636)*.* It was written by Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor in Wales, the much-liked court-chaplain of King James. It could be read as a Protestant pious book that was adequate for public and private purposes; it could also come through as a liturgical handbook. Its "vest-pocket edition" gave the genre of the so-called conduct book because of the consideration concerning rhetoric and contents: besides polemizing, argumentative, warning chapters on lifestyle, the texts offered also practical principles and practices of conduct, which balanced on the border of a sermon and a home reading. They offered practices of daily rituals and laid down the activities according to the principles of Christian life.

The Hungarian version had in early modernity such a prodigious circulation that it could practically be considered as a bestseller. The aim of this essay is to find some hints and data about how the meaning of sport was interpreted in conduct books in the early modern Hungarian literature. Here the attributes of sport are said

to further piety in the perspective of regulation: man should not serve God every day through sportive tricks, but through zealous routine of life. This latter phenomenon is a recreation form of a Christian. The laws of Hungarian Protestant Colleges include canons for many arts of sport and the conduct book also addresses regular exercises for preaching and praying as if they were acts of recreation.

One citation to that comment: "Make not an occupation of any recreation. The longest use of pleasure is but short; but the pains of pleasure abused are eternal. Use, therefore, lawful recreation so far as it makes thee the fitter in body and mind to do more cheerfully the service of God and the duties of thy calling.[1]" *Recreation* had a much more abundant meaning i.e., sport and recreation in the English-speaking world between the 16th and 18th centuries.[2] The analysis of history of mentalities demonstrates how *Praxis* can be reread from this viewpoint i.e. what has the pious handbook got to do with recreation in a broader sense and its synonym of today – sport – in a narrower sense? On the basis of sociopsychological research of today it can be stated: the Puritans could only have suggested the abolishment of sporting events provided that they found norms to replace them. Let us investigate some of these elements.

1) "As soon as you wake up in the morning", fill your heart with holy contemplation so that Satan cannot make you unsuitable for "divine service" through "wordly contemplations or carnal desires." E.g., "As easily as the Almighty God wakes you up from your natural sleep, He can just as easily wake your body up in the coffin from the dream of death on the last day."

2) "when you hear the cock crow, remember the flourish of trumpets on the last day, which will wake you up from your death."

3) "when you are getting dressed, remember that our first parents were given the clothes to cover their shame that was the hideous fruit of sin," "however adorned the clothes might be, none the less it is nothing else than the over-ornamented cover of our shame."

If it had not been unambiguous what we said above:

4) "Do not let the glorious brightness of the sun shine in vain, but rather precede the sunrise - if possible - expressing your thanks […] and greet Him [His Majesty, the Lord God] with awful *antelucanum* at dawn or *soliloquium* in the morning."

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[1] Medgyesi. Pál. 1636. *Praxis Pietatis* [*The Practice of Piety*]. Debrecen: Fodorik. RMNy 1639. I cite from the modern edition: 1936. Edited by Incze, Gábor. A reformáció és ellenreformáció korának evangéliumi keresztyén írói, 4. 118. Bp.: Bethlen Gábor Press PLC.

[2] Csorba, Dávid. 2019. "Praxis pietatis and/or recreatio?: Puritan Comprehension of Sport of the 17th Century Hungarian Calvinists." In *Cultural Encounters: New Perspectives in English and American Studies*, edited by Gaál-Szabó, Péter, and Csillag, Andrea et al. Kultúrák, kontextusok, identitások. 85–93. Debrecen: DRHE.

5) Then "having washed yourself and put on garnments appropriate to your position and God's image (that you are wearing), lock yourself in your bedroom and fall on your knees […] at your bedside, raise your heart, your arms and eyes […] and take your prayer to his Majesty as a morning offering on the altar of your penitent heart.[3]"

Thus, it is summarized in five items what a pious individual has to do after the second dream, roughly at 3 A.M., namely, pious contemplation at dawn, then while waking up, getting dressed, further on praying on knees with arms lifted up before dawn, then singing. Studying the history of everyday life at the early modern age we know that noisy and overbearing behaviour ceased in towns after 10 p.m. anyhow: this was laid down at a lot of places in Europe. As public lighting did not exist, the extended family, that mostly shared one bedroom, fell in deep sleep two times at night and got up to pray together.[4] The *antelucanum* i.e., occasional prayer before daylight is an existing form of prayer in other cultures as well, it is similar to the "saluting the life-giving sun" that is a 12 part-practice at dawn in Indian yoga. *Soliloquium* was an essential form of prayer of the Benedictine and Augustus order especially at the time of *matutinum* i.e., lonely mass of dawn. The way of pious prayer meant – according to Bayly's *Praxis*-editions – kneeling with uplifted hands similarly to Moses, this was the conformal behaviour.[5] According to our data worshipping consisting of lonely singing, praying and contemplation was a duty from early modern age, which arose from such an inner necessity that even the Hungarian Protestant galley slaves strived to keep the pious events – possibly in community – two times a day, at dawn and in the evening, during their miserable Passion in Italy![6] The Anglo-Saxon Protestant piety of today tries to recreate worshipping using again the word 'worship' and partly its previous forms.

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[3] Medgyesi 1936, 166–171, 175–176.

[4] First dream refers to the praying in the 3 to 4 hours' period between evening twilight and midnight see: Köleséri, Sámuel. 1666. *Bánkódó lélek nyögési* [*Groans of a Repenting Soul*]. Q4r. Sárospatak: Rosnyai. RMK I, 1039. Edited by Fazakas, Gergely Tamás. ""El-távozott a' mi-magyar Izraëlünktül a' dicsösség": Köleséri Sámuel panaszimádságai 1666-ból" ["The Glory Departed from our Hungarian Israel": From the Prayers of Complaint by Sámuel Köleséri from 1666]. *Könyv és Könyvtár* 27: 65–124.

[5] Fazakas, Gergely Tamás. 2008. "Az imádság testi kifejeződései az angol és a Magyar puritanizmusban. Az 1643-as Praxis pietatis filológiai és ikonográfiai kérdései" [The physical expression of prayer in the English and Hungarian Puritanism. The philological and iconographical questions of Praxis pietatis from 1643]. In *Medgyesi Pál redivivus. Tanulmányok a 17. századi puritanizmusról* [*Pál Medgyesi redivivus. Essays on the 17th century Puritanism*]. Edited by Fazakas, Gergely Tamás, and Győri L., János, 129–132. Debrecen: DEENK.

[6] Kocsi Csergő, Bálint. 2009. "Rövid elbeszélés a gályarabok szenvedéseiről" [Short stories about the Torments of the Galley Slaves]. In Debreceni Ember, Pál. *A magyarországi és erdélyi református egyháztörténete* [*The History of the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania*]. Transl. Botos, Péter. 575, 605, 633. Sárospatak: SRKTGY.

Not only the night but also the day passed off according to a different order two or three hundred years ago: the craftsmen worked 18 hours a day (it often happened that they worked at candle light till dawn and then the daily routine of the journeyman began).[7] An 18-hour workday required enough toughness, at this point we can agree with the Puritan fathers. The description of the spiritual training before breakfast is followed by justification: "Therefore if you care for your body before leaving [the house] i.e., you do not leave without eating, drinking and in a state of nature, how much more care should be taken of your soul so that it would not remain naked among lots of temptations.[8]"

The trained Christian with a crust of spiritual and physical features sets off to the battle-field: "when you leave your house and knock about the world, wherever you go you will step into lots of dangerous and deadly entrenchments. You will meet obscene, treacherous, slanderous people, elsewhere you will find places with people armed with daggers, so that even your life can be endangered.[9]" Not only everyday decision making, but also the conversation with worldly people and the sight of sin were considered by Puritan piety as a spiritual fight. Pál Debreceni Ember's prayer expresses this as it follows: "Oh, my sweet Redeemer, Jesus! If Your Majesty suffered such unspeakably horrible torture for my sins and suffered huge spiritual fights, me i.e., the slave of sin, object of all kinds of temptations, how would I be devoid of spiritual wars? The disciple is not superior to his master, the servant to his master. Pray for me, oh my sweet Intercessor that my faith will not fade away during terrible trials and spiritual wars.[10]" *Praxis pietatis* as a conduct book offered help to cope with these combative Christian struggles. It regulates the thoughts, speech and deeds, "from which you can learn how to walk with God as Enoch did.[11] This was followed by a similar evening pattern of acting that can be described with the strategic procedures of the morning guide: it ranges from sitting in contemplation on the edge of the bed as if on that of a coffin to the rule of "moderate amount of sleeping." It is obvious that Christian lifestyle and order of life were based on a systematically elaborated training, with Christian forms of activity and spiritual tools of recreation in the centre.

Let me remind you of the first quotation: "Amuse yourself freely but only as much as it makes both your body and soul capable of serving God and doing your

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[7] Takács, Béla. 1984. "Debrecen ipara 1693-ig" [The Industry of Debrecen until 1693]. In *Debrecen története 1693-ig* [*The History of Debrecen until 1693*], edited by Szendrey. István. Debrecen története, 1. 464. Debrecen: Megyei Városi Tanács.

[8] Medgyesi 1936, 188.

[9] Ibid, 188–189.

[10] Debreceni Ember, Pál. 1700. *Innepi ajándekul az Isten Satoraba fel-vitetett Szent Siklus* [*Saint Siklus Taken to God's Tent as a Festive Present*]. RMK I, 1556. 215. Kolozsvár: Tótfalusi.

[11] Medgyesi 1936, 190–212.

other Christian tasks in a better mood. Your work is great and time is short for it.[12]" This basic principle, i.e., the determination of the circumstances of proper activities, the so called *adiaforon* debate was ranked to the great Protestant theoretical debates of the 16th and 17th centuries. There were some stiff-necked, "hotter sort of Protestant" Puritan writers (Philip Stubbes, William Prynne etc.) who disapproved of all kinds of sport because of their godlessness and superfluousness, whereas others even supported the idea of playing certain kinds of sport (like John Milton who supported running or wrestling because he considered them important from the point of view of military toughness), the moderate did not start polemics on this question.[13]

At that time, Hungarian writers of theory distinguished between the conceptual categories of *public affairs* and *spiritual affairs.* The former one refers to the secular sphere, the general human forms of activity, whereas the latter one refers to the world of acts of religious disposition. György Komáromi Csipkés gives the definition of these expressions in his book *True Faith*: "Learn it here: *public affairs* are that God does not *command* and does not *prohibit* us to do. Such deeds are *eating, drinking, walking, speaking, wearing clothes, getting married, remaining single, being rich, being poor." "Spiritual affairs like place, time, person, order, etc.* stop public affairs being public and limit their meaning because it is allowed to wear this or that kind of clothes but preachers must not wear a military uniform, men must not wear women's clothes, Christians must not wear pagan clothes, a Hungarian must not wear clothes used by far away nations, freemen are allowed to eat and drink befittingly, however, they must not eat and drink at church during the sermon and the prayers.[14]" For this reason the preacher set up the borders of Christian freedom and the rules of activity in conformity with circumstances, which vary from time to time and from culture to culture.[15]

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[12] Ibid, 211.

[13] Collinson, Patrick. 1980. "A Comment: Concerning the Puritan." The Journal of Ecclesiastual History 31: 488.; Ibid. 1982. *The Religion of Protestants: the Church in English Society, 1559–1625*, 4. Oxford: University Press.; Ibid. 1989. *The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth-Century English Culture*, 15. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.

[14] Komáromi Csipkés, György. 1666. *Igaz Hit* [*True Faith*]. RMK I, 1042. 729. Szeben: Ábrahám Szenci Kertész.

[15] For example: Gaál-Szabó, Péter. 2017. "Cultural Memory and Countering History Through Memory In Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Sermons." In *Intertextuality, Intersubjectivity, and Narrative Identity.* Edited by Gaál-Szabó, Péter. 77–90. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

The English background of the *Book of Sports*

When King James I intervened in theological debates, he made his thoughts clear in connection with a case in Lancashire (1617).[16] According to his system of thoughts archery, angling, horse-race, running, jumping etc. just like events in connection with certain Church and several other feasts (maypole setting, pub crawling of Whitsuntide etc.), games on saint's day, morris-dances were qualified as legal sports on the basis of tradition and certain Christian reasons. Animal fight (bear-, bull-, and cockfight), erotic dance, carousal and gambling were considered *unlawful*. In 1633 Charles, James' son, published a revised edition of this book, in which he completed the above list with bowling. This balancing attitude let certain customs of English everyday life live on, which were referred to as recreation (also Bayly used this expression in his *conduct book)* and it intended to ban only carnivalistic[17] or medieval, warlike games.

The royal initiative was adjusted to the attitude of Queen Elizabeth I. who was James' predecessor. It embodied the Scottish ruler's standoff from sports and the performance of his role of power, respectively, as it represented the symbolic extension of the royal power in such common cases. The medieval and early modern folk games called Catholic games are extreme forms of patriarchy according to scientific literature, and as such they visualise the distribution between the sexes in society and at the same time of the priority of male identity (machismo).[18] For obvious reasons the absolutist ruler, King James I. did not sympathize with aggressive, rude, manly games, as he represented a sexual orientation towards otherness and communicated the via media i.e. the importance of neutrality. Neither did Protestant pastors agree with the system of rules of the so-called Catholic sports and entertainments: the rule codification belonging to the oral culture, the lack of judicial, outer control function were not in accordance with the theological world concept and the imaging of the God-man relation on microworld level. In principle, this mediator role might have crowned the ruler's decree with success if he had not misunderstood his subjects' emotions, as Conrad Russell puts it: it was "the dialogue of the deaf" as usual.[19] On the basis of individual cases he

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[16] James I. 1618. *The Kings Maiesties declaration to his subiects concerning lawfull sports to be vsed*. STC [2nd ed.] 9238.9. London: Norton and Bill.

[17] Marcus. S. Leah. 1986. *Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes*. Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press.; Stallybrass, Peter. 1986. ""Wee Feaste in our Defense": Patrician Carnival in Early Modern England and Robert Herrick's `Hesperides." *English Literary Renaisssance* 16, no. 1: 234–252.

[18] Dunning, Eric. 1986. "Sport as a Male Preserve." In *Quest for Excitement, Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process*, edited by Elias, Norbert and Dunning, Eric. 267–84. Oxford–Cambridge: Blackwell.

[19] Russell, Conrad. 1990. *The Causes of the English Civil War*. Oxford: Clarendon.

produced general principles, though this inductive procedure fitted in the precedent perception of the English law and order. He did this to prevent the papist idolatry from returning.

Yet he also regulated the legal forms of sport events and leisure: their moderate and collective practice was allowed to take place after the Sunday mess. This was what made the Puritans blow a fuse. Also, the Hungarian Puritan literature - from Pál Medgyesi through György Martonfalvi Tóth to István Sajószentpéteri - dealt with the prohibition of the so called "hunter's mass". This notion referred to the claim of the nobility that the mass should be so short that there would be enough time left for early afternoon hunting. A Hungarian judgement visualizes this adverse church disciplinary case as it follows: "our Hungarians deem it enough if they hear the sermon early morning on the Lord's Day and they spend the early afternoon *receiving and entertaining guests, eating, drinking* and with mere *bodily activities, culpable occupations, amusements.*[20]" The theological debate on the intertwining of the sacral and the profane world, the "diversification" i.e. secularization of religion was connected with the question of *adiaforon* in England. This was accompanied by a latent political conflict coming to the surface: the bishop who formulated the king's opinion on behalf of the *Church of England* acted against Puritan piety, which he considered excessive; besides this the king assigned the representation of the royal power to the shires, thus, the enraged preachers resorted to their patrons with weighty civil claims. I quote its Hungarian parallel: "*The law without exequtio i.e., being carried into effect […] is like a bell without a clapper.*[21]"

It was difficult not to understand this step as the profanation of sacrality. The Shakespearean theatre parodied the rulers because of their hypocrisy. The character of the Puritan embodied only treacherousness at Shakespeare's age (like Malvolio in *Twelfth Night, or What You Will),* at Ben Jonson's age the Puritans embodied the king's politics. Anti-Catholicism in the *Book of Sports* opposed the attempts the early Stuarts made towards re-Catholicism (e.g., each king had a Catholic wife) and a book reporting about sincere morality opposed the often-amoral quality of the rulers' private life. The anti-puritan propaganda of the absolutist government elicited such a disapproval in the contemporary public thought (be it a pastor or a lay person representing any trend) that – according to certain opinions – it contributed to the execution of King Charles I, who had the decree published again and who represented a similar political autarchy, moral world concept and awareness of selectness like his father; on the other hand, it contributed to the Puritans' rise to power and later to their fall because of similar

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[20] Szentpéteri, István. 1698. *Hangos trombita* [*Loud Trumpet*]. RMK I, 1521. C2v. Debrecen: György Vincze.
[21] Ibid, E2v.

principles.[22] One thing is certain, even Lewis Bayly himself resisted to the decree on the *Book of Sports* that is why he was imprisoned for several months in 1621.

The early Stuart kings might have only one excuse: they did not want to throw up the unwritten laws of the statute of labour either. The 18 hour-workday, the 6 day-working week meant a 108 hour-working week, there was only one day off, Sunday, however, the order of Catholic feasts (three day-feasts, the days of the saints or the name day of the saint after whom the church was named etc.) occupied again additional days besides Sundays. After the Reformation a good few Sundays were freed but even so hardly any free days remained, especially if we take the period between Whitsuntide and Advent into account, when there were 70 Sundays without any feasts, but it was the time of harvest when "the wretched people" had to work again.[23] On the one hand, it is understandable that the royal limitation of the notion of sport affected certain social layers sensitively. On the other hand, it is the fact that the cultural consumption of pious readings was not hindered and the conduct-book form kept the readings on daily devotions alive using the recreation method I have already mentioned.

The coexistence of the three models of sport-life i.e., the Catholic, Puritan and the Anglican, in other words the golden middle course, which embodied the royal power, was obviously not void of problems. We must not forget that the notion of sport belonged to the open intellect group of the premodern period before Romanticism: the notion of sport was defined in several different ways in space and time and as regards to content and form by various groups of the moulders of public opinion, its conceptual range involved entertainment, collective games, Bahtyin-kind collective traditions of carnivals and several versions of the so called *free-time activities,* which could only take place at weekends. The method offered by Puritan pastors, who were longing for chaste and godly life, contained such recreational practices which could substitute the order of Catholic feasts for individual piety, the medieval brutal team games for regulated spiritual fights and the mistakable erotic dances and dalliance for spiritual contemplation.

Sport in the Puritan medium in Hungary

I have compared one of the notions of English Puritan life with its Hungarian equivalents and have presented several examples from *Praxis* that were translated into Hungarian by Medgyesi and from the speech of István Sajószentpéteri, the thundering voiced preacher of the Haiduck towns in the 18th century. The expression

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[22] Semenza, Gregory M. Colón. 2003. *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.
[23] *Histoire de la vie privée*. Dir. á Duby, Georges et al. Tom. 3. *De la Renaissance aux Lumières*. Dir. á Ariès, Philippe and Chartier, Roger. Paris: Seuil.

'sport' used in Great-Britain did not have a Hungarian equivalent until the end of the 19th century, however, the word 'recreation' did. Feast consecration was the topic of the only sermon known today. It was written in Hungarian by György Martonfalvi Tóth, the best-known figure among the Puritans in Várad. He used this word in connection with true church service as it follows: "what people did during feasts was lechery, *recreation*, exhibitionism, idling, revelling and squandering food and drinks.[24]" Martonfalvi's son-in law published a book entitled *Saint Siklus* in 1700. The Appendix contained the second edition of the sermon in whose text not many changes were made as compared to the edition from 1663.[25] The corrections made at several places in the full text (abbreviations, numerations, adjustments of numeration, abandonment of Biblical citations) might just as well have resulted from the son-in law and printer's linguistic and/or typographical conception of simplification and endeavour towards transparency.[26] Yet a major alteration is striking: the abandonment of the preliminaries that is reasonable (e.g., the recommendation to the one-time town-counsellors) on the one hand, the deliberate shaping of the text to meet the expectations of the editor/s on the other hand.

Let me give two examples of this, one referring to the title and the other one to the passage concerning us. The change of the title (in 1663: "*kereszt**é**ny*," in 1700: "*kereszt**yén***") demonstrates that the original Catholic, generalizing notion was replaced by a pointedly Protestant point of view. As long as the former spelling of the word stressed the difference between the common Christian roots of the 17th century Calvinist celebrations and the superstitious, colourful Catholic forms, the latter one stressed the Christ-like attitude to be followed in the Calvinist practice, contrary to the hypocritical Christian-like practice. This is especially interesting if we know that this passage of Martonfalvi's sermon (the passage on warnings in the part on benefits) goes back to passage 17 on true feast consecration in *Praxis pietatis* that has been cited several times. Martonfalvi involves and merges two items of "Sabbath-consecration" in Praxis pietatis when writing about the factors that hinder true celebration and the total consecration of the feast. Martonfalvi reduces the seven items in the first part of *Praxis* to five; the long piece of the second part from Saturday evening to Sunday evening that is interrupted by prayers (that has been

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[24] Martonfalvi Tóth, György. 1663. *Keresztényi Inneplés, avagy Lelki Szent Mesterség* [*Christian Celebration or Spiritual Hieratic Craft*]. RMNY 3077. A4v. Debrecen: György Karancsi.

[25] "De már az emberek az Innepeket bujaságra, *recreatio*ra, magok mútogatásokra, henyélésre, dorbézolásra, és ételben 's italban potsékolásra fordították" [But the people used the feasts for lechery, *recreation*, exhibitionism, debauchery and squandering food and drinks.]. Cf. Debreceni Ember, Pál. 1700. *Keresztyéni Inneplés* [*Christian Celebration*]. RMK I, 1001. 484. Kolozsvár: Miklós Tótfalusi.

[26] The changes in spelling comply with the principles in *Apologia* chapter 3. by Tóthfalusi. But they can be attributed to the hypercorrection by Pál Ember. Anyway, Pál Ember's good friends – Sámuel Kaposi Juhász and János Csécsi Jr. – were the proofreaders of the *Gilded Bible,* too.

analysed above) is summarized in 4 items.[27] In the second edition the word 'recreation' is written in italics, so it becomes more emphatic.[28] This word is an apposition, which –as a logical parenthesis -makes the reader conscious of the usage of the Biblical game notion. That is to say, all wrong celebration customs in the text from 1663 get involved in the Biblical (and only partially in the English) game notion and they visualize its superfluousness and harmfulness.

Again, our next example appears in a different context: The appendix of the Protestant church history written by Pál Debreceni Ember and published by the Lampe Publisher contains the *Narratio brevis* by Bálint Kocsi Csergő, which was published anonymously. An apologetic reference in *Narratio brevis* reads as it follows: "as it was a habit of the the pupils, the children and pupils of Pápa marched to the fields equipped with drums and flags on Wednesday and Saturday to refresh themselves" (the original text reads like "ut mos erat Studentibus, diebus Mercurii & Sabbathi Recreationis causa prodierunt").[29] The report on this tradition written by the former headmaster of the Reformed College in Pápa gives credit to Bálint Kocsi Csergő's words, although the contemporary school regulations have not survived. Consequently, it can be stated that we are reported on a custom practised at the Reformed College of Pápa i.e., sport lessons were held regularly, two times a week, between 1674 and 1676 when the *Narratio brevis* was written.

Simultaneously, the same custom was true for Reformed colleges in general: it is known from the Debrecen school rules and regulations of 1657 that sport lessons were held. The school rules and regulations of 1657 and their updated version of 1704 ruled over the methods sport lessons had to be held ("recreandi animi et corporis causa relaxationem a studii simpetratam habet"). In fact, they referred back to the relevant paragraphs of the school regulations of 1621 of the Reformed College of Sárospatak, which were used to formulate the law.[30] The law of both Debrecen and Sárospatak emphasized the necessity of physical exercise that

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[27] Medgyesi 1936, 291–313.; Martonfalvi 1663, B2v–B3r.

[28] The beautiful text edition, that omitted the marginalia and made the text more compact, was made on the basis of the latter edition. Cf. Fekete, Csaba. 2006. "Martonfalvi György (1635–1681)". *Zsoltár* 13: 5–11.

[29] Lampe, Friedrich Adolf and [Debreceni Ember, Pál]. 1728. *Reformatae in Hungaria et Transsylvania*. 556, 763. Utrecht: van Poolsus.

[30] Thury, Etele. 1908. *A debreczeni református főiskola törvényei s az ezeket aláírt tanulók névsora, I. Törvények 1657-ből*. [*The laws of the Reformed College of Debrecen and the list of names of the students who signed it. I. Laws of 1657*]. *Leges Scholae Debreczinae de studiis, moribus officiisque scholarium. Anno Christi MDCLVII. Statutae*. Edited by Thury, Etele. Iskolatörténeti Adattár, 2. Pápa: ORTE. 78. (De moribus Scholarium, Art. XXI); Szentimrei, Mihály. 1996. *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium 1618-as rendszabályai és 1620-as törvényei* [*The Regulations of the Reformed College of Sárospatak (1618) and its Laws of 1620*]. Edited by Szentimrei, Mihály. Sárospatak. 58–9 (Leges de moribus, XIX. lex).

served the relaxation of body and soul; however, it prohibited superfluous entertainment (archery, wrestling, throwing stones, card and dice games, and imbecile conversations.) The pupils of the Reformed College of Sárospatak got special penalty or other punishments if they wasted their time swimming, bathing, rowing, fowling, wall-climbing, and in winter skating, sledging, snowballing; it was prohibited for the pupils in Debrecen to dance and to damage the botanical garden.[31] According to the regulations of Patak it belonged to the duties of the person on duty for a week (custos) to attend to the morals, the behaviour of the pupils and to their speaking Latin also when „in partum recreandi causa dimissos" i.e., similarly to Reformed College of Pápa there were games and physical activities carried out in the field also in Debrecen.[32]

There was only one exception to the rule namely ball game though not in today's sense. A note probably refers to it in the diary of László Wass, a student of the Reformed College of Kolozsvár (today: Cluj Napoca, RO) on 11 September 1714: he took a successful exam on some of Burmann's theorems with Professor Sámuel Szatmárnémeti and then he wrote "after lunch I went recreating in our garden."[33] If the poor college student spent his time according to the rules, he played with the ball on his own, but this did not mean that he was playing football. In *Basilikon doron*, a treatise on the ideal monarch, written by King James I. several sports were forbidden e.g., "balls kicked with feet" i.e., football. This prohibition was very successful. Although this was the first time that mention was made of the European style football, even Mihály Vörösmarty, a great Hungarian poet and translator of *King Lear* did not know the Hungarian word for it, so he omitted the translation of the expression 'exotic football' in the text edition two hundred years later.

On the basis of all these we cannot give an answer to the main question: was or could there be any Anglo-Saxon sport conception relevant to the reception of Hungarian students or their reader's perspective? Since religious disagreements and sport as a hobby have totally different roots in both countries, we might not be far from the truth if we state that books like *Praxis pietatis* were read with a different expectation in Hungary, on the one hand and the students' approach to sport did not develop in accordance with them, on the other hand. In spite of this it might be interesting to have a look at the English and at the Hungarian reception of this very effective, pious bestseller from the readers' active, (re)creative perspective that is a phenomenon of the history of mentalities at the early modern period; especially when we take the possibility of linguistic games into account and here we admit that

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[31] Thury 1908, 78–9. (De moribus Scholarium, Art. XXI–XXIII, XXV); Szentimrei 1996, 58–61 (Leges de moribus, XIX–XXI, XIV), 90–3 (Poenae).

[32] Szentimrei 1996, 80–1 (De officio custodum).

[33] Nagy, Gyula. 1896. *Czegei Wass György és Wass László naplói 1659–1739* [*Diaries of György czegei Wass and László Wass 1659–1739*]. Edited by Nagy, Gyula. MHHS XXXV, Magyar történelmi évkönyvek és naplók, 3. 475. Bp.

Sándor Nagy's statement on college history is right.[34] The performance of the Debrecener student legation was practised in the Sunday afternoon services, and according to him its successful accomplishment was celebrated with a small feast called *praxis*.[35] Bayly and Medgyesi's Puritan *praxis pietatis*, which tried to keep the Christians aloof from feasts, was sharply up against this. Their *praxis pietatis* was also against symposiums and sports and instead of them offered other forms of spiritual practice linked to physical activities.

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[34] Cf. Tóth, Zsombor. 2019. "Hosszú reformáció Magyarországon és Erdélyben I.: konfesszionalizációk és irodalmi kultúrák a kora újkorban (1500–1800)." [Long reformation in Hungary and Transylvania I. Confessionalisations and Literary Cultures in the Early Modern Period (1500–1800)]. *ItK* 123: 720.

[35] Nagy, Sándor. 1933. *A vallásos nevelés és oktatás a Debreceni Kollégiumban a reformáció korától a XIX. század közepéig*. [The Religious Education and Teaching in Reformed College of Debrecen form the Reformation to the middle of 19th-c.]. Theologiai tanulmányok, 26. 21. Debrecen: ORLE.

THE BASTION OF CHRISTENDOM

ORSOLYA SZÁRAZ*

Abstract The Institute of Hungarian Literary and Cultural Studies at the University of Debrecen formed a research group in 2010 in order to launch the research of Hungarian realms of memory. This paper was written within the frameworks of the research group. Its basic hypothesis is that the identification of Hungary as the Bastion of Christendom is an established part of Hungarian collective memory. This paper attempts to demonstrate the changes of this realm of memory, regarding its meaning and function, from its formation up to the present day.

Keywords Realms of memory, Pierre Nora, collective memory, Hungary, bastion of Christendom.

In 2010 a research programme started at the Institute of Hungarian Literary and Cultural Studies at University of Debrecen with the title *Hungarian Realms of Memory*. The research group undertook to set up an internet site which would serve as a continuously developing storehouse for Hungarian realms of memory.[1] The plan is to link each realm of memory to a short, introductory study and to other documents. The present study is an expanded version of an exploratory study of this kind of entry. Its structure follows the principles established by the research group, and it is in this sense that the article differs from previous summaries regarding the bastion of Christendom.[2]

[1] The *(Web) Sites of Hungarian Memory* can be found at the following link:
http://deba.unideb.hu/deba/emlekezethely/index.php (Accessed in November 2020).
[2] Lajos Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige életrajza: Magyarország a kereszténység védőbástyája," *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 60, no. 7-12 (July-December 1936): 297–351. László Veszprémy, "A 'kereszténység védőbástyája'," in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon*, ed. Péter Kőszeghy (Budapest: Balassi, 2006), vol 5: 336–37. Cf. Ignác Romsics, "A kereszténység védőpajzsától az

The age of the object of memory

As is widely known, Pierre Nora linked the creation of realms of memory with the formation of modern nations. According to his theory, the recognition of the interruption between the past and the present motivates communities organised into nations to preserve the past. The collective remembering through realms of memory functions as a creator and shaper of national identity.[3] Nora, however, did not consider what it was that characterised the functioning of the collective memory of the period before realms of memory.

By investigating early versions of national identity, recent scholars of the early modern era have dealt with this question on several levels.[4] The problem of collective remembering and collective memory has occurred again and again in the study of home and nation, patriotism and identity, but in the context of the early modern period Nora's conception has not been addressed. In Hungary, Pál S. Varga outlined a theory about what differentiates the periods before and after the realms of memory. He believes the most essential difference between pre-modern and modern memory is in their evaluation of the relationship between the past and the present. The pre-modern approach conceptualised the past and the present as one unbroken process, where the past did not stand apart from the present, was not separated and preserved intact from oblivion, but acted as a rich store of examples from which the present could learn useful lessons.[5] This statement certainly needs to

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uniós tagságig," in *Mi a magyar*, ed. Ignác Romsics and Mihály Szegedy-Maszák (Budapest: Habsburg Történeti Intézet – Rubicon, 2005), 202–30, which in many respects is similar to the present survey.

[3] Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), vol. 1: 1–2.

[4] See, for example, David Cressy, "National Memory in Early Modern England," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 61–73. Norman Housley, "Pro deo et patria mori: Sanctified Patriotism in Europe, 1400–1600," in *War and Competition between States*, ed. Philippe Contamine (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press – Clarendon Press, 2000), 221–48. Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2004. Robert von Friedeburg, ed., *Patria und Patrioten vor dem Patriotismus: Pflichten, Rechte, Glauben und die Rekonfigurierung europäischer Gemeinwesen im 17. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005). Balázs Trencsényi, Márton Zászkaliczky, ed., *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2010).

[5] Pál S. Varga, "Introduction," in *The Theoretical Foundations of Hungarian 'lieux de mémoire' Studies / Theoretische Grundlagen der Erforschung ungarischer Erinnerungsorte*, ed. Pál S.

be refined, but this would require the kind of research which examines memory in the early modern period from the perspective of its relationship with the past. The present article does not attempt to formulate any hypothesis regarding the period prior to the creation of realms of memory; it was only our intention in this short introduction to indicate the unresolved nature of the problem.

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So, we know little about how memory worked, what function it fulfilled in the period before the realms of memory, and how the separation between the past and the present was felt; what, however, is sure is that at that time there were elements of a kind of collective awareness which were particularly important in the emergence and maintenance of ethnic and religious group consciousness. The concept of the defensive bastion of Christendom as it developed in the frontier region between Islam and Christendom can also be considered as such.

According to the theory developed by John Armstrong, the two great civilisations of the early medieval period in Europe, Islam and Christianity, did not just differ from each other in their lifestyles (nomadic/territorial), but in the religious sense as well. Both of them constructed legitimisation myths for themselves, which emphasised their differences, their mutual opposition and their need to defend their own identity. In this way was born the Christian concept of *miles fidei Christiane*/*defensor fidei* and its Islamic counterpart, the *ghazi*, the holy warrior of Islam. The two communities became permanent reference points for each other, and their opposition to each other was a source of strength in creating identity. The defence of the frontier territory was raised to mythical levels by both sides, and those who lived there developed a sense of their own chosenness and superiority, which can also be considered a particular, early version of national identity.[6]

One example of this on the Islamic side was Bosnia, whose self-interpretation from the 15th century – at which time an increasing part of its territory came under the authority of the Ottoman Empire, and the process of the islamicisation of the population began – appeared in the role of a defensive bastion of Islam.[7] On the other side of the frontier the concept of the defensive

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Varga, Karl Katschthaler, Donald E. Morse, Miklós Takács (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2013), 14.

6 John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 90–92. On Hungary's frontier situation, see Sándor Őze, *A határ és a határtalan: Identitáselemek vizsgálata a 16. századi magyar ütközőzóna népességénél* (Budapest: METEM, 2006).

7 Ivo Žanić, "The Symbolic Identity of Croatia in the Triangle Crossroads–Bulwark–Bridge," in *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Pål Kolstø (London: Hurst & Company,

bastion of Christianity made its appearance,[8] which spread and was emphasised when the Christians and Muslims clashed on the battlefield: in the Crusades during the 11th to 13th centuries, during the 13th century Mongol invasions and with the start of the extension of the Ottoman Empire into Europe in the 14th century. The main vehicles of the concept were the peoples and countries which played a role in the struggle against the Muslims: the Franks who liberated Jerusalem, the Spanish who fought against the Moors and the countries which stood in the way of the Ottoman advance – Albania, Serbia, Croatia, Poland, and not least of all, Hungary.[9]

2005), 42–45. Srećko M. Džaja, "Bosnian Historical Reality and its Reflection in Myth," in Kolstø, *Myths and Boundaries*, 113–14.

8 In the works I have used, the earliest appearance of the expression "antemurale Christianitatis" is by St. Bernard of Clairvaux and dates back to 1143; he uses it in reference to the Franks who defended the city of Edessa against the Muslims. See Žanić, "The Symbolic Identity of Croatia," 37. We cannot exclude the possibility, indeed we can assume, that it was also used prior to this.

9 Regarding Albania: Arrigo Petacco, *L'ultima crociata: Quando gli ottomani arrivarono alle porte dell'Europa* (Milan: Mondadori, 2007), 43. Cecilie Endresen, "'Do not look to church and mosque'? Albania's post-Communist clergy on nation and religion," in *Religion und Kultur im albanischsprachigen Südosteuropa*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 2010), 249–50; On Serbia: Ana Antić, "The Evolution of Boundary: Defining historical myths in Serbian academic and public opinion in the 1990s," in Kolstø, *Myths and Boundaries*, 191–222; On Croatia: Žanić, "The Symbolic Identity of Croatia". Darko Novaković, "Quis servabit servatores: Guerra e pace nella letteratura umanistica croata," in *Guerra e pace nel pensiero del Rinascimento*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Casati, 2005), 493–506. István Lőkös, "A Judit- és Holofernész-téma a horvát és magyar reneszánsz epikában," in István Lőkös, *Déli szláv–magyar szellemi kapcsolatok: Tanulmányok* (Miskolc: Felsőmagyarország, 1997), 48–49. On Poland: Lajos Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas" humanista eszméje a magyar–lengyel hagyományban* (Budapest: Balassi, 1992). Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa, "Poland as 'Antemurale Christianitatis': The Political and Ideological Foundations of the Idea," *Polish Western Affairs* 33, no. 2 (1992): 3–24. Norman Davies, "Polish National Mythologies," in *Myths and Nationhood*, ed. Geoffrey Hosking, George Schöpflin (London: Hurst & Company, 1997), 145. With reference to several areas, and summarising works: Paul Srodecki, "Antemurale Christianitatis," in *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa: Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rohdewald, Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), 804–22. Enlarged version: Paul Srodecki, *Antemurale Christianitatis* (Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 2015). As European realm of memory: Anne Cornelia Kenneweg, "Antemurale Christianitatis," in *Europäische Erinnerungsorte*, ed. Pim den Boer, Heinz Duchhardt, Georg Kreis, Wolfgang Schmale (München: Oldenbourg, 2012), vol. 2: 73–81.

The age of memory I: collective memory before the creation of realms of memory

Given its geographical situation, the concept of a defensive bastion of Christianity emerged in Hungary after the country's adoption of Christianity, and the Hungarian ruler took on for himself the role of *defensor fidei*, *athleta Christi* or *miles fidei Christiane*.[10] In the case of Stephen I, Hungary's first king who named himself *defensor Christianitatis* in his own law book, this traditional role meant the struggle undertaken against Hungarian pagans,[11] while for later Hungarian kings this always meant first and foremost taking up the fight against the dangers threatening from outside Christianity.

Our first information comes from the period of the Mongol conquests. In 1238 Pope Gregory IX named King Béla IV of Hungary (1235-1270) "fortis athleta Christi.[12]" At the time of the renewed danger from the Mongols, around 1250, Béla IV wrote a letter to the pope appealing for help, mentioning the country as the gateway to Christianity, through which the Mongols could easily pour into the whole of Europe. The conception behind this also served Béla IV later on – after the immediate danger from the Mongols had passed – when he tried to gain favours and concessions from the pope.[13]

The Roman pontiffs were happy to reinforce the Hungarian kings in their role, i.e. they expected them to offer defence both against the pagans and the heretics.[14] In a letter of 1356, Pope Innocent VI urged Louis the Great, King of Hungary (1342-1382) to fight against the heretics, describing him as the champion of Christ.[15] The earliest appearance so far known of the expression 'the defensive wall and shield of Christianity' was also in a papal letter: in 1410 King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387-1437) received this title from the antipope John XXIII after his achievements in the struggle against the Ottomans.[16] The Hungarian king himself

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10 For the history of the concept of the defensive bastion of Christendom, apart from the works listed in note 2, see Kálmán Benda, *A magyar nemzeti hivatástudat története (A XV–XVII. században)* (Budapest: Bethlen-nyomda, 1937). Őze, *A határ és a határtalan*, 43–51. Sándor Őze, *"Bűneiért bünteti Isten a magyar népet": Egy bibliai párhuzam vizsgálata a XVI. századi nyomtatott egyházi irodalom alapján* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1991). Mihály Imre, *"Magyarország panasza": A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI–XVII. század irodalmában* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1995), 143–73.

11 Levente Závodszky, *Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai* (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1904), 27.

12 Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige," 307.

13 See, Nóra Berend, "Magyarország, a kereszténység kapuja: egy ideológia születése," in *Tatárjárás*, ed. Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 612–20.

14 Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige," 304–9.

15 Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas"*, 12.

16 Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige," 304.

consciously undertook to be the "advocatus et defensor Ecclesiae.[17]"

Following the Ottoman advance into the Balkans, Hungary's role in the defence of Christendom received an ever-greater emphasis. The use of the topos of the defensive bastion fulfilled a religious-ideological function, in the sense that it created the basis for Christian Europe's struggle against the Ottoman army, and at the same time served a political and military aim, recruiting allies and military assistance.

Given their situation, it was a vital interest of the Hungarians that they make this role a self-image for the whole community. The pope, and first and foremost, those states that would have found themselves threatened if Hungary had fallen, had an interest in reinforcing the country in its vocation, since their own territorial integrity depended on it.[18]

When, in 1440, Władysław III, the King of Poland, was crowned King of Hungary, the news was announced in celebratory fashion, that Poland and Hungary shared a similar mission: they were both the rock wall and shield of Christendom against the barbarians.[19] The leader of the campaign against the Ottomans, John Hunyadi, became a model of the victorious Christian military leader.[20] He is described as such by Petrus Ransanus in his historical work, and also appears in papal letters and in the Hunyadi epitaph written by the humanist Janus Pannonius.[21] This image is reinforced by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's, the future Pope Pius II, letter to Pope Nicholas V, in which Hunyadi's speech before the second Battle of Kosovo (1448) urging his troops on appears as an expression of the sense of mission of the Christian military leader. An iconographic version of this embodiment in the person of John Hunyadi is also known, appearing as an illustration in the *Chronicle* of the 15th-century historian János Thuróczy (published in Brünn, Augsburg, 1448).[22] The mourning verses that emerged following his death also commemorate him as a defensive bastion of Christendom.

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[17] Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas"*, 15.

[18] See, János Győry, *A kereszténység védőbástyája: Magyarország képe a XVI. századi francia irodalomban* (Budapest: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda Rt., 1933). Sándor Csernus, *A középkori francia nyelvű történetírás és Magyarország (13–15. század)* (Budapest: Osiris, 1999), 215–63. Magda Horváth, *A török veszedelem a német közvéleményben* (Budapest: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda Rt., 1937). Magda Jászay, *A kereszténység védőbástyája olasz szemmel: Olasz kortárs írók a XV–XVIII. századi Magyarországról* (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996). Edgár Artner, coll. and prep. for publ., *"Magyarország mint a nyugati kereszténység védőbástyája"*, ed. Kornél Szovák, József Török, Péter Tusor (Budapest – Rome: PPKE Egyháztörténeti Kutatócsoportja, 2004).

[19] Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas"*, 17.

[20] Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen: török háborúk és képzőművészet* (Budapest: Képzőművészeti, 1986), 13.

[21] Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas"*, 29.

[22] Galavics, *Kössünk kardot*, 12, 63.

Just like the victorious military leaders (John Hunyadi, Pál Kinizsi etc.), the sites of battles acted as examples of the Hungarian people's successfully completed mission. Beyond this they also had further significance: they proved that the Ottomans were not invincible and that it was therefore worth fighting them. This was the case in the anti-Ottoman propaganda in Szeben (Sibiu, present-day Romania), after Hunyadi successfully broke the Ottoman siege in 1442. Pope Eugene IV gave the city the title "The safe stronghold and defensive bastion of the whole of Christendom". The case of Belgrade in Serbia was an even clearer example of this phenomenon, as the ritual ringing of bells in commemoration of the victory ordered by Callixtus III has continued, with some minor changes, right up to the present day.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 Europe turned its attention with increasing anxiety to the eastern half of the *Respublica Christiana.* In this period there was a great increase in the issuing of challenges to the Christian states to join in the war against the Ottomans. The idea of 'Hungary, the defensive bastion of Christendom' (*Hungaria, propugnaculum Christianitatis*) became a rhetorical topos and was used to serve political and military ends. It was used in many of the above-mentioned Piccolomini's writings when he wished to emphasise that Hungary was the shield of the Christian faith, and so Europe must help the Hungarians, in its own interest.[23]

At the time of King Matthias I (Matthias Hunyadi or Corvinus) (1458-1490) reign the expression found two forms. Firstly, the expression 'Hungary, the defensive bastion of Christendom' became a commonplace, thanks to the victories won against the Ottomans; secondly, it was used to motivate certain power-political interests. The latter is demonstrated by a whole series of diplomatic documents, letters, humanists' orations, poems and historical works, which also showed a great variety of functions. The Pope referred to Hungary's mission against the Ottomans when he tried to prevent King Matthias from going to war against Friedrich III, the Holy Roman Emperor (1452-1493), arguing that he should take on the Ottomans instead; he also used it when he called on the Christian monarchs to rally together against the pagans. Matthias himself used it as a means of applying pressure when he turned to Christian Europe for help: if this defensive bastion falls, the path will be freed for an Ottoman advance. Towards the end of his reign, however, the defence of Christendom appears in a different context and with a different function. The attention of the Hungarian monarch in the last years of his reign was fixed on the chances of his illegitimate son, John Corvinus inheriting the crown. In this respect, what he and his family had done in this area of activity could help him in two ways.

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23 „Ungari, qui hactenus nostrae fidei clypeus, nostrae religionis murus fuere." Quoted in Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas"*, 26. For Piccolomini's role in the characteristic dissemination of the defensive bastion of Chistendom, see József Marton, "Magyarország képe és megítélése Enea Silvio Piccolomini életművében," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 110, no. 5 (2006): 469–77.

First of all, it could show that in order to fulfil the challenge, he could be raised to the royal throne, and secondly it offered a promise for the future: the Hunyadi family considered it their inheritance and holy duty to fight against the Ottomans, and their heirs could not give up this duty either. Matthias, for example, employed the historian Antonio Bonfini and the chronicler János Thuróczy and entrusted them with the task of communicating this message. However, if his political goals demanded it, Matthias did not flinch from emphasising the common Scythian origin of the Turks and the Hungarians, and thus putting in temporary parenthesis the two peoples' religious differences and Hungary's role as a defensive bastion of Christendom.[24]

In the 15th century Hungary's mission to defend Christendom emerges primarily in diplomatic documents, and only rarely in other genres;[25] in graphic arts the concept of the defensive bastion only appears indirectly. There is no illustration from this period which provides a picture of this concept, but there are many works presenting the *miles fidei Christiane* (e.g., in the previously mentioned Thuróczy's *Chronicle*), or preserving contemporary battles. They had a dual function: both informative and as propaganda for the successful struggle.[26]

After Matthias's death the earlier successful role of the Hungarian people had to be exchanged for that of martyr and victim.[27] Assistance from Christian states was once again delayed. The situation was made worse by the fact that Hungary itself was not united; opposing interests had divided the country. The appeals for help became ever louder: Louis II of Hungary (1516–1526) and his ambassadors cited Hungary's role as a defensive bastion when attempting to solicit help from Europe, and by recalling the memory of King Matthias as a victorious defender, they encouraged Hungarians to fight a defensive war. After the defeat at the Battle of Mohács (1526), and above all, after the loss of Buda to the Ottomans (1541), it became clear that Hungary was no longer able to defend Christendom.

So, explanations were sought, which in turn led to a search for a scapegoat. In European public opinion voices blaming the Hungarians were to the fore. István Brodarics, royal chancellor and an eye witness of the Battle of Mohács responded to the criticisms of the German humanist Johannes Cuspinianus, reminding him that the

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[24] Pál Fodor, "The View of the Turk in Hungary: The Apocalyptic Tradition and the Legend of the Red Apple in Ottoman-Hungarian Context," in *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch, Stéphane Yerasimos (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), 99–131.

[25] Imre, *"Magyarország panasza"*, 99–100.

[26] Galavics, *Kössünk kardot*, 8.

27 Aleida Assmann mentions three roles assigned for the nation: the victor, the martyr and the victim. Her conclusions are also valid with reference to memory and the Hungarian nation. See, Aleida Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik* (München: C. H. Beck, 2006), 64–84.

Hungarians had defended Christian society for the last five hundred years with their own blood.[28] In Hungary, Catholics and Protestants had different opinions about the situation which had arisen and the possible solutions, most often blaming each other. The Catholics believed that the heretical beliefs of the Protestants had led to the catastrophe. Representatives of the new faith found their explanation in the sins of the Catholics, in that they were incapable of recognising the true faith. However, on one point they were often agreed: the advance of the Ottomans was the action of the Lord himself, who was punishing the country for its moral degeneracy and its many sins.[29]

The two parties viewed the struggle against the Ottomans differently. The Protestants' position was ambiguous, and Luther himself frequently changed his viewpoint.[30] Before Mohács and the siege of Vienna (1529), Luther was opposed to a crusade against the Ottomans because he believed that the Ottomans were God's punishment for sins, and that the only solution was not a struggle, but repentance. In the background, however, was the fear that any campaign against the Ottomans would reinforce Rome's power. After 1526 and 1529, when the Ottomans were threatening Germany too, the reformer changed his opinion. Luther then urged the fight against the Ottomans, but entrusted the war to the authority of the Emperor and the worldly powers, the task of the simple Christian being repentance.[31]

Hungary was also familiar with the image of God as a punisher of the people. One of the first appearances was Rogerius' *Carmen Miserabile*.[32] There were other examples of its use later,[33] but it became widespread in the 16th-century Protestant texts.[34] The Protestant authors only used the defensive bastion topos rarely, and then only in reference to God and not to the Hungarians, perhaps because Luther forbade anyone to refer to any Hungarians represented in these works as defenders of Christianity. This might explain why most of the texts in which

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[28] Stephanus Brodericus, *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima*, ed. Petrus Kulcsár (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985), Ad lectorem praefatio, 21–22.

[29] For the ancient manifestation of the idea of the enemy sent as a divine punishment, see Fodor, "The View of the Turk," 104–5.

[30] For Protestant judgements on the wars against the Ottomans, see Imre, *"Magyarország panasza"*, passim.

[31] Horváth, *A török veszedelem*, 12–3, 28–37; Őze, *"Bűneiért bünteti Isten a magyar népet"*, 102–6.

[32] Rogerius, "Carmen miserabile," ed. Ladislaus Juhász, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Emericus Szentpétery (Budapest: Nap, 1999, reprint: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), vol. 2: 551–52.

[33] See, for example, the forward to the Franciscan preacher, Osvát Laskai's work *Gemma fidei*. Cf. Edit Madas, "A prédikáció magvetésével a magyar nemzet védelmében: Laskai Osvát Gemma fidei című prédikációs kötetének előszava," in *Religió, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban*, ed. István Bitskey, Szabolcs Oláh (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2004), 52–53.

[34] See, Őze, *"Bűneiért bünteti Isten a magyar népet"*, passim.

Hungary appears in this role were primarily in Latin and only a small proportion appeared in the native language.[35]

From the end of the 16th century the Catholics began to propagate more and more forcefully the idea of Patrona Hungariae, according to which King Stephen I (1001-1038) had offered Hungary to the Virgin Mary. The Catholics argued that it was because the Protestants had insulted and abandoned the cult of Hungary's protector, Mary, that the country was overwhelmed with problems.[36]

Those authors who did not only deal with the problem of the wars against the Ottomans from a purely religious-sectarian perspective, but also from a practical, political one, blamed the factious nature of the Hungarian people. In both cases, Hungary as the bastion of Christianity was mentioned as a shining example from the recent past and a warning lesson for the bitter present situation.[37]

The motif fulfilled other functions, however, which were also political, when the message was directed at foreigners. The ambassadorial addresses, whose purpose was to win support for the struggle against the Ottomans from Europe still made use of the former glory of Hungary, and its role in defending Christendom, which by this time, in the German public opinion was only limited to the defence of Germania.[38]

We also find examples of situations in which the concept of the defensive bastion of Christendom was used to represent the power interests of certain groups. The propaganda used in Ferdinand of Hapsburg's struggle for the throne portrayed the Hapsburgs in the role of defenders of Christendom,[39] while John Szapolyai was referred to as a godless evildoer, who had entered into an alliance with the enemies of Christianity. Also, by portraying Maria Hapsburg's late husband, Louis II as a martyr, and her family as a bastion of Christendom, the Queen was able to serve the

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[35] Imre, *"Magyarország panasza"*, 166–72.

[36] See, Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, "Marianische Landespatrone in Europa unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Ungarns," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 25, (2002): 77–102.

[37] See, for example: „Hinc Thurcicae gentis ferox crudelitas / Nos Pannones, o, dirutos / Et viribus fractos nimis iam pristini / Exterminat propter ducum / Et principum discordiam Christi fidem / Sanctissimam colentium;" Nicolaus Olahus, "In praesens seculum," in *Carmina*, ed. Iosephus Fógel, Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934), 40–41. Antal Verancsics, "Ad Hungaros," in Antal Verancsics, *Összes munkái*, ed. László Szalay, Gusztáv Wenzel (Budapest: MTA, 1875), vol. 12: 14.

[38] Horváth, *A török veszedelem*, 54–63. Imre, *"Magyarország panasza"*, 154.

[39] On the competition between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, which represented a struggle not just between two great powers, but also two civilisations which defined each other, see Gábor Ágoston, "Ideológia, propaganda és politikai pragmatizmus: A Habsburg–Oszmán nagyhatalmi vetélkedés és a közép-európai konfrontáció," *Történelmi Szemle* 45, no. 1–2 (2003): 1–24.

dynastic aims of the Hapsburgs.[40] In 1575, in another political context, the Hungarian mission was once again brought up when arguments were made in support of István Báthory's attempt to become king of Poland. Giorgio Biandrata, in his oration, not only referred to the defence of Christendom as the common task of the two peoples, but also used the same arguments to defend Báthory from accusations which claimed he was a friend of the Ottomans.[41]

In the 16th century, after the more important triumphs and the battles which demonstrated Hungarian heroism, the belief flared up again that Hungary could take on the role of the shield for the Christian countries to the West. Both Eger and Szigetvár were awarded the title of defensive bastion. The self-sacrifice of Miklós Zrínyi, the defender of Szigetvár, was celebrated throughout Europe as a heroic deed in the defence of Christendom.[42] In 1587 an album was published in his honour, in which he was presented as the defender of Christianity. Zrínyi's elevation to a Christian hero also continued in the following century and the epic *Szigeti veszedelem* (The Siege of Sziget) is a literary example of this (published: Vienna, 1651), written by his great-grandson of the same name; it appeared in graphic form as a painting entitled *Zrínyi Miklós apoteózisa* (The Apotheosis of Miklós Zrínyi, late 16th cent.).[43] Besides the information they provided, the textual and visual illustrations of the siege of Szigetvár and its hero also served to motivate support for the struggle against the Ottomans.

The 17th-century Hapsburg representations increasingly reflected the intention that the dynasty – excluding the Hungarians and acting against them – identified itself in the role of defensive bastion of Christendom. A good example of this is the propaganda which appeared at the time of the anti-Hapsburg revolt (1604-06) of István Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania (1605-06), which not only removed the Hungarians from that role, but also set them up as enemies of Christianity (*hostis Christianitatis*). At the same time in the political argumentation of the Hungarians we can find references to the role of defensive bastion which they felt was their own: Bocskai, in a publication issued in 1605, accused Rudolf (i.e. Rudolf II, Holy Roman Empire 1576-1608), the King of Hungary, that it was he who had brought ruin to Hungary, which had been the defensive bastion of Christendom

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[40] Attila Bárány, "Queen Maria, the Cult of Louis II and Hungary in the Low Countries," in *Történetek a mélyföldről: Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata a kora újkorban*, ed. Réka Bozzay (Debrecen: Printart-Press, 2014), 362–97.

[41] Hopp, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas"*, 137.

42 On Eger, see, for example, the preface by János Rimay, written for an epicedium composed for Bálint Balassi's death in Tibor Klaniczay, ed., *Janus Pannonius, Magyarországi humanisták* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1982), 831. On Szigetvár: Tibor Klaniczay, *Zrínyi Miklós* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1964), 130–38.

43 On this picture, see Galavics, *Kössünk kardot*, 24, the author provides an illustration of the painting at the end of the volume: colur plate no. 3.

for centuries.[44] Elsewhere, however, Bocskai, speaking for Transylvania, declared that it was "the strongest shield of our nation's survival, – and from it the whole nation can expect to survive eternally".[45] Two tendencies are revealed simultaneously in this declaration: 1) that in this period the Hungarians felt their primary task was to defend their own people and not Christendom;[46] 2) by this time the sense of unity between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania had largely disappeared, but a united Hungarian nation had remained.[47]

In the second half of the 17th century, the military successes of the previously mentioned Miklós Zrínyi re-awakened the belief that the Ottomans could be expelled from Hungary. His victories had a great impact on both Hungarian and European public opinion.[48] During his life he already represented the figure of the defender of Christendom, and the texts that appeared after his death mentioned him in this context. It was he who rose above sectarianism to occupy himself with the fate of Hungary,[49] and he both announced and embodied the concept of the *athleta Christi* of the Baroque Age.[50] Perhaps it was thanks to his heroic commitment that the idea of Hungary as the defensive bastion of Christendom was once again reinforced in Europe, and was so beautifully worked in a copperplate illustration by

44 „Nunc autem praeter omnem expectationem ille murus ahaeneus Christianorum, et quod satis deplorari non potest, hic non hostium machinis dirutus, non inimicorum vi dijectus et conquassatus est, sed ab eo, qui propugnator esse debuit et qui vindex ultorque esse putabatur, fere suffossus est et exitium passus est, a Rudolpho inquam, electo et jurato rege ipsorum". Bocskai's declarations are published in *Magyar országgyűlési emlékek*, ed. Árpád Károlyi (Budapest: MTA, 1899), vol. 11: 168–84, with the quoted passage appearing on p. 169.

45 Quoted by Benda, *A magyar nemzeti hivatástudat*, 81.

46 Ibid., 55.

47 Katalin Péter, "A haza és a nemzet az ország három részre hullott állapota idején," in Katalin Péter, *Papok és nemesek: Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból* (Budapest: Ráday Gyűjtemény, 1995), 222–32.

48 Katalin Péter, "'Zrínyi Miklós angol rajongói'," in *Angol életrajz Zrínyi Miklósról*, ed. Sándor Iván Kovács (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1987), 27–63. Zsombor Tóth, "'Fun-Club' Zrínyi, 1664. (Megjegyzések a Zrínyi-kultuszhoz az angol nyelvű életrajz tükrében," in *Antropológia és irodalom: Egy új paradigma útkeresése*, ed. Gábor Biczó, Noémi Kiss (Debrecen: Csokonai, 2003), 211–24.

49 István Bitskey, "Il destino della nazione nei topoi della letteratura ungherese antica," in *Politica, religione e letteratura in Italia e in Ungheria (secc. XV–XVIII)*, ed. István Bitskey, Amedeo Di Francesco, Orsolya Száraz (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2013), 197–221.

50 István Bitskey, "Virtus és poézis (Önszemlélet és nemzettudat Zrínyi Miklós műveiben)," in István Bitskey, *Mars és Pallas között* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2006), 203–38. István Bitskey, "Pázmány Péter prédikációja Szent Mártonról," in *Historicus Societatis Iesu: Szilas László Emlékkönyv*, ed. Antal Molnár, Csaba Szilágyi, István Zombori (Budapest: METEM – Historia Ecclesiastica Hungarica Alapítvány, 2007), 235–44.

an unknown artist in the second half of the 17th century.[51]

At the end of the century, following Zrínyi's death, the dissatisfaction of the Hungarian nobility increased as it became ever clearer that the Hapsburgs had no intention of liberating Hungary. The situation was made worse by the fact that the Hapsburgs took aggressive measures against the Protestants. The disaffected found a leader in Imre Thököly, whose policy of an alliance with the Ottomans led to Hungary losing the role of defensive bastion, and instead winning the title of enemy of Christianity in Europe.[52] Thököly – through his ambassadors – rejected this view, and passed the responsibility for the fact that Christendom was once again open to a serious Ottoman threat onto the Hapsburgs. It is clear from his reasoning that the Hungarians' right to freedom came before Christian interests.[53]

The combined European effort against the Ottomans (The Holy League) managed to retake Buda from the Ottomans in 1686, an event celebrated by the whole of Christendom, and one which gave the Hapsburgs an excellent opportunity to demonstrate that it was they who were the real defenders of Christendom. Spreading of this idea they were first and foremost helped by the Jesuits.[54]

A change in the conception came about during the war for freedom (1703-1711) led by Ferenc Rákóczi II (Prince of Transylvania and Ruling Prince of Hungary, 1704-1711). Here it was not to rebuild the defensive bastion against the Ottomans that God's assistance was invoked, but to defend Hungarian freedom against the Germans.[55] In the diplomatic negotiations, however, in order to gain help from European monarchs, the defence of Christendom was still always referred to. Pál Ráday – who was sent by Rákóczi in 1704 to Charles XII and Frederick I – had to prove to the two rulers that "Hungary does not wish to accept Ottoman help, indeed her intention is to remain the defensive bastion

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51 Unknown artist, *Hungary, the Defensive Bastion of Christendom*, copperplate, second half of 17th century, Hungarian National Museum, in *A magyar kereszténység ezer éve: Hungariae Christianae Millennium*, ed. Pál Cséfalvay, Maria Antonietta De Angelis (Budapest: Magyar Katolikus Püspöki Konferencia, 2001), 344.

52 See Béla Köpeczi,*"Magyarország a kereszténység ellensége": A Thököly-felkelés az európai közvéleményben* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1976).

53 Ibid., 51–52.

54 On the Jesuits' celebration in Trencsén (Trenčín, present-day Slovakia), see Galavics, *Kössünk kardot*, 119. On the above-mentioned role of the Jesuits, see: Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), passim.

55 See, for example, Ferenc Rákóczi's song: "Épits föl, Úristen, megromlott oszlopát / Szegény magyaroknak megromlott bástyáját! // Isteni erőddel add meg szabadságát, / Emeld föl még egyszer tündöklő zászlóját!" "Lord God, build up the ruined column / The poor Hungarians' ruined bastion! // God with your strength give freedom / Raise up once more your splendid flag!" Imre Varga, ed., *A kuruc küzdelmek költészete: II. Rákóczi Ferenc születésének 300. évfordulójára* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977), 467.

of Christendom against the Ottoman Empire".[56]

From the end of the 17th century, and more frequently in the 18th and 19th centuries, it was stated, mainly by German authors, that because of Hungary's cultural backwardness, the Hungarians were unfit for the sciences and the arts. In their denials of this, the Hungarian authors were happy to refer to the centuries-old struggle against the Ottomans, which they believed had prevented Hungary achieving outstanding results in scientific and cultural fields. Evidence for this was, in their opinion, the fact that the country's last golden age of culture was under the rule of Matthias Hunyadi.[57]

At the end of the 18th century the conflict between the Germans and the Hungarians provides examples in which the idea of a defensive bastion is not linked in any way with Christianity: the Hungarians have been transformed into a bastion against the Germans.

The age of memory II: collective memory in the age of realms of memory

The 19th century saw the concept of the defensive bastion of Christendom take final form: of the content of the previous structure built on the religious opposition of the two groups only the bastion remained, and into this unchanged form any community could be substituted. So in 1802, when the ruler needed help from the Hungarians in the campaign against Napoleon, in the speech given to the Hungarian Parliament by the Hungarian king, Franz I (1792–1835, who ruled as Holy Roman Emperor under the name of Franz II from 1792–1806) Hungary was described as the defensive bastion of the Monarchy.[58]

At the time of the 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence, and later in the next decades, the significance of the realm of memory was modified by the changing relationship between Hungary and other nations, and varied but similar constructions appeared. In 1848 the poet Sándor Petőfi in his poem (*Élet vagy halál! – Life or Death!*) reminds the nations of the Carpathian Basin in extreme, strongly nationalist and agitated tones, that for centuries the Hungarians had defended them against the Ottomans, and now they were showing their gratitude by attacking the same Hungarians under orders from the Austrian Emperor.[59] The poet also praised the previous sacrifices of the Hungarians in a newspaper article in which he emphasised Hungary's role, not as

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[56] Kálmán Benda, ed., *Európa és a Rákóczi-szabadságharc* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1980), 62.

[57] Andor Tarnai, *Extra Hungariam non est vita... (Egy szállóige történetéhez)* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1969), 63–92.

[58] Quoted by Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige," 324.

[59] István Margócsy, *Petőfi Sándor* (Budapest: Korona, 1999), 195–96.

a defender of Christianity, but of European civilization.[60]

The history of the defensive bastion, which stretches back several centuries was – following the defeat of the War of Independence – exemplified for the writer Mór Jókai, by the fact that neither then, nor earlier, could Hungary count on the support of neighbouring or more distant European peoples.[61] One of the leaders of the War of Independence, Lajos Kossuth, however, brought a new ingredient to the concept. In the speeches made during his tour of North America and Britain he used the idea of bastion of Christendom to renew the national-historical mission of the Hungarian people and orientate it to the power relations of the age. In this way, Hungary became the protective dam against the advance and pressure exerted by Russia.[62] Kossuth referred to the Russians as the enemies of civilization, to give more conviction to his speeches, the aim of which was really to gather political and military support for the Hungarian cause.

The enemy which at that period Hungary took on itself to confront in order to defend Europe was not the Ottomans, but the Russians. Following the War of Independence of Ferenc Rákóczi II, a process of acceptance of the Turks began, and subsequently the hostile relationship was transformed into a friendly one following

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[60] "...ha te nem mártírkodtál volna, magyar nemzet, most a török félhold vetne kísérteties fényt az európai műveltség romjaira." "…if you hadn't martyred yourself, Hungarian nation, now the Turkish crescent would shine its tempting light over the ruins of European culture." An article of Sándor Petőfi in a contemporary newspaper *Márczius Tizenötödike*, 17th Sept. 1848, no. 160, quoted by Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige," 318.

[61] „Midőn minden szomszédnak, románnak, szerbnek, németnek kezet kellett volna fogni a magyarral, hogy egy közös hatalmas ellenségtől megóvják a keresztyén világot, éppen akkor törtek legjobban mind ellene, s midőn minden magyar szívnek egyet kellett volna érteni abban, hogy vezérét örök ellensége ellen kövesse, mikor volt is ilyen vezér, akit kövessen, Hunyady János, éppen akkor húzott, ahány, annyi felé." "When all neighbours, Romanians, Serbs, Germans, should have held hands with Hungarians, so that they could defend the Christian world against a vast, common enemy, just at that time all broke against each other, and when all Hungarian hearts should have understood that they should follow their leaders against their eternal enemy, when was there a leader to follow, John Hunyady, it was just then that they all pulled, each in their own different direction." Mór Jókai, *A magyar nemzet története regényes rajzokban*, ed. Tivadar Téglás, Ferenc Végh (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1969), vol. 1: 251.

[62] "Magyarország az isteni Gondviselés által arra van hivatva, hogy az egész európai földrész számára újra a civilizáció és a vallásszabadság elővédje legyen az orosz deszpotizmus rombolásai ellenében, mint ahogy egykor a kereszténység védőgátja volt az Izlám ellenében." "Hungary is called to bear God's burden, to once again be the defence of civilisation and religious freedom for the whole of Europe against the destructive advance of Russian despotism, just as it once was the defensive gate of Christendom against Islam." The speech of Kossuth quoted by Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige," 328–29.

the 1848-49 War of Independence and the Crimean War.[63] This is indicated by the fact that beginning with the 1870s, and becoming more intensive in the 1880s, in the debate about the linguistic family relationships of the Hungarian language – the so-called "Ugric-Turkic (language) war" – Hungarian public opinion favoured a relationship with the Turkic rather than with the Finno-Ugric languages.[64]

As a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the bases of the memories linked to the concept of Hungary as a defensive bastion of Christendom changed. The family feeling on the part of the Hungarian people towards the Turks and the opposition to the Russians who had assisted in the defeat of the War of Independence in 1849 gave a new sense to the struggles against the Ottomans of the 15th to 17th centuries.[65] The poem *Zenta–Mohács* by Mór Jókai shows this clearly; the poet forgave the Turks for the defeats they had inflicted at Mohács (1526) and suffered at Zenta (1697) because of the heroism they had shown against the Russians.[66] In the poem the conflict between the Hungarians and the Turks is no longer mentioned in the context of Hungary's defensive role against the Ottomans, but as glorious and heroic events in the common memories of the two peoples. By this time, nothing, not even the religious difference, placed the two nations in opposing positions, and friendship with the Turks was no longer a shameful episode. So, what had previously appeared an unbridgeable opposition based on a religious difference between the two great civilizations, disappeared. This change can be felt in this period not only in texts, but also on the ritual level: in 1877 and 1878 the residents of Zenta did not hold their services to commemorate the day of the battle, in order to show their sympathetic feelings for the Turks.[67]

However, it was not just the transformation of the image of the Turks among Hungarian people which lay behind the fact that the opposition between Christianity and Islam was not overly emphasised in the concept of the defensive bastion. In the peace and subsequent congress following the Russo-Turkish War, the Ottoman Empire lost the major part of its Balkan territories, and so the frontier between the two civilizations – to the damage of Islam – moved significantly to the South-East. Given this kind of transformation in power relations, the Christian–

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[63] Pál Fodor, "Törökök magyar szemmel," *Magyar Tudomány*, April 2011, accessed 2 November, 2020, http://www.matud.iif.hu/2011/04/03.htm.

[64] János Pusztay, *Az "ugor–török háború" után* (Budapest: Magvető, 1977), 92–107.

[65] See, for example, issues of the *Vasárnapi Ujság* (*The Sunday News*) and the *Kelet Népe* (*The Eastern People*), political dailies from 1877-78.

[66] On Mohács as a special realm of memory for the Hungarian people see the studies in *A magyar emlékezethelyek kutatásának elméleti és módszertani alapjai*, ed. Pál S. Varga, Orsolya Száraz, Miklós Takács (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2013), 199–402.

[67] Attila Pejin, "Lokális és/vagy nemzeti? Történelmi tudathasadásaink és emlékezetkieséseink," in *Bennünk élő múltjaink: Történelmi tudat – kulturális emlékezet*, ed. Richárd Papp, László Szarka (Zenta: Vajdasági Magyar Művelődési Intézet, 2008), 126.

Muslim opposition lost much of its significance and contemporary relevance.

In the 1920s the concept of the defensive bastion was re-invigorated with a new level of political significance. Hungary's past struggles to defend Christendom were linked with its contemporary role in opposing Bolshevism.[68] In the Paris Peace Conference of 1920, Albert Apponyi expressed his opposition to the division of Hungary by arguing that the country could only fulfil its mission to defend Europe if it remained territorially intact,[69] and elsewhere he made it clear that Hungary's contemporary task was the defence against the "Russian danger".[70] Apponyi

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[68] See, Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige," 332.

[69] "Ez a terület, amely Magyarországot alkotja és amely jogilag ma is Magyarország, századokon át rendkívül fontos szerepet játszott Európában, különösen Középeurópában a béke és a biztonság fentartása [sic!] tekintetében. A magyar honfeladást és a magyaroknak a keresztény hitre való áttérését megelőző évszázadokban hiányzott itt a nyugalom és a biztonság. Középeurópa a legkülönbözőbb barbár népek támadásainak volt kitéve. A biztonság csak attól a pillanattól fogva áll fenn, amikor a magyar védővonal kialakult. [...] A történelmi Magyarország töltötte be azt a feladatot, hogy oly államot tartva fenn, amelyben egyensúly és biztonság uralkodott, megvédte Európát a Keletről fenyegető veszedelmek elől. Ezt a hivatását tíz századon át töltötte be és erre egyedül organikus egysége képesítette." "This territory, which forms Hungary and which is still administratively Hungary today, played an exceptionally important role in Europe for centuries, especially in central Europe in terms of maintaining peace and security. In the centuries preceding the settlement of the area by Hungarians and its conversion to Christianity, calm and security were lacking here. Central Europe was open to the attacks of all kinds of barbarian people. Security was only established with the creation of the Hungarian defensive wall. [...] Historical Hungary fulfilled the role of maintaining a state where balance and security ruled, and defended Europe from the dangers threatening from the East. The country faced this vocation for ten centuries and to achieve it became a unique organic unit." *Magyar Királyság Apponyi Albert gróf beszédeiben* (Budapest: Magyar Férfiak Szent Korona Szövetsége, 1933), 13–14 (A protest against the Treaty of Trianon, 26th January 1920).

[70] "Már a jogfejlődés és a szervezkedési elvek ezen sajátossága teljes önállóságra praedestinálta nemzetünket, mely önállóság nélkül nem rendezkedhetett volna be szabadon, saját helyzetének szükségletei szerint. De kívánta és kívánja ezt az önállóságot az a hivatás is, a melyet mint előretolt védelmi őrsége a nyugotnak [!] betölteni hivatva volt és ma is – bár nem egymagában – teljesíteni hivatott. [...] Végre a Habsburg-ház útján jött létre az az állandó kapcsolat nyugoti [!] országokkal, a mely túlélte a török veszedelmet és most egyik erősségünk az orosz veszedelemmel szemben." "Already development of the law and the principles of organisation had predestined our nation in this special way to complete independence, and without this independence it would not have been able to enjoy its freedom and organise its circumstances according to its own needs. But our nation's vocation also desired and still desires this independence, as the country was called and is called on today to fulfil – although not alone – the function of a guardian outpost for the West. [...] Finally, through the house of Hapsburg there came the permanent relationship with Western countries, which survived the Ottoman danger and is now one of our strengths against the threat from Russia." Albert

portrayed the opposition as one of a civilising nature, when primarily it revolved around Hungary's political interests.

After the Treaty of Trianon, the attempts to win back the territories lost, however, were linked to the nation's role of defensive bastion in an entirely different way. A permanent point of reference in the argumentations was that Hungary was a defensive bastion of the West, while the West, instead of gratitude and thanks, had repaid the country by abandoning it and cutting it into pieces.[71] After the First World War there was a revival of Turanism, which advertised its orientation towards the East and its opposition to the West. The ideology directed to the East emphasised Hungary's links with Asia, which contradicted the idea of the defensive bastion of Christendom, and so left it in silence or interpreted it in a different way. In 1936, when the preparations were being made for the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the retaking of Buda, Miklós Kozma, chairman of the Hungarian Telegraph Office asked Gyula Gömbös, the Prime Minister, "let it not appear from the event that the 'cross' defeated the 'crescent', because that would only emphasise the positive role of the West. And today we in fact ought to be asking 'whether it was really such a good thing to sacrifice the Hungarian people to the West in perpetuity, when they paid us back like this'. What should come out of it is that 'the Hungarian people sacrificed themselves for the West and they had justified reason to regret it later'.[72]"

In the context of friendship with the Turks, the historian Gyula Szekfű also entered the debate against the Turanists, who wished to rewrite the past, arguing against their alternative commemoration. He re-emphasised the concept of the defensive bastion of Christendom in the political and academic debate and used it to show that Hungary always belongs to the West, and an Eastern orientation had always been a failed national strategy.[73]

In the 1930s, following Hitler's seizure of power, Hungary appeared with increasing frequency as a bastion against the German advance.[74] In the World Eucharistic Congress held in Budapest in 1938, although initially it was devoted to an anti-communist platform, at the end – given the deteriorating relations between the Catholic Church and Hitler's Germany – it took on an attitude hostile to Nazi

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Apponyi, *A magyar nemzet természetszerű elhelyezkedése a világpolitikában* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1915), 15–16.

[71] Elemér Hankiss, "Nemzetvallás," in *Monumentumok az első háborúból*, ed. Ákos Kovács (Budapest: Corvina, 1991), 64–90. Miklós Zeidler, *A magyar irredenta kultusz a két világháború között* (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2002).

[72] Ferenc Glatz, *Nemzeti kultúra, kulturált nemzet, 1867–1987* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1988), 196.

[73] Sándor Őze, "Szekfű Gyula törökkoros munkássága," in *Szekfű Gyula és nemzedéke a magyar történetírásban*, ed. Rudolf Paksa (Budapest: Argumentum – Eötvös József Collegium, 2007), 91–127.

[74] Terbe, "Egy európai szállóige," 325.

Germany.[75] The organisers in this situation once more assigned to Hungary the role of the defensive bastion of Christendom, this time "against neo-pagan Bolshevism and the Nazi infection.[76]" From the same period we can also cite the writer László Németh, who in one of his essays defined Hungary's role against Russian communism and emphasised the country's permanent membership of the West.[77]

In the 1940s, to justify the war against the Soviet Union, the government frequently used the concept of defensive bastion in the sense of Hungary being a defensive bastion of the West against the barbarism of the East. At the same time, however, there was also an understanding of the defensive bastion of Christendom which emphasised the fact that Hungarians had always followed their own path, and neither in the past nor in the present had served other nations' attempts to gain political power.[78]

The writer Gyula Illyés analysed Hungary's historical calling by arguing that its fulfilment was always in the interest of other nations, but on Hungary's part was always undertaken in a sense of self-sacrifice without ulterior motives. For this reason, he suggested that the defence of Christendom from now on be God's task, while the Hungarians should defend their own nation. This latter point was not a reference to territorial or political defence against the outside world, but to the kind of measures which would resolve society's internal problems.[79]

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[75] Jenő Gergely, *Eucharisztikus világkongresszus Budapesten, 1938* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1988).

[76] Jenő Gergely, *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon, 1919–1945* (Budapest: ELTE Újkori Magyar Történeti Tanszék, 1997), 30.

[77] "Magyarország a Nyugathoz tartozik, s végvára volt nemcsak a török, de az egész bizánci öv ellen, amióta áll. Legnagyobb büszkeségünk, hogy a sivatagterjesztő török kultúrájú népek közül egyedül mi lehettünk a Nyugat alkotó kedvének az egész második millenniumban részesei." "Hungary belongs to the West, and since its inception has been a final defence, not just against the Turks, but also against the whole Byzantine zone. Our greatest pride is that from among the Turkic cultured people that spread across the desert, we are the only ones to be a part of the enthusiasm to create the West over the whole of the second millennium." László Németh, "Nyugat és Bizánc," in *A magyar esszé antológiája*, ed. Mátyás Domokos (Budapest: Osiris, 2006), vol. 1: 889.

78 In 1943, for example, this was the opinion of the Parliamentary representative Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky. See, Károly Vigh, *Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre külpolitikai nézeteinek alakulása* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1979), 145.

[79] "Én beérném, ha a kereszténység helyett, melyet isten sugallt és teremtett, s így nyilván adott esetben meg is tud védeni, a nemzet a védtelenek, az özvegyek, árvák, a munkások és nincstelenek védelmére adná magát, s ha nagyra akar nézni, hát a kereszténység elveinek védelmére. Közép-európai hivatásunkat is tehát abban látom, hogy gyorsan, minden mellékgondolat nélkül valósítsuk meg magunk számára mindazt, ami nemcsak egy népet, de több népet is boldoggá és szabaddá tehet: a rengeteg ígéretet." "I would settle for a situation in which, instead of Christianity, which God inspired and created, and which obviously in a given case he could also defend, the nation would give itself for the defence of the

In the Communist period, in the time of Rákosi, the Soviet Union was "the most powerful bastion of democracy.[80]" However, after Tito decided to follow a separate path in Yugoslavia, Mátyás Rákosi sounded the slogan "Hungary is not a crack, but a strong bastion in the frontline of peace". This was intended to express the idea that Hungary – unlike Yugoslavia – remained faithful to Stalin and the Soviet Union. This slogan later became an oft-repeated element in Rákosi's speeches.[81]

In 1948 Rákosi outlined the goal of "the ordering of the relationship

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defenceless, the widows, the orphans, the workers and the dispossessed, and if it wanted to look for a greater task, then in defence of Christian principles. Our vocation in Central Europe, therefore, as I see it, is that quickly, and without any second thoughts, we should make a reality for ourselves all those things which have made not just one people, but several peoples happier and freer: as it was promised so many times." Gyula Illyés, *Magyarok: Naplójegyzetek* (Budapest: Nyugat, 1938), vol. 2: 297.

[80] "Ezen belül mindenütt támogatják a reakciót, mindenütt szítják a háborús hangulatot, és mindenütt uszítanak a demokrácia leghatalmasabb védőbástyája, a nagy Szovjetunió ellen. Ha a második világháború idejében esztendőkön keresztül a Szovjetunió népeinek vállára nehezedett a fasizmus elleni harc oroszlánrésze és a haladó emberiség a Vörös Hadsereg hőseitől remélte és joggal remélte a fasizmus megsemmisülését, úgy most az imperialista világuralmi törekvésekkel szemben megint a Szovjetunió az a bástya, amelyen megtörik a reakció minden hulláma." "And there, they support the reaction everywhere, everywhere they stir up a warlike atmosphere, and everywhere they foment ill-feeling against the greatest defensive bastion of democracy, the great Soviet Union. If, during the Second World War for years the shoulders of the peoples of the Soviet Union were weighed down by the lion's share of the struggle against fascism, and progressive humanity hoped, and justifiably hoped, that the heroes of the Red Army would destroy fascism, then now, faced with the attempts of the imperialist world, it is once again the Soviet Union which is the bastion against which every wave of reaction will break." Rákosi's speech to the great assembly of party activists in Budapest, 31st October 1947. Mátyás Rákosi, *A fordulat éve* (Budapest: Szikra, 1950), http://mek.oszk.hu/04400/04493/04493.htm#16.

[81] "A folyó évi május 15-i parlamenti választásokon is a béke kérdése volt a döntő kérdés. Akkor adtuk ki azt a jelszót: »Magyarország nem rés, hanem erős bástya a béke frontján.«" "In the parliamentary elections on 15th May of the current year, the question of peace was also the decisive question. It was then that we issued the key slogan 'Hungary is not a crack, but a strong bastion on the peace front.'" Mátyás Rákosi, *Magyarország a békefront erős bástyája* (*Hungary is the strong bastion of the peace front*) (December 1949), in R. M., *A békéért és a szocializmus építéséért* (*For Peace and the Building of Socialism*), Bp., Szikra, 1951, http://mek.oszk.hu/04300/04351/04351.htm (Downloaded: 12.07.2020). "A mi feladatunk, a magyar demokrácia feladata, hogy a maga szakaszán biztosan és megingathatatlanul álljon, hogy az ellenség megértse, hogy a mi országunk nem rés a béke frontján, hanem erős bástya." "Our task, the task of Hungarian democracy, is to stand securely and unwaveringly in our section, so that the enemy understands that our country is not a crack in the peace front, but a strong bastion." Report to the National Congress of the Hungarian Independent People's Front, 15th March 1949, Mátyás Rákosi, *Építjük a nép országát* (Budapest: Szikra, 1949), http://mek.oszk.hu/04600/04670/04670.htm.

between the church and the people's republic.[82]" Subsequent to this, the Church became the subject of continuous attacks, and the decades of communist repression began. The Hungarian Catholic Church in this situation seemed to be the defensive bastion of Christianity against communism. Pius XII, in his speech given in the secret consistorium on 14th February 1949, placed emphasis on the continuity of the Hungarian people's actions in defence of Christendom – since the days of St Stephen –, and expressed the hope that Hungarian Catholics would bear the latest trials with steadfast faith and perseverance.[83]

When the participants of the 1956 Uprising turned to help from the West, they once again emphasised Hungary's former role in defending Christendom.[84] József Mindszenty, Hungary's archbishop, in his radio address of November 3rd, stressed that Hungary had always had to defend itself and the West, which had brought negative consequences for the nation: "But we had to fight a continuous

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[82] Gábor Salacz, *A magyar katolikus egyház tizenhét esztendeje (1948–1964)* (München: Görres Gesellschaft, 1988), 9.

[83] Ibid., 184: "E szorongató helyzet közepette azonban, Tisztelendő Testvérek, nem nélkülöztük az irgalmasság Atyjának (vö. Kor. 1:3) mennyei vigasztalását, s ez enyhítette fájdalmunkat. Ennek egyik forrása a magyar katolikusok szilárd hite, akik a legviszontagságosabb helyzetükben is megtesznek minden lehetőt ősi vallásuk védelmére és megújítják elődeik hajdani kemény kitartását; továbbá az a szilárd, atyai lelkünkben melengetett bizalmunk, hogy Magyarország püspökei mindenkor tökéletes egyetértéssel és ügybuzgalommal törekszenek majd megvédeni az egyház szabadságát, teljes erővel megszilárdítani a keresztények egységét, és fönntartani bennük azt a reményt, amelyet, mivel az égből származik és isteni kegyelem táplálja, ez életnek sem sanyarúságai, sem igazságtalanságai nem képesek kioltani vagy meggyöngíteni." "In the midst of this difficult situation, however, Honourable Brothers, we are not without the heavenly comfort of the merciful Father (cf. Cor. 1:3), and this soothes our pain. One source of this is the solid faith of Hungarian Catholics, who even in the most trying circumstances do everything in their power to defend their ancient faith and renew their predecessors' previous firm perserverance; furthermore, it is our strong trust, warmed in our fatherly soul, that Hungary's bishops will always, with complete agreement and enthusiasm for the cause, attempt to defend the freedom of the Church, to strengthen Christian unity with all their might, and to sustain within us the hope that, since it derives from Heaven and is nourished by the grace of God, cannot be destroyed or weakened through repression and injustice of this life."

[84] One radio station called for military intervention from the West in the following way: "Kérünk minden nyugatnémet adót, amely adásunkat fogni tudja, adja tovább angol, német, francia nyelven. Segítséget kérünk! Magyarország mindig a Nyugat védőbástyája volt. A helyzet óráról órára súlyosabb. Csak katonai segítség menthet meg bennünket!" "We ask all West German programmes which can receive our broadcasts, to pass them on in English, German and French. We ask for help! Hungary was always the defensive bastion of the West. The situation is worsening from hour to hour. Only military help can save us!" László Varga, ed., *A forradalom hangja: Magyarországi rádióadások, 1956. október 23–november 9.* (Budapest: Századvég – Nyilvánosság Klub, 1989), 496.

war for freedom. Mostly to defend Western countries. This hindered the country, and we always had to find our resurrection from within our own strength.[85]" In later references to the past the image of the defensive bastion also appeared. The writer Béla Varga, who had emigrated to the United States in 1947, declared in an interview made before he finally returned to Hungary (1991): "We're going home to my own dear Budapest. [...] In 1945, just as in 1956, Budapest was the defensive bastion of Hungary and Europe; at times of historical trials, she also struggled hopelessly against tyranny.[86]"

In the second half of the 20th century, the bastion of Christendom as a realm of memory in the European memory tended to fall into oblivion. The forgetfulness of the West was recognised, for instance, by a writer, Tibor Déry during his visit in Cannes Film Festival, however, he also indicated that Hungarians insist on remembering their past.[87]

For Hungarians the concept of the defensive bastion is still alive today. Referring to this, certain politicians even in the 1990s expected thanks and help from the West.[88] According to a Gallup survey, in 1993 – regardless of age,

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[85] Ibid., 461.

[86] István Csicsery-Rónay, "'A magyar nép büszkesége embersége legyen'," in *A demokrácia fellegvárának építői*, ed. Bálint Török (Budapest: Századvég, 2002), 242.

[87] "– Magyarország? – ismételték tűnődve. – Ázsia? – Onnét jöttünk – mondtam –, több mint ezer éve. De tudniuk illene, hogy hosszú évszázadokig mi voltunk az önök védőbástyája a török ellen. Ha mi nem vagyunk, Brigitte Bardot ma egy Champs-Elysées-i háremben sínylődne, mélyen lefátyolozva. – Köszönjük – mondták." "– Hungary? – they repeated wonderingly. – Asia? – That's where we came from – I said –, more than a thousand years ago. But you really ought to know that for long centuries we were your defensive bastion against the Turks. If we hadn't been there, Brigitte Bardot would today be languishing in a harem on the Champs-Elysées, heavily veiled. – We thank you – they said." Tibor Déry, "Hordalék Cannes-ból", in Tibor Déry, *A napok hordaléka*, ed. Pál Réz (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1982), 136.

[88] See, for example, the speech made by Béla Moldován (spokesman for the Transylvanian Christian Democratic party) at a conference in 1992: „Mit csinál Nyugat? teszem fel a kérdést. Hogyan hálálja meg azt, hogy Magyarország mindig a Nyugat védőbástyája volt, bástyája a tatár, bástyája a török, bástyája a kommunizmus ellen. Elfelejtette azt: ha nincs 56, ha nem vérzik a magyar ifjúság, ha nem vérzik a magyar munkásság, akkor nem lehetne beszélni Poznanról, Walesáról sem, és nem lehetne beszélni a kommunizmus eltűnéséről sem. Nem könyörögni, és nem koldulni akarunk a Nyugattól, de azt joggal várjuk el, hogy azt az országot, azt a népet, amely annyit szenvedett, és amely megvédte őt nagyon sok keserűségtől és nyomorúságtól, legalább elismerésre méltassa." "What is the West doing? I put the question. How do they show their gratitude for the fact that Hungary was always the defensive bastion of the West, a bastion against the Mongols, a bastion against the Turks, and a bastion against communism? They forget that if there had been no '56, if Hungarian youth had not bled, if Hungarian workers had not bled, then we could not speak of Poznań or Walesa, nor of the disappearance of communism. We do not wish to plead to the West, or beg from them, but we rightly expect that they should at least recognise with dignity the country and the people

educational background or place of residence – two thirds of the population, and in 2000, 71%, agreed with the statement that "Hungary was the defensive bastion of the West for a thousand years, and never in the past (nor in the present) did they thank us for this.[89]"

Translated from Hungarian by George Seel.

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who suffered so much and who defended them through so much bitterness and misery." Rezső Kiss, ed., *Hódoltságban, I. magyar történelmi konferencia az elnyomatás évtizedeiről* (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1992), 25.

[89]http://archive-hu-2012.com/hu/g/2012-09-27_322399_31/Gallup-P%C3%A1rtpreferenci%C3%A1k-2000-november-eleje/
(Downloaded: 01.03.2015) Unfortunately, the results of the survey are no longer available on the internet.

THE MYSTERY OF ALTERITY REFLECTED IN *CHRISTIAN TEACHINGS* (*ÎNVĂŢĂTURI HRISTIANICEŞTI*, 1700)

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Abstract The transliteration[1] of the Romanian books printed with Cyrillic characters, a procedure assumed through the research project MCVRO, offers to the readers that are passionate about the old writings, the possibility to discover texts that have an impressive cultural value. The volume *Christian Teachings* (*Învăţături hristianiceşti*), published by Antim Ivireanu in 1700, comprises a series of Christian reflections on several problems which are extremely actual. Our attention will be focused on the theme of alterity theorized and applied to the daily realities from that time. The study wishes to emphasize the extent to which the behavioural paradigms proposed by the author may be applied nowadays.
Keywords Alterity, Christian teachings, transliteration, paradigm, old books.

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[1] We must mention that all the transliterated texts that will be cited in this study will be given with the graphical signs that are characteristic to the process of transliteration from Cyrillic into Latin. This option for writing offers to a researcher or to a reader that is accustomed to the transliteration rules, the possibility to identify easily the manner in which were written the Cyrillic words that were transliterated. It is extremely difficult to recompose a word written in Cyrillic when it is not rendered according to the transliteration rules. For example, the letter "i" may be represented in four ways, depending on the Cyrillic letters (И – I; Й – Ĭ; I and Ï – Ī) without taking into account the combinations of letters which include "i" (ІЄ – IE; Ѧ – ĬA; Ꙗ – IA; Ю – IU). For more details see the chapter *Transliterarea textelor paleografice* from Demir Dragnev and Ion Gumenâi, *Paleografia slavo-română și româno-chirilică* (Chișinău: Civitas, 2003), 82-92 and the chapter *Cînd s-a scris întîi românește* from P.P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română* (București: Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1965), 57-65.

Preliminaries

The book *Învăţături hristianiceşti*[2] was printed for the first time by the metropolitan of the Romanian Country, Antim Ivireanu (1640-1716), in 1700 at Snagov monastery, in the period during which he was the superior of that monastery. The value of this writing was not overseen by the posterity and, therefore, it was reedited in 1823 by another metropolitan, Veniamin Costache (1768-1846). In the preface of the printed edition, he drew the attention upon the fact that the teachings in this book, which gathers the most precious ideas of the Holy Scripture, are all spiritual nurture and delight.[3]

The appreciation of the learned metropolitan for this writing is confirmed from the first pages. The style in which the ideas were presented, the theological profoundness of the content and the actuality of the reflections which refer to concrete situations from the daily life, surprise the reader in a pleasant manner. Even though this book was written more the 300 years ago, its message is very actual. The author succeeds in transmitting the firm message of the Holy Scripture in a gentle manner and with discernment that could not bother the reader today. The theoretical arguments and their contextualization in the daily life of that time may determine even a more rational thinker to accept the ideas presented. One may easily observe the fact that the author does not appeal to authoritarian arguments, but always develops an approach in which the first place is taken by the logical arguments resulted from a common assumed experience. We also observe the fact that is the texts and the biblical episodes invoked by the author as a mark are the most representative.

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[2] For this study we used the edition published by metropolitan Veniamin Costachi in Iassy in 1823. This edition was printed with the blessing and the costs of the hierarch, during the reign of vaivode Ioan Sandul Sturza. Excepting the front page and the following page which present the symbols that appear on the ruler's seal, the only difference in comparison with the first edition is represented by the word for the reader written by the metropolitan of Moldavia. Regarding the alphabet used, it is necessary to mention that in the first edition the classic Cyrillic letters were used (1642-1710), and in the second edition we find the modified Cyrillic alphabet (1710-1814). For details regarding the evolution of the Romanian alphabet starting 1642 see Elena Boian et al., „Digitizarea, recunoaşterea şi conservarea patrimoniului cultural-istoric," *Akademos* 32, no. 1 (April 2014): 64.

[3] "The book that you are holding in your hands, my dear reader, cannot be called otherwise, but spiritual nurture and delight. Because its composition is nothing but the most useful Christian teachings and advice for our uncontaminated faith, gathered from the most precious thesaurus of the Holy Scripture. And although I found it old, printed in 1700 in Bucharest, I thought it was particularly important to reprint it in the Typography of our Mitropoly, in Iassy. Hence, my dear, do not think it is too expensive and do not be lazy in reading it if you care (as you should) for your soul". Veniamin Costache, foreword to Antim Ivireanu, *Învăţături hristianiceşti* (Iaşi: Tipografia Mitropoliei, 1823), 4.

Sometimes we are even surprised the author's manner to identify the most relevant texts that can easily cancel all the attempts of contradicting the ideas presented.

Hence, it is understood the reason for which the anthropological discourse,[4] upon which we will insist in the following pages, is actual and generates behavioural paradigms that can be easily assumed by the contemporary man.[5]

1. The biblical premises of the mystery of the neighbour

The mystery of alterity (the mystery of the other, of the neighbour or of the brother) is always related to God and especially to Christ. The one who does not love his neighbour cannot say under any circumstances that he loves God. This reasoning is taken from the Johannian theology.[6] Saint Apostle John states that the love for the other represents the most natural way through which we can express our love for God. The one who does not love his brother and yet he states that he loves God, not only is a liar (1 John 4:20),[7] but is also a sinner (John 13:34)[8]. God asks men to love each other because of the love that they have for Him: "Anyone who loves God must also love their brother and sister." (1 John 4:21).[9]

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[4] To understand completely the nuances of the anthropological discourse developed within this study it is necessary to mention that the terminology used comes from the theological vocabulary. Therefore, the key-terms that are included within the concept of alterity (neighbor, brother, the other, otherness) are in a relationship of synonymy that sometimes develops to equivalence. To this respect, looking from a biblical perspective, "the other" can only be the "neighbor" or the "brother". We recommend for a better familiarization with these terms the following studies: Ioan Chirilă, "Celălalt, alteritate sau aproapele, *distincţii terminologice, repere practice pentru* o (posibilă) reformulare a discursului apologetic," in *Anuarul Facultăţii de Teologie Ortodoxă din Cluj* IX (2005-2006), ed. Ioan Chirilă (Cluj-Napoca: Renaşterea, 2007), 7-12; Ioan Chirilă, „*Elemente de antropologie biblică: persoană/subiect, sine şi suflet," Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai – Theologia Orthodox* 54, no 1 (2009): 49-64.

[5] Regarding the state of the human nature in the past, as well as its development until contemporaneity see the perspective proposed by Lajos András Kiss in „Human nature as a social construction," *Philobiblon* 8, no. 1 (2008): 186-206.

[6] The expression comprises all the teachings about God from the work of Saint Apostle John (The Gospel and the three Epistles).

[7] "Whoever claims to love God yet hates a brother or sister is a liar. For whoever does not love their brother and sister, whom they have seen, cannot love God, whom they have not seen." (1 John 4:20).

[8] "A new command I give you: Love one another. As I have loved you, so you must love one another" (John 13:34).

[9] The test through which we can certify our love for God is the love for alterity. S. S. Smalley, "1, 2, 3 John," in *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 51 (Dallas: Word, Incorporated., 2002), 263-

All the spiritual efforts made by man are useless if he does not live in love and he does not offer his love to the other with all his heart. Assuming the Pauline vision[10] from the hymn of love (1 Corinthians 13), the author of this advice states that the perfection and the holiness of man depend on love. Every act, no matter how valuable it is, even martyrdom, is useless and lacking spiritual value if man does not do them out of love for God and his neighbour.

After the biblical argumentation of his discourse on alterity, the author proposes a novel approach of the mystery of the father: "My duty is to love Christ and all those that Christ loves.[11]" In other words, man's love for Christ must necessarily extend to those that Christ loves, and implicitly, to those with which the Lord identifies Himself (Matthew 25:40).[12] And who doesn't Christ love? This manner of relating determines, persuasively, every man to love his neighbour. This conditioning may constitute a paradigm with a restoring force for the society nowadays. Even though there are persons that we cannot love or it is hard for us to love them for various reasons, for the love we have for God, it is truly meet to overcome this obstacle and gradually pour our love completely towards the one loved by Christ. "So – the author concludes – it is truly met to love completely my neighbour for Christ loves him as Himself, and even more than himself. If I cannot find something worthy of love in my neighbour, it is enough for me to love him because Christ loves him. This obliges me to love him with all my heart. […] Be careful to love with all your heart those who Christ loved and to struggle not to bring damage to your neighbour.[13]"

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64. Cf. D. L. Akin, "1, 2, 3 John," in *The New American Commentary*, vol. 38 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2001), 187.

[10] Through this expression we refer to the perspective proposed by Saint Apostle Paul in I Epistle to Corinthians. For a better familiarization with his vision on love, we recommend W. F. Orr and J. A. Walther, "I Corinthians: A new translation, introduction, with a study of the life of Paul, notes, and commentary," in *The Anchor Yale Bible*, vol. 32 (London: Yale University Press, 2008), 290-96.

[11] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 64.

[12] "The King will reply, 'Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me'". (Matthew 25:40). Christ's love for people is so great that He does not just identify Himself with every humble, insignificant, unheeded or suffering man, but goes to self-sacrifice. He "Surely he took up our pain and bore our suffering. […] But he was pierced for our transgressions, he was crushed for our iniquities; the punishment that brought us peace was on him, and by his wounds we are healed" (Isaiah 53:4-6). We recommend for a better understanding J. D. W. Watts, "Isaiah 34-66," in *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 25 (Dallas: Word, Incorporated., 2005), 788-90 and J. N. Oswalt, "The Book of Isaiah 40-66," in *The New International Commentary on the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 385-90.

[13] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 64.

To motivate the readers to give the attention required to the love of the neighbour, the author states that this commandment of love comprises the law. The one who loves his brother fulfils all the law and legitimates himself as son of God because, "only love differentiates the sons of God from the sons of devil.[14]"

2. Excluding the concept of *enemy* from the discourse on alterity

The Christian teaching does not allow anybody to hate one of his fellows no matter who he is or what he did bad.[15]" To this respect Jesus Christ, who loved even those who crucified Him, is offered both as reference point and as model. Hence, the Christian is asked not to distinguish between enemy and friend when he loves. Otherwise, he sins each time he calls God our Father and when he asks for forgiveness. Therefore, the one who does not forgive his trespassers, cannot say he loves his neighbour.

Moreover, the author of this teaching states that "he who hates his enemy, hates himself.[16]" Inspired probably by Saint Apostle Paul who makes men understand that when he loves his woman, he loves himself (Ephesians 5:28),[17] the author takes a significant step towards the construction of his discourse on alterity. By hating his brother, man wanders away from God, denies his filiation, and becomes a sinner. Stepping outside the communion of love, he fills himself with hate and he separates from the sons of God to unite with the sons of evil because "only those who are sentenced to tortures hate each other.[18]" It is unconceivable that two Christians who hate each other to be able to state that they are in communion with God.[19] These hurt and deceive themselves thinking that they are wrapped in the love of the one who defines himself to be Love (1 John 4:8). The lack of love for each other will bring both to death. In this case the author's warning is extremely firm: "And if those who don't love their neighbour

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[14] Ibid., 65.

[15] A notable approach of this axiological perspective may be consulted in Vasile FRĂTEANU, "Towards a relational Axiology," *Philobiblon* 2, no. 1 (1997): 14-31.

[16] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 65.

[17] In order to understand the manner in which love determines the re-establishing of the primary unity between man and woman, we recommend A. T. Lincoln, "Ephesians," in *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 42 (Dallas: Word, Incorporated., 2002), 374-80.

[18] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 66.

[19] "Two Christians who hate each other are not of the same faith. And how is it possible that they hate each other, two Christians who enter the same Church, who east at the same table, who believe into one Holy Trinity, who hope to get to heaven, and to be together forever, together with Christ and with each other?" Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 65-6.

shall perish, as John the Theologian teaches, what will happen to those who hate, and not only hate them, but also harm them?[20]"

In order to convince his readers of the fact that hate towards the neighbours determines the stepping outside communion, the author constructs a discourse from which it results that God will take measures and even defend the one who suffers the effects of hate. First, the author wishes to temper the Christian's wish for revenge through an example which is easy to understand. The one who infuriates and wants revenge is like the dog which attacks those who pass by the yard it defends. Unfortunately for him, some travellers are more powerful than him and can cause wounds. The same is the man who lets himself governed by anger and revenge; he can suffer a lot more if he lets the thought of revenge dominate him.[21]

Besides this perspective who involves the unforeseen, the author wishes to remind the Christian that God assumes the role of judge and implicitly of avenger (Romans 12:19)[22]. Hence, the one who wants revenge against his enemy does nothing else but to substitute himself to the Lord and to assume the right for revenge which is not given to him. "The Lord Himself promises He will avenge, and you don't listen and want to take justice into your own hands? A sinner slave, a good for nothing, you rise above God and try to take His lordship from His hand? And is it this small defamation of the Lord and conviction for yourself?[23]"

In other words, the one who does not love his brother and wishes for revenge, does nothing else but to defy God. Besides the fact that he repeatedly discards the commandments that ask him to love his neighbours, not to hate or hurt them, he finds himself into the ungrateful position of contesting the divine

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[20] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 66.

[21] "The dog, when he hears people passing by, runs to them without thinking how many they are and if they are stronger than him or if they have knives: and so we often see that instead of hurting them he returns with his head crushed. The same do those who want to defeat their enemies: they never think if their enemy is more powerful than them or if their enemies have companions: and instead of hurting them, they suffer more." Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 66-7.

[22] "Do not take revenge, my dear friends, but leave room for God's wrath, for it is written: «It's mine to avenge; I will repay», says the Lord". Saint Apostol does not stop to this recommendation but suggests to the Christians in Rome to have a benevolent attitude towards those who upset them. "On the contrary: «If your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him something to drink»…" (Romans 12:20). By doing this man not only does he not let himself defeated by evil but defeats evil with good. Moo, D. J. "The Epistle to the Romans," in *The New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996), 788.

[23] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 68.

authority[24]. "This is all He asks from you, to let Him avenge. «It is mine to avenge; I will repay says the Lord». When you do not want to listen to Him, but want to do your own will, don't you defame Him? And why don't you listen to Him? Is he incapable of revenge? Does He not take care of you?"[25] Moreover, we observe that the author admonishes persuasively the one who has the tendency to revenge and asks him to offer a pertinent answer for the dissatisfaction he has towards God and to present the reason for which the solidarity that He has for his sufferance is not enough, but wants to take the matter into his own hands.

In order to determine the one who did not understand well enough the mystery of the brother that the revenge is not the solution, the author states that God recants the one who suffers, but who wants to revenge and He comes to help the one who is about to be hurt. In this situation, the Christian has to choose: he either does not harm his enemy and he will have God by his side, or he stands against the Lord: "Tell me, do you wish your enemy good or bad? If you suffer disgrace, you will have God on your side against your enemy: and if you trespass the Lord's commandment, and revenge, he will turn from your enemy's side against you. What is it that you want? Do you want the Lord by your side or by your enemy's side? Think what is best, you have to choose one or another.[26]"

This manner of problematization contains within a paradigm that may be assumed by the contemporary man. We note here as well that the author uses a lot different arguments to convince the reader to follow the best way. To this respect, he tries to explain the fact that the tendency to hate the enemies, or even to harm them through revenge, determines the Christian's alienation from God. Even though he is not aware of this reality, it is possible that when he is warned that God moves to the side of the enemy when he wishes to avenge, to think better if he should listen to his angry instinct or to hold back. A Christian who becomes aware of the fact that through his manner of manifestation stands against God may be determined persuasively to change his behaviour. No matter how much he interferes with his system of thinking, he cannot help but observe that the Lord is the Father of all the people. When a Christian is presented with the situation that through his acts he identifies himself with the *sons of thunder[27]* who asked the Lord to bring fire down to earth over the people who

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[24] Why do Christians and your disciples not listen to you [when you say: love thy neighbour]? Why do they love their glory more than yours? When they were the disciples of Pythagoras, only with this word: He said so: they shut up and listened to their mentor: but why don't the Christians do the same today?" Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 69.

[25] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 67.

[26] Ibid., 68.

[27] This name was offered to the apostles John and Jacob because of their energetic character, dominated by instinct (Mark 3:17).

did not receive them (Luke 9:52-55),[28] or with one of the workers from the vineyard who reproached the landlord that his price is not fair (Matthew 20:1-15),[29] or with the elder brother who refused to forgive the brother that was lost and found (Luke 15:25-32)[30] he might become aware that he is in deceit, that he forgives whose son he is, that his eye is bad[31] and that it is not the case to avoid calling his brother as such (even though he hates or despises him).

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[28] The two apostles were sent by the Lord into a village of Samaria to ask for shelter. Angry for the refusal, they asked the Lord to bring down fire over the village to burn it down, as a punishment for the humiliation. Jesus Christ reprimands them for their attitude which lacked love and urges them to think better to whom they ask for revenge. He came to redeem the people and the two asked him to judge and convict (Luke 9:52-55). See details in J. Nolland, "Luke 9:21-18:34," in *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 35B (Dallas: Word, Incorporated., 2002), 535-38.

[29] The workers we refer to are the characters of a parable presented by our Lord. He narrates the fact that a landlord hired some workers in the morning to work in his vineyard for a denarius (the usual payment for a day's work). Gradually, the landlord continued to bring workers to the vineyard at noon, in the afternoon and even in the evening when the work was almost finished. In the end he gave each of the workers a denarius. In this situation those who had been working in the morning got angry and reproached the landlord that it is not fair to offer the same amount of money to each of them. Outraged by their malice, the landlord asks them if he did wrong to them by offering less than they bargained for. Because he honoured his part of agreement, the landlord of the vineyard told to the one who had dared to reproach him: "I am not being unfair to you, friend. […] Take your pay and go. I want to give to the one who was hired last the same as I gave you. Don't I have the right to do what I want with my own money? Or are you envious because I am generous?" (Matthew 20:13-15). See details in D. A. Hagner, "Matthew 14-28," in *Word Biblical Commentary* 33B (Dallas: Word, Incorporated., 2002), 570-75.

[30] The parable we refer to is that of the lost son. The action has three main characters: a man who had two sons. The youngest of the sons asks for his part of the inheritance and leaves in a distant country to live a luxurious life. After a while, being in need, he returns penitently to his father. But his father gives him back his old status, reconfirms his authority upon the servants and filled with joy, the demands everyone to rejoice for the return of his lost son. The older brother who had stayed home, faithful to his parent, was in the field when his younger brother came home. When he returned, he refused to go inside the house thinking he was being aggrieved. The father comes outside and tells him that everything he has belongs to him (his oldest son) and asks him to rejoice with him and with his lost brother, which the eldest no longer considered to be his brother, but only his father's son. We observe here that the attitude of the elder son was inadequate. His tone, his arguments and the manner of addressing were completely inappropriate (Luke 15:11-32). See details in *Cartea fiului risipitor. O parabolă biblică în şase lecturi pentru omul contemporan*, ed. Ioan I. Ică jr. (Sibiu: Deisis, 1998).

[31] In biblical language, the eye is the mirror of the soul.

3. Two models for the restoration of the inter-human relationships inspired by *Învăţături hristianiceşti*

The profound understanding of the mystery of alterity implies assuming a responsibility for the brothers,[32] especially for those who need support and for those who do not have a strong faith. To this respect, the author proposes two models of assuming the mystery of the brother which he presents with the help of a virtue and, surprisingly, with that of a passion.

Mercy. The mystery of the brother can only be fully understood if we relate it to Jesus Christ. He, who became like us through incarnation confesses that he identifies himself with all those who need the support of their neighbour and assures us that anything we offer to those, we give to him (Matthew 25:40). In this situation, Christ waits to receive through the poor our mercy[33]. The author of these teachings takes this idea and correlates it with the Eucharistic mystery. Jesus Christ offers himself as food to men through the Holy Gifts and wishes to feed himself through our mercy. Hence, the one who has no mercy for the poor, ignores our Saviour. Condemning this lack of sensitivity, the author chides the unmerciful saying: "We feed the dumb animals and we let Christ to famish! What type of thinking is this? What type of reasoning is this?[34]" hence, we may state without hesitation that the mystery of the brother included into the great mystery of Christ includes this aspect of the love for thy neighbour.

Wishing to stimulate the Christian to be generous with their brothers, the author reminds them more than once that Christ will be grateful to them, because he promised that he will not neglect not even the glass of water that someone offers to the thirsty in his name (Matthew 10:42). "And what will Christ

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[32] In father Ioan Chirilă's opinion, assuming the responsibility for yourself and for the others constitutes the premise for the discovery of the Other (of the Lord) within the neighbors and the creation. In the same time, the father underlines the fact that "Christ also reveals to us the responsibility for the human person: the incarnation, kenosis and His sacrifice are in the same time His assumption of the responsibility of the whole humanity before God, and also an impulse of responsibilization of the person for the creation, for his neighbor and for himself." Ioan Chirilă, Cristian Sonea and Ştefan Iloaie, "Omul în perspectiva întâlnirii cruciforme dintre verticala transcendentului şi orizontala imanentului. Repere de antropologie creştin-ortodoxă," in *Repere patristice în dialogul dintre ştiinţă şi teologie*, ed. Adrian Lemeni (Bucureşti: Basilica, 2009), 352.

[33] Saint Augustin thinks that man, in his initial state, was gifted with *arbitrium*, with the capacity to accept or refuse grace. But, besides *arbitrium*, God gave man *voluntas* as *bona voluntas*. To this respect, the Lord waits for man to act and do good to offer a meaning to his existence. And this good is necessary to be bestowed onto the other, be it man or creature. According to Radu Bandol, „*Voluntas* as *liberum arbitrium* at Saint Augustine and three meanings of *Servum arbitrium* at Martin Luther," *Philobiblon* 17, no. 2 (2012): 408.

[34] Ivireanu, *Învăţături hristianiceşti*, 45.

say when he will see our clothes on him and our bread and silver into the hands of the poor? Indeed, we will stand before him more courageously because we will be helped by the poor, we had mercy for.[35]" This image proposed by the author may be used successfully even today. Even though the idea according to which the Lord is mysteriously hidden under the image of the poor will not always motivate us to be merciful, the fact that Christ in his hypostasis of Judge will wear one of the clothes we gave to the poor, can be extremely motivating. This image inspired by the text of the Holy Scripture and developed by the author emphasizes his pragmatism. When you tell a person that the jacket, he offers to the poor will be dressed by Christ, he might stop and think for a while. You cannot offer to the Lord something that you do not need any more and you want to throw away. Hence, the author succeeds through this reasoning to offer not only importance to the act of mercy, but also to offer it more quality when referring to the object that is about to be offered.

In the same time, we are reminded the fact that the gifts and wealth that we possess are not our property. All these belong to the Lord and it is not right to set ourselves up into the position of owners of these goods, but rather we should assume the role of managers of the wealth we have. The meaningless spending of the wealth to the satisfaction of our desires is wrong both before God and the poor. "It is wrong before God because it steals the possession of wealth that He has. It is wrong before the poor because it dispossesses them of the natural food: hence, the one who has no mercy for the poor steals both the lordship from God and the part of the poor.[36]" The statements of the author determine the reader to introspection. Which one of us does not feel restraint when someone tells us that a certain act, we do injure God directly? The author's option to choose such reasoning conditions inevitably a change in perspective of the soul who reads or hears these words. Such interventions are not singular. In other situations, as well, the author determines the reader to relate directly to God before taking a decision that may affect in a negative perspective his relationship with the one beside him.

Assuming the mystery of the brother through mercy is not reserved only to the rich. The poor also have their duty to manifest their brotherly love for those who are needier than them.[37] God does not appreciate quantity, but the heart which offers the gift. "It is not right to motivate that we don't have what to offer to the poor. The poor widow gave only two coins to the Church of God and she was praised by Christ more than the rich. Share your bread with the hungry

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[35] Ibid., 47.

[36] Ibid., 46.

[37] A biblical perspective on the two categories of people (rich and poor) focused on several texts from the sapiential writings can be found in Ioan Chirilă, "Bogăţie şi sărăcie în Proverbe," *Cercetări Biblice* 3, no. 2 (2009): 9-26.

says the Lord. Meaning, if you have only one bread and cannot give it all, offer half of it. It is not right to say to the poor go in peace; the Lord will give you. For the Lord sends them to us: and if we send them back, we defy the Lord's commandment.[38]" We observe the fact that the author appeals here to an extremely efficient reasoning to change to good the will of those who are called to be merciful. How can you send back to the Lord the one who is sent by Him so that you do good to him? In other words, he tries to induce the idea that the brothers are waiting for our mercy are always sent by God.

Of what we mentioned so far, we may understand that the poor and those who wait for our mercy are not a burden, but a gift from God. Through them the Lord wants to offer us the Kingdom of Heaven. Do you think that the one who satiated several thousands of people with some bread and some fish cannot satiate those who are hungry?[39] What good was it – the author asks himself – for God to take away prophet Habakkuk miraculously and lead him to Babylon to feed Daniel who had been sitting into the lion's den for several days[40]? The answer is quite simple: "God has the power to help them, but he wants the good to come from us, so that we receive recompense from him.[41]"

Regarding the way it is necessary to perform mercy, the author mentions three exigencies: "The merciful man can be recognized after three signs, after his hand, his face and his eyes. After his hand when he reaches out. After his face when he is happy. And after his eyes when he looks to the sky.[42]"

When he refers to the hand, the author means the man's generosity. The merciful always reaches out his hand towards the one who asks for help from him. The merciful is generous because the Lord is generous. If he asks the Lord for great mercy, he cannot be hypocritical and measure with two types of measures. Also, he does not look to the man, if he is good or bad, but he looks to

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[38] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 48.

[39] Here we refer to one of the most important miracles performed by our Saviour: the feeding of the multitude. With five loafs of bread and two fish, the Lord satiated an impressive amount of people, of which only men were five thousand (Matthew 14:14-21). See details in B. M. Newman and P. C. Stine, *A handbook on the Gospel of Matthew* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1992), 458.

[40] The two characters of this episode from the Bible were in two spots situated at an impressive distance. Habakkuk was in Judea and Daniel was in Babylon. The first of them took food to some people who worked in the field. God sent an angel who took him miraculously to the den where Daniel was staying to feed him (*The history of the dragon and the idol Bel* 40-46). The author of our writing emphasizes besides this totally miraculous fact that God offers opportunities and always expects people to do acts of mercifulness for their neighbours (in this case – the feeding of the hungry).

[41] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 48.

[42] Ibid., 48.

his need: "Kindness never looks for worthiness, but to famine.[43]" This manner of relating may represent a behavioural paradigm. People hesitate to offer money or food to the needy who are suspect from a moral point of view. Any attempt to identify a motivation that justifies not offering mercy is superfluous. It is right for our eyes to be directed precisely to the need of our brother, not to his virtues. If God looked to our virtue when we ask for help and mercy, how much would we receive? When he fed the multitudes in the desert Christ did not separate the ones who had no virtues! "When we give to the good and the bad, then we follow our Heavenly Father, who lets his rain fall down over the evil and the righteous, and opens his hand and feeds all the creatures in good will.[44]" When man is capable to offer mercy without judging the morality of the other, not only did he understand the mystery of the brother, but he experiments it in a Christ-like manner.

The second exigency is the joyful and radiant face. It is right that the person who offers mercy to have a clear face which heals the sufferance of the other. By this the author tries to suggest that it is not natural that we neglect the dignity of the poor. For this reason, the merciful is not allowed to any type of presentation of his superiority, but on the contrary, he must let the other understand that he in fact is the one who offers more. "The merciful must rejoice in his act to show that he takes more from the poor than he gives: he offers an unimportant thing, and he gains the Kingdom of Heaven"[45].

By looking to the sky, the merciful offers to his gesture the real meaning. Mercy is done for and in the name of the Lord. Even though the gift is offered into the man's hand, the one who truly receives it is Jesus Christ. For this reason, the author blest the one who "knows Christ under the clothes of the poor. Blest is the one who knows the voice of the poor as the voice of Christ, and the hand of the poor as the hand of Christ.[46]" At the same time, the author insists on mentioning the fact that mercy for the poor is generated by the divine love. In return, mercy for the relatives, no matter how far or close, is generated by the natural love. Through this nuance it is not discarded the mercy for relatives, but it is underlined again the necessity to recognize our brother into the stranger and needy.

Distraction[47]. Drawing the attention upon the devastating effects that those who cause the others to stumble can have on their neighbour, the author

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[43] Ibid., 48.

[44] Ibid., 48.

[45] Ibid., 48.

[46] Ibid., 49.

[47] Distraction is an action through which a man determines a radical change of perspective into his neighbour. The effects that an inadequate gesture or a vicious behaviour have, can easily affect the system of values of the one who is distracted. To this respect, our Lord draws our attention upon the fact that the gravity of a distracting act is so great that it cannot be

does nothing else but to determine the Christian to assume responsibility for the alterity. From his perspective distraction can be caused by three causes: "Firstly there is the bad example: Secondly the bad advice and the bad words: Thirdly the denigration of the good.[48]" Before developing these directions, it is necessary to mention the fact that the responsibility that the author considers determines the conservation of the system of values and implicitly the progress of the society. Even though the perspectives of the author target especially a spiritual dimension, the immediate benefits into the society are obvious.

The warnings presented in the book are extremely severe, which must not astonish us, so long as the stake is salvation or the eternal damnation of our neighbour. "The bad example – emphasizes the author – has thrown into hell more souls than all the righteous and the saint managed to save. If the hell were to open, we could hardly find a soul that would not say that a person or the other took him there. Woe to me![49]" This perspective should make us think. Our gestures and acts can have a devastating effect upon the lives of our fellows. That is why we should beware being a stumbling reason for our brothers. "The hidden sin hurts only the one who does it, but the common sin hurts everyone. The one who poisons his fountain hurts only the members of his household, and the one who poisons the spring of the city, poisons the whole city.[50]"

On the other hand, the words spoken adrift or with bad intention have a more devastating effect than the bad example. This reality is certified by the Saviour's attitude who admonishes with surprising firmness Apostle Peter when he advises Him to avoid passion: "Get behind me, Satan! You are a stumbling block to me…" (Matthew 16:23). The author wishes to emphasize the fact that Jesus Christ never addressed so severely to anyone. "Here, I urge you to think a little. Christ called Judas the Iscariot, with all his evilness, his friend. «Do what you came for, friend!» He called Herod, with all his fornication, a fox. «Go tell that fox». He called the Pharisee with all their pride, snakes, and brood of vipers: and in another place, sons of the devil. «You belong to your father, the devil: and adrift wicked people and fornicators»: and Peter is not called neither snake, nor

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assimilated to suicide (a gesture which is harshly condemned by the Christian moral): "If anyone causes one of these little ones – those who believe in me – to stumble, it would be better for them to have a large millstone hung around their neck and to be drowned in the depths of the sea. Woe to the world because of the things that cause people to stumble! Such things must come, but woe to the person through whom they come!" (Matthew 18:6-7). For a better understanding of this text we recommend Sf. Ioan Gură de Aur, "Omilii la Matei," in *Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești*, vol. 23, trans. Dumitru Fecioru (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1994), 671-82.

[48] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 49.

[49] Ibid., 50.

[50] Ibid., 50-1.

wicked or devil, but Satan, who is the superior of devils. Go behind me, Satan. And for what? For you are a stumbling block to me.[51]" We need to mention the fact that the intention of Apostle Peter was not a negative one. He simply wished for the Lord to avoid the cross.[52] However, the Lord addresses him as the devil in the context of the temptation in the desert (according to Luke 4:8). In this situation the author asks himself: "So how will they be called before God, those who bring true and willingly distractions: and not in ignorance but in evilness? Indeed, they do not even deserve to be called devils, but worse than devils, meaning the synod of Satan: as they are called by Saint John in the Apocalypse.[53]"

We observe that in this situation the author does not spare his readers either! Why? Because in between there are the souls of those who are not strong enough in their faith and who can lose their salvation because of useless things. Hence, the severity of these warnings is justified, and they must be understood in the context mentioned above. There is no greater thing before God than the soul of a man. "Christ for a soul became incarnate, a slave, poor, suffered for so many years, accepted offenses and then death on the Cross: and you Christian with your word and example causing stumbles, steal from his hands a precious salvation such as this? God dies to resurrect him, and you kill him.[54]"

Reading the text of the section dedicated to distraction we see that the warnings continue. They are addressed to the hierarchs, priests, dignitaries,[55] fathers and mothers.[56] Nobody is absolved of the responsibility involved by the mystery of the brother. The more a person has influence upon his fellows, the more it is necessary to care more for his neighbour. We consider that this is the reason which determined the author to end his discourse on distraction with an

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[51] Ibid., 51.

[52] A similar biblical episode is that in which the wife of Job wishes that he escapes sufferance and for this she proposes him to curse God and die (Job 2:9). But Job remains an "athlete" of the Lord who perseveres in his sufferance. In this hypostasis Job represents an antitype of Christ, as Pope Gregory the Great also mentions in *Moralia in Job*. Nicoleta DABIJA, "Job's sufferance. An «affection» and several interpretations," *Philobiblon* 16, no. 1 (2011): 237-42.

[53] Ivireanu, *Învățături hristianicești*, 52.

[54] Ibid., 53.

[55] "Oh, Holy Ierarchs! Oh, pastors of the people and boyars! You, who were put by God into the Church to teach his people, with your word and with your acts. It was better for you if you renounced this kind of work than to cause stumbling, however little, to the flock of Christ and to kill those for whom Christ died." Ibid., 54.

[56] "Oh, fathers and mothers that don't live a Christian life: it was better if you did not give birth to your children. You did not give life to then, the Lord did, but why do you bring them death, which is an endless death?" Ibid., 54.

urge to penitence and vigilance[57] because nothing is more important for a Christian than his brother with whom he is destined to live on earth and to gain his salvation.

Conclusions

The transliteration of the Romanian old books which are printed using the Cyrillic letter, offers the reader the possibility to rediscover valuable works of our literature. Within these Christian teachings one may identify several behavioural paradigms that can be applied with no reserve in contemporaneity (they mostly target the relationship with the alterity). Through this it is confirmed the fact that from a spiritual perspective the authentic way of life does not change in its content. The modifications that are noted belong to a great extent to the features of the epoch or of the society in which the Christian principles are applied. Supplementary, the persuasive style, the logic of the argumentation and the pragmatic reasoning used by the author confers it a privileged position amongst the writers gifted with an extremely refined rhetoric. Taking into account that this writing appeared in a religious environment, dominated by the writings in which authority was the key of persuasion (we refer to the books printed at the end of the 17th century), we can only express our joy and recommend the style of writing of the author with the purpose of assuming it. For this reason, we believe that it is extremely important that this procedure of transliterating a book from one type of alphabet to another (in our case, from Cyrillic into Latin) should be extended, maybe within a more ample project of research, to the most representative works of the Romanian literature which are written using Slavonic characters.

Within this study we used only a part of the book. We focused on the contents that refer strictly to the relationship and report between man and his fellows [chapter 21 – *On mercy* (p. 45-7); chapter 22 – *On how man should be merciful* (p. 47-50); chapter 23 – *On distraction* (p. 50-5); chapter 29 – *On the love of the neighbour* (p. 64-5); chapter 30 – *On the love of the enemy* (p. 65-6); chapter 31 – *On the one who wants to defeat the enemies falls in bad things* (p. 66-70)]. We consider that this type of approach, of identification and use of the paradigms may be approached in the case of other actual themes such as: the courage to speak the truth, the use of time and others.

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[57] Think if you did anything that can be called a distraction and ask for forgiveness of your sins, and for the sins of the one you caused to stumble. I, the sinner can hardly offer an answer for my sins and I also bear the sins of the other." Ibid., 55.

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL SEALS IN WESTERN AND ROMANIAN ACADEMIA: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

ALEXANDRU ŞTEFAN[*]

Abstract The present paper aims to examine the main directions the historical research of medieval seals has followed in the recent decades. Starting from several sigillography handbooks developed in both Western and Romanian academic environments, but also from the published inquiries of the most important contemporary scholars active in this field of study, the present article focuses on their most relevant contributions, their historiographical impact, as well as the concepts and ideas formulated and debated on these occasions. Therefore, the purpose of this approach is not only to make a brief review of the state-of-the-art research in Western sigillography, but also to point out the main directions the Romanian sigillographic research should pursue in the years to come.
Keywords Historiography, sigillography, medieval seals, scholars, concepts, academia.

Product of a time characterised by *an intense emblematic fermentation*[1], the seal articulated itself as an instrument specific to medieval pragmatic literacy, with the role of confirming to the recipient, nominated or not, that the charters to which it was affixed to – usually by its wax imprint, or by hanging a metallic bull – reflected the will, findings or accomplishments of its owner. This happened whether he represented an institution with an individual or collective projection, or that the documents which he had drafted were issued only in his own name. At the same time, the seal shaped an avatar in the universe of the written law, with the purpose of identifying, representing and proclaiming its possessor. Generally composed of an image and a legend, both chosen by and linked to its rightful owner, the seal pointed out not only his identity and social status, but also his personality, aspirations and claims.

Sigillography, as an auxiliary science of history, and the seal, as its main object of study, represented in the last half-century a genuine wager of major European historiographies to approach both of them as thoroughly as possible. Proof

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[1] Michel Pastoureau, *O istorie simbolică a Evului Mediu occidental* [A Symbolic History of the Middle Ages] (Chişinău: Cartier, 2004), 250.

to this are the numerous handbooks and treatises emerged from the Western research milieu – from Italy,[2] France,[3] Germany,[4] or the United Kingdom[5] –, works which aim to provide much more than simple revisions, restructurings and annotations of the first publications of this kind, dating back from the late 19th century and the first years of the following one.[6] If the publishing of the first monographic works, in a positivistic manner, is due to the widening separation of the objectives of sigillography from those of diplomatic (although researches in these areas have remained and will remain deeply connected, generating each other new directions and suggestions for understanding the addressed sources), the more recent publications claim the versatility of seals and their continuous recalibration as historical sources. In other words, the constant reassessment and rediscovery of seals has produced as many paradigm shifts, arguing the need to reshape and complete the frameworks of seals in their historical dimension. Moreover, there is a growing interest in seals from the Middle Ages, as they, unlike those from any other historical period, reflect most accurately the position of their owner in the social and institutional hierarchies, in a very complex and highly regulated system.[7] As a result, the latest approaches have aimed to go beyond the traditional objectives of sigillography, limited to studying the seal in terms of its immediate functions – closing and authenticating documents and identifying their issuers – and supplying rather partial information about its possessor or artistic trends of the era that influenced the making of this validation instrument.

Probably the most significant contribution of these recent times belongs to Michel Pastoureau. In his short paper,[8] in addition to tackling questions of terminology, use, preservation and classification of medieval seals, Pastoureau sought to identify several research areas that could benefit from their study, not few in numbers: diplomatic, history (in its cultural, political, legal, administrative or social

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[2] Giacomo C. Bascapé, *Sigillografia. Il sigilli nella diplomatica, nel dritto, nella storia, nell'arte*, Vol. I (Milan: Dott. Antonino Giuffrè, 1969); Josef Grisar, Fernando de Lasala, *Aspetti della Sigillografia. Tipologia, storia, materia e valore giuridico dei sigilli* (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997).

[3] Michel Pastoureau, *Les Sceaux* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981).

[4] Erich Kittel, *Siegel* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1970); Andrea Stieldorf, *Siegelkunde: Basiswissen* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004).

[5] Paul D. A. Harvey, Andrew McGuinness, *A guide to Bristish Medieval Seals* (London: British Library, 1996); Elizabeth A. New, *Seals and sealing practices* (London: British Records Association, 2010).

[6] Albert Lecoy de La Marche, *Les sceaux* (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1889); James Harvey Bloom, *English seals* (London: Metheuen & Company, 1906); Wilhelm Ewald, *Siegelkunde* (München – Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1914).

[7] John Cherry, "Medieval and Post-Medieval Seals," in *7000 Years of Seals*, ed. Dominique Collon (London: British Museum Press, 1997), 124-142.

[8] Pastoureau, *Les Sceaux*, 64-76.

dimension), philology, epigraphy, palaeography, onomastics, genealogy, heraldry, archaeology, ethnology, material culture studies, religious and devotional attitudes, history of mentalities and of course art history. As a result, despite its small size, the seal has the characteristics of a historical source of extraordinary richness for historians interested in any of the phenomena indicated by Pastoureau.

The analytical perspectives enabled by the medieval seal, increasingly explored in the recent decades, have assumed it as a witness of the same cultural context that produced and used it according to specific and precise rules. Thus, the interest for the dynamics of sealing practices, for its contextualization within certain regions and social groups, or for the interaction with other methods of representation and communication of the era – such as heraldry[9] – allowed the opening of new research topics related to regional, political, religious, ethnic or gender structures, emphasising especially the role that the use of seals played in the spread of literacy among the lay of the Middle Ages. In other words, the intense development of the use of seals during the 12th century was achieved in the background of the legal transfer from orality to the written word, in order to assimilate not only identification purposes, but also that of identity affirmation in an updated legal context. What was originally a custom of the sovereign power, which in turn replicated imperial and papal practices, became accessible to more and more members of the lay and religious social structures of the Middle Ages. Thus, the seal acted as a mean of representation engaged in the written communication, which started to be used by entities with both individual[10] and collective[11] projection.

Therefore, the historiography of recent years – more oriented towards the publication of small-scale studies, which allow well-defined and detailed approaches, arranged in thematic sections, but without the lack of single authored volumes – has been increasingly interested in the mechanism by which seals have highlighted the identity and authority of those who owned and used them in their writing practices.[12] From this point of view, seals which belonged to individuals received

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[9] Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'Héraldique* (Paris: Picard, 1997), 230-233.

[10] Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[11] *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter*, ed. Markus Späth (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

[12] *A Companion to Seals in the Middle Ages*, ed. Laura Whatley (Leiden: Brill, 2019); *Seals. Making and Marking Connections Across the Medieval World*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak (Amsterdam: Arc Humanities Press, 2018); *Seals and Status. Power of Objects*, eds. John Cherry, Jessica Berenbeim, Lloyd de Beer (London: The British Museum, 2018); *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. Philipp R. Schofield (Oxford – Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015); *Medieval Coins and Seals. Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*, ed. Susan Solway (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); *Pourquoi les sceaux? La sigillographie, nouvel enjeu de l'histoire de l'art*, eds. Jean-Luc Chassel, Marc Gil Chassel (Lille: Publications de l'Institut de recherches

more attention from researchers, especially due to the aspects that could be analysed in relation to the social groups they were part of, but also due to the diplomatic background in which their seals functioned as means of identification. In this sense, probably the most important role of the seal was to shape and clarify a recognizable entity of its possessor, fully assumed by him, especially in the functioning environment of the written legal culture, but not only.

Too little distinction has been made generally between seal matrices and their imprints, since the research perspectives have focused primarily on the functionality of seals as a conceptual mediator and less as an evidence of medieval material culture. In this respect, most contributions that approached exclusively seal matrices[13] have taken into account either the recording of larger collections[14] or their producers, usually goldsmiths[15], but sometimes they have also investigated the objectives and techniques of the graphic representations located in the seal emblem.[16]

As for those who dealt with this kind of historical sources, it was estimated about three decades ago that their number in Europe and North America did not exceed 15 specialists, extremely few compared to about two or three millions seal imprints originating in the Medieval West, while the preserved matrices would count about 100 times less.[17] Meanwhile, the number of researchers has improved considerably, as evidenced by the increasing frequency of collective volumes with a seal-derived theme, but also of individual contributions. This enhanced appetite is also due to authors who, through their contributions in recent decades and their research methods validated on these occasions, have established genuine micro-historiographical directions.

A pioneer in reconsidering the medieval seal, beyond its immediate functionality as a validation instrument, was Robert-Henri Bautier. His research, especially in the fields of diplomatic, also focused on the sealing practices of the

historiques du Septentrion, 2011); *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*¸ eds. Noël Adams, John Cherry, James Robinson (London: The British Museum, 2008); *Das Siegel: Gebrauch und Bedeutung*, ed. Gabriela Signori (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007).
[13] John Cherry, "Seal Matrices. Past, present and future", *The Monmouthshire Antiquary. Proceedings of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association*, 20(2004): 51-60.
[14] Ambre Vilain, *Matrices de sceaux du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Bibliothèque National de France, 2014).
[15] John Cherry, "Patronage and Purpose. Goldsmiths and the Engraving of Silver Seal-Matrices in Late Medieval England", in *Orfèvrerie gothique en Europe. Production et réception*, eds. Élisabeth Antoine-König, Michele Tomasi (Roma: Viella, 2016), 255-270; Michel Pastoureau, "Les graveurs de sceaux et la création emblématique", in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge – Vol. I: Les hommes*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris: Picard, 1986), 515-522.
[16] Ambre Vilain, "Quand le tout petit contient le grand: la virtuosité sigillaire au Moyen Âge", *Histoire de l'art*, 77(2015): 69-78.
[17] Michel Pastoureau, "Les sceaux et la function sociale des images", *Chaiers du Léopard d'Or*, V (1996): 276-278.

French royal chancery. In an article written in the mature years of his career, the author, identifying the use of four types of royal seals between the 10th-14th centuries, considered that the succession of these categories was achieved on a larger European scale, in which sovereign chanceries influenced each other in the choice of details of their great seals, especially in the ways for representing the royal thrones, such renewals echoing even in Hungary.[18] Equally interesting is his long-standing analysis of French royal seals and sealing practices between the 9th-15th centuries, establishing the influences and innovative contributions of each dynasty, as well as particular aspects such as the use of the privy seal, of the counter-seal, or of the seal belonging to the Dauphin of France,[19] as the heir apparent is called.

Toni Diederich, in an extensive study, whose historiographical impact could be compared with the work of Michel Pastoureau from the early 1980s, following a careful analysis of the sigillography handbooks written especially by German scholars, proposed a new classification of seals based primarily on their rightful owners. On this occasion Diederich drew attention to the importance of the possessor for the study of seals, regardless of his secular or religious profile, or his individual or collective projection, as the choice for articulating the contents of a seal depended directly on his subjectivity, but this was done at the same time within well-established rules. Thus, the options for making a seal could be common to several categories of owners, an aspect that is often due to the fashions of the era and mutual influences.[20] Among Toni Diederich's interests, most of which concern with the urban environment of Rhineland and, especially, the city of Cologne,[21] the perspectives on the study of medieval seals are a constant theme. His most recent book,[22] bringing together ten studies within this domain, offers not only several methodological contributions to the sigillographic research, mainly in the field of the cult of the patron saints and forged seals, but also examples of applied research, which show that all material aspects of seals, including their emblems, legends and sizes, carry

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[18] Robert-Henri Bautier, "Échanges d'influences dans les chanceliers souveraines du Moyen Âge, d'apres les typs des sceaux de majesté," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, CXII/2(1968): 192-220.

[19] Idem, "Le sceau royal dans la France médiévale et le mécanisme du scellage des actes," in *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge*. *Les sceaux royaux*, Vol. II, ed. Martine Dallas (Paris: Archives Nationales), 15-34.

[20] Toni Diederich, "Prolegomena zu einer neuen Siegel-Typologie," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, XXIX (1983): 242-284.

[21] Idem, *Die alten Siegel der Stadt Köln* (Köln: Greven Verlag, 1980); Idem, *Rheinische Städtesiegel* (Neuss: Neusser Druckerei und Verlag, 1984); Idem, "Das große Siegel der Kanonissenstiftes St. Ursula zu Köln," *Archives et Bibliotheques de Belgique*, LVIII/1-2(1987): 91-110.

[22] Idem, *Siegelkunde. Beiträge zu ihrer Vertiefung und Weiterführung* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2012).

deliberate messages of their rightful owners. This work also contains an interesting comparative analysis between seals and tomb effigies from the Middle Ages.

Michel Pastoureau returns to the attention of those interested in sigillography with a thorough contribution published in the mid-1990s, which considers the medieval seal to be at the same time an object and an image.[23] Both valences sum up in the author's view a series of determining functions and characteristics, which in turn are listed, detailed and exemplified across his paper. The numerous information transmitted by medieval seals, as means of legal responsibility and social credibility of their owners, doubled by the possibility to date and locate them precisely due to the diplomatic context in which they appear, gives them the particularities of complex historical sources, little known even to other medievalists. This contribution can undoubtedly be considered a welcomed addendum of the micro-synthesis published by Pastoureau more than a decade earlier.

Probably the most prolific and innovative author of the contemporary sigillographic research is Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak. North American scholar of French origin, Bedos-Rezak entered the field of sigillography by editing the medieval seals of French cities, as the first volume of an extremely large and daring corpus.[24] Her research focuses on strategies of representation and communication derived from the use of seals, whose role was to encapsulate the expression of authority and identity.[25] One of the frames of interpretation that the author applied to medieval seals was semiotic anthropology, a recently formulated concept that pays attention to communication without being limited to a single linguistic code. In the case of seals, the ratio *sign – object – meaning* was highlighted, aiming to analyse the established relationships between medieval theories of signs, on one hand, and notions and instruments for recording identity, on the other hand.[26] As a result, Bedos-Rezak considers that a seal imprint can be seen from multiple perspectives, as an object, ritual or metaphor, since each of these layers reveals a series of concerns of the Late Medieval civilization to symbolically define itself.[27] The expertise and

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[23] Pastoureau, "Les sceaux et la function sociale des images," 275-308.

[24] *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge. Les sceaux des villes*, ed. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1980).

[25] Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "L'empreinte. Trace et tracé d'une mediation (1050-1300)," in *Matérialité et immatérialité dans l'Église au Moyen Âge*, eds. Stéphanie Diane Daussy, Cătălina Gîrbea, Brînduşa Grigoriu, Anca Oroveanu, Mihaela Voicu (Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2012), 127-141; Eadem, "Imprinting Matter, Constructing Identity (France, 1100-1300)", in *Courts and Courtly Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe*, eds. Simone Albonico, Serena Romano (Roma: Viella, 2016), 21-36.

[26] Eadem, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *The American Historical Review*, CV/5(2000): 1489-1553.

[27] Eadem, "In Search of a Semiotic Paradigm: The Matter of Sealing in Medieval Thought and Praxis (1050-1400)," in *Good Impressions*, 1-7.

innovation brought by her research recommended Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak for authoring a medieval sigillography handbook,[28] published by Brepols in the prestigious collection "L'Atelier du Médiéviste", which unfortunately has not been yet completed. In the Western historiographical milieu of sigillography this work remains a most awaited contribution.

However, Martine Fabre has previously published a less ambitious volume, proposing an analysis of the medieval seal from a cultural perspective, related to the period of the 12th-15th centuries.[29] Her book, organised in seven chapters, takes on aspects of the history, typology and constituent elements of medieval seals, which she exemplifies with numerous situations from the French sealing practices. The last chapter, probably the most interesting, is an apology for a new approach to sigillography from the perspective of the accumulated testimonies – deliberate and spontaneous, symbolic and physical – that medieval seals record and communicate. In general, Fabre's work calls for a double reflection. On the one hand, each seal imprint on a written document is simultaneously a testimony of judicial and social requirements of the era, a representation of individual or collective identity, but also an object made in accordance with the artistic trends of the time. On the other hand, the same seal is an assumed and strongly codified sign, which enables intrinsic coherence to the document to which it was affixed to. Therefore, the study of this specific category of historical sources, as the author observes, implies both the deepening of technical aspects and of the profound reasons and intellectual backgrounds behind the use of seals.

Last but not least, it is worth mentioning a work that, although not in the line with the already named historiographical trends, had made nevertheless a major contribution in the revival of the sigillographic research. Compiled at the initiative of the Committee on Sigillography of the International Council on Archives, the international sigillography vocabulary has the great merit of grouping together and describing over 300 specialised terms and concepts.[30] Although this endeavour covers only formal aspects related to a most accurate description of seals, the ambitious attempt to find equivalents in no less than 13 languages – including Romanian throughout the efforts of Maria Dogaru – suggests its much broader objectives, beyond the perspectives for standardising a scientific language. A small part of these notions was also included in an international diplomatic vocabulary,[31]

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[28] Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, Bennoît-Michel Tock, *Diplomatique Médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 46.
[29] Martine Fabre, *Sceau Médiéval. Analyse d'une pratique culturelle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001).
[30] *Vocabulaire International de la Sigillographie*, ed. Stefania Rici Noè (Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1990).
[31] *Vocabulaire International de la Diplomatique*, ed. Maria Milagros Cárcel Ortí (València: Universitat de València, 1997).

an equally complex and daring work containing several correspondents in Romanian as well.

Finally, it can be appreciated that the current Western historiography of the sigillographic research reveals to be through its dynamics extremely interested in the phenomenon of medieval sealing practices as a whole, understanding and equally exploring the multitude and variety of information that seals contain and further transmit. In essence, it marks the transition from a type of research focused on the idea of *seal archaeology*, in which aspects related to the physicalness and strictly diplomatic role of these instruments are emphasised, to one oriented according to the concept of *seal sociology*, in which the profile of the rightful owner plays a central role in defining the semiotic and anthropological ritual of sealing medieval charters, without completely ignoring its formal aspects, all these being integrated as deliberate attitudes within the entire representation process.

As for the Romanian historiographical milieu, the first interests for the study of medieval seals were initially oriented according to their most significant owners, such as voivodes or princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, important officers of the two courts or representative communities.[32] The research of these historical sources, or better said just their simple remark and acknowledgement, unsurprisingly predated the national efforts to define sigillography as a scholarly discipline of history. The first attempts to draw the theoretical lines of this field of study developed, in a first phase, by reference to numismatics. Constantin Moisil published in 1922 a

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[32] August Treboniu Laurian, "Pecetea lui Mihai Radu v.v." [The Seal of Mihai Radu v.v.], *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia*, II (1846): 187; Vasile Alexandrescu Urechia, "Sigiliul târgului Pietrei (județul Neamț). Notiță istorică" [The Seal of the town of Piatra (Neamț County). Historical note], *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, X/II (1887-1888): 235-245; Idem, *Schițe de sigilografie românească* [Sketches of Romanian Sigillography] (Bucharest: s.n., 1891); Ioan Bogdan, "Fondul de documente dela Brașov și descrierea lor diplomatică" [The Documents Fund from Brașov and their Diplomatic Description], in *Documente privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul și cu Țara Ungurească în secolele XV și XVI, Volumul I (1413-1508)* [Documents Regarding the Relations of Wallachia with Brașov and the Hungarian Land in the 15th-16th Centuries (1413-1508)] ed. Ioan Bogdan (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, 1905) XLIX-LXXVIII; Idem, *Album paleografic cuprinzând douăzeci și șase de facsimile de documente românești din secolul al XV-lea* [Palaeographic Album Containing Twenty-six Facsimiles of Romanian Documents from the 15th Century] (Bucharest: Librăria Socecu, 1905); Dimitrie Onciul, "Sigiliul lui Mihai Viteazul ca domn al Țării Românești, Ardealului și Moldovei" [The Seal of Michael the Brave as Prince of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia], *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, XXVII/II (1904-1905): 169-170; Grigore Tocilescu, "O nouă pecete a lui Mihai Viteazul" [A New Seal of Michael the Brave], *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, II (1905): 10-13.

suggestively entitled article,[33] which drew attention to the similarities between numismatics and sigillography, more precisely the research perspectives that could be developed in the fields of political, cultural and social history by studying coins and seals.

Several academic lectures integrated relatively soon sigillography within the auxiliary sciences that aimed the scrutiny of historical written documents, as is the case of the University of Bucharest, were such an attempt was made in the academic year of 1926/1927 through the efforts of Nicolae A. Constantinescu.[34] He is also the author of a first Romanian textbook dedicated to *helpful* sciences of history.[35] According to his textbook, although the seal is part of the diplomatic research since it serves as an instrument for authenticating charters, it still needs a separate discipline to study it, as seals sum up a series of peculiar characteristics that evolved throughout history.

On the other hand, at the Archival Science School in Bucharest, sigillography has been, since the founding of the institution in 1924, one of the eight fundamental disciplines of study. The already named Constantin Moisil, as the one in charge for drafting the curricula, divided the discipline into three main categories, each with several subdivisions: *Overview*, *General Sigillography* and *Romanian Sigillography.*[36] Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, in the opening lecture for his course in diplomatic, considered that the auxiliary sciences of history are divided into major and minor disciplines.[37] The main difference between the two groups is not their importance, but the fact that historians can directly use the results of the former, while the mastering of the minor sciences would provide them the ability to properly investigate the sources of the past, a challenge which is essential for a genuine historical research. If the major sciences include geography, archaeology, geology, philology, sociology, law or philosophy, the minor sciences, as specific working tools for each historian, are archival science, palaeography, diplomatic, graphology, chronology, sigillography, heraldry, numismatics, phaleristics, genealogy, epigraphy and bibliology. The same author, trying a brief definition for each of these

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[33] Constantin Moisil, "Două științe surori: numismatica și sigilografia" [Two sister sciences: numismatics and sigillography], *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, XVII/43-44 (1922): 75-86.

[34] Gheorghe Z. Ionescu, "Predarea științelor auxiliare ale istoriei în Universitatea din București" [Teaching Auxiliary Scicences of History at the University of Bucharest], *Analele Universității Bucharest. Istorie*, XIII (1964): 64-74.

[35] Nicolae A. Constantinescu, *Curs de științe ajutătoare istoriei* (Course of Helpful Sciences of History) (Bucharest: Facultatea de Filozofie și Litere, 1929-1930), 326-339.

[36] Constantin Moisil, "Din istoria Școalei de Arhivistică" [From the History of Archival Sciences School], *Hrisovul*, I (1940): 11-45.

[37] Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, "Științele auxiliare ale istoriei" [Auxiliary Sciences of History], in *Îndrumări în cercetări istorice* [Guidelines for Historical Researches], ed. Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu (Bucharest: Casa Școalelor, 1945), 7-26, especially 21.

disciplines, considered sigillography as a methodical study of seals by reference to their type, legend, size, shape and affixing method.

After the Second World War, the interests for theorising auxiliary historical sciences diminished in the Romanian academic environment, a direct consequence determined by the establishment of the communist regime. The initiative for their revitalization and renewal, beyond the specialised and on-site courses, will be taken this time by the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj. In 1977, Nicolae Edroiu published an introduction in history and its auxiliary sciences, indicating fourteen fundamental disciplines, including sigillography.[38] Taking into consideration a series of particular sigillographic researches within the national historiography carried out in the previous decades, Edroiu managed a fairly even synthesis, organised in four parts, which aim to clarify the establishment of sigillography as a scholarly discipline, different categories of seals and their representations, several ways of sealing and the problem of forged seals. At the University of Bucharest, the discipline of sigillography was resumed in an academic textbook in 1988, drafted only in a first part, which was authored by Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu.[39] Bringing together seven auxiliary sciences of history in as many chapters, the sigillography chapter, although approached without an obvious structure, has the merit of addressing not only more specific terms, but also much better limited to the present-day sigillographic discipline (such as *hagiographic seal*), to mention some of the earlier but very important scholars (such as Wilhelm Ewald) and even to point out contemporary challenges or accomplishments, national or international, in this field of study (such as the establishment in 1959 of the International Committee on Sigillography).

After 1990, both Nicolae Edroiu and Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu resumed in several consecutive editions their previously published university textbooks, operating a series of changes in the structure of the new publications and less in the contents of the parts assigned to sigillography or other historical disciplines. In fact, the only innovations consisted, in the case of the first author,[40] in more compelling conclusions and minimal revisions of the bibliography and the critical apparatus,

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[38] Nicolae Edroiu, *Introducere în istorie și științele auxiliare ale istoriei* [Introduction in History and Auxiliary Sciences of History] (Cluj-Napoca: Sectorul de multiplicare al Universității Babeș-Bolyai, 1977), 129-139.

[39] Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu, *Științele auxiliare ale istoriei*, *Partea I* [Auxiliary Sciences of History. Part I] (Bucharest: Tipografia Universității Bucharest, 1988), 96-111.

[40] Nicolae Edroiu, *Introducere în științele auxiliare ale istoriei* [Introduction in Auxiliary Sciences of History] (Cluj-Napoca: Sectorul de multiplicare al Universității „Babeș-Bolyai", 1992), 117-131; Idem, *Introducere în științele auxiliare ale istoriei* [Introduction in Auxiliary Sciences of History] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999), 214-231; Idem, *Introducere în științele auxiliare ale istoriei* [Introduction in Auxiliary Sciences of History] (Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2003), 206-222.

while the latter[41] added a comprehensive bibliography of the Romanian sigillographic research, organised in nine thematic groups, but each time updated only to 1990, a list of titles that has been previously disseminated through equally old contributions.[42]

Starting with the 2000s, the first textbooks elaborated within smaller Romanian universities started to be published, in context of the development of particular study domains in which was needed a more or a less broad expertise in the traditional auxiliary sciences of history (such as archival and library studies, sociology, museology and so on). Generally, they do not exceed the level of the similar works previously authored by Nicolae Edroiu and Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu, being rather compilations of the two. The particular approach of sigillography made in these university textbooks from Suceava,[43] Brașov[44] or Constanța,[45] or intended for the professional reconversion of the teaching staff of secondary education[46], did not bring anything new to the theoretical aspects of the discipline itself. However, trying to manage their own genuine perspective, some authors end up making a series of errors, especially of terminology, concepts and designed categories.

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[41] Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu, *Științele auxiliare ale istoriei* [Auxiliary Sciences of History] (Bucharest: Editura Universității București, 1994), 101-112; Eadem, *Arhivistică și documentaristică. Științele auxiliare ale istoriei. Partea I* [Archival and Documentary Studies. Auxiliary Sciences of History. Part I] (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2000), 116-131; Eadem, *Arhivistică și documentaristică* (Archival and Documentary Studies) (Bucharest: Credis, 2001), 237-247; Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu, Gheorghe D. Iscru, *Introducere în știința istorică și în științele auxiliare ale istoriei – surse info-documentare* [Introduction in the Historical Science and the Auxiliary Sciences of History – Info-documentary Sources] (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2005), 119-126.

[42] Maria Dogaru, "Din bibliografia sigilografică românească" [From the Romanian Bibliography on Sigillography], *Revista Arhivelor*, LXVI-4 (1989): 410-425; Maria Dogaru, Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu, "Sigilografie românească. Bibliografie" [Romanian Sigillography. Bibliography], *Caietul seminarului special de științe auxiliare ale istoriei. Opuscula bibliografica, genealogica, numismatica*, II (1990): 93-113; Eaedem, "Sigilografie românească. Bibliografie I" [Romanian Sigillography. Bibliography I], *Revista Muzeelor*, XXVII/6-7(1990): 104-109; Eaedem, "Sigilografie românească. Bibliografie II" [Romanian Sigillography. Bibliography II], *Revista Muzeelor*, XXVII/8-9-10 (1990): 132-136.

[43] Ștefan Purici, *Știinte speciale ale istoriei* [Special Sciences of History] (Suceava: Editura Universității din Suceava, 2000), 59-69.

[44] Mariana Borcoman, *Științele auxiliare ale istoriei. Curs practic și note de seminar. Partea I* [Auxiliary Sciences of History. Practical Course and Seminary Notes] (Brașov: Editura Universității Transilvania, 2001), 40-43.

[45] Daniel Flaut, *Introducere în științele auxiliare ale istoriei* [Introduction in Auxiliary Sciences of History) (Constanța: Ovidius University Press, 2001], 69-80.

[46] Florentina Nițu, *Științe auxiliare. Geografie și demografie istorică. Numismatică și arheologie* [Auxiliary Sciences. Historical Geography and Demography. Numismatics and Archaeology] (Bucharest: Ministerul Educației și Cercetării, 2005), 91-95.

The most recent university contribution of such kind belongs to Marcel-Dumitru Ciucă. Starting from the classification of Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, the author considered the minor sciences as auxiliary disciplines for museology, library and archival sciences, whereas sigillography was integrated as a component part of the third one.[47] Unfortunately, this attempt to theorise sigillography failed to come with an updated and fresh perspective, being as a whole even less challenging than the previous contributions of Nicolae Edroiu or Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu. Among its most obvious errors are the excessive borrowing of notions from heraldry, or the drafting of incorrect classifications, which in some situations end up overlapping each other. All these lead to a contribution with serious deviations from the norm and profoundly obsolete by current standards to the subjects it deals with.

Therefore, the theoretical approach of sigillography did not excel in Romanian academia, being tributary even in the most recent contributions to the auxiliary sciences textbooks published during the 1970s and 1980s. The inaccuracy of discussing sigillography as an independent scholarly discipline was however partially overcome by the publication of the first synthesis works.

In the 1950s, the launch of the national editorial project of medieval documents *Documente privind Istoria României* (Documents Regarding the History of Romania) required the writing of specialised studies on several topics of auxiliary sciences – palaeography, diplomatic, sigillography or chronology –, in order to accompany the published charters, mostly only in their Romanian translation, and less to formulate an exclusively theoretical framework of the disciplines.[48] Remaining so far the most complex syntheses on sigillography, although written over 60 years ago, the contributions of Emil Vîrtosu[49] and Zsigmond (Sigismud) Jakó[50] address the use of seals in the Middle Ages, in Wallachia and Moldova, on the one hand, and in

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[47] Marcel-Dumitru Ciucă, *Științele auxiliare ale istoriei* [Auxiliary Sciences of History] (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2008), 79-88; Idem, *Științele auxiliare ale istoriei* [Auxiliary Sciences of History] (Bucharest: Saeculum I.O., 2012), 124-140.

[48] Lidia Gross, "Din începuturile unei colecții. *Documente privind istoria României. Seria C. Transilvania*" [From the Beginnings of a Collection. Documents Regarding the History of Romania. C Series. Transylvania], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu". Series Historica*, XLVI (2007): 33-39; Violeta Barbu, "Istoria unei colecții. *Documenta Romaniae Historica*" (The History of a Collection. *Documenta Romaniae Historica*), *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XVII (1999): 39-43.

[49] Emil Vârtosu, "Din sigilografia Moldovei și a Țării Românești" [From the Sigillography of Moldavia and Wallachia], in *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere*. *Volumul II* [Documents Regarding the History of Romania. Introduction. Volume II] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RPR, 1956), 333-558.

[50] Sigismund Jakó, "Sigilografia cu referire la Transilvania (până la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea)" [The Sigillography with Reference to Transylvania (Until the End of the 15th Century)], in *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere*. *Volumul II* [Documents Regarding the History of Romania. Introduction. Volume II] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RPR, 1956), 561-633.

Transylvania, on the other hand, by reference to their rightful owners: voivodes, vice-voivodes, towns, cities, places of authentication, church institutions, craft guilds and so on. If the first author tried to reconstruct as detailed as possible the sealing practices in the two Romanian principalities, benefiting from a rich and prolonged chronological context, until the dawn of the 19th century, the second scholar clarified in the first part of his study a series of theoretical aspects with reference to seal matrices, seal categories and ways of affixing them, permanently exemplified and illustrated with Transylvanian sources, while the second part addresses the issue of corroboration with the holders of these instruments, all these being limited by the end of the 15th century.

The first consistent handbook of sigillography in Romanian historiography was published in 1976 by Maria Dogaru.[51] Benefiting from decent graphic conditions, her work brings together about 300 description of seals, accompanied by their illustration, grouped into 12 categories, several of them further divided. Dogaru's contribution was made in a context quite favourable for the auxiliary sciences among Romanian historical publications, during the same period being published the most comprehensive works on archival science[52] and heraldry.[53] Overall, Dogaru's tome is a quite reasonable one, especially due to the gathered corpus of seals, but far from being complete. Although the author admits that the analysed seals represent only a small part of this kind of sources kept in Romanian archives, probably the most important shortcoming of her approach was the increased attention paid to seals belonging to Wallachian and Moldavian princes in relation to other types of seal owners. This option also determined a narrower interest in seals of Transylvanian origin, both in the contents of the sigillographic corpus and in the introductory study. Curiously, the work ends with an entitled heraldic glossary and not one of sigillographic terms.

Maria Dogaru is also the author of the only catalogue dedicated to seal matrices preserved in special compiled collections of the National Archives of Romania[54]. Providing information about the extreme years of these collections, the numbers of matrices kept in each county branch and its central office, or detailing the most valuable pieces of this kind, the author wrote an extensive introductory study, where she analysed aspects related to the legislation for the approval, use

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[51] Maria Dogaru, *Sigiliile. Mărturii ale trecutului istoric. Album sigilografic* [Seals. Testimonies of the Historical Past. Sigillographic Album] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976).
[52] Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, *Arhivistica* [Archival Science] (Bucharest: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1970).
[53] Marcel Sturdza-Săucești, *Heraldica. Tratat tehnic* [Heraldry. Technical Treatise] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1974); Dan Cernovodeanu, *Știință și artă heraldică în România* [Heraldic Science and Art in Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1977).
[54] Maria Dogaru, *Colecțiile de matrice sigilare ale Arhivelor Statului* [Seal Matrices Collections of the State Archives] (Bucharest: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din RSR, 1984).

and preservation of seals, the technique of engraving matrices, legends, slogans or heraldic insignia present on such instruments. Although the seal matrices originating in Transylvania are oldest and most numerous, as shown by the description of each collection, the introductory study draws mainly its arguments and examples from sealing practices specific to institutions in Wallachia and Moldavia.

Part of the same category is the more recent work published by Laurențiu-Ștefan Szemkovics and, posthumously, Maria Dogaru. Probably the first two volumes of a truly innovative approach among this type of publications, sumptuously entitled *Tezaur Sigilografic Românesc* (Romanian Sigillographic Treasure), but unfortunately at present stagnant, this contribution proposes a review of the seals known to have belonged to the princes of Wallachia[55] and Moldavia.[56] Focusing on several sigillographic aspects particular to the Wallachian context, but also briefly questioning issues related to the legends, shapes and sizes of the seals used over the centuries by the two chanceries, the authors bring together 301 seals from 83 Wallachian princes, respectively 263 from 79 Moldavian princes, covering a time span between 1390/1387-1856. Each of these sigillographic sources is described and individually illustrated, but the graphic conditions are far from being adequate for an independent attempt to read these materials. Both volumes end up with an unequal glossary, whose terms go beyond the specialised sigillographic domain, but which is not either fully explored. Unfortunately, the work lacks a consistent introductory study, chronologically developed and compared between the two chanceries, with a critical debate on older and newer historiographical opinions of a very generous subject such as Romanian princely seals, or to propose new research and analysis perspectives. Assumed at the same time both as a scientific and a popularisation work, the two volumes signed by Szemkovics and Dogaru does not overcome the characteristics of a plain catalogue, with its inherent limits and inaccuracies.

Strictly regarding various problems of terminology, they were much better addressed in probably the most extensive Romanian approach dedicated so far to historical auxiliary sciences.[57] Of the more than 1500 terms and concepts identified and defined by the dictionary, about 80 of them refer exclusively to sigillography, to which are added another 40, also used in heraldry. Moreover, 10 terms referring to sealed documents can be included in the same category, these being present in very recent work dealing with terminological problems specific to medieval manuscript

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[55] Laurențiu-Ștefan Szemkovics, Maria Dogaru, *Tezaur sfragistic românesc I. Sigiliile emise de cancelaria domnească a Țării Românești (1390-1856)* [Romanian Sigillographic Treasure I. The Seals Issued by the Princely Chancery of Wallachia (1390-1856)] (Bucharest: Ars Docendi, 2006).

[56] Iidem, *Tezaur sfragistic românesc II. Sigiliile emise de cancelaria domnească a Moldovei (1387-1856)* [Romanian Sigillographic Treasure II. The Seals Issued by the Princely Chancery of Moldavia (1387-1856)] (Bucharest: Ars Docendi, 2006).

[57] *Dicționar al științelor speciale ale istoriei* [Dictionary of Special Sciences of History], ed. Ionel Gal (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1982).

books.[58] Additionally, it would be worth mentioning another specialised dictionary, in which the seal is defined as a validation instrument with a constant presence in the Romanian society of the Middle Ages.[59]

As for the more recent attempts to bring together various contributions in Romanian sigillography, previously undertaken by Maria Dogaru and Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu,[60] Laurenţiu-Ştefan Szemkovics and Augustin Mureşan compiled a new and self-standing publication.[61] This continued and enhanced bibliography has the merit of indicating the titles of more than 1100 contributions within the Romanian sigillographic discipline, published by 2014, being also organised in the same nine thematic groups established by the previous endeavours of this kind. A significant plus of this volume is its bilingual character, since the French translation of the titles and of the very short introductory note could generate a modest but important stimulus to bring closer the national sigillographic research to the international requirements and practices in this field of study.

Therefore, this brief evaluation of Romanian approaches in sigillography, within the university milieu and not only, shows that the interest for establishing a solid theoretical framework of this discipline was limited to offer only some points of reference, rather common in the wider set of auxiliary sciences of history, in order to simulate specific researches, especially in the Romanian sigillography of the former principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. The most appropriate concepts and notions can however be extracted from the complex syntheses and reference works published starting with the 1950s. These contributions, although not very numerous and critical within their selves, have the merit of putting together seals of various cultural and historical origins, which is why their investigation without the slightest conceptual introduction would have been difficult to approach. At the same time, theoretical issues have been rarely addressed or debated, the only worth mentioning contributions belonging to Emil Vîrtosu[62] and Maria Dogaru,[63] both authors finding their arguments exclusively in sigillographic sources originating in Moldavia and Wallachia. On the other hand, the Romanian historiography dealing

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[58] *Vocabularul cărţii manuscrise* [Vocabulary of the Manuscript Book], ed. Adrian Papahagi (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2013), 63-65.

[59] *Instituţii feudale din Ţările Române. Dicţionar* [Feudal Institutions in the Romanian Principalities. Dictionary], eds. Ovid Sachelarie, Nicolae Stoicescu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1988), 226, 355, 441.

[60] See above note 41.

[61] Laurenţiu-Ştefan Szemkovics, Augustin Mureşan, *Bibliografia sigilografiei româneşti. Bibliographie de la sigillographie roumaine* (Arad: Gutenberg Univers, 2019).

[62] Emil Vîrtosu, "Despre dreptul de sigiliu" [About the Seal Right], *Studii şi cercetări de numismatică*, III (1960): 333-344.

[63] Maria Dogaru, "Sigiliul – izvor istoric şi factor cultural" [The Seal – Historical Source and Cultural Factor], *Analele Universităţii din Bucharest. Seria Istorie*, XXIX (1980): 123-133.

with seals of Transylvanian origin is still in period of accumulation and acquaintance with these sources, no matter what historical period they would come from.[64] However, several Transylvanian sources have allowed studies that have probed the versatility of seals, beyond their immediate purpose as instruments for authenticating charters issued by their rightful owners, investigations dealing especially with seals that belonged to several medieval goldsmiths' guilds.[65] All these aspects addressed so far, together with the variety of historical sources and seals preserved in various Romanian archives, could have led to the drafting of at least one consistent handbook on sigillography, in addition to the very few theoretical contributions, so necessary for the national historiography. However, no scholar has so far assumed such an endeavour.

If the Western research on medieval seals focuses nowadays on their semiotic structuring, in order to better understand the information that they further passed on, the Romanian historiography did not achieve similar research performance. The contributions in this field of study remained in most cases exclusively descriptive, largely due to the university perspectives less oriented towards analysis, decryption and interpretation of this specific category of historical sources in relation to their holders and the charters they authenticated. Therefore, the medieval seals which can be recovered from Romanian archives, regardless their historical profile, whether they come from Transylvania or from the other two Romanian principalities, can be valuable research topics with a double expectation. On the one hand, their interrogation according to principles developed in the recent decades can provide new information on their holders and their sigillographic and diplomatic horizon, and, on the other hand, new researches can undoubtedly contribute to the renewal and connection of the Romanian sigillography to the most recent standards promoted by Western academia. It remains, therefore, for further contributions to deepen with even greater consideration the versatility of medieval seals as genuine historical sources in relation to their rightful owners.

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[64] Alexandru Ştefan, "Prolegomena to a Historiography of the Sigillographic Research concerning Transylvania", *Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review*, XCIII/1-2(2016): 76-83.

[65] Viorica Guy Marica, "Figura aurarului în sigilografie," in *Sub semnul lui Clio. Omagiu Acad. Prof. Ştefan Pascu* (Cluj: s.n., 1974), 451-458; Alexandru Ştefan, "Sigiliile hagiografice ale breslelor de aurari din oraşele Transilvaniei Evului Mediu târziu" [The Hagiographic Seals of the Goldsmiths' Guilds from Towns of Transylvania in the Late Middle Ages], *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XXVII-XVIII (2017-2018): 21-30.

CHALLENGES IN PROOFING THE CYRILLIC MCVRO RESOURCES – EQUABILITY BETWEEN THE TECHNICAL COMPONENT AND THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

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Abstract The OCR process is a complex one and with interdisciplinary implications. This paper deals with old historical religious manuscripts and old books to offer solutions for the digitalization process. A high rate of success in the OCR process will help researchers from various fields to use relevant content and to value it in their research. When a research in the field of theology or history is conducted, there are many issues, especially when trying to access old manuscripts. There is no digitalized content to access old Romanian manuscripts and researchers need to learn specific old writing. The focus of the present study is on the problematic technical aspects that we encountered in our attempt to establish the equilibrium ratio between the instruments for the capitalization of the information and the contribution of the specialists in such research studies.
Keywords OCR, pattern recognition, historical documents, digital maintenance and control.

Introduction

The results presented in this paper are partial results obtained within MCVRO project – a pioneering one in the Romanian environment, through the characteristics of the research it requires and through the way it values the research. Within this

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project, we plan to exploit the full potential of the Romanian manuscripts and old books from the deposit of the Central University Library from Cluj-Napoca, creating an information instrument that allows both the extraction and the use of the concepts found in the resources that were previously digitized. This desideratum involves a triple purpose: a. creating a virtual library of Romanian manuscripts and old books (MCVRO) at the Central University Library from Cluj-Napoca; b. creating the instruments to extract and adapt the MCVRO content in order to value them within the research of specialists from many fields: theology, economy, philology, history, ethics, philosophy, medicine etc.; c. creating, based on the scanned MCVRO resources, a system to identify the concepts and correlations between them, with an interdisciplinary relevance. These three elements converge in exploiting MCVRO resources as an important element for social activation. To fulfil this desideratum, we considered a complex step of digitizing of the MCVRO resources; the complexity is caused by the heterogeneous nature of the MCVRO corpus which implied multiple and various challenges.

The main goal of the MCVRO project was the digitization of the MVCRO resources, to preserve and as a form to grant access to the content of this type of resources. The digitization process implied the following main stages: scanning, OCR tasks and proofing. We used two main types of resources: documents with Latin writing and documents with Cyrillic writing. Among the documents processed within the project which use Latin characters, we mention as examples: *Schematismus Venerabilis Cleri Dioecesis Magno-Varadinensis Graect-Ritus Catholicorum* (Orade Mare: Typariu lui Joan Tichy, 1822) – BCUCLUJ_FCS_BRV1163; *Schematismus Venerabilis Cleri Dioecesis Magno-Varadinensis Graect-Ritus Catholicorum* (Orade Mare: Typariu lui Joan Tichy, 1824) – BCUCLUJ_FCS_BRV1217. Among the documents processed within the project which use Cyrillic characters, we mention as examples: Ieromonah Constantie, *Întrebări şi răspunsurĭ ţeologhīceştĭ ale Sf[â]ntuluĭ Aţanasīe ćeluĭ Mare*, trans. monk Gherontie from Neamţu Monastery (Bucureşti, 1821) –BCUCLUJ_FCS_BRV1111 (Cyrillic characters); Episcopul Damaschin, *Învăţătura despre şapte Taine* (Râmnic, 1724) – BRV 185 (Cyrillic characters); Gheorghie Râmniceanul, *Rugăciunĭ cătră Pre Sf[â]nta Născătoarea de D[u]mnezeu, şi pururea Fećioara Marīa* (Bucureşti: Tipografia Mitropoliei, 1819) – BRV 1048 (Cyrillic characters); Antim al Ierusalimului, *Învăţătură părintească*, trans. Meletie of Huşi (Iaşi: Tipografia Mitropoliei, 1822) – BRV 1148; Antonie Monahul, *Mâna lui Damaschin* (Iaşi, Tipografia Mitropoliei, 1830) – BRV 1487 (Cyrillic characters); *Învăţătură pentru ultuirea Vărsatuluĭ* (Chişinău: Tipografia Episcopiei Basarabiei, 1816) –BCUCLUJ_FCS_BRV929C; Eufrosin Poteca, *Cuvinte panigÿrīce şi moralnice* (Bucureşti: Tipografia Mitropoliei, 1826) – BCUCLUJ_FCS_BRV1287; Atanasie al Alexandriei, *Tropariu pentru Melhisedec* (Iaşi: Tipografia Mitropoliei, 1812) – BCUCLUJ_FCS_BRV814. The stages of scanning and OCR tasks were performed by a library team, and proofing step was assumed mostly by a university team.

1. State of the art

Started in 2012 and with a first deploy of a full-text search engine in 2013, the Austrian National Library conducted a similar OCR process research[1] where the implementation of a full-text-search interface for its historical text collection was defined as a milestone to achieve their strategic goals. This digitalization process began early in other European countries. For example, the National Library of France started mass digitization projects on its collections since 2006. As pointed in A. Ben Salah et al study,[2] their main issue for old documents is that the OCR results are of poor quality and the OCR quality assessment is a real challenge in their field.

There are various studies in the OCR field where different types of documents are used. Authors like B. B. Chaudhuri and C. Adak[3] focus on processing offline handwritten document images where main challenges are that this type of processing produces nonsense character string outputs; their main solutions are: (a) pattern classification and (b) graph-based method for identifying such texts.

The historical text digitalization is considered a real challenge and several issues were identified:
- text is damaged and quality is awfully bad, sometimes with dirt,
- layout is complicated and reading order is different,
- paper is folded or the pages are glued together,
- text is printed on low quality paper,
- text is printed using old fonts and language has different writing variants,
- image quality is not so good.

One of the biggest projects in the OCR field was IMPACT (IMProving ACcess to Text),[4] a project funded by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7), for 4 years starting from 1st of January 2008 with a 16,5 M Euro budget. It is part of the Cooperation Work Programme for ICT and responds to the fourth challenge in this programme: Digital Libraries and Content. The main objective of the project was to significantly improve the access to historical text and to take away the barriers that stand in the way of the mass digitization of the European cultural heritage. The project started as a collaboration between 26 European Partners to improve OCR software to recognize letters and punctuation

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[1] B. K. Und and M. Hintersonnleitner, "Full-text-search in Historical Text Collections. Experiences of the Austrian National Library," *Bibliothek Forschung und Praxis* 39, no 1 (2015): 73-79.

[2] A. Ben Salah et al., "OCR performance prediction using cross-OCR alignment," in *13th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (Washington: IEEE Computer Society, 2015), 556-560.

[3] B. B. Chaudhuri and C. Adak, "An approach for detecting and cleaning of struck-out handwritten text," *Pattern recognition* 61, no. 3 (2017): 282-294.

[4] "Impact | Improving access to text," accessed December 12, 2016, http://www.impact-project.eu/home/.

markers to make digital text searchable. Their main guidance was that information is and must remain retrievable. To this respect, a proper way was to transform digital images of the scanned books into electronic text since mass-digitization has become one of the most prominent issues in the library world. IMPACT project identified that there are three main reasons why the digitized material is becoming available too slowly and in too small quantities from too few sources: a) lack of institutional knowledge and expertise, b) the costs for full-featured electronic text of historical documents are much too high and c) automated text recognition, carried out by OCR engines does in many cases not produce satisfying results for historical documents. IMPACT solution was ABBYY. ABBYY was also recognized as the best OCR tool according to the online pool conducted by lifehacker.com.[5] According to their pool with more than 3900 votes, ABBYY received 30.81% of votes while next competitors were Evernote/OneNote with 27.62% votes, Adobe Acrobat with 24.63% of votes, OmniPage with 8.76% of votes, Readiris with 4.14% of votes and Other with 4.04% of votes.

There are situations when alternative solutions are needed for better results. For example, authors like F. Simistira, A. Ul-Hassan, V. Papavassiliou, B. Gatos, V. Katsouros and M. Liwicki[6] report on high-performance OCR experiments using Long Short-Term Memory (LSTM) Networks for Greek poly tonic script and concluded that the character error rate obtained with LSTM varies from 5.51% to 14.68% and it is better than two well-known OCR engines, namely, Tesseract and ABBYY FineReader. LSTM were also preferred by M. R. Yousefi, M. R. Soheili and others[7] to skip the binarization step since in many cases artifacts result in important information loss, by for instance breaking or deforming character shapes. There are papers like those written by C. Clausner and his colleagues[8] where existing OCR systems fit their needs and a baseline for two state-of-the-art OCR systems (ABBYY FineReader Engine 11 and Tesseract 3.03) is given with regard to both text recognition and segmentation/layout analysis performance. Also, additional solutions can be used, such as automatic script identification in archives of documents.[9] So, the approach

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[5] "Lifehacker – Tips and downloads for getting things done, Five Best Text Recognition Tools," accessed December 12, 2016, http://lifehacker.com/5624781/five-best-text-recognition-tools.
[6] F. Simistira et al., "Recognition of Historical Greek Polytonic Scripts Using LSTM Networks," in *13th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (Washington: IEEE Computer Society, 2015), 766-770.
[7] M. R. Yousefi et al, "Binarization-free OCR for Historical Documents Using LSTM Networks," in *13th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (Washington: IEEE Computer Society, 2015), 1121-1125.
[8] C. Clausner et al, "The ENP Image and Ground Truth Dataset of Historical Newspapers," in *13th IAPR International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR)* (Washington: IEEE Computer Society, 2015), 931-935.
[9] S. Kavitha et al., "A Robust Script Identification System for Historical Indian Document Images," *Malaysian Journal of Computer Science* 28, no. 4 (2015): 283-300.

depends on the OCR results obtained since each researcher is looking for results with a lower error rate.

2. Challenges in the proof of MCVRO resources with Cyrillic characters

For the OCR tasks we used ABBYY FineReader (v. 11 and v. 12). The main challenges in this stage concerned unification of the proofreading rules and the technical possibilities of the application regarding the existing fonts. ABBYY FineReader does not have a set of characters to cover the entire range of symbols used within the Romanian Old Books, especially within those with Cyrillic characters. We tested an additional set of fonts, *Cyrillicum Budanum*, created within a project focused on several activities to transpose the Lexicon from Buda into a central database. Furthermore, we contacted the Ukrainian agency of the ABBYY application to initiate a collaboration in order to create a complete set of characters that would include the Cyrillic characters identified in the Romanian old books and which did not match the Cyrillic sets that exist in the sets of this application. After several discussions we had to give up to this collaboration because it would involve additional costs that are not supported by the project. Given the situation it was necessary to accept other solutions, such as:

▪ Creation of a special font based on the characteristics of the MCVRO resources processed within the project, a font that would include all or the majority of the necessary characters;
▪ Combination of sets that belong to a font from Symbols;
▪ Insertion of new fonts created in Abby FineReader;
▪ Definition of the settings for OCR step to include several languages, which, through their combination, would lead to a higher percent in the recognition of the text.

Unfortunately, all these technical efforts had unsatisfying results after the OCR step, the text of the resources was recognized in such a small percent that it would not justify the subsequent intervention for proofreading without requiring an enormous and unjustified period of time.
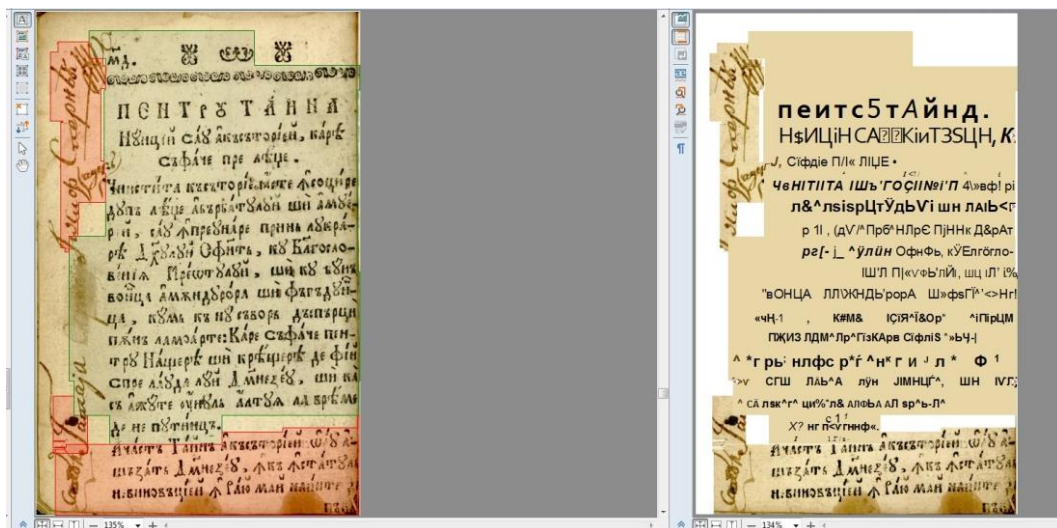
Figure 1. Text with many mistakes combined with image fragments (BRV 185)[10]

In this situation of poor recognition of MCVRO resources with Cyrillic characters, we decided to transliterate the text and attach it as meta-text to scanned image, which became a searchable pdf document.

3. Transliteration of the MCVRO resources – approach and challenges

The transliteration was uniform according to the following correspondences **for capital letters, for small letters and for numbers:**

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[10] Episcopul Damaschin, *Învățătura despre șapte Taine* (Râmnic, 1724), 49.

Figure 2. Example of transliteration, from BRV 185, previously presented.[11]

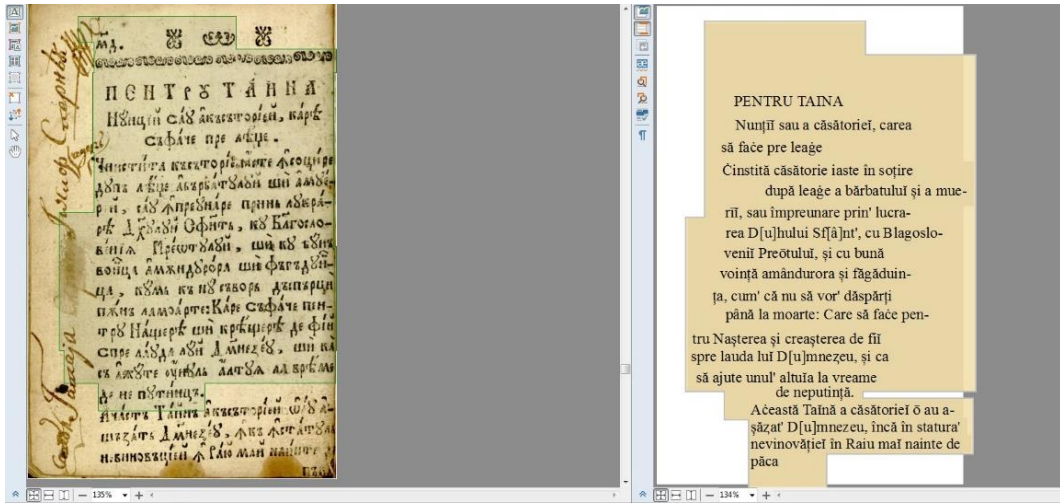Although it seems a desperate solution in the given situation, the transliteration offers, at a close analysis, more advantages to the researcher than the rewriting of the original text:

▪ from the perspective of the researchers that may use these digitized resources, it is more likely to initiate a search based on a word written with Latin characters than one written with Cyrillic characters, especially taking into account the variations of words; all these words may be identified easier in the text in a search using Latin characters;

▪ based on the rules of transliteration available to the researchers together with the access to the digitized resources, the original writing can be recomposed in the case of extremely important words for certain researches;

▪ the relationship between *transliterated text* and *image* also offers easy access to the original text, at the same time giving the possibility to identify interesting thematic aspects with a simple search in the original text;

▪ supposing that researchers who access the resources are not all familiar with the Cyrillic characters, the transliteration opens easy access to the content of MCVRO resources, thus offering new possibilities of exploiting the content in a research; otherwise, the activation of the cultural production would be limited to the knowledge of Cyrillic of each user.

Adding character by character from *Symbols* required a huge effort from the team and an extended period. The necessity of this action was imposed by the fact that the default Cyrillic fonts that can be added from the keyboard were incomplete

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[11] Damaschin, *Învățătura despre șapte Taine*, 49.

and do not cover all the symbols identified in the MCVRO resources. *Symbols* was used for the following characters:

	LATIN CHARACTER	CYRILLIC CHARACTER	TRANSLITERATED CORRESPONDENT
1.	Letter **i**	И	I
		Й	Ĭ
		Ї	Ī
		Ѧ	ĬA
2.	Letter **g**	Џ	Ġ
3.	Letter **t**	Ѳ	Ṫ
4.	Letter **c**	Ч	Ċ
5.	Letter **z**	Ѕ	Ż
6.	Letter **o**	Ꙍ	Ō
7.	Letter **y**	Ѵ	Ẏ

The experience acquired within this approach determined us to develop, as a future solution for this type of process of transliteration, the creation of a special font where additional characters, besides the main corpus of the letter, may be added separately from the keyboard, as is the case of the fonts used for Semitic languages. We offer here an example from Hebrew, where the original text uses consonants, and the vocalic system is superposed additionally over them, as follows:

שׁ	שׁ	שׁ	שׁ
key **W** then key **A + ALT right** (for chatef patach)	key **W** then **SHIFT+A** (for *qameţ*)	key **W** then key **A** (for *patach*)	key **W** (for letter SIN)
chatef patach = very short „a"	*qameţ* = long „a"	*patach* = short „a"	
שׁוּ	שׁ	שׁוֹ	שׁ
key **W** then **SHIFT+U** (for şureq)	key **W** then key **U** (for qibuţ)	key **W** then **SHIFT+O** (for cholem vav)	key **W** then key **O** (for cholem)
şureq= long„u"	*qibuţ= short„u"*	*cholem vav= long„o"*	*cholem= medium „o"*
שׁ	שׁ	שׁ	שׁי
key **W** then key **E + ALT right** (for chatef segol)	key **W** then key **E** (for *segol*)	key **W** then key **I** (for *chireq qaton*)	key **W** then **SHIFT+I** (for *chireq gadol*)
chatef segol = very short „e"	*segol*= short „e"	*chireq qaton* = short „ı"	*chireq gadol* = long „ı"

The table presents the same letter with different possibilities of vocalization, where all the vocals were introduced from the keyboard using simple or combined keys. We observed that the vocals are positioned next to the body of the letter, similarly with the Cyrillic letters presented in the previous table. We consider that such a font would be extremely useful for the Cyrillic alphabet as well, resulting in a considerable shortening of the time needed for transliteration.

4. Transliteration of the Cyrillic numbers

Another challenge in the stage of transliteration was caused by numbers. In Cyrillic, numbers are represented with letters. The main difficulties that occurred in such cases are:

a. In the MCVRO resources we found cases where we were not able to identify the standard correspondences presented in the table:

Figure 3. Example of numbers and letters that cannot be found in the standard correspondences' numbers-letters for the Cyrillic alphabet (BRV 1487)[12]

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[12] Antonie Monahul, *Mâna lui Damaschin* (Iași: Tipografia Mitropoliei, 1830), 20.

Sometimes, in the case of digitized texts, Arabic numbers are combined with Cyrillic letters to indicate bigger or decimal numbers. This aspect may lead researchers to erroneous transliterations:

Figure 4. Example of table with numbers and "letter-numbers" (BRV 1487)[13]

In each case, the team chose one of the following options: a. maintaining the writing from the original text; b. deduction from the context of the correct number and correct transliteration. The second option is extremely important because it underlines the essential contribution of the researcher specialized in digitization. Although the IT instruments are essential and may lead to an increased volume of the covered resources, enhancing ample research, they are not sufficient without the contribution of the human factor. Also, there is not enough to have an elementary human intervention, but a special knowledge is required together with a good orientation in the characteristics and thematic content of the covered resources. These aspects are important in establishing the equilibrium, the ideal relationship between the use of the information instruments and the contribution of the specialists. We also found tables where some cells were completed vertically. Considering that ABBYY FineReader does not allow the orientation of the text as word processors, we decided to complete the text with normal orientation to provide full content, even if the aspect is different:

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[13] Antonie, *Mâna lui Damaschin*, 12.
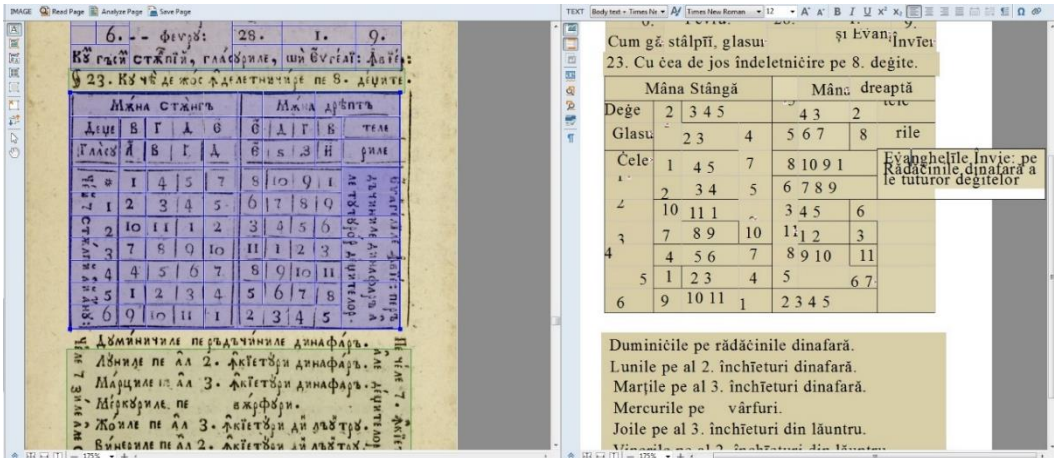
Figure 5. Example of table with numbers and letters, the underlined aspect being the horizontal transliteration as opposed to the original with vertical orientation (BRV 1487)[14]

The proofreading precisely respected the original content, even though some adjustments were made; these adjustments were related to the aspect required by the technical limitations of the program used:
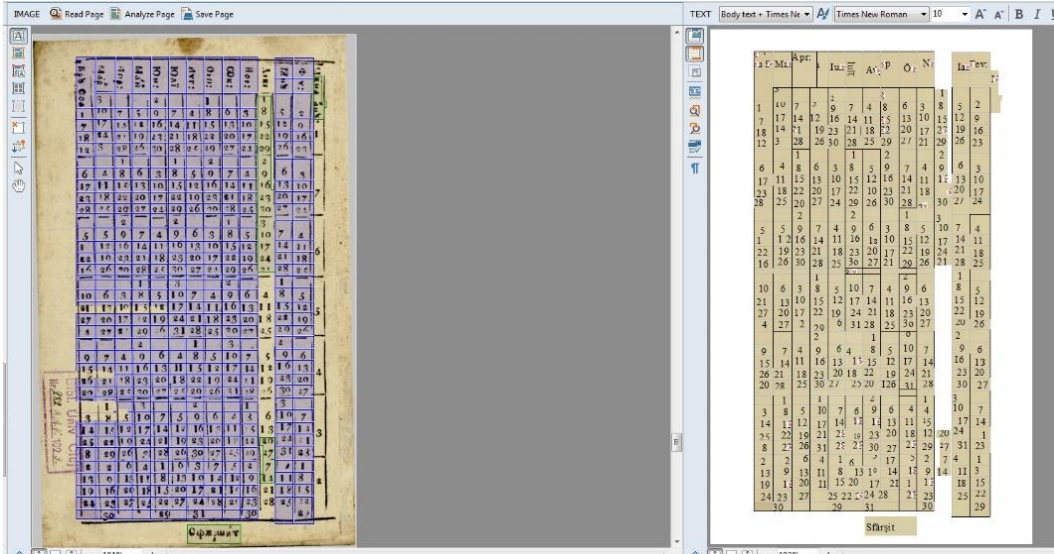
Figure 6. Example of table with corrected numbers, where in some cell's transliteration is given horizontally, but the content is given precisely (BRV 1487)[15]

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[14] Antonie, *Mâna lui Damaschin*, 12.

The contribution of the specialists was also essential in cases where scanned and OCR image did not offer the complete content of the resource; a study of the context or even additional research from other resources was necessary. For such steps, a specialized intervention was strictly necessary.

b. Identified Biblical texts in the Holy Scripture due to the incomplete or absent biblical reference in the processed MCVRO resource
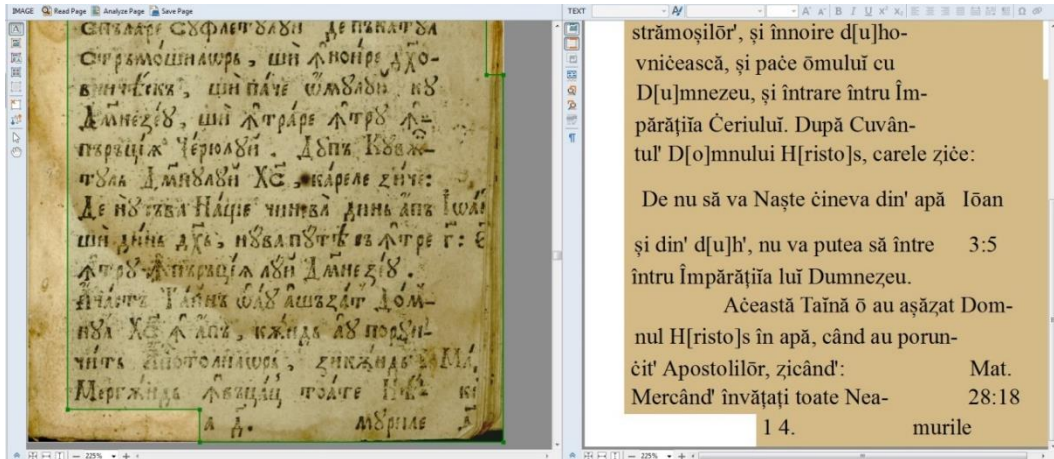
Figure 7. Biblical text searched for a complete transliteration (BRV 185)[16]
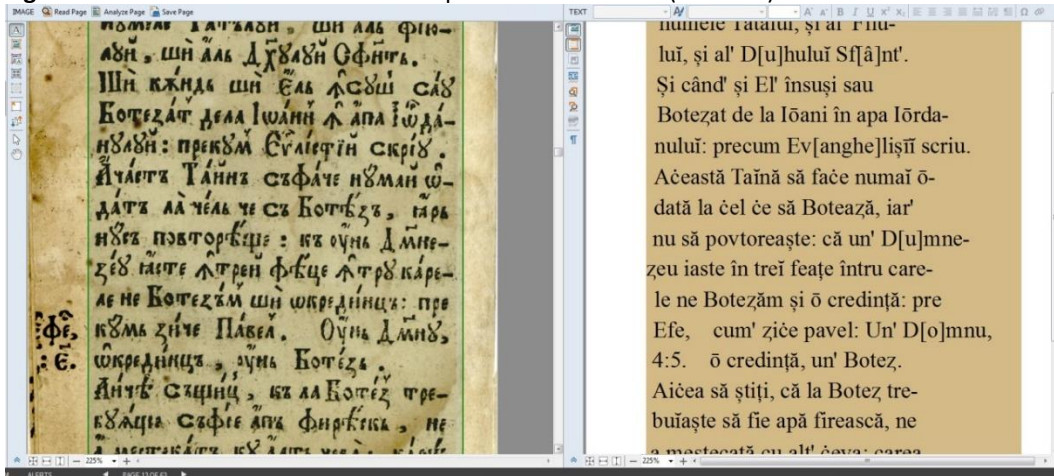
Figure 8. Biblical text searched for a complete transliteration (BRV 185)[17]

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[15] Antonie, *Mâna lui Damaschin*, 22.
[16] Damaschin, *Învățătura despre șapte Taine*, 11.
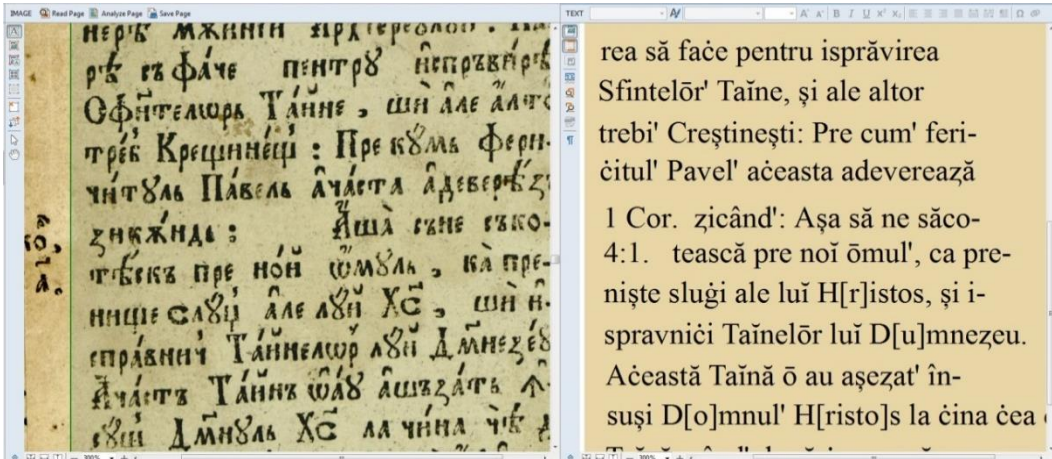
Figure 9. Biblical text searched for a complete transliteration (BRV 185)[18]
c. Missing texts or texts hard to decipher deducted from the context or from adjacent sources
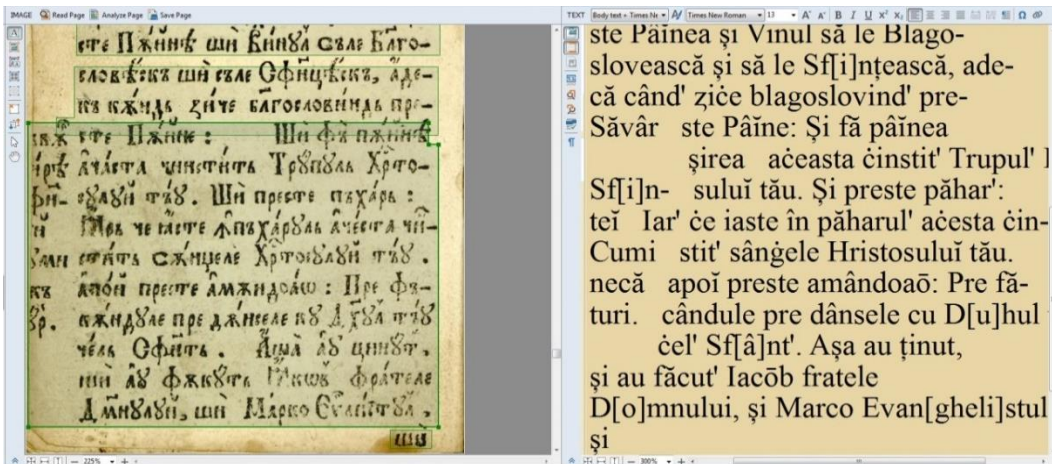
Figure 10. Missing text deducted from the context and/or with the help of adjacent sources (BRV 185)[19]

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[17] Damaschin, *Învățătura despre șapte Taine*, 13.
[18] Damaschin, *Învățătura despre șapte Taine*, 23.
[19] Damaschin, *Învățătura despre șapte Taine*, 41.
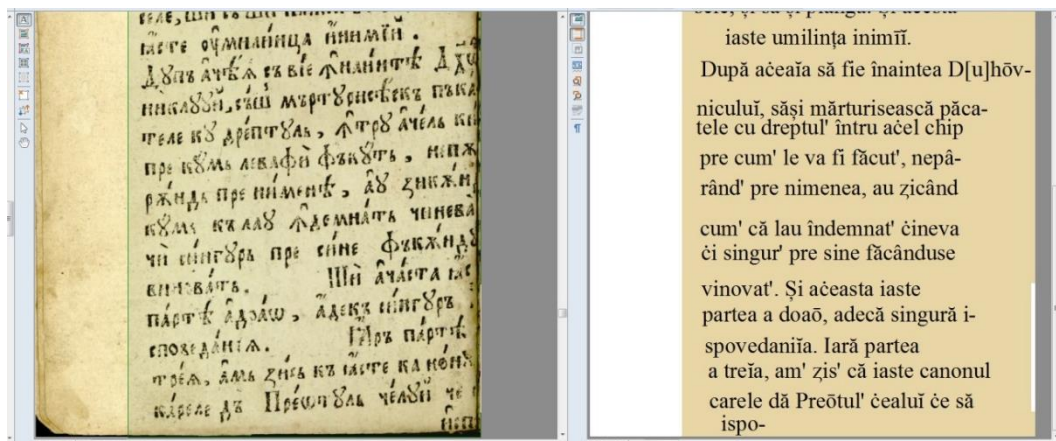
Figure 11. Missing letters at the end of the rows, deducted from the context (BRV 185)[20]
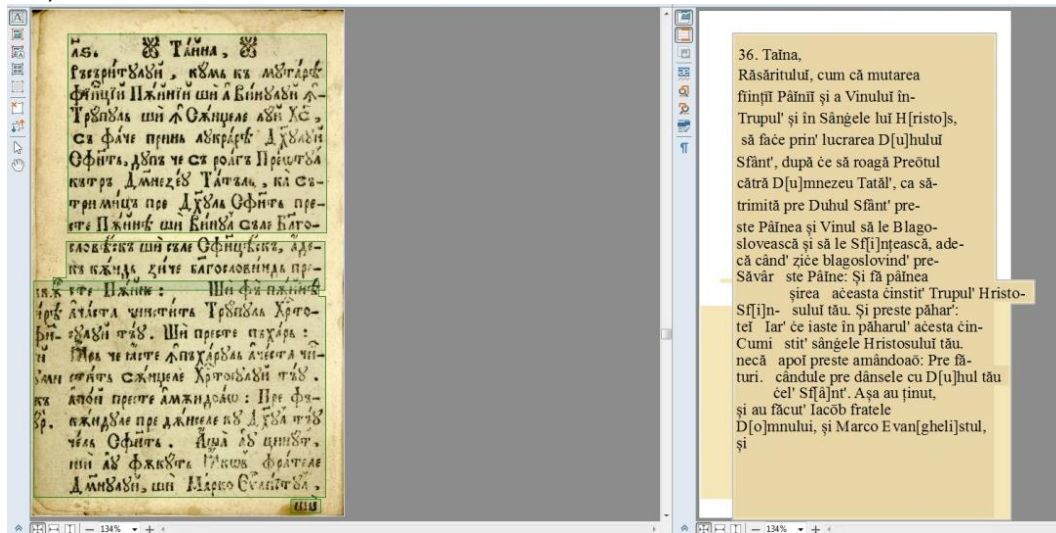
Figure 12. The letters in brackets are missing from the original text and can be deducted only by specialists (BRV 185)[21]

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[20] Damaschin, *Învățătura despre șapte Taine*, 33.
[21] Damaschin, *Învățătura despre șapte Taine*, 41.
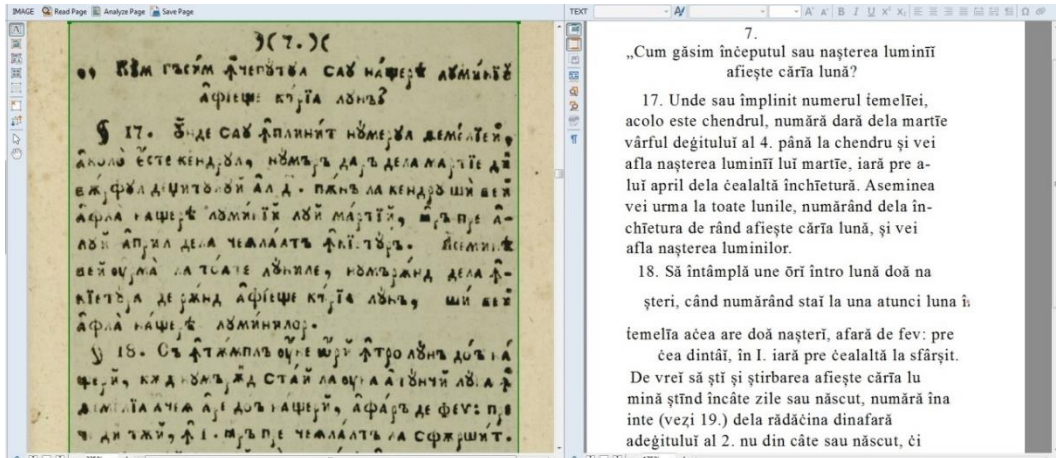
Figure 13. A text difficult to decipher, transliterated (BRV 1487)[22]
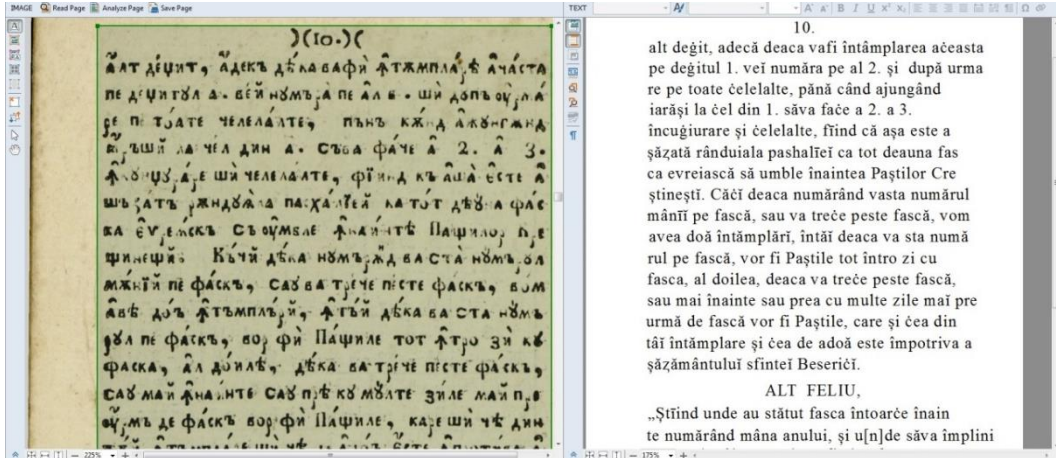
Figure 14. A text difficult to decipher, transliterated (BRV 1487)[23]

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[22] Antonie, *Mâna lui Damaschin*, 13.
[23] Antonie, *Mâna lui Damaschin*, 16.
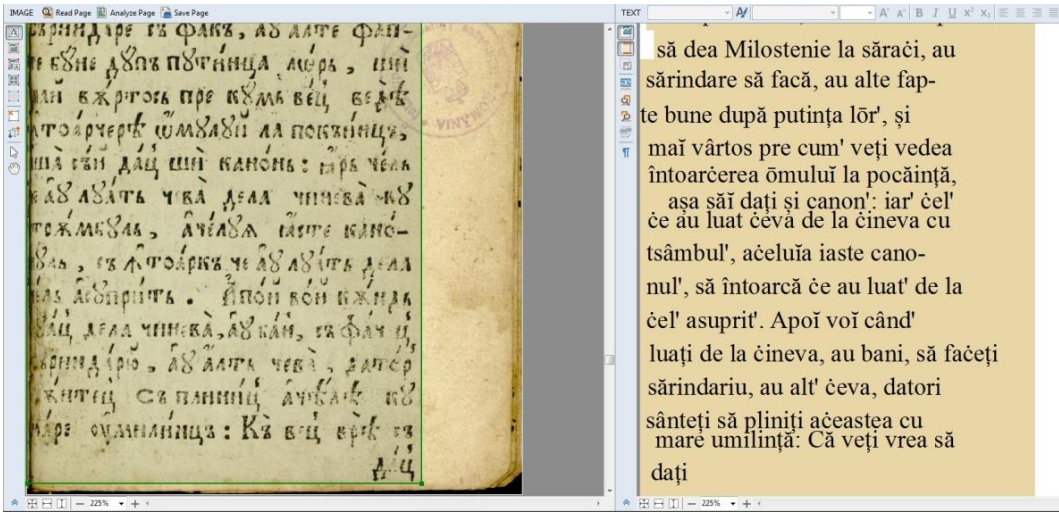
Figure 15. Missing letters or almost illegible (BRV 185)[24]

Conclusions

A digitalization is needed to make old text searchable and accessible. In comparison to hard copy text, working with digitalized text offers a lot of great benefits in terms of editing, annotation and especially searching.

An OCR historical text can have various uses, including online access, re-print, and information retrieval at a more granular level.

To get the best quality in OCR processes, our recommendations include: clean and optimize the documents, images and text, remove dirt and flatten the paper, scan at best possible quality (for pre-process step), use high performance OCR application and clearly define regions for OCR (for process step) and use external resources (as dictionaries) to ensure more accurate recognition of documents and to simplify further verification of recognition results (for past process step).

A digitalized collection can be used in various ways. It can be used to study historical persons and their relationships to have an insight into the lives of people and the way society functioned in early times.[25]

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[24] Antonie, *Mâna lui Damaschin*, 34.

[25] S. Torao-Pingi and R. Nayak, "Understanding People Relationship: Analysis of Digitised Historical Newspaper Articles, Advances in Artificial Intelligence, Lecture Notes in Artificial Intelligence," in *28th Australasian Joint Conference on Artificial Intelligence* (AI), J. Renz and B. Pfahringer (eds.) (Switzerland: Springer, 2015), 572-588.

UNKNOWN SOURCES AND ARCHIVES OF MILITARY HISTORY: THE 1848-1850 TSARIST CAMPAIGN DIARY FROM THE ROMANIAN LANDS IN THE RUSSIAN STATE MILITARY-HISTORICAL ARCHIVE IN MOSCOW

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Abstract The present article approaches the ample Tsarist campaign diary (1,300 folios), describing Moldavia and Wallachia's 1848-1850 military occupation by the Russian 5th army corps led by general commander Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders, and the protecting power's armed interventions in Transylvania (1849). The echoes of this long military campaign were feebler at that time, than those of the much-clamored Russian campaign in Hungary (June-August 1849). Ignored so far by the Russian and Romanian historiographies (even if for different reasons), the 1848-1850 occupation of the Romanian Lands is minutely related by an unknown source, recently discovered in the Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow and edited by us. Also analyzed the difficult conditions of access in the War Archive of the former Tsarist Empire, today Eastern Europe's largest military archive of medieval and modern history.
Keywords Tsarist campaign diary, Russian military occupation of 1848-1850, Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, Transylvania.

Introduction

The military campaign of the 5th corps of the Russian army, led by corps commander general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders in the Romanian Principalities, resulted in the conquest and occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, autonomous principalities under Ottoman suzerainty and Tsarist protectorate, between summer 1848 and autumn 1850. In fact, an operative army of the protecting power itself invaded and occupied the protected territories for two years. The echoes of this military

campaign were feebler at that time, than those of the much-clamored Russian campaign in Hungary (June-August 1849).[1]

Later on, the historical memory of the 1848-1850 Tsarist warfare in the Romanian Principalities has been ignored and almost erased by both parties envolved, the Russians and Romanians equally, even if for different reasons.

The Russian historiography denies, until today, the existence of a Romanian 1848 revolution by itself and disregards the Russian military occupation beyond the Prut River in 1848-1850. Moreover, the old and new Russian integrationist theories, considering Bessarabia a component of the Tsarist Empire and the Danubian Principalities a corridor towards Constantinople, totally ignore not only the Romanian historiography but also their own Russian sources.[2]

On the other hand, the old and new Romanian historiography has investigated only tangentially the 1848-1850 Tsarist expansion, another one in a long row of military campaigns, wars and occupations of the Romanian territories between Dnejstr and Danube (1791-1792, 1806-1812, Bessarabia's annexation in 1812, 1828-1834, 1853-1854). For instance, after World War II, in communist Romania, political correctness obliged to hide armed conflicts, to struggle for peace, to praise the peoples' brotherhood, and most of all to spare the sensibilities of the Big Brother, by never mentioning the historical Romanian territory of Bessarabia, incorporated in 1812 by Tsarist Russia (forming today the Republic of Moldavia, as well as its former province, since 1991 an exclave of the Russian Federation, namely the separatist region of Transnistria occupied by Russian armies).[3]

Due to non-scientific reasons (whether ideological, political, or even military reasons, because either of indulgence towards the great Eastern neighbour, or of Russophobia), as well as due to a simple scientific reason (like the lack of key documents on this topic), only a few historical approaches of the 1848 Romanian revolution and even less Romanian military history works mention it timidly and partially.[4]

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[1] For a comparative analysis of the 1848-1849 Tsarist campaigns in Hungary and the Romanian Lands, see Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan. "Afterword," in Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov (eds.). *Armatele imperiale austro-ruse şi românii la 1848-1849. Documente militare / The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849. Military Documents*, vol. II - *Corespondenţă şi rapoarte militare / Military Reports and Correspondence* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut / Symphologic Publishing, 2013), 311-315.

[2] It is the case of the recent synthesis on Bessarabia in the Russian Empire (1812-1917), signed by Andrei Kushko, Viktor Taki and Oleg Grom: Андрей Кушко, Виктор Таки, Олег Гром. *Бессарабия в Российской империи 1812-1917.* Москва, Новое Литературное Обозрение, 2012.

[3] Larry Watts. *With Friends Like These... The Soviet Bloc's Clandestine War Against Romania* (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 2010), 59-65.

[4] L. Loghin, C. Ucrain. *Aspecte militare ale revoluţiei din 1848-1849 în Transilvania*. Bucureşti, Editura Militară, 1970; Ela Cosma. "Planurile intervenţiei ţariste în Banat, sub comanda generalului Lüders (mai-iunie 1849)," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Bariţiu" din Cluj-*

In short, the topic is for both sides a gap in the historical memory.

Yet, recently we have found the missing pieces of the 1848-1850 warfare puzzle. In the Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow we have identified a still unknown primary historical source, which reflects, minutely and exhaustively, the very Tsarist campaign unfolded in the Romanian Principalities between 1848-1850. The Russian *Oberquartiermeisters* of the 5th army corps, namely colonel Alexander Vissarionovich Komarov and colonel Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski, assisted by colonel Glebov and lieutenant colonel Daragan, wrote a prodigious military diary of almost 1,300 pages of manuscript, describing step by step Moldavia and Wallachia's conquest and occupation by general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders's army (from spring 1848 to autumn 1850), as well as the two Tsarist interventions (in winter and summer 1849) in Transylvania, the Great Autonomous Principality under Habsburg suzerainty.

Thanks to the effort of the editors Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexander Stykalin, Tatiana Onilov, we have processed about 650 manuscript pages of the military diary, in order to prepare the necessary critical edition. The importance of the discovered military archive source, but also the problems and difficulties met in the labour of editing the broad handwritten Russian documents are presented in the following.

The importance of the military-historical archive source

Based on this precious Russian source, whose originals are in the Military- Historical Archive in Moscow, we can now reconstruct, in detail, the two calendar years of the Tsarist campaign in the Romanian territories. As mentioned earlier, it includes not only the occupation of the Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia between 1848-1850, but the Russian military interventions in Transylvania, in February and in June-August 1849, too.

The military-historical diary of the 1848-1850 Tsarist campaign in the Romanian Principalities is a first-hand archive source of exceptional value, so much the more that it was never published before, during the 170 years passed since the depicted events.

The purpose of the military-historical diary was to send on the minute, to the higher superiors of the Imperial General Staff in Sankt Petersburg, detailed and accurate information about the number, march routes and actions of the detachments (units) composing the 5th corps of the Russian army on Moldavian, Wallachian and Transylvanian territory.

Other essential aspects were also presented, such as: maintenance of the Tsarist war machinery in optimal operational state; quartering the huge number of troops; supplying the Russian infantry, cavalry, artillery and sappers with food (*Proviant,* human supplies) and feed; establishing the military camps, the mobile hospitals and isolation hospitals for contagious diseases (*lazarets*); prevention, avoidance and cure of the soldiers' diseases.

There were emphasized the great strategic qualities and the efficient organizational methods of the corps commander, general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders, who imposed his control both upon his own army, and upon the local national militia, with the often-expressed clear intention, to exercise a moral influence and to put pressure upon the Romanian civilian population.

Actually, the ego- and ethno-centric Russian view, reflected in the pages of the 1848 Romanian campaign diary, was typical of the Tsarist operative army in general, an army experienced in expansionist campaigns in foreign territories. The locals were significant for the imperials only as far as they had to provide for the Russian military's needs or to meet their interests. This explains, for instance, the obligation imposed on the Romanian Principalities to ensure the maintenance of the huge Tsarist operative army, and the power relations established by the corps command, especially by general commander Lüders, with the Moldavian and Wallachian local authorities. Not being interested too much about the Principalities' inhabitants, the Tsarist campaign diary offers too little social, ethnographic and historical notices about the Romanians, compared to similar Austrian military reports, for example.[5]

Summing-up, the importance of the 1848-1850 Russian military archive source derives especially from its very contents, as the military diary includes a thorough and comprising relation about:

1. – the detailed deployment and march routes of the Tsarist units composing the 5th army corps, beyond the borders of the Russian Empire, starting with the moment when they crossed the Prut River into Moldavia (30 April 1848);

2. – the successive occupation of the Romanian Principalities, first Moldavia's occupation between the Prut River and the Siret River by the vanguard detachment of the 5th corps, led by general Daniil Alexandrovich Gerstenzweig (June-August 1848), then the entire Principality of Moldavia's occupation, under command of lieutenant general Moller, with headquarters in Iaşi (August 1848 – March 1850);

3. – the occupation of Southern Moldavia and Wallachia by the main detachment of the operative army, led by general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders,

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[5] Friedrich Schwantz von Springfels. *Descrierea Olteniei la 1723,* ed. Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan (Brăila / Cluj-Napoca: Muzeul Brăilei "Carol I"/Editura Istros, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2017), 221-289.

commander of the 5ᵗʰ corps (August 1848-1850); the occupation of the Wallachian capital city Bucharest by Lüders (September 1848);

4. – the first short intervention of the detachments led by colonel Grigori Iakovlevich Skariatin and major general Nikolai Feodorovich Engelhardt in Southern Transylvania, and their confrontations with the Hungarian military troops, in the area of the Transylvanian towns Braşov and Sibiu (February 1849);

5. – the second two months intervention in Transylvania of the operative detachment of the 5ᵗʰ corps, led by Lüders himself, and the defeat of the Hungarian army, led by general József Bem (June-August 1849);

6. – the reduced Russian manpower, led by general Gustav Hristianovich Hasford, left behind in Transylvania until peace achievement, at the return of the Austrian troops to the Great Autonomous Principality (August-October 1849);

7. – the continuous military occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia, by a contingent of the 5ᵗʰ corps led by Lüders, together with a smaller number of Ottoman troops, according to the provisions of the Balta Liman treaty (1 May 1849), until 1 March 1850;

8. – the 5ᵗʰ corps's preparation for withdrawal (March 1850) and the Russian military's departure from the territory of the Romanian Principalities (by October 1850).

Authors of the military-historical campaign diary

At the beginning of the Tsarist military campaign in the Romanian Lands, the order sent to the *Oberquartiermeister* of the 5ᵗʰ army corps to draw up a campaign diary, coming directly from tsar Nicholas I, was transmitted to the War minister, prince (*knyaz*) Alexander Ivanovich Tchernysheov (1786-1857), who had been appointed by the tsar on the significant position of chairman of the State Council of the Russian Empire. On 5 June 1848 minister Tchernysheov ordered general Feodor Feodorovich Berg, in his capacity of *Generalquartiermeister* and chief of the Imperial General Staff in Sankt-Petersburg, to charge his direct subordinate, namely *Oberquartiermeister* Komarov, to elaborate a historical and military campaign diary, in order to include the movements of the vanguard detachment of the 5ᵗʰ corps of the Russian army beyond the Prut River, that is beyond the 1848 political borders of the Tsarist Empire.[6]

The diary of the 1848-1850 Tsarist military campaign in the Romanian Principalities was written by several staff officers of the 5ᵗʰ Russian army corps. Its main authors are Komarov and Nepokoitchitski, the latter being seconded by Glebov and having Daragan as *locum tenens*. Hereinafter we portray a few biographical,

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[6] Russian State Military-Historical Archive, Funds 846 (abbreviated: RSMHA, 846), Opis 16, File 5332, no. 605, and Military-Scientific Archive of the General Staff Command, Department 2, no. 3285 (б), cabinet 115, shelf 1, fo. 1v.

military career and personality treats of the above-mentioned Tsarist high officers, who put their names to the analyzed campaign diary. Completing the picture, we make reference to further Russian commanders, like Lüders, Gerstenzweig, Duhamel, who played the leading role in the 1848-1850 military events developed on Romanian soil. Scholars have pointed out the great pressure exerted by the diplomat general Duhamel upon the actual military commanders Gerstenzweig and Lüders in order to force the invasion on a foreign territory under non-Russian suzerainty, in the Romanian Principalities, before receiving the tsar's approval.[7]

I. Lieutenant colonel *Alexander Vissarionovich Komarov* (1823 or 1830-1904) was, in summer 1848, *Oberquartiermeister* of the Tsarist vanguard detachment of the 5th army corps. He accompanied in mission artillery general Daniil Alexandrovich Gerstenzweig (1790-1848), commander of the vanguard made up of 6 divisions.

Gerstenzweig crossed the border of the Prut river, from Bessarabia belonging to the Tsarist Empire into Moldavia, upon the urgent call of general Alexander Osipovich Duhamel (1801-1880), Russia's extraordinary commissioner in both Romanian Principalities. The latter had accused the outburst of the revolution in Wallachia (7/19 June 1848 in Craiova, 9/21 June 1848 in Izlaz) and Bucharest (11/23 June 1848). The revolutionary events in Wallachia apparently determined the need of a swift intervention of the Tsarist armed forces.[8]

Oberquartiermeister Komarov was appointed by his superior, *Generalquartiermeister* general Feodor Feodorovich von Berg (1794-1874) from Sankt-Petersburg, to send him reports once a week, and to write a campaign diary, that he had to dispatch immediately to the imperial capital city. Komarov carried out the order, starting with 20 July 1848, when he sent the first part of his campaign diary. Here he described the arrival of the Russians in the Principality of Moldavia, delimitated by the rivers Prut and Siret, during the period from 30 April 1848 to 30 June 1848.[9]

It seems that this untimely, unsuitable arrival of the Russian vanguard on a foreign territory under Ottoman suzerainty, merely upon Duhamel's insistence, with no highest approval, was disavowed by the tsar in the first instance. This led to general Gerstenzweig's quick dismissal. Abandoned to despair, the high rank officer, who was a man of honour, committed suicide by shooting himself on 14 August 1848 in Leova, on the Bessarabian border.[10]

The vanguard troops were subordinated to general Alexander Nikolaevich von Lüders (1790-1874), who was since 1837 commander of the 5th army corps, and

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[7] Barbara Jelavich, 20-22.

[8] Gheorghe Bezviconi. *Călători ruşi în Moldova şi Muntenia* (Bucharest: Institutul de Istorie Naţională, 1947), 387-389; Ivan Oreus: Иван Ореус. *Описание Венгерской войны 1849 года.* Санкт Петербургъ, Типография А. Траншеля, 1880.

[9] RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332, fo. 1v, 3, 4-20.

[10] *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu,* ed. Ioan C. Filitti, Radu Crutzescu (Bucharest: Editura Humanitas, 2015), 144-145.

who had led his corps in the Caucasus war (1843-1845).[11] In August 1848, accompanied by the staff officers of his army corps, headed by Nepokoitchitski, Lüders arrived from Odessa in Bessarabia, and, from here he crossed the Prut to Southern Moldavia. In between, Lüders conquered Wallachia (since September 1848), and in June 1849 he invaded Transylvania with a large army.

Lieutenant colonel Komarov did not take part in the Transylvanian military campaign in summer 1849, as he was busy with the occupation army in Moldavia, as *Oberquartiermeister* of the detachment in Iaşi. His services were acknowledged by his being promoted to the rank of colonel (1849). He diligently and, sometimes, with much talent did his job to write down the Moldavian military diary, until September 1850.

Later on, Komarov was transferred to the Caucaus (1856). He was promoted major general (1868) and lieutenant general (1878). He fought in the Caucasian provinces of Chechnya and Dagestan (1877), then he was appointed supreme commander of the Trans-Caspian territory (1882) and commander of the Russian troops on the border with Afghanistan (1885). As infantry general, he retired in 1891 and died in 1904.

The writer of the 1848-1850 diary of the Russian campaign in the Romanian Principalities, Alexander Vissarionovich Komarov*,* was most probably the son of the cavalry major general Vissarion Savich Komar(ov), who took part as well in the 1848 campaign in the Romanian Lands, as head of the Ahtyrsk *hussar* regiment in Bucharest (1848-1850) and commander of the 1st brigade of the light cavalry (*uhlan*) division no. 5 in Transylvania (summer 1849). *Oberquartiermeister* Alexander Vissarionovich Komarov had three younger brothers, who also acquired high military ranks: infantry general Dimitri Vissarionovich Komarov (1831-1881); infantry general Constantin Vissarionovich Komarov (1832-1912), and Vissarion Vissarionovich Komarov (1838-1907), colonel in the Russian army and general in the Serbian army.[12]

II. Colonel *Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski* (1813-1881) was, between 1848-1850, the *Oberquartiermeister* of the corps led by general Lüders, after he had spent 15 years in the 5th infantry corps of the Russian army, as corps staff officer (1834), then as division *Quartiermeister* and main *aide-de-camp* (adjutant) of the respective corps staff. In 1836 he became lieutenant (*поручик*) and staff captain (1839).

His relationship with Lüders dated from 1843, when the 5th army corps moved to the Caucasus, and Nepokoitchitski fought in Dagestan under general

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[11] Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski: Артур Адамович Непокойчицкий. "Граф Александр Николаевич Лидерс. Биографический очерк." *Русский инвалид*, но. 50, Санкт Петербургъ, 1874.

[12] Idem: Артур Адамович Непокойчицкий. *Описание войны въ Трансильвании въ 1849 году состалено при Генеральном Штабе 5-го Пехоного Корпуса*, с картою Трансильвании и с семью планами. Санкт Петербургъ, Типография Юлия Аид, Бокрама, 1st ed. 1858, 2nd ed. 1866, 290; *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu*, 187-188.

Lüders's command. In August 1845, he was appointed *Oberquartiermeister* of the 5th infantry corps and sent to Stavropol. He was promoted colonel (*полковник*) in 1847.

In capacity of *Oberquartiermeister,* namely as the staff commander of the 5th corps of the Russian army in the Romanian Principalities and Transylvania, colonel Nepokoitchitski participated to the Russian campaign in the Romanian Lands (1848-1850). For special merits in the battles of Sebeş and Sighişoara (31 July 1849), he was promoted by tsar Nicholas I major general (August 1849). After the withdrawal of the Tsarist occupation troops from Moldavia and Wallachia (October 1850), he stayed in the staff command of the 5th infantry corps (until 1852).

Nepokoitchitski wrote the *Описанѥ войны въ Трансильвании въ 1849 году* (Description of the War in Transylvania in 1849), published in Sankt-Petersburg in 1858 and republished in 1866.[13] The cover and front page of the second edition ascribe the book to the staff of the 5th Russian infantry corps.[14] Its actual editor is, in fact, as mentioned in the first edition, Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski, who had all the proper information at hand, not only as eyewitness and participant to the Transylvanian war of 1849, but also as one of the authors who had drawn up the military-historical diary of the Tsarist campaign in the Romanian Lands. The Russian colonel wrote this volume in the years following the Transylvanian war (1849-1852), but, because of the Crimean war (1853-1856), his work could not be immediately published. The book is dedicated to the major battles fought, in summer 1849, by general Lüders's intervention troops against the Hungarian army led by Polish general Bem on Transylvanian soil.

Dealing with the already published Russian war diaries and memoirs of 1849, reflecting strictly the military events in Transylvania, Tatiana Onilov typified and included Nepokoitchitski's book among the objective sources that registered historical facts and data with a high degree of objectivism.[15] Being of great importance, this volume adds value to the unpublished archive documents

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[13] The first edition of 1858 mentioned A. Nepokoitchitski as editor: *Описанѥ войны въ Трансилванй въ 1849 году*, *составлево при генеральномъ штабе 5-то пехотнаго корпуса*, изд А. Непокойчицкий. Санктпетербург, 1858.

[14] The second edition of 1866, including Transylvania's map and 7 plans, strictly referred to the staff of the 5th Russian infantry corps: *Описанѥ войны въ Трансильвании в 1849 году,* состалено при Генеральном Штабе 5-го Пехоного Корпуса, с картою Трансильвании и с семъю планами. Санкт Петербургъ, 1866.

[15] Tatiana Onilov, "Russian Military Diaries of the 19th Century Reflecting the Historical Events from 1848 -1849 in Transylvania". *Armies, Commanders, Leaders in Transylvania (1848-1849) / Armate, comandanţi, conducători în Transilvania (1848-1849)*, ed. Ela Cosma (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut / Symphologic Publishing, 2013), 169-170.

presented in our critical edition dedicated to the Russian campaign in the Romanian Lands (1848-1850).[16]

Lately (1999), Nepokoitchitski's *Description of the War in Transylvania in 1849* has been made known in Hungary as well, due to Rosonczi Ildikó's efforts, who partially edited and published in Hungarian translation Nepokoitchitski's volume printed in 1858.[17] But the Hungarian researcher did not at all take into account unedited archive documents, among which there is exactly the military diary written by Nepokoitchitski in 1848-1850.[18]

Rosonczi's recent enterprise confirms both the authenticity of the Tsarist campaign's diary we are dealing with, and its originality until the present days, which emphasizes once more the need of an integral edition of this still unpublished archive source.

Returning to Nepokoitchitski's life, in 1855 he became lieutenant general and *Oberquartiermeister* of the Southern Tsarist army, and of the maritime and pedestrian troops in Crimea. Then he was staff *Oberquartiermeister* of the 2nd Russian army corps (1856). He was promoted infantry general (1868) and *aide-de-camp* general (1874).

Upon general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders's death, on 2 February 1874, his old subordinate staff officer and collaborator Nepokoitchitski wrote an ample necrologue dedicated to the former general commander of the 5th corps of the Russian army (1790-1874). The laudatory writing, precious due to numerous biographical details regarding Lüders, was published in no. 50 of the Sankt Petersburg military journal "Русский инвалид" (1874).[19]

Nepokoitchitski also took part in the Russian-Turkish war (1877-1878), but, on the eve of this war, he was appointed titular holder of the Minsk infantry regiment no. 54. Infantry general Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski died in 1881.[20]

Speaking about the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878, here we have a good example of war instrumentalization by various historiographies. With reason it is called by Romanians and Bulgarians the Independence War of 1877-1878, as it

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[16] Ela Cosma, Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin (eds.). *Campania militară țaristă în Țările Române. Documente militare,* vol. III - *Komarov & Nepokojchitski: Jurnal de campanie* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Argonaut Publishing / Symphologic Publishing, 2017).

[17] Excerpts from Nepokoitchitski's first edition of 1858, translated into Hungarian, edited and provided with an introductory study by Rosonczy Ildikó, are published in the volume entitled *The Transylvanian Campaign from the Russians' Perspective, 1849*, namely: Nyepokojcsickij 1999.

[18] Rosonczy Ildikó. "Bevezetö tanulmány," in Artur Adamovics Nyepokojcsickij. *Az Erdélyi hadjárat orosz szemmel 1849*, ed. Rosonczy Ildikó (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1999), 7-22.

[19] А.А. Непокойчицкий. *Op. cit.*, 1874. Lüders's necrologue written by Nepokoitchitski is reproduced, in Russian and Romanian translation, in Ela Cosma, Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin (eds.), 481-496.

[20] Ibid., 536-537.

determined Romania and Bulgaria's national state independence. In Russian historiography it is known as the Great War for the Homeland's Defense, even if its decisive battles were fought far beyond the Russian homeland, in Bulgaria, south of the Danube River, where, after the tsar's military defeat, prince Carol von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (since 1881 Romania's king Carol I) led the Romanian troops, with major blood sacrifice, to the final victory against the Ottomans.

III. About the Tsarist colonel *Glebov*, secondary author of the Tsarist military diary of 1848-1850, we know only that he was lieutenant colonel and *aide-de-camp* superior of the 5th corps staff of the Russian intervention army in the Romanian Principalities between 1848-1850.

Together with Nepokoitchitski, Glebov was co-writer of the military-historical campaign diary, mainly concerned with the occupation of the Principality of Wallachia.[21]

In 1849-1850, Glebov drew a cartographic plan of the Wallachian capital city Bucharest.[22]

IV. Little we know, too, about the Tsarist staff lieutenant colonel *Daragan*, general Lüders's *aide-de-camp*, who also joined the Russian campaign in the Romanian Principalities and Transylvania (1848-1850). As *locum tenens* of the *Oberquartiermeister*, in the latter's absence from the Wallachian capital city, Daragan took over the duty to write the diary, starting with mid-October 1849 until March 1850.[23]

Just like Nepokoitchitski, Daragan described the experience of the 1848 military campaign in a book, providing abundant information about the battles of the Tsarist army, which were presented by the author in a pretty objective manner. His *Записки о Войнѣ въ Трансилвании въ 1849 году* (Notes on the War in Transylvania in 1849), signed by colonel Daragan, were published, together with a map and 9 plans, in Sankt-Petersburg in 1859, ten years after the end of the 1848-1849 revolution and one year after the publication of Nepokoitchitski's description of the same war.[24] In the volume's forword, Daragan openly revealed his methods and sources:

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[21] RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332, fo. 127-158v.

[22] *Plan goroda Bukaresta i ego okrestnostej snjatyjinstrumental"no pod rukovodstvom general" nago štaba podpolkovnika Glebova v 1849 i 1850 godah,* Bucharest, 1849-1850, original chartographic plan in RSMHA, Funds 438, map compartment, no. 19, apud Virgil Cândea. *Mărturii româneşti peste hotare. Creaţii româneşti şi izvoare despre români în colecţiile din străinătate. IV. Polonia-Rusia*, ed. Ioana Feodorov, Andrei Timotin. Bucureşti, Editura Bibliotecii Bucureştilor, 2012, p. 285; Ion Ionaşcu. **"**Condiţiile edificării Palatului Academiei (Universităţii) din Bucureşti în anii 1857-1864". *Materiale de istorie şi muzeografie*, vol. III (Bucharest: Muzeul de Istorie a oraşului Bucureşti, 1965), 106.

[23] RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5357, fo. 285-320.

[24] Colonel Daragan: Дараганъ. *Записки о Войнѣ въ Трансилвании въ 1849 году съ карто и 9-ю планами*. Санкт Петербургъ, Нздание Якова Алексѣевича Исакова, 1859.

"I consider as a duty to add that, when describing the Transylvanian campaign as a witness and participant, besides the official documents that were available to me, as an officer of the General Staff, I also used live stories of the people, who were often directly involved in the events. I considered keeping impartially and presenting the situation with perfect frankness as the most sacred obligation of mine, in front of my countrymen, in front of history and in front of the military science.[25]"

Tatiana Onilov analysed Daragan's book, which provides an important amount of information about the crucial battles that involved the 5th corps of the Russian army in summer 1849, as well as the description both of Transylvania, with its various villages and towns, and of the key locations or war arenas, where military confrontations and interventions of the Tsarists took place.

Using the descriptive method and also including extra-military data in his narration, colonel Daragan often showed his admiration for Transylvania, underlying that everything in this province was of higher quality: air, water, mountains, cereals, which explained the Habsburgs' and the Hungarians' eagerness to dominate the country. After accurately and objectively describing each event, the author never hesitated to issue his own subjective assumptions and conclusions. Thus, the account added to the factual historical information also Daragan's personal interpretations of the events.[26]

Quartermaster staff, headquarters and manpower of the 5th Tsarist infantry corps in the Romanian Lands (1848-1850)

In recent years, we have referred to the Tsarist diary, promising the processing and the publication of this valuable source.[27] In the 2nd volume of military documents, dedicated to *The Imperial Austrian-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849*, we showed that, during the military campaign led by general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders in the Romanian Principalities (1848-50) and Transylvania (1849), the 5th corps of the Russian army was accompanied by the corps staff. This was

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[25] "Считаю обязанностью прибавить, что описывая трансильванскую кампанию как очевидец и соучастник, я пользовался кроме того официальными документами, которые были мне доступны, как офицеру Генерального Штаба, и живыми рассказами самых действователей, часто на самом месте события. Сохранить беспристрастие и изложить дело с совершенным прямодушием я считал самым священным для себя обязательством перед соотечественниками, перед историею и перед военною наукою." Apud Tatiana Onilov, *Russian Military Diaries*, 168-169.

[26] Ibid., 173-174.

[27] Ela Cosma. *Austrian Consular Representative Offices in Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia, 1782-1848* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut/Symphologic Publishing, 2014), 52-53.

headed by the corps *Oberquartiermeister*, who was in charge not only with questions of military supplies and quarters.[28]

But who was actually the *Oberquartiermeister*? What were his scope and account in the frame of the 5th Tsarist army corps?

The German term (*Oberquartiermeister*), taken over in Russian (*Оберквартирмейстер*), sends to the German or Austrian prototype of the function that, however, was not limited to the military victualling and quartering, but also implied the properly staff command. The Habsburg army held in 1848 the General Staff of the Quarter Master (*General-Quartier-Meister-Stab*), with the seat in Vienna and lead by fieldmarshall of cavalry Heinrich Hess. Despite its confusing title, the Austrian General Staff of the Quarter Master fulfilled precise functions in topography, cartography, statistics, organizing the War Archive (*Kriegsarchiv*), coordinating works of military history and military geography.[29]

The military forces of the Tsarist Empire were organized in several army corps and subordinated to the Ministry of War in the Russian capital city, which was in 1848 Sankt Petersburg. Each army corps had its own *Оберквартирмейстер Штаб* or with the genuine German term *Oberquartiermeister Stab*, that we translated none the less as *Oberquartiermeister* staff, in order to distinguish it from the Imperial General Staff of the Quarter Master. The latter formed a special department (*Департаментъ Генеральнаго Штаба*), within Russia's War Ministry (*Министерство Военное*).

The Tsarist corps *Oberquartiermeister* was, like his Habsburg counterpart, commander of the respective army unit (corps) and chief in matters of military supplies and quarters. Moreover, from the Russians' arrival in the Romanian Principalities, it is exactly the *Oberquartiermeister,* who was commissioned to elaborate the campaign diary, as the events unfolded, and to send it without delay to the Imperial General Staff Department in Sankt Petersburg. Besides writing out regular reports addressed to his immediate superior the *Generalquartiermeister* and drawing up the epic campaign diary, the 5th corps *Oberquartermeister*'s task also was to draw up military plans, layouts and maps of the territories occupied by the Russian armed forces.

Because of the extensive Romanian occupation area, on the one hand, and the large amount of Tsarist manpower coming here with the 5th infantry corps in 1848-1850, on the other hand, at first Komarov was responsible with the military diary as an appointed *Oberquartermeister* of the vanguard detachment in Moldavia.

Afterwards Nepokoitchitski joined him, as staff commander and *Oberquartermeister* of the 5th corps that invaded Wallachia. When general Lüders entered Southern Moldavia (August 1848), the Russian vanguard detachment turned

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[28] Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan, "Afterword," 299-300.
[29] Ibid., 294-295.

into a regular occupation detachment of the Moldavian Principality (until October 1850), having its headquarters in the country's capital city Iaşi. In the meantime, the Tsarist main army of the 5th infantry corps led by Lüders himself took over control of the Wallachian Principality and established its headquarters in the capital city Bucharest (September 1848 – September 1850).

Colonel Nepokoitchitski carried out and signed a map of Southern Moldavia and North-Eastern Wallachia, indicating the marchroute and advance of the Russian army corps towards the towns Focşani, Râmnicu Sărat and Buzău (1848).[30]

He also made another useful map, that showed the deployment of the Tsarist troops in the mountain areas of Moldavia (*Молдавия*) and Wallachia (*Валахия*). The second map comprised, *de facto*, the Romanian Principalities entirely, including Moldavia, Great Wallachia (*Большая Валахия*) and Small Wallachia (*Oltenia, Малая Валахия*), but also the Transylvanian, Banat and Hungarian border provinces, itemizing the lands of the Szekler (*Шеклеры*), Saxons (*Саксонцы*), Hungarians and Romanians (*Венгерцы съ Волохоий*).[31]

In a couple of detailed plans Nepokoitchiskiy sketched the Russian troops deployed about Bucharest.[32]

On his turn, lieutenant colonel Komarov attached to the written diary the layouts drawn by him, among which: the position plan of the military camp of the Russian army near Leova; the plan of the camp of the Ahtyrsk hussar regiment and of the light cavalry battery no. 10 near Semila, by Bârlad; the plan of the Tsarist reserve artillery park no. 15 in Bârlad (1848).[33]

Komarov also drew a toponymical and hydronymical map of the Moldavian Principality, comprising the information collected by the Tsarist vanguard army in summer 1848.

In order to better understand the large responsibilities taken by the *Oberquartiermeisters* and the corps staff of the 5th Russian army, let us briefly

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[30] Colonel Nepokoitchitski. *Map with the surroundings of the towns Focşani, Râmnicu Sărat and Buzău, indicating the march route and advance of the Russian main army of the 5th corps (1848)*. In RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332, fo. 90.

[31] Colonel Nepokoitchitski. *Map of the mountain areas in the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, showing the deployment of the Tsarist 5th army corps (1848).* RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332, fo. 129.

[32] Colonel Nepokoitchitski. *Plan of the Russian troops deployed near Bucharest (1848)*. RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332, fo. 95.

[33] Lieutenant colonel Komarov. *Position plan of the military camp of the Russian army near Leova in Bessarabia (1848)*. RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332 (17604), fo. 1. Lieutenant colonel Komarov. *Position plan of the military camp of the Ahtyrsk Hussar regiment and of the light cavalry battery no. 10 near Semila, by Bârlad.* RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332 (17604), fo. 22A. Lieutenant colonel Komarov. *Plan of the camp of the reserve artillery park no. 15 in the town Bârlad in the year 1848.* RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332, fo. 22B.

explain the tactical units of the operative Tsarist army in 1848-1850, as well as the structure and manpower of the 5th infantry corps.

According to Ivan Oreus, Russia's regular forces or standing army (*регулярные русские войска*) were divided in active forces (*действующие войска*), that existed in peacetime and increased their number before the war, and military reserve forces (*ресервые войска*), which were scarce in peacetime, but increased considerably in wartime. The actual standing army was composed of the following corps (*корпуса*): a guard infantry corps (*гвардейские пехотные корпуса*); a guard cavalry reserve corps (*гвардейские ресервые кавалерийские корпуса*); a grenadier corps (*гренадиерские корпуса*); 6 infantry corps (6 *пехотные корпуса*); 2 cavalry reserve corps (2 *ресервые кавалерийские корпуса*). Besides these, there were some separate corps: the Caucasian corps (*кавказский корпус*); the Orenburg corps (*оренбургский корпус*); the Siberian corps (*сибирский корпус*) and a few training corps (*учебные войска*).[34]

Tatiana Onilov synthesized data offered by Russian military authors of the 19-20th centuries like Ivan Oreus (1880), Aleksandr Voronov, Revekka Abramovna Averbuch (1935), Pavel Markovich Adrianov and others, concerning Russia's intervention forces in Austria (1849), insisting on the operative units of the Tsarist army in Transylvania.[35]

Onilov explains that each Russian infantry corps, among which the 5th infantry corps is to be counted, too, had 3 infantry divisions. Each division consisted of (at least) 2 brigades. Each infantry brigade had 2 regiments. Yet one of the 4 regiments from each division was a light infantry regiment of *Jägers* (*Егерь*) or hunters. There were 4 battalions per regiment, namely a rifle battalion, a sapper battalion and a light cavalry divisium. Each infantry battalion was formed of 4 or more companies or *rotas* (*рота*). Usually a battalion numbered 600-800 men, depending on its number of companies. While a complete company had 250 soldiers, a riflemen company had 180.

So, an infantry corps totalized up to 50,000 men.[36]

In 1849, the 5th Russian infantry corps led by Lüders and the 6th corps were under direct command of the Ministry of War, while the infantry corps no. 1-4 made up the so-called active army (*действующая армия*), led by marshal prince Paskevich.

Ivan Oreus noted that, during the 1849 events in Transylvania, in the Romanian Principalities and in Hungary, the Russian regular forces of the standing army were completed by the irregular forces of the Don Cossack troops. These light cavalry troops were organized in Cossack regiments, including each 6 *sotnias*

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[34] Ivan Oreus. *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

[35] Tatiana Onilov. "Organization, Terminology and Structure of the Russian Army in 1849," *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XXIII, supplement no. 1 (Cluj-Napoca, 2014), 229-242.

[36] Ibid., 233-236.

(*сотни*). A sotnia was a smaller Cossack unit of 100 soldiers. Under infantry general Lüders, as general commander of the 5th corps, there fought 3 Cossack regiments, namely regiments no. 1, 43 and 48 of the Don Cossacks.[37]

From this, it follows that, in 1848-1850, the manpower of Lüders's 5th corps in the Romanian Principalities numbered at least 50,000 infantrymen (like an ordinary infantry corps) and 18 *sotnias* or 1,800 Don Cossacks, which makes a total of about 52,000 men, as a maximal number.

But, processing the documents of the Tsarist campaign diary, we came across the situation described by Komarov on 4 June 1849, when a part of the 5th corps was dislocated to Transylvania, while in the Romanian Principalities there still remained: 16 infantry battalions, 16 cavalry squadrons, 40 artillery cannons, 6 Cossack *sotnias*.[38] That made a total of: 12,800 infantrymen (as a battalion had 800 men), 2,720 cavalrymen (per squadron there were 170 men), 600 Cossacks, thus a manpower of 16,120 soldiers, 3,320 horses and 40 cannons. To these forces left in Moldavia and Wallachia, under command of lieutenant general Dannenberg, there is to be added the Russian army led by general Lüders, from Wallachia across the Carpathians to Transylvania, consisting of 26 battalions, 16 squadrons and 18 sotnias, summing up a total of almost 25,320 soldiers and 56 cannons.[39]

Thus, we can now appreciate that the Russian manpower in the Romanian Principalities in June 1849 totalized, as a minimal number, 41,440 men, 6,040 horses, 96 cannons. Proving a better accuracy, these figures show that our previous estimations of 2013 were overrated.[40]

Discovery and research of the military-historical archive source

During a documentation stage at the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow (2008), historians Daniela Deteşan from Cluj-Napoca and Flavius Solomon from Iaşi, helped by their colleagues Angela Stîcalin-Colin and Alexander Stykalin from Moscow, identified several archive funds that are vital for the Romanians' modern history, among which the object of the present investigation. The Moscow archival source was revealed by Daniela Deteşan (2011), in an article presenting the numerous

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[37] Ivan Oreus, 15.

[38] Ela Cosma, Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin. *Campania militară ţaristă în Ţările Române*, 370.

[39] Tatiana Onilov. *Organization, Terminology and Structure of the Russian Army in 1849*, 237.

[40] Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan. "Afterword," 311. Based on vintage rumours received by the French and Habsburg consuls, we considered that 60-70,000 Russian soldiers spent the years 1848-1850 in Moldavia and Wallachia.

documents regarding the Tsarist armed forces in the Romanian Principalities in 1848. The author insisted upon the need for an extensive research on this topic.[41]

Fortunately, in the frame of a scientific project dedicated to *The Imperial Armies and the Romanians. Secret Military Testimonies from the Russian and Austrian Archives (1848-1849),* under the aegis of "George Bariţiu" History Institute of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca, the grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research in Bucharest enabled us to conduct a far-reaching exploration of the considered Russian archive funds (2011-2016). All the needed requirements were met, in order to perform such a complex and large-scale endeavour, indeed unique to the Romanian historical research. The grant covered budget and logistics (team research stays in Moscow imply high costs and restrictive archive access). It also ensured generous human resources.[42]

Merely from the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow, we have identified, photocopied, scanned and transcribed a vast archive material. Excepting the diary of the Tsarist campaign, but including documents from further archives from Russia, Ukraine, Austria and the Republic of Moldova, only a few of the documents identified in the Military-Historical Archive from Moscow have been processed and edited in our first two volumes of military documents regarding *The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849.*[43] In order to achieve a

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[41] Daniela Deteşan. "Generalul Alexander Nicolaevici Lüders şi invazia rusă în Transilvania (1849) în Arhiva Istorico-Militară de la Moscova". *Biografii paşoptiste (3). Culegere de studii*, eds. Gelu Neamţu, Ela Cosma (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2011), 319-325.

[42] The grant was supported by the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research (CNCS-UEFISCDI). Project number: PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0064, project title: *The Imperial Armies and the Romanians. Secret Military Testimonies from the Russian and Austrian Archives (1848-1849)*, project leader: Ela Cosma. The grant team of experts in modern history and Russian, German, French, Romanian palaeography was made up of: Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov from the "George Bariţiu" Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca; Ramona Preja from the Arts University in Târgu Mureş; Ion Varta from the State Archives of the Republic of Moldova in Kishinev; with the help of Alexandr Stykalin from the Institute of Slavistic and Balkan Studies of the Russian Academy in Moscow, and Tatiana Varta from the History Institute of the Moldovan Academy in Kishinev as external collaborators. Research stages at the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow: May-June 2012 (Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan, Tatiana Onilov, Ramona Preja), July 2012 (Ion Varta and Tatiana Varta), October 2012 (Angela Stîcalin-Colin), 2013-2016 (Angela Stîcalin-Colin), 2016-2017 (Alexander Stykalin).

[43] Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov (eds.). *Armatele imperiale austro-ruse şi românii la 1848-1849. Documente militare / The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849. Military Documents*, vol. I – *Descrieri generale şi militare / General and Military Descriptions* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut / Symphologic Publishing, 2012); Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov (eds.). *Armatele imperiale austro-ruse şi românii la 1848-1849. Documente militare /*

wider dissemination of the edited documents, these were published in a multilingual and critical edition (2012, 2013), that presents the forward, afterword, notes and expanded *regesta* (document abstracts) in Romanian and English language, while the original documents are transcribed in Russian, German, Romanian, French and fully translated into Romanian.

We ought to mention, at this point, that the above presented volumes also include 31 documents, preserved in 6 different files of the Russian Military-Historical Archive.[44] Here we have also published 8 maps from 1848, with originals in the same archive.[45]

As concerns the unpublished manuscripts of the Russian campaign diary worked out by colonel Nepokoitchitski and lieutenant colonel Komarov, from the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow we have fully processed file 5332 (213 folios) and partially processed file 5357 (folios 285-368), both from Fund 846, opis 16.[46]

The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849. Military Documents, vol. II – *Corespondenţă şi rapoarte militare / Military Reports and Correspondence* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut / Symphologic Publishing, 2013).

[44] In round bracket we indicate the volume number and pages of the documents from the Russian Military-Historical Archive in Moscow published in volume I (2012) and vol. II (2013) of the edition *The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849. Military Documents*: a) RSMHA, Funds 219, Opis 540/1, File 861 (doc. 74, vol. II, 162-163; doc. 82, vol. II, 178-181); b) RSMHA, Funds 438, Opis 1, File 53, microfilm, 4 un-numbered pages at the beginning of the file (doc. 105, vol. II, 245-249); c) RSMHA, Funds 846, Opis 16, File 535, fo. 71 (doc. 91, vol. II, 211); d) RSMHA, Funds 846, Opis 16, File 5333, fo. 115-116, 133-135, 236-239, 395-397, 451-452, 477-499, 521, 526-527, 544-547, 591-594 (doc. 19, vol. II, 35-37; doc. 29, vol. II, 71-74; doc. 30, vol. II, 75-79; doc. 31, vol. II, 80-85; doc. 32, vol. II, 85-89; doc. 33, vol. II, 89-91; doc. 36, vol. II, 100-101; doc. 34, vol. II, 91-97; doc. 35, vol. II, 97-100; doc. 37, vol. II, 102-103; doc. 38, vol. II, 103-106; doc. 42, vol. II, 110-111; doc. 47, vol. II, 119-120; doc. 44, vol. II, 113-115; doc. 51, vol. II, 124-126; doc. 52, vol. II, 126-129; doc. 62, vol. II, 145-146; doc. 63, vol. II, 146-152); e) RSMHA, Funds 846, Opis 16 (1), File 5349, fo. 114-115, 170-172, 263-264, 866, 909-910 (doc. 86, vol. II, 187-191; doc. 7, vol. I, 210-213; doc. 95, vol. II, 226-229; doc. 92, vol. II, 211-213; doc. 93, vol. II, 213-214); f) RSMHA, Funds 846, Opis 16, File 5351, no. 605, 626, 639 (doc. 94, vol. II, 214-226; doc. 100, vol. II, 239-240; doc. 98, vol. II, 236-237).

[45] RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332 (old no. 3285), fo. 1, 22, 22a, 35, 72, 90, 95, 129 – maps of the: Russian military camp in Leova (vol. I, 283, map 19); Russian reserve artillery park in Bârlad (vol. I, 279, map 15); Russian camp in Bârlad (vol. I, 278, map 14); march route of the Russian vanguard detachment with the map of the Principality of Moldavia (vol. I, 281, map 17); Russian military camp of the 5th corps in Bucharest (vol. I, 273, map 9); towns of Focşani, Râmnicu Sărat, Buzău and the surroundings (vol. I, 277, map 13); dislocation of the Russian line troops to Bucharest (vol. I, 280, map 16); mountain areas in the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (vol. I, 282, map 18).

[46] RSMHA, a) Funds 846, Opis 16, File 5332, no. 605, and Military-Scientific Archive of the General Staff Command, Department 2, no. 3285 (б), cabinet 115, shelf 1, fo. 1v, 3, 4-20, 24-25, 26, 27, 28-64, 65, 66-71, 73, 74-88v, 92-101, 102-103, 107, 108-114, 116-118, 121-123,

Editing the Russian campaign diary of 1848-1850

The Russian manuscript of the campaign diary was transcribed and translated into Romanian by Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin and Alexander Stykalin, while German documents and tables were processed by Ela Cosma. Volume III of military documents, dealing with *The Tsarist Campaign in the Romanian Lands in 1848-1850. Komarov and Nepokoitchitski's Campaign Diary,* was printed in Romanian.[47]

From the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow, Funds 846, opis 16, we fully processed 44 archive documents, adding further two memoirs, Russian and German tables reflecting march routes, manpower and statistical data related to the imperial Tsarist and Habsburg armies, as well as to the revolutionary Hungarian army. We transcribed 300 Russian pages of archive documents (213 folios from file 5332, 83 folios from file 5357), translated other 300 Romanian pages, added 50 pages of biographical indexes, which means 650 typed pages.

In our critical edition of military documents on the imperial armies and the Romanians in 1848-1850, we have tried, as much as possible, to arrange the documents in the chronological order of their issuing date.

Thus, we included the reports of *Oberquartiermeisters* Komarov and Nepokoitchitsky to *Generalquartiermeister* Berg, followed by the military-historical diary in its continuation. Usually the military reports were dated; on the contrary the diary records were not. Since each report from Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania included the date and place of issue, but also the reception date in Sankt Petersburg, we dated and placed consequently the diary continuation that followed the given report. For instance, Komarov's report to Berg, issued in Leova on 31 August 1848, was followed by the *Continuation of the general diary on the troops' movements of the vanguard detachment from 28 June until 13 August 1848.* As the diary was signed by Komarov, too, assumingly at the same place and time as the corresponding report, we registered the diary as follows: "[Leova, 31 August 1848]".

Yet, judging by page numbering of file 5332, we found that the diary structure does not always comply with the chronological criterion. The Russian military diary seems to have been archived after the campaign, indeed, but not much later after 1848-1850.

Being aware both of the importance of the historical and military source that we are revealing to the general public for the first time, and of the fact that our initiative

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124-125, 127, 128-134v, 135, 136-140, 142-158v, 160-185, 187-192v, 193-198, 199, 200-213; b) Funds 846, Opis 16, File 5357, fo. 285-296, 297-302, 303-307, 308-312, 313-316, 317-320, 321-330, 331-339, 340-368.

[47] Ela Cosma, Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin (eds.). *Campania militară ţaristă în Ţările Române. Documente militare,* vol. III - *Komarov & Nepokojchitski: Jurnal de campanie* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Argonaut Publishing / Symphologic Publishing, 2017).

will hardly be resumed and completed in the future by other researchers, we initiated this undertaking with the intention to make a complete edition of the diary of the Tsarist military campaign in the Romanian Principalities between 1848-1850.

Notwithstanding our efforts – that were voluntary and unpaid after the termination of the grant (in October 2016), exceeding the initial schedule -, we could not close the edition. We kept on working, adding more and more relevant Russian archive material. However, we did not manage to edit the whole contents of Nepokoitchitski and Komarov's diary, because of the extremely rich archive material composing the 1848-1850 Tsarist military diary in the Romanian Principalities. On one hand, the large-sized volume III comprises only in Romanian 580 print pages. On the other hand, there still remained unprocessed archive documents, as shown below, that would require about 2 more supplementary tomes.

Final remarks on researching the Moscow Military-Historical Archive and editing the Tsarist campaign diary of 1848-1850

Our research project created in 2012 an absolute precedent by massive consultation of the Russian State Military-Historical Archive (*Российский Государственный Военно-Исторический Архив*) in Moscow. This place, that concentrates all the military documents of our continent's oriental parts, from Middle Ages until the Bolshevik revolution (1917), is now Eastern Europe's largest military archive of medieval and modern history.

Unlike the Austrian War Archive (*Kriegsarchiv*) from Vienna, with normal archive regime in consulting documents, the access in the war archive of the former Russian Empire is physically and psychically conditioned, bureaucratically, technically and financially very much restricted. Thus, physical requirements to enter the Russian State Military-Historical Archive were: body search by armed watches, personal effects (cell phones, photo cameras, writing implements) stored in the cloakrooms, surveillance cameras all over the place (even in the ruined wash rooms), long entrance queues to the reference sections, unaerated reading rooms, unkind and repulsive attitude of the archivists towards non-Russian researchers, their flat denial to speak any other language but Russian, their rough behavior and vocabulary in order to turn off the foreign visitors. Psychical pressure at the Military-Historical Archive determined stress-related health problems affecting 3 of the 5 team members during our research stage of May-June 2012. Unappropriate technical requirements at the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow included: insufficient chairs, desks and microfilm readers, no photo-taking of documents, but notebooks and laptops allowed. There were extremely demanding bureaucratic requirements, prevarication about allowing the visiting request and then delaying the approval. Official approvals from home are never enough, that is why intercession and intervention of colleagues from the Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation

become unavoidable and weight heavier than gold, as the Russian researchers must personally vouch for the integrity and good intentions of the foreign researchers. Substantial financial requirements are also involved: as a general rule costs are higher in Moscow than in London, in particular accommodation facilities are expensive and needed for a longer time period, as nothing can be solved in 2 weeks at the Military-Historical Archive. The transcriptions of the received documents are usually written by hand with pencil on paper or typed on the laptop. Documents may be scanned, but only by the Military-Historical Archive when higher approval is obtained. In this case, there are stiff prices and the waiting time is excessive, as we experienced.[48]

In spite of the harsh conditions and high costs supported by our grant, notwithstanding the obligation imposed by the patriotic host archivists from the Moscow Military-Historical Archive to use Russian as compulsory and only language of communication,[49] our team documentation (that involved 8 historians, between 2012-2017) was the first Romanian private initiative (that is non-ministerial, and not at national level), assumed by researchers from the "George Barițiu" Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca, Branch of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, during a grant generously sustained by the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research. It revealed astonishing unedited documents, among which the military campaign diary presented in this study.

Such a large-scale Romanian team undertaking is unlikely to be continued, unless new funding possibilities occur and the political status of the archives in the Russian Federation deteriorates. We were aware and took advantage of the high point of openness and publicity (*glasnost, гласность*) manifested by Russia in 2012, keeping in mind what our forerunners had confronted with on the general subject of access to the Russian archives. For instance, the Romanian historian Silviu Dragomir complained in 1910 about the obstacles that obstructed him (albeit he was endowed with countless approvals) to enter another famous Moscow archive, that of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Empire, asking the Russian historian and Romanist Alexandr Iatsimirski for help.[50] After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Romanian

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[48] Per contract no. 520 of 3 October 2012, signed between the contracting parties: Military-Historical Archive in Moscow and Angela Stîcalin-Colin, 362 leafs (double pages) and 7 maps were scanned for the sum of 33,160 Russian rubles (3,730.5 Romanian lei or 1,055 US dollars to the level of 2012). The sum was paid by the grant, according to receipt of 18 October 2012. The scanned archive material was received in May 2013. Reproduction and publication of the scanned documents and maps is not forbidden.

[49] The rudeness of the Military-Historical Archive's staff is not general in all Russian archives and concerns not only foreign visitors (but also Russian citizens from the provinces).

[50] Letter of Silviu Dragomir to Alexandr Iatsimirski, 19 December 1910, Moscow, in Russian State Archive for Literature and Arts (Российский Государственный Архив Литературы и Искусства), Funds 584, Opis 1, File 70, fo. 1-1v. Apud Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin. "Relaţiile profesorului Alexandr Iaţimirschii cu intelectualii originari din spaţiul românesc şi

National Archives feverishly involved themselves in the research and recovery of numerous funds of Romanian documents from the archives of the Russian Federation.[51] Even if the results during 1992-2004 were rather modest, it was clear to anyone that:

> "This favourable moment has neither to be wasted, nor can we consider that it will last too long, mostly as we experienced Russia's archives opening at the end of the year 1917, followed in 1920 by their almost total lockup, until August 1991.[52]"

Our own experience in the Russian State Military-Historical Archive showed that the 1848-1850 diary of the Tsarist campaign in the Romanian Principalities represented a pristine fund, as, after it was created, it remained completely untouched by researchers until our documentation stage in 2012.

There are several proofs in this respect, like: a) the existence of Forty-Eighter bugs, that we found pressed and well conserved between the pages of the diary; b) the belated inclusion of larger parts of the 1848-1850 diary from Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania in an unsuitable, limited fund, dedicated only to Hungary in 1849; c) the deliberate mingling of the files concerning the two year Russian campaign in the Romanian Principalities, among the funds registered as containing documents about the Hungarian war of 1849; d) in the description of the archive funds and files, the tacit ignoring of the Romanian phenomena, that as a matter of fact were carefully presented in the Russian campaign diary, and the systematical omission of phrases such as: the Romanian revolution in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, the Tsarist military occupation of the Romanian Principalities; e) "trace deletion" in inventory and opis lists, in order to cover up any hint that could betray the real contents of the Romanian files.

The 1848-1850 campaign diary of the 5th Tsarist army corps in the Romanian Principalities was neither secret, nor classified. So, the access to it was not more difficult than access to further sources from the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow. However, the manuscript documents that make up the respective military diary of the Tsarist campaign in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania between 1848-

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activitatea sa ştiinţifică în studierea culturii române". *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Bariţiu" din Cluj-Napoca*, tome LXVII (Bucharest, 2018), 507-523.

[51] Octavian Dascăl. "Demersurile Arhivelor Naţionale ale României pentru cercetarea şi recuperarea unor fonduri de documente româneşti din arhivele Federaţiei Ruse (1992-2004)," *Revista Arhivelor*, no. 1 (Bucharest, 2009), 28-52.

[52] "Acest moment favorabil nu trebuie pierdut şi nici nu putem considera că el se va prelungi pentru multă vreme, mai ales că avem experienţa deschiderii arhivelor Rusiei la sfârşitul anului 1917, urmată în 1920 de o închidere aproape totală a acestora, până în august 1991." General Direction of the Romanian National Archives. *Raport nr. 3642/29.04.1992 privind vizita delegaţiei Direcţiei Generale a Arhivelor Statului la Moscova (17-24 aprilie 1992)*, manuscript, Bucharest, 1992. Apud Octavian Dascăl, 40.

1850, continue to be well hidden among other archive funds. That is why its discovery was a happy combination of intuition and chance.

Scarcely visited by Romanian historians because of the above-mentioned obstacles, the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow undoubtedly accommodates a treasure of extremely precious information regarding the military history of the Romanian Lands in the mid-19th century. Most of the primary archive sources were minutely written down by the occupying Tsarist army itself. This is also the case of the Tsarist campaign diary of 1848-1850, that proves and confirms in every respect Tatiana Onilov's statements:

> "One thing is certain, in 1849 once again the occupied Romanian Lands, including the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as Transylvania, became a military arena used for Russia's own political interests. All the damages, disorders, spoliation, and losses were endured by the population of these regions, who received in return mere political lies and deception.[53]"

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[53] Tatiana Onilov. *Russian Military Diaries*, 240.

THE RHETORICS OF HEROISM IN THE ROMANIAN POETRY OF THE INDEPENDENCE WAR (1877)

CORINA CROITORU*

Abstract After re-reading the lyric poetry of Vasile Alecsandri and George Coșbuc, the article aims to highlight the mechanism through which the War of Independence (1877-1878) of the Kingdom of Romania, bringing an end to a revolutionary epoch, enters the consciousness of posterity literary instrumented by the poems of two civilian writers, fueling the myth of the heroic Romanian soldier while writing not only from a significant geographical distance in relation to the battlefield, but also from a temporal one, biologically speaking.
Keywords Heroism, nation, War of Independence, distance, memory, civil poets.

As demonstrated within the scholarly literature, "manufacturing" heroes is, regardless of folk, a phenomenon characteristic of the process of defining the identity of a community, much more visible in the epoch of the affirmation of the nation-state, but never truly finished, inasmuch as every society keeps building its heroic figures according to the historical context and the particular political circumstances. Thus, if the emergence of the national hero "is never historically given, but socially and culturally built, its figure being able to vary depending on the various political and historical periods and political contexts"[1], it means that the most tumultuous moments of the national history are also the most creative regarding the production of solutions to configuring the heroic patterns which the community admits and identifies with.

From this point of view, the late nineteenth-century, a century characterized by revolution and by the emergence of the nation-states in Europe *par excellence*, offers, in the Romanian example, a very interesting model of literary "manufacturing" the autochthonous heroism, observable in the War of

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[1] See Claudie Voisenat, *Avant-propos*, in *Pierre Centlivres, Daniel Fabre, Françoise Zonabend (dir.), La fabrique des héros* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'Homme, 1999), X. [*t.I.P.*]

Independence (1877-1878) inspired poetry. Concluding with the victory which marked the achievement of the century-old Romanian ideal – independence from the Ottoman Empire – this war, won as a consequence of the strategic positioning of the Kingdom of Romania on the side of the Russian Empire, was destined to endure in the collective memory as a bright chapter of plenary statement of the national spirit. In completing the heroic canvas of the event, preserved as such in the cultural heritage of the posterity, the literary production of the moment has greatly contributed in all its genres: lyric (George Sion, Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea, Vasile Alecsandri, Alexandru Macedonski, Iosif Vulcan, George Baronzi, George Coșbuc etc.), epic (Nicolae Gane, Duiliu Zamfirescu, George Coșbuc, Emil Gârleanu, Gala Galaction etc.) or drama (George Sion, Grigore Ventura etc.)[2]

However, similar to the case of the partisan literature of the Forty-Eighters, poetry has proven itself the richest creative territory, being the most effective at conveying the mobilizing message in a concise and memorable manner, as remarked by Emil Manu in the preface of the anthology published on the centenary of the War of Independence: "The number of poems dedicated to war is impressive, as poetry proves to be the best genre for political stirring. Our writers have always dedicated body and soul to the fight of our soldiers on the battlefield"[3]. In reality, if the expression "body and soul" were to be taken literally, it would be more honest to say that our writers only dedicated their soul and not their bodies, for they never became soldiers themselves, keeping in mind that the nineteenth century still preserved a preferential recruitment, therefore protecting the cultural and economic elites. In other words, those who immortalized the heroic deeds of the Romanian soldiers in 1877, did so from a safe distance, not only geographical, but also temporal, and that is why it deserves to be critically interrogated.

The two most eloquent examples in this regard are offered by the established poets of the War of Independence themselves, whose lyrics have been read, quoted and requoted by entire generations: Vasile Alecsandri [1821-1890] and George Coșbuc [1866-1918]. Paradoxically, even though the poets are immortalising the brave deeds of the Romanian army in a detailed and vivid manner, both of them are parted from the reality of the battlefield by considerable distance – a *spatial* one in the case of Vasile Alecsandri, who writes the lines for (*Ostașii noștri*) [*Our soldiers*][4] in the safe environment of his manor back in Mircești, and *spatio-temporal* in Coșbuc's case, who was only 11 years old (!) at that time, spending his childhood far away in Năsăud, in his native Transylvania, and whose *Cântece de vitejie* [*Songs*

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[2] See also Ion Roman, *Eroica. 1877* (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură, 1967).

[3] Emil Manu, *Românii la 1877*, in *Românii la 1877* (Bucharest: Editura Ion Creangă, 1977), 8. [*t.I.P.*].

[4] V. Vasile Alecsandri, *Ostașii noștri*, în *Opere*, vol. II – *Poezii* (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură, 1966).

of Bravery][5] will only be written two decades later. Practically, the most significant lyric voices of the War of Independence prove to be, simultaneously, the furthest away from the truth of battle which they rebuilt with patriotic commitment by the power of their imagination.

Although surprising, the phenomenon is not isolated during its time, given that for the entire generation the war generally is an event taking place far away, passing from public into private space by the means of written text, therefore, via literature, and that means through the filter of imagination, because, as Mary A. Favret puts it in *War at a Distance*, "If we take wartime less as an object of cognition bounded by dates – a period – and more as an affecting experience […] than wartime literature becomes an attempt to trace and give shape to such affect, to register its wayward power"[6]. Literature, starting from Romanticism, represents that which creates the modern experience of war in Favret's take, by the simple fact that its representations cause amongst civilians something between the authentic sensation of the conflict and the comforting feeling of an abstract violence taking place far away. This ambiguous affective status in whose conception literature plays no small part is characteristic of the modern experience of war, according to Favret, its defining starting from romanticism, and not from the beginning of the twentieth century with World War I, as claimed in the study of Paul Fussel, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, where the emphasis lies on the idea of *total* war, which ultimately overthrows the order of things and gives birth to irony, as a dominant form of (modern) understanding of the world: "But the Great War was more ironic than any before or since. It was a hideous embarrassment to the prevailing Meliorist myth which had dominated the public consciousness for a century. It reversed the Idea of Progress.[7]"

Moreover, the entire bibliography dedicated to the Great War insists upon the birth of a new tendency, a lucid contemplation of the event, since, due to its magnitude and unimaginable violence, it disrupts the mentality and the sensibility of the foregoing century. In *Du témoignage*, Jean Norton Cru commences in turn an extensive demystifying process, dismantling as an ex-serviceman all the myths of heroism to be found in the literature and the memoirs of World War I and condemning the distorted taste of the readership: "Writers with a public sense, aware of the morbid attraction exercised by the criminal gesture, the bleeding knife, the mutilated corpse, have flirted with deforming art and served the lot of cattle the same thing it's always been reading but with an up-to-date coloration"[8]. The demythologization of the heroism clichés and the ironic representation of the reality

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[5] See George Coșbuc, *Cântece de vitejie*, în *Opere*, vol. I – *Poezii* (Bucharest: Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2006).

[6] See Mary A. Favret, *War at a Distance. Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton&Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), 11.

[7] Paul Fussel, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 8.

[8] Jean Norton Cru, *Du témoignage* (Paris: Gallimard, 1930), 92. [*t.I.P.*]

of the battlefield are therefore mutations in the literary and artistic representations of World War I, while the taste for the exceptional, bravery and supreme sacrifice are invariants of the pre-war literature. The status of the author most certainly contributes to this segregation of vision and mood, the perspective of the combatant writers proves to be a rather demystifying one, while the perspective of the civilian writers is generally tributary to the culturally inherited commonplaces for reasons which Emmanuel Godo summarizes so: "The civilians develop an ultra-patriotic discourse out of sheer conformism or to compensate, by ideological or linguistic means, for their non-enlisting.[9]" This explanatory note is essential in any debate on the nature of war literature.

As our civilian poets evoke the deeds of bravery in the War of Independence, Vasile Alecsandri and George Coşbuc rebuild in their own hyperbolised vision of heroic sacrifice for the future of the country, perpetuated by the autochthonous cultural memory, but not confirmed by the confessions of the soldiers, as noted by Ovid Densusianu: "As I walked many counties I never met a single peasant who would talk to me about this event with the joy and enthusiasm awoken by the belief that he took part in a great deed, but rather the loathing for an order he was forced to obey.[10]" The poems of both Alecsandri and Coşbuc emphasize precisely the enthusiasm, abnegation, bravery and especially the self-sacrificing spirit of the infantry whom they transform into the national heroes via "transfer of sacredness,[11]" that which the scientific literature calls the identifying of the soldier's image with the Messianic model, which holds a privileged position in affirming a homeland nation.

Thereby, in the *Ostaşii nostri* [*Our soldiers*] cycle, first published in 1878, the same Vasile Alecsandri who upon visiting the war theatre in Crimea and the ruins of Sevastopol in 1855 had written the pacifist poem *La Sevastopol* [*In Sevastopol*] terrified by the aftermath of the conflict, now discards the pacifist attitude and embraces a warlike tone, even more surprising if we consider that the War of Independence finds the poet retired from the public life and political conflicts, as shown in *Epistola generalului Florescu* [*Letter to General Florescu*], appeared in 1876. The awaited news of Romania's army entering the war which could finally achieve the much dreamed of independence for his country reanimates the creative spirit of the Forty-Eighter poet on the verge of old age, isolated in Mirceşti, from where he decides to answer the call to arms with his own weapon: poetry. The exaltation of the poet should be understood not only on the background of his prior patriotic commitment proved during the Revolution

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[9] Emmanuel Godo, *Pourquoi nous battons-nous? 1914-1918: les écrivains face à leur guerre* (Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 2014), 61. [*t.I.P.*].

[10] Ovid Densusianu, *Folclorul. Cum trebuie înţeles*, in Octav Păun (coord.), *Elogiu folclorului românesc* (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură, 1969), 271. [*t.I.P.*].

[11] V. Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire. 1789-1799* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976).

of 1848 or during the Union of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, but on the background of a separated diplomatic experience, because immediately after the Union he is sent by the Ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza into a diplomatic mission close to the governments of France, England and Piedmont, thus having the occasion to walk the battlefield of the Austro-French Piedmontese War. Thereupon, "when, in 1859, […] Alecsandri has the opportunity to follow closely the diplomatic upheavals and even the Italian sacrifices on the field of battle for the liberty and the unity of their nation, his consciousness reacts as if they belonged to his own country.[12]" This is the origin of the poems *Presimțire* [*Foreboding*], *Pilotul* [*The Pilot*], *La Magenta* [*By Magenta*] etc., which praise the heroism of the young Italians, anticipating the formula of *Ostașii noștri* [*Our soldiers*]. In other words, in 1877, old Alecsandri processes the theme of the new war of the Romanians through the lens of his old diplomatic experiences, authorising in fact a purely literary perception of the events, also remarked by Sorin Alexandrescu: "From his manor in Mircești, Alecsandri had a typical literary perception of the events: what was happening on the battlefield was, in his mind, a renewal of the old battles fought by the Romanians in the Middle Ages. That is why no significant difference can be pinpointed between the *Ostașii noștri* [*Our soldiers*] and the *Legende* [*Legends*] cycle.[13]"

The verses dedicated by Alecsandri to The War of Independence therefore illustrate a heroic imagery indebted to the traditional literary genres, including for instance the folk tale – because the danger represented by the enemy is a "dreadful dragon" who threatens with his "unseen claw" the Romanian soldiers, real "sons of Gods" with "seven lives", hurling themselves, "Through fire, swords, through smoke and bullets,/ Through thousands of bayonets,[14]" into a hyperbolized and symbolically biased fight (*Peneș Curcanul*) [*Peneș the Gobbler*] –, the ballad (*Căpitanul Romano*) [*Captain Romano*], the ode (*Oda ostașilor români*) [*Ode to the Romanian Soldiers*] or the hora (*Hora de la Plevna*, *Hora de la Grivița*) [*The Hora of Pleven*; *The Hora of Grivitsa*]. Regardless of genre, the hero's profile follows the same pattern: soldier of modest origin, exponent of the peasantry, offspring of the traditional village, for "In every shepherd proudly a squire lies this day!" and "Today, in all Romanians an infantry man lay![15]" (*Păstorii și plugarii*) [*The Shepherds and the Ploughmen*], fearless, eagerly aspiring "the valiant death" (*Peneș Curcanul*) [*Peneș the Gobbler*], akin to his forebearers, for „In his enormous eyes, like vulture's, deep and edged / Were passing gleaming

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[12] G. C. Nicolescu, *Studiu introductiv*, in Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. I – *Poezii* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1965), 18. [*t.I.P.*]

[13] Sorin Alexandrescu, *Război și semnificație. România în 1877*, in *Privind înapoi, modernitatea* (Bucharest: Editura Univers, 1999), 34. [*t.I.P.*]

[14] "Prin foc, prin spăgi, prin glonți, prin fum,/ Prin mii de baionete". [*t.I.P.*]

[15] "În tot păstorul astăzi există-un scutier!"; "În tot românul astăzi există-un dorobanț!". [*t.I.P.*]

shadows of heroes from the legend[16]" (*Sergentul*) [*The Sergeant*] and proud, given that he fights laughing (*Frații Jderi*) [*The Jderi Brothers*] and dies smiling (*Căpitanul Romano*) [*Captain Romano*]. The heroic type as outlined in Alecsandri's poems is obviously implausible. However, the inspiring potential of the verses has proven impressive, provided that "the *Ostașii noștri* cycle knew an immense public success in all the Romanian provinces during its time, especially in Transylvania, where it greatly contributed to the patriotic education of the youth and has found numerous imitators.[17]" Artistically converting the victorious battles imagined from a comfortable distance, Alecsandri's pathos-infused poems have had thereby a remarkable impact on the Romanians of Transylvania out of the ranks of which the second greatest bard of the War of Independence will rise, George Coșbuc.

Therefore, if Vasile Alecsandri was only spatially parted (and notably so) from the frontline, George Coșbuc's case is even more distant since he was separated from the episode of the Independence War both spatially and temporally. The poet published the volume *Cântece de vitejie* [*Songs of Bravery*] only in 1904, meaning two and a half decades after the end of the war. By doing so, Coșbuc reinvests meaning into a glorious episode of the national history, already literary instrumented to suit, this time, the aspiration of the Romanians of Transylvania still under the Austro-Hungarian domination: "George Coșbuc's poems of historic inspiration bore meanings of actuality for the time in which they appeared. Spokesman […] of the Transylvanian Romanians, oppressed by the Habsburg Empire, the poet's ultimate goal was to inspire […] the desire for freedom.[18]" The War of Independence is, therefore, "recycled" by the young George Coșbuc out of ethnic and political reasons, although the initiative is not unusual because it can be integrated into a more ample tendency identified by Teodor Vârgolici in the literary press of the time: "Our literary magazines of the first decades of that century continued to publish poems which evoked the War of Independence, constantly refreshing the memory of the readers with images of the fights back then, nourishing the cult of heroes.[19]" For example, proceeding in a similar manner, Nicolae Vulovici, a poet who left us two entire volumes dedicated to the War of Independence which he did not physically experience, wrote not a single verse about The Great War in which he fought but perished rather soon.

Published one at a time starting from 1896 and finally regrouped in the volume of 1904, Coșbuc's songs of bravery recreate in a manner similar to

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[16] "-n ochii lui de vultur adânci, vioi și mari/ Treceau lucioase umbre de eroi legendari". [*t.I.P.*]

[17] Sara Iercoșan, *Ostașii noștri*, in Ion Pop (coord.), *Dicționarul analitic de opere literare românești* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Casa Cărții de Știință, 2007), 717. [*t.I.P.*]

[18] Teodor Vârgolici, *Ecourile literare ale cuceririi independenței naționale* (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu, 1976), 202. [*t.I.P.*]

[19] *Ibidem*, 262. [*t.I.P.*]

Alecsandri, paying attention to details and with an increased appetite for the exceptional, the life of the soldiers on the frontline using all the conventions of the genre, which the combatant writers of World War I will not hesitate to criticise later. The poems craft heroic scenarios out of which the figure of the brave infantryman shines, eager to sacrifice himself for his nation (*Dorobanțul*) [*The Infantry Man*], animated "By love of country solely" and having only "the Holy Lord as shield" (*Scut și armă*) [*Shield and Weapon*]. Coșbuc's partisan verses are passed through, in an alert rhythm, by the same "merry batallions" (*Pe drumul Plevnei*) [*On the Pleven Road*] facing the danger with "rebellious anger" (*La Smârdan*) [*In Smurdan*], advancing unleashed in the hyperbolic whirlpool of battle: "We're fighting as bereft of wits,/ We're biting hard, with clenching fists/ […] Dropping like leaves before the frost,/ While our blood was pouring froth[20]" (*Coloana de atac*) [*The Attack Column*]. The description of the clash is bookish, the origin of the rivers of blood in war literature goes back, as shown by Jean Norton Cru, to Homer himself, whose epics are echoed in Coșbuc by the recurring attributes of the warriors: "All of them like lions fought" (*În spital*) [*In the Hospital*]. Thus, "carefully recreating […] the war life of 1877-1878, the writer emphasizes the heroic dimension of the struggle for independence[21]" in a series of poems which, observed by Dumitru Micu, "have educated generations and can nurture even today the love of country among the youth.[22]" More so than a patriotism "lesson", these verses should constitute a starting point for a critical reflection concerning literature's capacity to influence social dynamics in watershed historical moments, via strategies of mystifying and fictionalising the brutal realities to which the civilian writers are complete strangers.

In this regard, the change of heart to be found in Alecsandri's *Eroii de la Plevna* [*The Heroes of Pleven*]– a poem bitterly treating the misery of the veterans of the War of Independence, but which, and this is an important detail, will not appear in the 1878 edition, nor in the 1880 one –, along with Coșbuc's change of heart to be found in the poem *Morți, - pentru cine?* [*Dead, - whom for?*], a text from 1914 which can be read as an ironic sequel to *Trei, Doamne, și toți trei* [*Three, oh Lord, and three together*], are enough ground to highlight the fact that the rhetorics of heroism ends up abbandoned by the very writers who have climbed it to the ranks of art when they experience, one way or another, the painful revelation of the real consequence of war. Finally, with or without this revelation, the literary instrumentalization of any historical event should be critically interrogated, because the representation of violence and death

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[20] "Ne batem ca-n pierzarea minții,/ Cu pumnii dăm, mușcăm cu dinții/ […] Cădeam ca frunzele de brumă,/ Iar sângele curgea cu spumă". [*t.I.P.*]

[21] Dumitru Micu, *Studiu introductiv*, in George Coșbuc, *Op. Cit.*, LXIV. [*t.I.P.*]

[22] *Ibidem*, XLVI. [*t.I.P.*]

remains, as recently proven by Maria Bucur in her admirable study *Eroi și victime,*[23] a problem of cultural history just as captivating as it is complex.

Translated from Romanian by Ioan Pop

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[23] V. Maria Bucur, *Eroi și victime. România și memoria celor două războaie mondiale* (Iași: Polirom, 2019).

THE FOUNDING ATTEMPTS OF THE LITERARY HISTORIAN. SOLITUDES, SINGULARITIES, EXEMPLARITIES…

IOANA BOT*

Abstract The present study reviews D. Popovici's founding attempts in the field of literary history. It pursues his activity along four axes: critical editions of modern Romanian authors, studies in literary history, university lectures and "Studii literare" [Literary Studies], the scientific journal he founded as a professor of Cluj University. Both original and modern in his theoretic, methodologic as well as academic options, Popovici is a founder of institutions and initiator of a research school. His scientific projects are singular in their scope. Yet his critic posterity destines him to an unwarranted "singularity". Our reflection focuses upon the exemplary elements in the scholar's destiny.
Keywords D. Popovici, history of modern Romanian literature, the "Studii literare" [Literary Studies] journal, university lectures, the Ferdinand I University of Cluj.

In the history of the Faculty of Philology of the Romanian University in Cluj (today, the Faculty of Letters of the Babeș-Bolyai University), professor D. Popovici is regarded as one of the "founding fathers" of literary studies, despite the fact that he became an employee of the respective University only in 1936 (it had been created in 1919, as an institution of Romanian higher education in Transylvania, after the union of Transylvania and Romania, in 1918).[1] Consequently, in the case under scrutiny, what does it mean to be a "founding father" – Of a subject matter? Of a university department? Of a means of writing literary history (that is – of a means of

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[1] For the history of the Romanian University in Cluj, see *Universitatea din Cluj înperioada interbelică* [The University of Cluj in the interwar period], Ion Aurel Pop, Simion Simon, Ioan Bolovan (eds.), vol. 1-4 (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2019) (particularly vol. 3 – ed. Ana-Maria Stan, on *Facultatea de Litere și Filozofie* [The Faculty of Letters and Philosophy]); *Tradiție și excelență. Școlile academice / de știință la Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai din Cluj-Napoca* [Tradition and excellence. The academic / science schools of the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2019).

conducting scientific research)? To what extent can D. Popovici's founding attempts constitute today actual *models*–models for an individual destiny in the field of literary studies, as well as models for good practices in the university life, in the academic formation? For the construction of such a reflection in general, the case of D. Popovici stands out as a "singular object": which makes him part of a paradigm of "founders" (on an academic level) and which also makes his scientific trajectory difficult to classify – both axes are meant to provide an ideational substance to our reflection. D. Popovici's singularity – among the "founding fathers" of the new Romanian University in Transylvania, among the literary historians (through his desire to re-establish the subject he taught and to thus surpass the crises of the field that had escalated in the 1930s), among the literary historians of the Romanian modernity – is given not only by his exceptional intellectual quality, but also by a series of biographical and historical episodes (the "context" which inscribes his foundations was one of the most violently anti-cultural ones, in 20th century Romania), all of which transformed him into a particular character of our literary history,[2] as well as of our academic history.

D. Popovici (1902-1952) became a professor of Romanian literary history at the Cluj based University in 1936, through a competition that did not lack surprises (it was for the department of Romanian, a position vacated by the death of G. Bogdan-Duică, a figure of reference for the Transylvanian Romanian culture and for the old literary historicism, characteristic to the beginning of the century), in which he, the "outsider" candidate (he had studied in Bucharest and in Paris, he was not originally from Transylvania…), stood out in front of the local candidates, even more than Ion Breazu, the former assistant of his precursor, who was considered by the academic world of that time to be the "crowned successor" of the famous professor[3]. His public performance during the examination undoubtedly made an impact: some of the counter candidates withdrew from the competition after Popovici's public lecture, thus sealing, in the University, the idea that the new professor was not only very young, but also very charismatic (and very well

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[2] The most comprehensive intellectual profile of the scholar was signed by Ioana Em. Petrescu, his daughter (she was 11 years old when D. Popovici died), who also became a professor of Romanian literature at the same University: Ioana Em. Petrescu, "D. Popovici," in *Dicționarul esențial al scriitorilor români* [The essential dictionary of Romanian writers], Mircea Zaciu, Marian Papahagi, AurelSasu (eds.) (Bucharest: Albatros, 2000), 685-686. On the personality of Ioana Em. Petrescu, see "Personalități ale Universității BabeșBolyai" [Figures of the BabeșBolyai University], in *Ioana Em. Petrescu*, ed. Ioana Bot (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2016).

[3] The reconstruction of the contest, in Mircea Curticeanu, "Un concurs universitar de altădată (I-V)," [A university vacant position contest of yesteryear] in *Echinox*, X, no. 2-3 (February-March 1978), 31; no. 4 (April 1978): 22; no. 5 (May 1978): 22; no. 6-7 (June-July 1978): 34; no. 8-9 (August-September 1978): 34.

prepared). The historians of the Cluj university life would tell us that the contest committee's decision to choose D. Popovici was influenced (to what extent, precisely?) by the administration of the new University's general inclination towards attracting young professors that had studied in the West, after which they created the favourable circumstances for them to actually reform the study and research plans of the department thus occupied. In a retroactive glance at all that D. Popocivi (re)established within the Department of the History of Modern Romanian Literature throughout his 16 years of teaching, we can state that his academic activity met the expectations and policies promoted by the Cluj University (even during the extremely difficult years of its refuge in Sibiu, between 1940-1945), which will represent the primary subject of our considerations in the following.

Before all else, however, we must note that the professor's reformation projects were sensibly deferred, not so much during the refuge in Sibiu (quite the contrary, we could say that, during the refuge years, the intense work on new projects was, for him, a means of resisting the disaster brought on by the war), but more so by the beginning, in 1949, of a great reform of the education system at all levels, in the newly communist Romania. The 1949 reform purged the study programmes, as well as the universities, eliminating some of their most important professors: at the time, many were fired from their departments, persecuted, arrested, investigated. No chicanery from the recently instated (single) power was disregarded, in order to destroy the resistance of the university intellectuals. In Cluj, the most famous example of a professor who was fired from his department is that of Lucian Blaga. Besides him, the list continues with Nicolae Mărgineanu (psychologist), Victor Papilian (medic, anatomy professor, writer), Constantin Petrescu-Ercea (law professor) and many others. The documents kept in the family archive[4] speak of the chicanery to which D. Popovici was also subjected. Having died in 1952, Popovici thus "escaped" from beneath the steamroller of the new dictatorship that was instated in Romania, but most of his institutional establishments (the structure of the Romanian literature department/seminar, the curriculum for the history of Romanian literature, the university journal he had established, the Seminar library etc.) were destroyed.

When considering the Romanian literature history professor's critical posterity, we should also acknowledge that D. Popovici's unexpected disappearance from the university life, together with the political pressure put on the "reorganisation of the education system" (as well as the other vicissitudes of our

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[4] The archive is owned by the "O. Goga" County Library of Cluj and it can be accessed in the Special Collections section (the catalogue of Popovici's university documents - http://greenstone.bjc.ro/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?a=q&r=1&hs=1&e=q-01000-00---off-0documen2--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10-CR--4-------0-1l--11-ro-50---20-about-Popovici%2C+Dumitru--00-3-1-00-0-0-11-1-0utfZz-8-00&fqf=DC&g=Doc&t=1&q=Popovici%2C+Dumitru Accessed on 25 August 2020).

history's dark 50s), were liable to generate new systems of loyalties and new fields of power in which his former students would evolve. Iosif Pervain, the most long-lasting member of the Cluj university department out of all his former assistants (he defended his doctoral thesis under the coordination of Popovici, in 1948, with a subject on the Romanian Pre-Romanticism[5]), quickly became, during the dark decade (in 1958), head of the department that had been formerly led and reformed by D. Popovici. After that, he had a long academic career, in Cluj and in Oradea, with all befitting honours at that time (he died in 1982). Rather early on, his methodological choices, after the comparative studies thesis guided by Popovici, turned towards the model of the factological literary history, illustrated by G. Bogdan-Duică, and towards bibliographic research. Neither implicitly, in what he wrote, nor explicitly, did Iosif Pervain ever admit his origins rooted in the scientific establishments of his professor. A more interesting example of scientific filiation is that of Romul Munteanu,[6] who had also been Popovici's student: in 1950, after obtaining his bachelor's degree, he was appointed university assistant by Popovici, and in 1956 he transferred to the University of Bucharest where, although his academic path took other turns, he maintained his predilection for comparative studies. We must, however, note that his first single-authored volume, *Contribuția Școlii Ardelene la culturalizarea maselor* [The contribution of the Transylvanian School to the culturalization of the masses] (1962) brought together the interest of "Popovici's school" for the literary ideas of the Romanian Illuminism and a theme that was obedient to the official political instructions. Just like Romul Munteanu, but with a "personal file" that was much more difficult to defend in front of the communist power, Eugen Todoran also chose, in 1956, to leave Cluj (where he had been taken as an assistant by D. Popovici in 1949) and to go to the newly-established University of Timișoara, to build a highly prestigious university career; his most important studies were dedicated to the exegesis of several great Romanian canonical writers: Mihai Eminescu, Titu Maiorescu and Lucian Blaga.[7] None of D. Popovici's assistants were, after his death, careful with his "heritage", whether in the construction of each of their careers, or in their mature studies. In 1952, at the time of the professor's death, in the Cluj Faculty there were a series of students who would later rise as reference figures of the literary studies and of the academic life (among them: Mircea Zaciu, Ion Vlad, Mircea Curticeanu, Mircea Tomuș, Octavian Schiau, Leon Baconsky, Silvia Tomuș, Andrei Avram etc.); although they did have the

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[5] For more information on the academic trajectory of Iosif Pervain, see Mircea Popa, "Iosif Pervain," in *Dicționar general al literaturii române* [The general dictionary of Romanian literature], ed. Eugen Simion, vol. P-R (Bucharest: Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2006), 166-167.

[6] About whom, see Stan Velea, "Romul Munteanu", in *Dicționar general al literaturii române*..., vol. L-O, 479-480.

[7] See Sorina Ianovici-Jecza, "Eugen Todoran", in *Dicționar general al literaturii române*..., vol. S-T, 728-730.

opportunity to attend the professor's courses, they were much too young at the time of his death to be truly formed in the spirit of his vision. Most of them became the disciples of Ion Breazu, who followed Popovici into professorship (and who had been his counter candidate at the famous 1936 contest...). The atmosphere of the dark 50s defined the rest. The oral histories of the Faculty of Philology in Cluj, where the professors of this final generation who had been taught by D. Popovici evoked him as an extremely charismatic and very ironic character, an elegant and aloof figure, mindful of the students' evolution and merciless with the impostors (encouraged to manifest themselves, even in the university space, by the events of World War II); the oral histories were, however, never completed by written records: the professor, who passed away in 1952, never became a character in their journals/memoirs, at the time when they were written.

Ioana Em. Petrescu, in *Jurnal*[8] [Journal], makes a series of interesting statements about what was – in her view – the perception of the epoch: that D. Popovici died without having left unpublished books or studies[9] and that, as such, he would not receive a critical posterity. Moreover, his daughter declared, in several interviews, that she had chosen to study philology so that she could edit her father's posthumous work and to implicitly correct the aforementioned perspective.

So it was that, during the years of the communist dictatorship (and before the editorial series started by Ioana Em. Petrescu, in 1969), the most explicit and ample avowal of having been influenced by D. Popovici's view on literary history belongs to... Rosa del Conte, a prestigious Italian Eminescologist, formed, in the 40s, in the study of Romanian literature at the Cluj University (Sibiu), where she worked as an Italian language lecturer[10]. After 1969, together with the posthumous editions of his writings, he became a name that was highly appreciated by the literary historians in Bucharest, who dealt with the Premodern Romanian literature and with the Romanian Romanticism: Paul Cornea, Mircea Anghelescu, Mihai Zamfir dedicated to him commendatory pages[11] – their re-readings will also represent a different model of filiation than the one under scrutiny in the present paper.

In the configuration of D. Popovici's "singularity", to these particular situations in the history of Romanian literary ideas, we must add several other no less significant details. Some refer to the way in which his work is "reclaimed" in the post-communist lexicographic and historical works. The article authored by Ioana

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[8] Ioana Em. Petrescu, *Jurnal (1959 – 1990)* [Journal (1959-1990)]*,* Rozalia Borcilă, Elena Neagoe (eds.), Foreword by Elena Neagoe, Afterword by Carmen Muşat (Piteşti: Editura Paralela 45, 2005).

[9] Indeed, the posthumous publication of D. Popovici's writings and courses was exclusively due to his daughter, and she began her endeavour only in 1969. Ioana Em. Petrescu also died very young (in 1990), leaving the project of an edition of D. Popovici's writings unfinished.

[10] Rosa del Conte, *Eminescu o dell´Assoluto* (Modena: Società tipografica editrice modenese, 1962), *passim*.

[11] See the *Bibliography* of the article from the *GDRL*, Sorina Ianovici-Jecza, "Eugen Todoran" ..., 730.

Em. Petrescu for the (aforementioned) *Dicționarul scriitorilor români* [The dictionary of Romanian writers] is, beyond the bibliographic information, a distinctive text, through its implicit character of a "dialogue over the decades" between two convergent views on Romanian literature, that of the father and that of the daughter, developed dialogically and, at the same time, independent from one another. For the present considerations, Nicolae Mecu's article in *Dicționarul general al literaturii române*[12] [The General Dictionary of Romanian Literature] seems quite revealing. There, D. Popovici received a mostly correct description (with the occasional slight information errors), but one that does not formulate an axiological conclusion regarding his criticism, remaining in the territories of very general observations ("memorable phrasings", "an enticing hypothesis regarding the personality of the modern Romanian Transylvanian literature") and it perpetuates the image of a dry, distant university professor who was fair in his endeavours and… that would be just about it. The surprising (since they are unjustified) adjectives attributed to the Cluj-based professor bring colour to a barely sketched portrait: "If, in the studies of ideology, the literary talent of the austere researcher is revealed by staging the ideas (*a tacit takeover of Mircea Zaciu's consideration from an article resumed in the volume* Ca o imensă scenă, Transilvania [As an immense stage, Transylvania]... *n.IB*), here it is manifested in the terseness and plasticity of the characterizations…" "The austere researcher"…? By feeling the need to further motivate what he actually barely suggested, namely the existence, in Popovici's case, of an unfavourable destiny (which "marginalised and banished him to the narrow circle of specialists"), Nicolae Mecu ends his presentation with a long sentence in which he brings up both the issue of Călinescu's adversity towards the work of the Cluj University literary historian (which is, perhaps, a subject that should be reconstructed, based on Popovici's archive, in future studies), and that of the unjust destiny, as well as that of the modernity of his theoretical perspectives, with no further reflection on any of these particularities of a profile thus outlined: Having been interrupted at the age when the great syntheses are elaborated, marginalised and banished to the narrow circle of 'specialists', placed within the chapter 'the university literary history', a chapter burdened by the prejudice of solemn and pedantic aridity, massively outmatched by Călinescu's the Baroque, exuberant, enchanting *History…*, minimised and obscured by the à outrance Călinescu-philes and (re)edited too late, Popovici's modern and imposing work did not have the impact it deserved.[13]" Much closer to our days – and after the publication of all

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[12] Nicolae Mecu, "Dumitru Popovici," in *Dicționar general al literaturii române*…, vol. P-R, 385-389.

[13]*Ibid.*, 389. Original text: "Întreruptă la vârsta când se elaborează marile sinteze, marginalizată și relegate îngustului cerc al «specialiștilor», plasată la capitolul «istoria literară universitară», capitol apăsat de prejudecata aridității solemne și pedante, concurată masiv de baroca, exuberanta, seducătoarea Istorie… a lui Călinescu, minimalizată sau ocultată de

posthumous volumes, edited by Ioana Em. Petrescu – in *Dicționarul enciclopedic Mihai Eminescu* [The Mihai Eminescu Encyclopaedic Dictionary], compiled by Mihai Cimpoi[14], he received a very short article, which summarises and cites Nicolae Mecu's article, without offering at least some additional considerations on the author's Eminescology, although the perspectives built by Popovici in his university courses on the matter (dedicated to Eminescu) had built, as Rosa del Conte also showed, true re-establishments of the exegesis of the most important Romanian writer.

Another "singularity" that plays an important role in understanding D. Popovici's destiny in the history of the Romanian literary ideas regards his founding attempts – as a professor, as well as a literary historian. Very large in number, they are projects developed predominantly within the Modern Literature Seminar, held at the Cluj University, and they were interrupted by the professor's untimely death. The historical contextualisation above tried to offer several arguments in order to foster an understanding of the reasons why Popovici's posterity was, despite his effort to found institutions and to re-establish academic subjects, relentless towards his name, towards the "spiritual heritage" he had, implicitly, left his disciples, despite not having managed to write the studies advertised by his courses, studies that would have been truly innovative for the Cluj academic horizon of the 40s… The historical guillotine of the instatement of the communist dictatorship, with the nefarious education system reform that began in 1948-1949, cannot explain, as we have already shown, quite everything: it is not merely a "hostility" against the generic history; to that we must add essential elements which are actually details regarding the professional (and political) choices of certain people who were important to Popovici, in the construction of a literary field.

Quid est, then, the founding attempts of the literary historian? What makes them exemplary, we ask ourselves, even though their exemplarity was not enough to save them, in the historical duration? Essentially, D. Popovici built a "school of literary history", accomplishing four decisive attempts which regarded: 1. The establishment and the scientific restoration of the object of study; 2. The study and discussion of this object, so that one can uphold an integrative, far-reaching and, at the same time, innovative perspective on the entire field (of literary history), 3. The construction of new university courses that would train the specialists in the field under the aegis of this new perspective and 4. The creation of a public space for specialised debates, with the purpose of not only disseminating the new results obtained through scientific research, but also of establishing a form of solidarity within a group of specialists, of constructing a trend of thought etc.

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călinescofilii à outrance și (re)editată târziu, opera impunătoare și modernă a lui Popovici nu s-a bucurat de influența pe care o merita."

[14] Mihai Cimpoi, *Mihai Eminescu. Dicționar enciclopedic* [Mihai Eminescu. Encyclopaedic Dictionary], (Chișinău: Ed. Gunivas, 2013), 399.

D. Popovici's literary history studies, from the very beginning of his scientific career, were accompanied by large editorial projects, dedicated to the writers that had not received critical editions, in the 1930s. The first, editing the work of Heliade Rădulescu, is a project that obviously accompanies D. Popovici's early works, dedicated to the writer (including his doctoral thesis – on Heliade's literary ideology), and it was published in two volumes (1939-1943), as a third volet of the largest project that had marked his youth, his years of studies and research, between Bucharest, Paris and Iași (the other two are constituted by the volumes of monographs *Ideologia literară a lui Heliade Rădulescu* [The literary ideology of Heliade Rădulescu], Bucharest, 1935, and *"Santa Cetate". Între utopie și poezie* ["Santa Cetate". Between utopia and poetry], Bucharest, 1935, which represent not only the first scientific, modern overview on the inner history of the work of an essential figure of the Romanian 1848 movement (the "Pașoptism"), but also a project of an admirable symmetry, in its construction, a symmetry between the synthetic perspective, that of the history of ideas, and the applied analysis of the inflections of literature – of "poetry" – with the Late Enlightenment ideology). Not an exhaustive edition, but rather a project "suspended" by the pressures of "small series" history, Heliade Rădulescu's *Opere* [Works] still remain a reference for specialists because they have the quality of a modern apparatus, impeccably led by the sure hand of the (still young) literary historian. The Heliade Rădulescu edition was followed by another, that of the D. Bolintineanu edition: *Scrieri alese* [Selected works] (Bucharest, 1942). The chronology of the publication of these volumes speaks of the extent of the literary historian's philological prowess – as well as of his ability to identify "essential gaps" in the library of modern editions of the Romanian literature classics. These are, as I was saying, "early" publications, in the sense that D. Popovici had only just become a professor at the Cluj University when he sent the respective editions to the printing press, implicitly facing the vicissitudes of war, as well as those of the exile in Sibiu. However, they are not at all treated, first and foremost by their author, as "complementary publications", but as essential stepping stones (titles) of the construction project in which he was involved.

The years 1935-1945 are the ones during which D. Popovici continuously published literary studies through which he began to construct his new perspective on the Romanian literary history, the one synthesised in *Tendința de integrare în ritmul cultural occidental* [The tendency of integration in the western cultural rhythm] (a lithographed course held at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, in 1939-1940), in which he stated that literary history is the pilot-science of literary studies, whose task is to liberate, to synthesise and to interpret literary values. He did not manage to complete it – practically, after 1945, his energies crumbled between the reconstruction of the University returned from exile and a threatening disease which he knew to be incurable (as resulted from the discreet hints from the letters kept in the family archive). However, his studies (together with his university

courses posthumously edited by his daughter) show us "the entire construction of the first Romanian literary history in which the literary phenomenon was no longer seen as strictly pragmatic, but also in the light of its integration in the general dynamics of the ideological doctrines, from a sociological perspective and no less within the vast frame of the artistic evolution of Europe at that time"[15] (DGLR, p. 389). His proposed formula for literary studies, as Ioana Em. Petrescu demonstrated, "is an attempt to surpass the impasse in which literary history (and the traditional comparative literature studies) found itself when facing the statute of uniqueness held by the work of art. The proposed solution did not incline towards abandoning the historical perspective in favour of aesthetic criticism, or towards a methodological restructuring of literary history, since, structurally speaking, Popovici was not a critic, but a literary historian, first of all preoccupied with the process of the inner becoming of the literary phenomenon, conceived as 'one of the factors of social dynamics.'[16]"

The new perspective in the field of literary history (which was supposed to be concretized into an ample history of Romanian modern literature), which D. Popovici was building, was prepared by his university courses on *The Romanian literature during the Age of Enlightenment* and *The Modern Romanian literature*. *The tendency of integration in the western cultural rhythm*, would "become" the antemortem monograph *La littérature roumaine à l´époque des Lumières* (1945). His other courses, some of which – lithographed, but most of which – kept in manuscript, in multiple versions, in the family archive, were posthumously published in the author series at the Dacia Publishing House, edited by Ioana Em. Petrescu (*Studii literare* [Literary studies], vol. I – VI, 1972-1989). They were courses on subjects such as *The Romanian Romanticism. Mihai Eminescu's Poetry and Eminescu in the Romanian Criticism and Literary History*. Together with the lectures per se (or the notes gathered for them), the professor's archive contains plenty of other internal documents of the Modern Romanian literature Seminar at the University: exam tickets, lists of subjects, correspondence received from his assistants,

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[15] Mircea Anghelescu, apud N. Mecu, "Dumitru Popovici,"…, 389. Original text: "întreaga construcție a primei istorii literare românești în care fenomenul literar nu mai era văzut strict pragmatic, ci prin prisma integrării sale în dinamica generală a doctrinelor ideologice, în perspectivă sociologică și nu mai puțin pe un vast tablou al evoluției artistice din Europa acelei vremi."

[16] Ioana Em. Petrescu, "Dumitru Popovici", ed. cit., 686. Original text: "încearcă o depășire a impasului în care istoria literară (și literatura comparată tradițională) se găsea în fața statutului de unicitate al operei de artă; soluția propusă nu tinde însă spre abandonarea perspective istorice în favoarea criticii estetice, ori spre o restructurare metodologică a istoriei literare. Căci, structural, Popovici nu este un critic, ci un istoric literar, preocupat, în primul rând, de procesul devenirii interioare a fenomenului literar, conceput ca «unul din factorii dinamicii sociale»."

acquisition notes for the Seminar library, several minutes from the department meetings. They outline a fairly clear image of the professor's preoccupation for the renewal of the teaching methods and for the structuring of the subject matter, as well as for conceiving the academic curriculum on two levels: an explicit one, of the taught subject matter, and an implicit one, of the construction of a (critical, theoretical) reflection on the approached themes, from which his students could learn how the study of Romanian literature is professionalized.

For the narrow space of the present article, we must make note of two examples. The first regards the introduction – in the succession of the courses taught by Popovici, which the students could choose each year – of the principle which today would be called "pre-requisite": the enrollment in the course dedicated to *The Poetry of Mihai Eminescu* was permitted only to those who had attended, for one semester, the course dedicated to the reception of Eminescu "within the Romanian literature criticism and history"; Popovici considered that it was a compulsory initiation in the plurality of the readings and in the debate of ideas (with an Eminescian "pretext"), from the Romanian literary studies, so much so that all of the great figures of the field had approached (and applied…) Eminescu's works. His course on *The Poetry of Mihai Eminescu* was, naturally, built as a response (and a fairly explicit one, if we were to judge based on the references kept in the text of the lithographed lectures) to the previous critical perspective on the object of study. The second example – deduced from the lists of exam subjects kept – shows that, after having attended the monograph course dedicated to *The Poetry of Mihai Eminescu*, the students were required to apply the same critical and historical principles to other poets from modern literature that had not been previously studied thus (and about whom they could have previously heard by attending the course about Romanian Romanticism, but without having at their disposal, there, the details of the analyses that Popovici offered about the Eminescu lyricism). Such examples speak of a modern teaching method, centred around the student and interested in creating new effective professional competences, in training their critical thinking and less in reproducing the studied subject matter.

Popovici's fourth founding attempt while he was a professor at the Cluj University was represented by the creation of a specialized literary journal entitled "Studii literare[17]" [Literary studies], under the aegis of the "King Ferdinand I" University of Cluj-Sibiu, and of the History of Modern Romanian Literature Seminar, where the director was D. Popovici, as an ordinary professor. Although it was

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[17] The first issue was published in Sibiu, during the refuge of the Cluj University, in 1942 (although the cover states that it was printed by the Cartea Românească Printing Press in Cluj). It is probably the first university journal dedicated to literary studies, published in Romania (the volumes dedicated to the Romanian press are of no help in the validation of this information, unless, perhaps, through the absence of information that would contradict the present supposition).

explicitly placed in the filiation of the department predecessors (the first issue was dedicated "To the memory of Gh. Bogdan Duică and N. Drăganu, the first Romanian Literature professors of the Romanian University of Cluj"), which must also be read as a gesture of cultural resistance during the troubled times of war with the occupied Northern Transylvania etc., although it therefore fulfils the gestures of an insertion in the history of the institution, the journal is incontestably a novelty in the Romanian university sphere. The journal manages to publish four issues (1942, 1943, 1944, 1948), after which – probably as a consequence of the Education System Reform from 1948-1949 – its publication is permanently suspended. The journal shows an image of the scientific debate forum of that time, which D. Popovici meant to add to the construction of new perspectives in the history of Romanian literature.

Just like Popovici's other institutional constructions, it is also too little known by the posterity. Not only does the website of the new series mention nothing of the old series[18], but the journal is completely absent from the publications indexed by the *The General Dictionary of Romanian Literature*, even if Nicolae Mecu, in his article dedicated to Popovici, mentions its title[19] in passing.

The journal's program is presented in the *Preface* of each issue, signed by D. Popovici. It is a highly interesting text for the way in which it includes the journal among the founder's new projects: "The journal … was designed as an organ of the Institute for the History of Romanian Literature, whose establishment preoccupied us from the moment we were entrusted with the department of the history of the Romanian modern literature from the Cluj University. […] The activity from within our University in recent times made the publication of the journal necessary, for it is only one of the work instruments envisaged by us…[20]" – the times were indeed very

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[18] Under the coordination of professor Ion Pop, between 1998-2003, four issues of a "new series" of the journal are published, under the same title, about which see https://centrulcle.wordpress.com/publicatii/revista-academica-%e2%80%9estudii-literare%e2%80%9d/ (Accessed on 31 August 2020). The issues of the new series are not accessible on-line, nor are their tables of contents.

[19] Mecu, 386. Its mentioning ("Între 1942 şi 1948 conduce la Sibiu publicaţia *Studii literare*" [Between 1942 and 1948, he directed in Sibiu the publication entitled Literary Studies]) does not tell much, and it contains inexact information – the journal returned to Cluj, probably in 1945, together with its publisher (The "Ferdinand I" University) and its editors, including – D. Popovici. On the cover of the final issue, in 1948, the place of publication is noted to be "Cluj". The author of the article in GDRL probably never held it in his hands while writing that sentence about the journal.

[20] D. Popovici, "Prefaţă," [Preface] *Studii literare* [Literary studies], no. 1 (1942): VII. Original text: "Revista …a fost proiectată ca organ al unui Institut de Istoria Literaturii Române, a cărui înfiinţare ne preocupă din clipa în care ni s-a încredinţat catedra de istoria literaturii române moderne de la Universitatea Clujeană. […] Activitatea desfăşurată însă în cuprinsul Universităţii noastre în timpul din urmă făcea necesară apariţia revistei, care nu este decât unul din instrumentele de lucru preconizate de noi…"

difficult for the University – and for Romania. The Preface is an anchor in the present of the war, with dramatic accents for our historical memory: "The studies we kept for discussion are published in 1940 and 1941. We intentionally started from this date, when our University received its most painful blow. The publication of the journal 'Literary Studies' is proof that, far from breaking down with grief, we shall continue our activity, guided by the same preoccupations: we thus consider that to a *forense* propaganda, obscuring truth and humanity in its retorts, one can only respond by wholeheartedly emphasising the dignity of truth and the dignity of humanity.[21]" The program of the journal is, however, more than a mere list of future institutions with good intentions. It configures options and describes methods, at the same time formulating critical positions, even regarding the positivism of the "canonical" literary history (which, in a journal dedicated to the memory of Bogdan Duică, is no small thing…). Thus, the second paragraph of the Preface speaks of its "object of study", defined as follows: "The object of study which we propose is the Modern Romanian Literature, seen both in the internal development of its artistic and ideological values, and in its relation with foreign literatures. It will thus be a journal of National Literary History and of Comparative Literature with a Romanian basis. There will also be a strong focus on the issues regarding the research methods and it will show, in a critical light, the entire specialised scientific movement.[22]" Consistent with himself, Popovici does not omit the ironic accents and the polemic references: "This fact appears even more recommended today, when research feels the need for a new orientation and when, ripped from the positivistic congealment, our Literary History is once again cast into the sweet waters of impressionism, on

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[21] Ibid.: VII-VIII. D. Popovici subtly alludes to the official, public propaganda during the war ("*forense* propaganda"; lat. *forense* = regarding the public square, what can be found in the forum etc.); it is very likely that the journal's table of contents was also subjected to the obligatory censorship of all publications, which would have sanctioned any attitudes that were explicitly averse to Romania's political allies in 1942. I wish to thank my colleague Carmen Fenechiu for her help in deciphering the "Aesopic" meaning of the used Latinist term. Original text: "Studiile pe care le-am reținut pentru discuție sunt publicate în 1940 și 1941. Am pornit în mod intenționat de la această dată, când Universitatea noastră a primit cea mai dureroasă lovitură. Apariția revistei «Studii literare» este o dovadă că, departe de a ne prăbuși sub durere, noi ne continuăm activitatea îndrumată de aceleași preocupări: socotim astfel că unei propagande *forense*, subtilizând în retortele sale adevărul și umanitatea, nu i se poate răspunde decât subliniind cu toată tăria demnitatea adevărului și demnitatea umanității."
[22]Ibid.: VII. Original text: "Obiectul de studiu pe care ni-l propunem este Literatura română modernă, privită atât în dezvoltarea internă a valorilor ei artistice și ideologice, cât și în raporturile sale cu literaturile străine. Va fi deci o revistă de Istorie literară națională și de Literatură comparată pe bază românească. Se va acorda în același timp toată atenția problemelor referitoare la metodele de cercetare și se va înfățișa, în lumină critică, întreaga mișcare științifică de specialitate."

which it once floated.[23]"He thus takes a critical position towards both the positivist literary history of the past epoch, and against the critical "impressionism", manifested in the Romanian literary history at the time, a tendency for which the most illustrative figure is, of course, G. Călinescu.

In its first issue, the journal had three primary sections: *Studii* [Studies] (the first of which was entitled *Studii franco-române* [Frech-Romanian Studies], authored by Popovici), *Note și documente* [Notes and documents], and *Recensii* [Reviews] (most of which were also signed by D. Popovici). The latter section disappeared from the issues that followed – probably because of the difficulty of receiving books during the war. The structure of the two other sections was kept in all four issues and Popovici was a highly important presence among the signatories of the articles – and (one can deduce) the one who set the primary direction in the selection of the approached themes. Besides Popovici, articles were also signed by Ion Breazu, Nicolae Lascu (the classicist), Petre Grimm (the Anglicist), Henri Jacquier (the French studies expert), Popovici's fellow student Horia Rădulescu (a secondary school teacher[24]), Emil Turdeanu (the future Romanian studies professor at the University of Rome, in exile), Tancred Bănățeanu (the permanent lecturer of the Folk Literature course at the Cluj University in 1946) and the folklorist Ion Mușlea, as well as the younger (the professor's students and assistants, at that time) Gavril Scridon, Eugen Todoran, Pia Gradea, Constantin Daicoviciu. By far, the most active were D. Popovici and Ion Breazu. Through the amount of substantial studies, through the approach of unexplored areas in the Romanian comparative studies (with studies bearing titles such as: *Slaviciși Confucius*[Slavici and Confucius]*, Lamennais la românii din Transilvania în 1848* [Lamennais for the Romanians in Transylvania in 1848]*, Turgheniev la Românii din Ardeal* [Turgheniev for the Romanians from Transylvania]*, Contribuții la soarta lui Silvio Pellico în România* [Contributions to the fate of Silvio Pellico in Romania] etc.), through its collaborators (most of whom were Cluj University professors), "Studii literare" was an academic journal characteristic to the universities of the past century. For Popovici, through his own studies published here, as well as through the research themes he encouraged his collaborators (and his colleagues / subordinates) to pursue, the journal represents a type of "testing ground" for his own research and for his own methodological options. By

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[23] Ibid.: VII. Original text: "Faptul acesta ne apare cu atât mai indicat astăzi, când cercetarea simte trebuința unei orientări nouă și când, smulsă din congelarea pozitivistă, Istoria noastră literară este aruncată din nou pe apele dulci ale impresionismului, pe care ea a mai plutit pe vremuri."

[24] About their close friendship, see D. G. Burlacu, L. Burlacu, "D. Popovici – H. Rădulescu. Corespondență," [D. Popovici - H. Rădulescu. Correspondence], in *Dacoromania litteraria*, http://www.dacoromanialitteraria.inst-puscariu.ro/pdf/05/15BURLACU.pdf (Accessed on 31 August 2020).

constructing a space for academic debate, the journal founded by Popovici fulfilled an essential condition for a modern university.

As this sketch of his founding attempts shows, D. Popovici's exemplarity, as a professor of the history of Romanian literature in an interwar University has not been accompanied by an organic posterity (a filiation, even) of his ideas and visions, nor has it been sufficiently known and reassessed in the historical and lexicographic writings of the past decades of post-communist Romania. The four directions of actions on whose axes Popovici constructed his posture of a university professor speak of the specialist's modernity, of his ability to connect to the European spirit of his time, as well as of his extraordinary resilience, facing the vicissitudes of the violent history of World War II. Moreover, to use an expression employed by Tudor Vianu in order to characterise one of his studies, his foundations "inaugurated an epoch in the Romanian literary history.[25]" Which was, as it turns out, not enough to "thrust" him out of either a paradigmatic singularity, or a solitude that invites reflection…

Translated from Romanian by Anca Chiorean

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[25] T. Vianu, apud N. Mecu, 389. Original text: "inaugurează o epocă în istoria literară română."

ENCOUNTERS ACROSS BORDERS. MODERNIST IDEAS AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICES IN THE 1970S ROMANIA

MARA MĂRGINEAN[*]

Abstract Building on several international professional meetings of architects organized in Romania or abroad, this article details how various modernist principles, traditionally subsumed to Western European culture, were gradually reinterpreted as an object of policy and professional knowledge on urban space in the second and third world countries. The article analyses the dialogue between Romanian architects and their foreign colleagues. It highlights how these conversations adjusted the hierarchies and power relations between states and hegemonic centres of knowledge production. In this sense, it contributes to the recent research on the means by which the "transnationalization of expertise" "transformed various (semi)peripheral states into new centres of knowledge and thus outlines a new analytical space where domestic actions of the Romanian state in the area of urban policies are to be analysed not as isolated practices of a totalitarian regime, but as expressions of the entanglements between industrialization models, knowledge flows and models of territoriality that were not only globally relevant, but they also often received specific regional, national and local forms.
Keywords 1970s, urban planning, modernism, housing, knowledge flows.

In 1952, when Alfred Sauvy proposed the notion of the "third world," the idea that the former colonial states would develop following their own economic and social priorities, rather than the great world powers' demands, was fairly foreign. In the 1950s and most of the 1960s, the terms of economic growth continued to be imposed on the developing countries by the great powers. Simultaneously, the (semi)peripheral states had limited visibility in the international decisional processes. However, with the establishment of an anti-colonial agenda at the end of the 1960s,

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everything started to change substantially. At that time, an increasing number of young people from the non-Western world took a stance on their social and political aspirations, characteristic to an agenda that would consolidate the nation-states. They spared no effort to tell the whole world that their countries' interests had to be considered each time the international community debated the population's development and well-being or managed natural resources. Such transmutations led to a vast institutional debate space, where Western modernity principles were accepted, adjusted, or contested. These trends also problematized the transition from the imported modernization to the indigenous one, beyond the old continent's borders, and the role played by the generational changes in this process. However, the "provincialization of the European model[1]" when issues of well-being were at stake meant more than a mere regulation of terms between the Occident and the third world.

Essential studies show that the international order's recalibration at the end of the 1960s also opened many opportunities for second world countries.[2] After decades-long isolation behind the Iron Curtain, the socialist states joined the international debates on development. Taking advantage of the attractiveness of the socialist ideas and the preponderantly anti-Western attitudes shared by many people from the third world, East-European leaders mobilized sophisticated strategies to consolidate the economic cooperation with non-European countries. For instance, in the early 1970s, Romania doubled its commercial exchanges with the developing countries through different types of transfers of expertise regarding the urbanization, industrialization, work productivity, or the well-being of the workforce. However, this type of mobilization offers a reasonably coherent overview not only on how Bucharest aimed to frame a growth alternative to the one proposed by the capitalist states but also on the strategies of the self-representation of the national experts in front of the foreign partners, in the context of the revitalization of the humanist Marxist thought in many intellectual circles and, implicitly, of the establishment of the new conceptual facets of the social.[3]

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[1] Term taken from Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[2] Johanna Bookman, *Markets in the name of socialism: the left-wing origins of Neoliberalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

[3] In this sense, see the more recent: Adela Hincu, Victor Karady (eds.), *Social Sciences in the Other Europe since 1945* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018).

The present paper aims to tell such a story. Building the experience of several international professional architects' meetings, organized in Romania or abroad, my contribution describes how a cumulation of modernist principles, traditionally associated with the West-European culture, were gradually reinterpreted as an object of politics and professionalized knowledge regarding the urban spaces of the second and third world countries. The article analyses the dialogue between the Romanian architects and their foreign colleagues in a trans-national and trans-ideological endeavor to articulate a new vision of urban space. Thus, it aims to show how a reassessment of the idea of development, in the '70, from simple economic growth to redistribution through the preoccupation for the society's daily needs,[4] outlined the premises for the architects' inclusion in the international debates regarding the global well-being.[5] The present article emphasizes how these evolutions adjusted the hierarchies and the relations of power between the states and the hegemonic centers of knowledge production. It aims to contribute to the recent scholarship on how the "trans-nationalization of expertise"[6] transformed different (semi)peripheral states into new knowledge centres. It outlines a new analytical space where the domestic actions of the Romanian state in the sphere of urban policies may be analysed not as isolated practices of a totalitarian regime but as expressions of certain management cultures concerning the industrialisation, the flows of knowledge, and the models of territoriality. To this and, I follow the lead of recent scholarship that made a case for looking at the crossing of these paths as illustration of global, regional, national and local manifestations.[7] More specifically, I shall consider three related questions. The first: who were the main actors involved in the recalibration of these interactions? The second: how important were these trans-national globalization processes of the 1970s in outlining specific local approaches of urban construction? The third: to what extent did these reinterpretations of architectural modernism in conjunction with the rhetoric of the development of the 1970s adjust the socialist regime's nature?

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[4] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Un-Making of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 11.
[5] In this respect, see the UN Archive (Geneva), box G 10-1923, G 10-2058, G 10-2071, G 10-2091, G 10-2096, G 10-2150.
[6] Martin Kohlrausch, Katrin Steffen, Stefan Wiederkehr, „Introduction," in *Expert Cultures in Central Eastern Europe: The Internationalization of Knowledge and the Transformations of Nation States since World War I*, Martin Kohlrausch, Katrin Steffen, Stefan Wiederkehr eds. (Fibre, 2010).
[7] Sebastian Conrad, *What is global history?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

In this sense, I find particularly beneficial the concept of "Stalinist globalization,"[8] proposed by B. Pula. By analyzing the Romanian realities of the '70s from the viewpoint of the domestic implications of the second globalization wave, he showed that the anchorage in a trans-national economic logic of easing the trades was doubled by the start of a national program of forced industrialization with critical social implications. The juxtaposition of the two plans, however, would not have produced a schizoid reality. On the contrary, it influenced the rethinking of the domestic industrialization programs in a generational understanding. The preoccupation for the long-term sustainability determined the authorities to be much more sensitive to the population's experiences and find concrete solutions for attracting young people to the state project through social policies specially articulated to suit their needs. Therefore, my argument is that many of the modernist principles, such as functionalism, zoning, rationalization, prefabrications, gave the socialist state the grounds to articulate a development vision, which was initially applied internally and then was exported to the non-western partners in conjunction with an agenda of intensive industrialization that was very different from the economic growth solutions proposed by the capitalist countries. This analysis builds on the materials gathered from the National Historical Central Archives, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, the UN Archives of Geneva, and the texts available in the *Arhitectura RSR* [The RSR Architecture] journal, the leading publication of The Union of Romanian Architects.

The beginning of the 1970s as an expression of *the right to the city*

In the past few years, historiography proposed different terms to characterize the '70s: long, short, tense, global etc. This conceptual ambiguity was much fuelled by the fluidity of the semantics of modernism. On the one hand, "the death of modernism" and the replacement of Fordism with the flexible production models outlined the premises for creating a built environment that met the individual needs and the subjective experiences of different social-professionals categories.[9] On the other hand, the social issues confronted by the less developed countries – the housing insufficiency, the lack of transport infrastructure, the deficient nutrition, the

[8] Besnik Pula, *Globalization Under and After Socialism*: *The Evolution of Transnational Capital in Central and Eastern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 37.
[9] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1990).

difficult access to the education and healthcare systems – became part of specific large-scale development projects undertaken by the UN, UNESCO and other transnational organizations that mobilized the conceptual corpus of modernism: functionality, rationalization, zoning, mass construction etc. At the intersection of these two plans, modernism agents were no longer individual actors, planners, or silent partners preoccupied with the abridgment of the disparity with the Occident, but rather contexts, local adjustments, socio-economic dynamics fuelled by the pragmatic and geostrategic pragmatics. The action of all these factors even determined the consolidation of the institutions that facilitated the establishment of specific new epistemic contexts regarding the built space. These concepts functioned beyond, sometimes even independently from, the professional community of the architects.

The Seminar of the International Union of Architects (IUA) on the "human home," organized in Bucharest in September-October 1971, is an excellent example in this sense. It was one of the first international events that brought together western, socialist, and third-world specialists to debate the living space from a generational perspective. From many viewpoints, Bucharest's meeting was an ordinary one, following a direction set by the Romanian authorities as early as the 1960s to organize different scientific events with international participation. However, what was remarkable in the 1971 conference in Bucharest was the unanimous interest in approaching the living space in a global key. The aim identified by the participants was not necessarily that of finding new means of regulating the construction process per se, but to create new architectural solutions that were accessible and sustainable in the long term and that had broad applicability. More specifically, the Bucharest seminar aimed to formulate a set of design principles that would lend themselves to different economic and social contexts throughout the world and would have guaranteed improved quality of life, regardless of the future demographic tendencies or the generational changes.

A reading of the United Nations agenda on housing throughout the 1970s can show how the ideas initially formulated during certain smaller-scale debates, as was the one from Bucharest, were later developed into standalone projects with significant implications in the regulation of development.[10] Such an agenda aimed to respond to women's emancipating ethos to the anti-colonial tendencies manifested in different non-Western states and to the growing political and social visibility of

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[10] In this respect, see the UNDP on the matter of habitation.

young people and other marginal social categories.[11] However, as some researchers recently pointed out, the instruments mobilised for the materialisation of the ideas centered around upgrading the built space were not new; they compiled different intellectual processes of refining and adapting the European's main characteristics of the interwar architectural modernism. Confronted with more questions than answers, for most participants at the Bucharest meeting, the continental genealogy of modernism and its political-ideological semantics posed issues of opportunity to transfer the constructive models beyond the European borders, and it represented the starting point of the debates.

Over several days, the work was carried out into multiple workgroups: urbanism, habitat, constructions, and industrialization. Each session was led by an IUA representative, who also played a rapporteur role at the end of the event. The participation of individual experts of the United Nations and that of certain specialists in the social sciences led to lively and applied debates, with implications that surpassed the architects' community. The discussions were built on the premise that the living space had to be resolved in an inter-and multi-disciplinary manner, connected with the social realities. Georges Lambert-Lamond, the French representative in the Urbanism committee of the IUA, for instance, held the opening speech of the congress. He invited the participants to contribute to the outline of a methodological model that would have allowed the experts to correlate the need for a built space in different developing countries with the demographic dynamics, industrialisation perspectives, and the availability of the food supplies. From his viewpoint, the housing programs could not be fulfilled without a deeper understanding of how global transformations could influence the local realities. In a speech that was meant to reflect the complicated context in which the world then found itself, Lambert-Lamond showed that in the circumstances of a new globalisation wave, the development discrepancies between the capitalist north and the post-colonial south were increasingly more visible. The possibility that the social tensions from the (semi)periphery would affect the stability of the Western centre needed a long-term social mend action. In this respect, he proposed four main directions in which they could intervene successfully: the preparation of certain guiding principles that would act as methodological benchmarks for the third world countries; the crystallization of specific administrative frameworks so that the

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[11] Aurelian Trișcu, "O dezbatere internațională asupra problemei locuirii" [An international debate on the habitation issue], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1972): 36.

governments of the implicated countries would find a more efficient way of undertaking the social projects in accordance with the available resources; the preparation of certain conventions within which the less developed states would have the possibility of adjusting its domestic policies; ensuring the scientific support regarding the regional and global dynamics of the issue.[12]

Three questions seem to have occupied the participants' agenda for the seminar held in Bucharest: What type of city had to be designed for the future? Using which resources? What would the urban communities have looked like? The participants seemed to agree that the solutions were difficult to identify in the absence of a better understanding of the young people's urban construction role. By approaching the issue from the viewpoint of the medium to long-term impact of the generational exchanges, Lars Magnus Giertz, the representative of Sweden, for instance, pointed out that one of the characteristics of the development stage of the 1970s was the encouragement of the young people's migration from the rural to the urban areas, as well as, implicitly, the expansion of the perimeters of the cities. Naturally, the Soviet representative pleaded for the reassessment of development in terms of class.[13] Furthermore, the Romanian sociologist Henry Stahl had a more nuanced stance regarding the need for understanding the social implications of transitioning from one class to another as a result of rural-urban mobility. Such stances show the Marxist shift of the seminar. However, the ideas coagulated during the debates outlined the premises through which modernism could have formulated a new language and a new constructive category, at a time when this style was subjected to a critical analysis within all of the Western intellectual circles.

From many viewpoints, the participants' speeches illustrated a good familiarity with that time's intellectual debates. Building on Henry Lefebvre's concept of "right to the city," the participants seemed to agree that the city had to be thought of as a state of mind and not as a cumulus of materiality, thus suggesting a more in-depth sociological approach of the individual experiences.[14] Focusing on the social structures of the new urban centres, Henry Stahl, for instance, drew attention

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[12] The initiative seems to have belonged to the USSR representative. Alexandr Rocegov made a genuine plea in front of the plenary meeting of the conference and spoke about the benefits that would appear if the socio-economic development division of the United Nations were to assume the responsibility of coordinating such integrated programs.

[13] Alexander Ragov, "Locuirea umană" [Human habitation], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1972): 45.

[14] See Horia Maciu's intervention in the congress conclusions: Horia Maicu, "Raport de sinteză" [Summary report], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1972): 93-96.

to the fact that the contemporary city was often characterised by a "strong demographic blend,[15]" which created the necessity of approaching the urban through a deeper understanding of the inhabitants' distinctive experiences. Ecqually important, the discussions regarding gender equality, an expression of the new wave of feminism on a global level, slowly pushed the debates towards aspects that regarded how the young people could use the urban infrastructure in order to materialize their own political and social agendas through the civic involvement of the communities. From Gheorghe Sebestyen's viewpoint, for instance, this revitalization of feminist activism was the factor that facilitated the following:

> "on the occasion provided by a meeting organised by the International Union of Architects departments, together with the specialists in the issue of development, in sociological issues, we can discuss certain problems of their contents, in the form of versions, in the form of hypotheses, in the form of possibilities that are very different from one level of development to another, which can thus intertwine, so that, from this basis, we could have a perhaps clearer view on the habitat of the future.[16]"

However, when faced with ample mass constructions, the speakers leaned towards moderation as means to "search for adequate functional solutions.[17]" That was an excellent pretext to question the validity of neighborhood units' model. The concept had already been criticised in the professional circles because of its inadequacy for the contemporary social requirements; the model of neighborhood units would merely have emphasised the way in which the architecture crisis in these spaces was the identity crisis in the absence of originality and resourcefulness. However, the speakers' lamentations regarding the potential difficulties of creating an urban space that would accommodate the inhabitants' individuality and social involvement were quite quickly countered by much more pragmatic arguments. As

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[15] Henry Stahl, "Premise sociologice ale urbanismului românesc" [Sociological premises of the Romanian urbanism], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1972): 89. Original text: "puternic amestec demografic."
[16] Gh. Sebesyen, "Discuții" [Discussions], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1972): 99. Original text: "cu ocazia unor întâlniri organizate de secțiile Uniunii Internaționale a Arhitecților împreună cu specialiști în probleme de dezvoltare, în probleme sociologice, să dezbatem unele probleme ale conținutului sub formă de variante, sub formă de ipoteze, sub formă de posibilități foarte diferite de la un nivel de dezvoltare la altul, care s-ar putea întrevedea, pentru ca pe baza lor să ne putem crea o imagine poate mai clară despre habitatul viitorului."
[17] Ibid., 98. Original text: "căutarea rezolvărilor funcționale adecvate."

long as the objective of the discussions was finding specific cost-effective solutions that can be applied at a large scale, the best option seemed to seek the solutions for making the interior of a home more flexible, a home that became the primary cell of the city, and to apply the main modernist principles regarding the urban space continuously.

Published in *Arhitectura RSR* [The RSR Architecture], the journal of The Union of Romanian Architects, the documents of the convention outline a unitary message, articulated around the idea that architecture was at the center of the process of development. Far from reproducing the blunt ideological stances from other international reunions among the representatives of the Western countries, the socialist states and the third world[18], the texts that are available to the Romanian readers emphasize a consensual view regarding several key directions: the social function of architecture, the role played by the state in undertaking constructive programs, decisional centralism, and long-term sustainability. Or, in the words of a participant:

> "we believe that the governments of the countries can incite the architects to establish the quantitative and qualitative necessities, according to the social and political policies, to define the relative needs of the environment, to systematise the territory on all levels.[19]"

However, such a reading cannot overlook the fact that the texts' selection can illustrate the Bucharest officials' positions. It was not necessarily an accurate depiction of the speeches, so much as it was a type of "translation" of a set of ideas regarding the development's constructive implications from the Romanian side's perspective.[20] Therefore, these texts emphasize how modernism could have met the need to democratize the built space through fast and cheap construction practices. As Katherine Verdery recently noted, they bring forth the fact that in the 1970s, the

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[18] We are referring here to the debates of the '70s on the demographic dynamics and the population policies. See: Corina Dobos, "Global Challenges, Local Knowledges: Politics and Expertise at the World Population Conference in Bucharest, 1974," *East Central Europe* 45, 2-3 (2018): 215-244.

[19] Aurelian Trișcu, "O dezbatere internațională pe tema locuinței" [An international debate on the housing issue], *Arhitectura RSR* 2 (1972): 38. Original text: "se consideră că guvernele țărilor pot antrena pe arhitecți la programarea necesităților cantitative și calitative în concordanță cu politica economică și socială, la definirea nevoilor relative la mediul înconjurător, la sistematizarea teritoriului la toate nivelurile."

[20] Tibor Benedetti, "Conferință corelativă" [Correlative conference], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1972): 85.

Romanian authorities were tributary to a new type of socialism that focused on the consolidation of legitimacy through redistribution and not so much through accumulation.[21] In this sense, my argument is that the 1971 moment cannot be isolated from a much more complicated political context. Thus, the institutional centralization of the social sciences and the increase in the state funding for the programs of forecasting and researching the future, two moments that occurred during the same year, brought forth the national decision makers' interest in constructing an agenda of knowledge centred around both understanding individuality and on the viability of the social investment projects. As such, the built space offered an excellent opportunity to test these ideas, thus outlining the premises for accelerating the redistribution process undertaken by the decision-makers.

From *the right to the city* to *the right to housing*

However, the conversion of the ideas regarding the habitation in ample urban construction programs proved to be an objective that was much more difficult to accomplish than it had initially been estimated. This situation was only partially caused by the lack of concrete solutions offered by the experts or the inability of the states to implement them; it was actually caused by the fact that more and more of the people involved seemed to agree that a *home* was an intellectual project that was much more interdisciplinary than it had initially been estimated. The expertise from different fields proved to be imperiously necessary in order to obtain good results. In fact, international reunions organised in different institutional contexts brought forth specific issues regarding how the housing programs could be fulfilled, only by harmonising several different variables, such as the demographic dynamics, the resource availability, the local characteristics or the level of the technological development, as an expression of a country's economic growth potential. The problem that was thus on the agenda of the decision-makers regarded, first and foremost, the accessibility of the housing space, for as many people as possible, the minimal comfort in the context in which the new, ample industrialisation projects prevail over the activism characteristic to the "right to the city." Known in the historiography as the "ecological approach" to housing, this type of approach led to the creation of trans-national and trans-institutional forms of activism, in which the

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[21] Katherine Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

non-state actors would work together with the traditional representatives of the diplomatic body in order to achieve the objectives.[22]

Habitat 76, the United Nations conference on human settlements, organized in Vancouver in May 1976, illustrated the emergence of a new means of approaching the living space. Organized under the name of "the right to housing," the conference gathered delegates from over 50 states, including Romania. The stated purpose was to analyze the perspectives of human settlements over 30 years. The conference aimed to identify specific viable urbanization and systematization solutions for the developing countries and articulate adequate institutional frameworks. Despite the theme, however, the conference was political. Alternatively, in the words of Jai Rattan Bhalla, the president of the IUA, "… too few architects were present to officially discuss the conditions in which the inhabitants of the world live and will live,[23]" since the participation of the governmental experts and the representatives of the decision-makers was much more critical.

In this sense, the conference offered the United Nations officials the opportunity to build an institutional infrastructure through which the knowledge and expertise on human settlements would be transmitted from the advanced states to the developing ones. As early as 1975, the organisers requested that the participating states offer the UN, even by renouncing the copyrights, systematisation blueprints, housing projects, or planning solutions for the public space. What stood out in this context was the opinion that seemed to have formed at that moment regarding the pre-eminence of the methodological and technical relevance of these urbanisation solutions over the possible ideological considerations; the hope was in the efficacy of these trans-national and trans-ideological transfers.

Discussed in passing in the *Arhitectura RSR* [The RSR Architecture] journal (the event only received a short, two-page chronicle), the conference was somewhat better documented by the actions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Environment, and the County Sear Councils. The transcripts of the meetings held by the political office of the CC of the RCP, the addresses to the Popular Councils, the correspondence between different responsible ministries, the correspondence between the Romanian authorities and the UN officials, or the activity reports regarding the participation in training sessions or to the conference itself outline a

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[22] MFA Archive, issue 241-ONU, file 6159/1974, f. 109 v.
[23] Alexandru Iotzu, "Habitat 76," *Arhitectura RSR* 6 (1976): 4-5. Original text: "… prea puțini arhitecți erau prezenți pentru a discuta oficial condițiile în care trăiesc și vor trăi locuitorii lumii."

wide space for the analysis of how the representatives of a socialist state understood how they would be part of the debates on the conversion of modernism to political actions, with respect to development.[24]

The Romanian representatives responded rather arduously to the UN's request that they offer the international institutions a set of urbanization solutions that would act as representative cities. The materials were sent to Vancouver with a more than six-month delay. The letter exchange between the Romanian part and the UN representatives, often consisting of repeated and persistent requests from the foreign side and silence from the Romanian side, somewhat shows the Bucharest authorities' bureaucratic immobility in international interactions. However, such blockades, which were undoubtedly due to the socialist regime's stuffy functioning system, cannot obscure the socialist authorities' self-representation regimes emphasized by the conference in Vancouver.

Therefore, following several discussions, Iosif Ugler, the head of the Committee for the Issues of the Popular Councils, proposed that the selection sent by Romania should include the systematization blueprint of the town of Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej (today, Onești), of the Titan and Pantelimon neighborhoods in Bucharest and an urban circulation solution.

The town of Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej was designed at the beginning of the '60s, during the great ascension of the functionalist socialist modernism. It was based on the blueprints of an ISCAS team of architects, specialized in territorial systematization (Cirus Spiride, Gheorghe Iacovescu, Adriana Popp), and urban systematization (Boris Grumbers, Leon Haber and Traian Popescu). It was designed to house several tens of thousands of people, and, according to the presentation made by the *Arhitectura RSR* journal, the town illustrated "an increasingly more popular continuous preoccupation for the search for the possibilities of giving each settlement its personality by exploiting the landscape and the natural environment.[25]" More specifically, the chosen urban solution aimed to integrate the natural environment into the built space and ensure distinct possibilities of future expansion, depending on the area's economic and social evolution. On the one hand,

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[24] Ibid, 4.

[25] Mariana Vereanu, "Sistematizarea unor orașe din regiunea Bacău" [The systematisation of several towns from the Bacău region], *Arhitectura RPR* 1 (1965): 2-10. Original text: "o preocupare continuă, urmărită din ce în ce mai intens, pentru cercetarea posibilităților de a se crea o personalitate proprie fiecărei așezări în parte, valorificându-se relieful și cadrul natural."

the designers included health protection, which separated the industrial space from the inhabited neighborhoods. On the other hand, the movement in the city and between the urban nucleus and the surrounding villages was improved through adequate transportation solutions.

The second item sent to Vancouver, the Titan neighbourhood in Bucharest, illustrated the Romanian urban practices from the beginning of the 1970s. In the *Arhitectura RSR* journal, it received a detailed presentation, in a special issue dedicated to Bucharest envisioning the year 2000. The neighbourhood located in the eastern part of the city was substantial, capable of housing over 200,000 people. However, the ensemble's exceptionality did not reside in its size but rather in the authorities' efforts for finding the best solutions of maximising its spatial functionality. Based on a series of sociological studies and detailed scientific analyses regarding the dynamics of the urban space in the new socio-economic context, the Titan neighbourhood could offer solutions for reducing the distance between a home and a workplace. Presented by several sociologists as a counter-example of a "bedroom neighbourhood", it best illustrated the designers' choice to organize the space in accordance with the functional areas – work, habitation, development, recreation, and rest -, thus allowing people to socialize without making budget deductions. Several elements seem to have been central here. First of all, it was a large ensemble located in the vicinity of several industrial areas, thus ensuring a direct connection with the main workplaces. Second of all, the new residential areas developed along with the natural elements, thus ensuring a better integration with nature. Third of all, it was considered illustrative for reducing the distances between the home and the workplace. Therefore, "the proximity of the habitation buildings to the workplaces and their grouping into different production branches will bring balance to the logical utility and efficiency to the working hands and to the basic means.[26]"

Why were these solutions critical, in the context of the conference in Vancouver, and how could such an example have met the developing countries' expectations? The answer can easily be identified in the presentation of these architectural materials. Both Onești and Titan illustrated what the professional discourse of that time called "organic urbanism," namely an assumed preoccupation

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[26] Ioan Ciobanu, "Principii și rezolvări în sistematizarea Capitalei" [Principles and solutions in the systematisation of the capital], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1971): 18-22. Original text: "apropierea construcțiilor de locuințe de locurile de muncă și gruparea acestora pe diferite ramuri de producție va duce la un echilibru în utilitatea logică și eficiență a mâinii de lucru și a mijloacelor de bază."

regarding the interdependency of the habitation neighbourhood and the proximity of the industries. By using many of the modernist principles, such as mass constructions, functionalism, rationality, or circulation, the solutions chosen by the Romanian side could very well have met the needs of the countries that wished to develop by expanding an ample industrial fund in the urban areas.[27] In line with the preoccupation for "the right to housing," the functionality characteristic of these solutions, proposed by the Romanian side, would have ensured the premises for mass construction programs.

The hybridisation of knowledge at a local level

This type of interactions is not necessarily connected to "the models of order and truth that characterise the modern West" that could somewhat impact non-European countries, but rather to how states like Romania mobilised their trans-national knowledge on human habitation in order to reconsider their own urban construction projects. More specifically, they show how the knowledge produced in different non-professional epistemic contexts, as were the UN reunions, adjusted the Romanian architects' models and practices, and established their later conversion into a set of normative measures relevant to the development project of the socialist state.[28]

A reading of the leading professional publications convincingly illustrates this transformation. For instance, in 1975, when the efforts for organising the manifestation in Vancouver reached a maximum level of intensity, the *Arhitectura RSR* journal dedicated an entire issue to the architecture criticism in Romania. The issue compiled the contributions of the most influential practitioners of that time, such as Gh. Sebestyen, M. Caffe, C. Lăzărescu etc. Written from different theoretical viewpoints and treating diverse themes, from circulation, environment, work, or recreation, these texts pointed out that the architectural practice had reached a critical point. The avoidance of a housing crisis was conditioned by a change in the approach of the interior space. It had become more transparent and more explicit that undertaking "standard" construction projects no longer sufficed. Solutions for the improvement of the inner flexibility of a home had to be found, so that, with

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[27] MFA Archive, issue 241-ONU, file 5364/1972, f. 29.
[28] Roman Moldovan, "Locuirea umană și semnificația sa social-economică în condițiile dezvoltării contemporane" [Human habitation and its social-economic significance in the context of the contemporary development], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1972): 87.

minimal investments, the living space could be adjusted depending on the comfort needs of the current and future generations.[29] In this sense, the specialists pleaded for a much more critical approach and for the adaptation of the projects to the requirements of contemporary society. The exceptionality of these speeches did not, however, reside in the preoccupation with the long-term sustainability of the homes, since that was a constant for the journal from the beginning of the 1970s, but rather in the signal they transmitted to the national professional community regarding the necessity to reconsider the constructive solutions in accordance with a series of central issues of the projects for the global development of the (post)industrial society. In other words, the plea of the *Arhitectura RSR* journal was for a type of constructive solution that would be both financially accessible and appropriate for an increasingly more flexible and more territorially mobile workforce. However, this led to a series of conceptual ambiguities in Romania's professional language regarding urban space.

On the one hand, it outlined the premises for the recovery of interwar modernism as a solution for creating specific sustainable approaches to the living space of the 1970s. Beginning with 1975, the *Arhitectura RSR* journal regularly published texts dedicated to the architectural creations of the 1930s and of the most influential practitioners of that time. Most of the articles were signed by Radu Patrulius, and they were part of the *Înaintașii noștri* [Our forefathers] section. However, they were items of architecture history to a small extent. Referring to Haralamb Georgescu, his mentor from the Faculty of Architecture, and a "**promoter of modern Romanian architecture in the 1930s**" (emphasis present in the original text), for instance, Patrulius emphasised two aspects: the way in which his former teacher taught his students to "match the functions", for optimal use of the built space, and his interest in emphasising the "national-universal" connections by rejecting Neo-Classicism, as an architectural solution for the post-war Bucharest, in favour of "the new".[30] Why were such details relevant for the professional benchmarks of the 1970s in Romania? My argument is that the texts bring forth an ample conceptual repertoire regarding the functionalist imaginary of the home, through which the theoreticians of the 1970s could articulate, in a *long-term* key, the intellectual genealogies of modernism. Moreover, they paved the way for certain

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[29] Cezar Lăzărescu, "Probleme actuale ale urbanizării în țara noastră" [The current issues of urbanisation in our country], *Arhitectura RSR* 4 (1975): 10.

[30] Radu Patrulius, "Evocări: Arhitectul Haralamb Georgescu" [Evocations: The architect Haralamb Georgescu], *Arhitectura RSR* 5-6 (1978): 80 and 82.

reconfigurations of the networks of expertise, not necessarily based on generational connections, but rather on a conviction broadly shared at a global level regarding the transportability of the style in other cultural, political, or ideological contexts. Therefore, the inclination towards interwar modernism is far from being a nostalgic reassessment of a historical epoch. On the contrary, it must be read as a pragmatic approach of the housing issue from the viewpoint of the added value that modernism would have given to functionality in the 1970s.

On the other hand, they allowed the socialist authorities to connect the urban development project to the state construction's national agenda. In parallel with the texts on interwar modernism, the *Arhitectura RSR* journal frequently published different contributions to the integration of the local specificity in the architecture projects and harmonise them with the latest technological evolutions. The coverage area was quite large since the local character was understood as construction materials and socio-cultural specificity. Or, in the words of a participant to the IUA conference in Mexico City in October 1978: "our recommendation is not a simple, functional approach to certain issues, such as the development of the urban areas, urban systematisation, the use of local materials, but a better understanding of the social-cultural environment. We must also focus on appreciating the cultural heritage and values, on the long-term projects, on future-oriented planning, on the global issues, and on visionary thinking, infused with love and beauty, namely with the will to fight against misery, poverty, and inequity.[31]" What was the relevance of nuancing the local specificity to the Romanian project of urban construction? My argument is that the international debates on development, which allotted a wide space to the right of the send and third world countries to protect their national resources from the advancement of the western capital and technology, allowed Romania to formulate an alternative to the growth project imagined by the Soviet

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[31] Mahdi Elmandjra, "Corespondență de la al XIII Congres Mondial al Uniunii Internaționale a Arhitecților, Mexico City, Octombrie 1978: Rolul arhitecților în dezvoltarea națională" [Correspondence from the 10th World Congress of the International Union of Architects, Mexico City, October 1978: The role played by the architects in the national development], *Arhitectura RSR* 2 (1979): 83. Original text: "ceea ce recomandăm nu este o simplă abordare funcțională a unor probleme ca dezvoltarea zonelor urbane, sistematizarea urbană, folosirea materialelor locale ci o mai bună înțelegere a mediului social-cultural. Mai trebuie să se pună accentul și pe aprecierea moștenirii și valorilor culturale, pe proiectele pe termen lung, pe o planificare orientată spre viitor, pe problemele globale și pe o gândire vizionară, pătrunsă de iubire și frumusețe, adică de voința combaterii mizeriei, sărăciei și inechității."

Union and by the capitalist countries. Such a turn fit quite nicely into the new context generated by the nationalist politics of Ceaușescu's regime.

At the intersection of these plans, the actions undertaken in 1970 through the National Systematisation Program, through the Central Committee's actions for the systematisation of the urban and rural areas, outline a type of solution that aimed to harmonise the industrial objectives with an urban concept that was sensitive to the environment issues.[32] Debated in the period that followed in different institutional and professional contexts, these ideas took shape in 1974 due to the adoption of the systematisation law. Or, in the words of Cezar Lăzărescu, "the relationship between architecture and the national development is most eloquently expressed through the systematisation of the territory and the towns.[33]"

Widely contested by the recent historiography, because of the long-term negative implications, such as the demolition campaigns carried out in the villages and the establishment of the agro-industrial towns, the implementation of the systematisation project cannot be taken out from this more ample intellectual context in which the Romanian specialists were involved beginning with the 1960s. Throughout the 1970-1975, the *Arhitectura RSR* journal published several articles on the systematisation. However, the peak was reached at the time of the reunion in Vancouver 1976. The professional debates began from the specialists' preoccupation for efficiently solving the issue of the circulation, in the context of the increasing flexibility of the workforce and the gradually more substantial interest in transposing the "characteristics of the evolution and the collective's different aspirations"[34] into constructive solutions. However, in a short time, the discussions evolved towards issues that were much more applied to the Romanian realities, such as the management of the workforce, the work productivity, the integration of the young people into the socialist state's project of transformation, or the insurance of the necessary infrastructure for the intensive industrialisation programs.

It did not take long for the systematisation blueprint [schița de sistematizare] to be questioned.[35] Given the increasingly apparent attempts of

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[32] In this respect, see the unsigned introductory article: "Probleme actuale ale arhitecturii și sistematizării" [Current issues of architecture and systematisation], *Arhitectura RSR* 1 (1971): 4-5.

[33] Cezar Lăzărescu, "Arhitectura și dezvoltarea" [Architecture and development] *Arhitectura RSR* 3 (1978): 10. Original text: "relația dintre arhitectură și dezvoltarea națională își găsește expresia cea mai elocventă în sistematizarea teritoriului și a localităților."

[34] Ibid., 11. Original text: "caracteristicilor evoluției și aspirațiilor diferitelor colectivități."

[35] For a historiographic view on the relevance of the systematization blueprint within the Romanian industrialization project from the 1960s, see Mara Mărginean, *Ferestre spre*

decentralisation, which required improved urban functionality, financial planning and complex systematisation, the widely spread solution in the 1960s Romania, which aimed to condense as many functions as possible into a small territory, was officially sanctioned. However, the new concept proposed the interdependency of the living areas and the industrial areas, as well as the improvement of the daily experiences of the workforce.

Strongly influenced by the idea stated in Vancouver regarding the home as an ecological issue, the national debate brought forth several key elements. Through a critical reading of the accomplishments until that time, one practitioner noted that "only in a few towns," such as Hundedoara or Gheorghiu Dej, attempts had been made to propose integrated solutions for the utilities; in all other cases, they were fragmented. The international debates' influence became apparent because, for the Romanian practitioners, the solutions for spatial organisation were no longer thought of as constructive models, but rather from the viewpoint of their ecological implications, namely ensuring an optimal density and diminishing the differences in the social integration. By proposing the expansion of the previously adopted solutions in the Bucharest neighbourhood Titan case, probative for the balanced distribution of homes and industrial workplaces, the Romanian specialists showed that the neighbourhoods' monotony could be removed through much more flexible approaches to space. Without clearly contesting the modernist principles of the distribution of functions, Romania's results showed that the separation by green spaces led to the formation of barrens within the cities since the municipalities did not dispose of resources necessary for their maintenance. Still preoccupied with the issue of insolation, as part of the modernism of the Athena Charter, the designers also brought forth other aspects, such as the noise and the pollution, as essential components of an ecological approach to housing. Moreover, in the following period, the housing buildings' height was expected to be established depending on the trees' height so that the apartment buildings would not have more than five or six floors.

A reading of the systematisation programs from this viewpoint also led to changes in the inner space approach. Conceived as "a complete ambient," free of any fixed compartmentation, it was defined by two principles: transformability and total mobility. A revitalisation of the interwar practices was thus useful, as long as

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furnalul roșu: urbanism și cotidian în Hunedoara și Călan [Windows to the red background: urbanism and everyday life in Hunedoara and Călan] (Iași: Polirom, 2015), 122-158.

"many of the traditional urban housing types and certain apartments from the pre-war apartment buildings possessed the qualities of suppleness and flexibility, which the standard apartment from the past decades definitively lost.[36]"

However, the Romanian specialists' critical stance on urban planning, in the context of the socialist state's systematization programs, offers a critical analysis angle to better understand the designers' self-representation means during their interactions with the foreign specialists. In an interview published in the *Arhitectura RSR* journal in 1979, for instance, Cezar Lăzărescu made a clear step in that direction:

> "the experience that generates the current practice and our country's ideas for the future can be applied in countries that are comparable to ours… our opinions, the experience to which I previously referred, the accomplishments of our school have generated great interest from the majority of the developing countries, the countries that have identical or similar systems, the majority of the countries that have the same short or long-term objectives.[37]"

What was the main idea, in this context? Frequently structured in terms of synchronicity and westernization, the interest in modernism preponderantly outlined the Romanian society's agenda of stating its cultural belonging to the excellent production areas, and, to a smaller extent, its agenda of emancipation. From this viewpoint, the stances taken by the Romanian specialists regarding the modernist principles, in the context of the debates regarding the housing architecture in the developing countries, mostly show aspects related to a hegemonic view on how knowledge can regulate international relations and how it can problematise modernism as an expression of specific actions of discursive

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[36] Silvia Ursu, "Conceptul de flexibilitate a spațiului locuinței" [The concept of the flexibility of the living space], *Arhitectura RSR* 2 (1976):13. Original text: "multe din tipurile de locuință urbană tradițională ca și unele apartamente în blocurile antebelice posedau aceste calități de suplețe și flexibilitate, pe care locuința tip din ultimele decenii le-a pierdut definitiv."

[37] Ileana Murgescu, "În convorbire cu Cezar Lăzărescu: Prezențe arhitecturale românești peste hotare" [In conversation with Cezar Lăzărescu: Romanian architectural presences abroad], *Arhitectura RSR* 6 (1979): 10. Original text: "experiența care generează practica actuală și ideile de viitor ale țării noastre sunt valabile în țări comparabile cu noi. ... părerile noastre, experiența la care mă refeream, realizările școlii noastre sunt privite cu foarte mare interes, în majoritatea țărilor în curs de dezvoltare, în țările care au sisteme sociale identice sau apropiate, în majoritatea țărilor care au aceleași obiective pentru viitorul apropiat sau mai îndepărtat."

refinement, within a more comprehensive geostrategic project. Cezar Lăzărescu's remark can be read thusly:

> "… for us, collaboration means helping the partners create what they desired BY THEMSELVES, not that we would create for them what we believe they desired. For us, collaboration represents aid in the formation of their own frameworks, in the assumption of the technology that is adequate to a certain country's level of development; it means supporting the partners so that they would develop through their own strengths and their own projects.[38]"

In other words, the Romanian specialists' experience in the field of systematisation, refined during different international professional meetings and initially tested in Romania, could have been an example of acceptable practices for the developing countries with whom the authorities in Bucharest sought to consolidate their commercial relations.

Conclusions

Based on several international debates on the housing issue that had taken place either in Romania or abroad, the present article aimed to emphasize how the trans-national character of modernism, throughout the 20th century, outlined the premises for a vast analytical space in which the peripheral manifestations contributed not only to the syncretization of certain specific forms, but also to the increase in the temporal fluidity of the manifestation of this aesthetic. More specifically, in the words of Carmen Popescu, the modernist view, in a *la longue duree* key, brings forth not only several fragments that cannot always be organised into a coherent image but also multiple offsets between the local manifestations and the broader global phenomenon.[39] From this viewpoint, the modern, as a constructive solution, shortly received anti-colonial valences that were

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[38] Ibid., 10. Original text: "… pentru noi, colaborare, înseamnă a-i ajuta pe parteneri să-și facă SINGURI ceea ce doresc și nu de a le face noi ceea ce credem că vor ei. Pentru noi, colaborarea înseamnă ajutor în formarea cadrelor proprii, în însușirea unor tehnologii adecvate gradului de dezvoltare al țării respective, înseamnă a-i sprijini pe parteneri să se dezvolte prin forțele și proiectele propria."
[39] Carmen Popescu, "Modernity in context," in *(Dis)Continuities: Fragments of the Romanian Modernity in the First Half of the 20th Century*, ed. by Carmen Popescu (Bucuresti: Simetria, 2010), 11-12.

meant to mobilise the functionality, the relation between the useful and the beautiful, the harmony between technical and aesthetic, in order to offer the population the necessary solutions to segregation and the hegemony of capitalism. The implementation of such a viewpoint essentially shows that modernism is hybrid and multivalent, most often articulated by the local particularities and the specific national conditions.

However, the application of the analysis to Romania's reality in the 1970s also shows that "the act of translating" the ideas implies multiple means of manipulating and distorting the original language and the original meanings. In other words, "a translation is possible if we remove the idea of the pure and homogenous forms of knowledge, and we recognise the means through which the actors can access multiple forms of meaning. These themselves are in a constant state of flow since they meet others that create the complex processes of synchronisation, blending, incorporation, integration, and hybridisation.[40]" Thus, from the viewpoint of the Romanian authorities, the suggestive juxtaposition between urban development, political activism and youth, that marked the beginning of the 1970s at a global level through the 1968 protests and later through the generational mobilisation for affirming "the right to the city", represented a good pretext for rethinking certain domestic projects of urban systematisation, adequate to the national industrial priorities. However, when the international community seemed to become more and more involved in order to find solutions for the accessibility of the living space and for decreasing the social discrepancies between the less developed states, the decision makers in Bucharest found a new negotiation opportunity in the areas they considered to be strategic, by referencing their domestic experience in the area of the mass constructions, as a means of consolidating the cooperation with the third world.[41]

Translated from Romanian by Anca Chiorean

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[40] *Anthropology and development*…, 153. Original text: "[t]raducerea este posibilă dacă ne îndepărtăm de ideea formelor de cunoaștere „pure" și „omogene" și recunoaștem modalitățile prin care actorii pot avea acces la mai multe forme de sens. Acestea sunt ele însele într-o stare constantă de flux, deoarece întâlnesc altele care creează procese complexe de sincretizare, amestecare, încorporare, integrare, precum și hibridizare."

[41] Dana Vais, "Exporting hard modernity: construction projects from Ceaușescu's Romania in the 'Third World'," *The Journal of Architecture* 3, 17 (2012): 433-451.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MELANCHOLY AND DEPRESSION

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Abstract Although from a medical point of view, melancholy and depression are indistinguishable, I will try to argue that, from a philosophical perspective, there is an important distinction between the two related affective states. Analyzing various philosophical, literary, poetical, psychiatric and musical works, such as Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Butler's *Characters* (1659), Goethe's *Werther* (1774), Novalis's *Hymns to the Night* (1800), Beethoven's *"Moonlight" Sonata* (1801)*,* Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil* (1857), Cotard's report on the *Hypochondriac Delirium* (1880), Kraepelin's *Textbook of Psychiatry* (1883), I will try to clarify the psychological ambiguity between melancholy and depression.
Keywords Melancholy, depression, anxiety, paranoia, idleness, death, immortality.

> *In a world without melancholy, nightingales would belch.*
> E. M. Cioran

## 1.		Towards an Impossible Definition

Melancholy is notoriously difficult to define. According to Robert Burton, the author of the classical *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), it is almost always linked with sorrow ("An inseparable companion, 'The mother and daughter of melancholy, her epitome, symptom, and chief cause:' as Hippocrates hath it, they beget one another, and tread in a ring, for sorrow is both cause and symptom of this disease[1]") and fear ("Fear … invites the devil to come to us …, and tyranniseth over our phantasy more than all other affections, especially in the dark[2]"). For Baudelaire, melancholy is a

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[1] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, (Philadelphia: J. W. Moore, 1857), 162.
[2] Ibid., 164.

version of *spleen*: "–And long cortèges minus drum or tone/ Deploy morosely through my being: Hope/ The conquered, moans, and tyrant Anguish gloats –/In my bowed skull he fixed his black flag.[3]" Furthermore, one may say that the Heideggerian boredom is connected to melancholy: "We straightaway take 'boring' as meaning *wearisome, tedious,* which is not to say indifferent … [T]hat which bores, which is boring, is *that which holds us in limbo and yet leaves us empty* (emphasis in the original text).[4]" The Romanian noun *urât*, which as an adjective means *ugly*, and which is a combination of *spleen*, *malaise, cafard,* antipathy, disgust and anxiety, may also designate melancholy.

At least three constituents are "palpable" in the structure of melancholy: the first one is anxiety, the (me)ontological affect that is directed both to being and the nothingness hidden in being. Connected to the first constituent is the nihilistic feeling of inner emptiness, which is perceptible in boredom and anxiety. Furthermore, melancholy and paranoia are also related (see **Section 2 and 3**). The last and most important component is the fact that melancholy aims at death (either as suicide, or as "death of the soul") (see **Section 3**). From the start, we can see an inherent ambiguity in all the three terms which are linked to melancholy. Is melancholy fearful as anxiety? Does its emptiness draw us closer to nothingness and further from ourselves? And, again, what does "death of the soul" mean, a question which cannot be valid from a biological perspective? Moreover, what is the relationship between melancholy and depression? If from a psychiatric point of view, there can be no difference between these two, does the *cultural* distinction between melancholy and depression still work? (see **Section 4**). We hope to shed light on some of these matters.

2.   Anxiety, Paranoia, Idleness

Great happiness tends to become anxious or melancholic. Our greatest joys are tainted by the anticipation of subsequent loss. "We rest – a dream has power to poison sleep;/ We rise—one wandering thought pollutes the day/.[5]" The greatest scarecrow, death, receives positive connotations once we catch a glimpse of the nightmarish essence of existence. According to Robert Burton, "[e]ven in the midst of all our mirth, jollity, and laughter, is sorrow and grief[6]"; "even in the midst of all

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[3] Charles Baudelaire, "Spleen (IV)", in *The Flowers of Evil,* trans. James McGowan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 151.

[4] Martin Heidegger, *The Fundamental Concepts of Metaphysics,* trans. William McNeill and Nicholas Walker, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 86-7.

[5] Percy Bysshe Shelley, "Mutability", in *The Major Works,* ed. Zachary Leader and Michael O'Neill, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 112.

[6] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 172.

our feasting and jollity … there is grief and discontent[7]"; "[e]ven in the midst of our mirth and jollity, there is some grudging, some complaint.[8]" We may possess an inherent flaw that cannot allow us to *continuously* enjoy bliss. Perhaps the taste of supreme "jollity" is related to boredom, and, paraphrasing Schopenhauer, boredom is even more hopeless and more toxic than pain and suffering.[9]

In Burton's vision, melancholy brings along what we would now call paranoia. The reality of the melancholic is distorted by his perception: "… as he falsely imagineth, so he believeth; and as he conceiveth of it, so it must be, and it shall be, *contra gentes*, he will have it so …[10]" Or, as Samuel Butler has put it in a fragment from his *Characters* (1659), "a melancholy man … converses with nothing so much as his own Imagination, which being apt to misrepresent Things to him, makes him believe, that it is something else than it is.[11]" Melancholy and paranoia may be extreme forms of *solipsism*: "There's only me! My sorrows transcend the borders of the species!" The projective factor of paranoia isolates the melancholic subject, cutting him or her off from the immediate alterity. "If two talk together, discourse, whisper, jest, or tell a tale in general, he thinks presently they mean him, applies all to himself … He thinks they laugh or point at him, or do it in disgrace of him, circumvent him, contemn him; every man looks at him, he is pale, red, sweats for fear and anger, lest somebody should observe him.[12]" The delusion of persecution leads to inward emptiness and a sense of *isolationism*: "[The Head of the melancholy man] is haunted, like a House, with evil Spirits and Apparitions, that terrify and fright him out of himself, till he stands empty and forsaken.[13]"

Emil Kraepelin links paranoia with melancholy/depression in his influential *Textbook of Psychiatry*, first published in 1883, and edited eight times during his lifetime. Here are some of the "imperative ideas" of the depressed patients: "the fear of having been pricked by a splinter and having to die of blood-poisoning …, the idea of throwing people into water, the fear of having stolen bread or money…, of having committed all the crimes mentioned in the newspapers.[14]" One patient in particular "was tormented by the idea of having murdered people with his thoughts,

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[7] Ibid., 93-4.

[8] Ibid., 342.

[9] Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation,* Vol. 1, trans. and ed. Judith Norman, Alistair Welchman, Christopher Janaway, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 339-340.

[10] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* 159.

[11] Samuel Butler, "A Melancholy Man"*,* in *The Nature of Melancholy. From Aristotle to Kristeva,* ed. Jennifer Radden, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 159.

[12] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* 237.

[13] Butler, "A Melancholy Man"*,* 158.

[14] Emil Kraepelin, "Manic-depressive Insanity", *The Nature of Melancholy. From Aristotle to Kristeva,* ed. Jennifer Radden, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 262.

and of having been guilty of the death of King Ludwig.[15]" Perhaps the separating (solipsistic) dimension of melancholy is an aggravating factor of madness: the dark night of melancholy prepares the way for the fake but fabulous sunrise of psychosis. "Idleness of the mind is much worse than this of the body; wit without employment is a disease …: the rust of the soul, a plague, a hell itself," writes Burton, adding that "this body of ours, when it is idle, and knows not how to bestow itself, macerates and vexeth itself.[16]" Any kind of intellectual activity has an antidepressant effect and, as Blake has put it, "the busy bee has no time for sorrow.[17]" This Protestant mindset ("Let's make labor camps for the idlers! Let's cure sloth!") seems to forget that melancholy (and even more depression) is a disease which paralyzes will and basic capability. Burton writes that "Israel murmured against Pharaoh in Egypt, he commanded his officers to double their task, and let them get straw themselves, and yet make their full number of bricks; for the sole cause why they mutiny, and are evil at ease, is, 'they are idle'.[18]" One may wonder: is *Arbeit macht frei* a slogan of work therapy? Is it a variation of "you will know the Work and the Work shall set you free" (misquoting *John* 8:32)? After all, according to *Genesis* (3:17) "fallenness" and work are one and the same thing: "Cursed *is* the ground for your sake;/ In toil you shall eat *of* it/ All the days of your life."

Why insomnia and hypersomnia (excessive sleep) are both symptoms of depression? While insomnia suggests that there is something disturbing in the "muddy waters" of the id, and can be a preliminary step to mental illness, hypersomnia indicates, in post-Schopenhaurerian terms, that the will to death is more powerful than the will to life. "When you have insomnia, you're never really asleep, and you're never really awake.[19]" We venture to say it is the same with hypersomnia: sleep is no longer a healing and rejuvenating function, but an ordeal and an agony. With both insomnia and hypersomnia, the depressive person is cut off simultaneously from lucidity and repose, from self-awareness and oblivion. The one afflicted with depression did not choose his or her disease, as I can choose to be a "busy bee" and "employ my wit". The "death without death" of depression, to echo Kierkegaard, is like crossing an immanent inferno or like experiencing damnation in a serotonin-free world devoid of gods or of devils. Again, the emptying and excruciating dimension of depression makes us conceive death in a more positive fashion: but maybe this is sheer optimism, because in the deeper circles of hell death as anesthesia may be replaced with the "infinite dying" of the agony.

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[15] Ibid., id.

[16] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* 153.

[17] William Blake, *Collected Poems*, ed. W. B. Yeats, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 166.

[18] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* 153.

[19] David Fincher (director), *Fight Club*, 1999, screenplay by Jim Uhls, based on the novel by Chuck Palahniuk.

3. Melancholy in the Realm of Dead Immortality

In Goethe's *Werther* (1774), melancholy is linked with its black sun, i.e., death. "I have passed a dreadful night or rather, let me say, a propitious one; for it has given me resolution, it has fixed my purpose. I am resolved to die.[20]" For the absolute Eros the only qualitative continuation is the absolute of Thanatos: "Death is the Romanticizing principle of our life,[21]" as Novalis has put it. Werther's suicide letter anticipates Kurt Cobain's testamentary note: "It is better to burn than to fade away.[22]" This suicide note can be read in the following manner: it is better to explode as a traumatic memory than to fade away as a dusty bourgeois antique (former lovers become lifeless husbands). Werther goes on to say: "A thousand ideas, a thousand schemes, arose within my soul; till at length one last, fixed, final thought took possession of my heart. It was to die. I lay down to rest; and in the morning, in the quiet hour of awakening, the same determination was upon me. To die! It is not despair: it is conviction that I have filled up the measure of my sufferings, that I have reached my appointed term, and must sacrifice myself for thee.[23]"

As I have mentioned, melancholy gravitates around the inward sun of death: when life becomes empty, worthless, and excruciating, the melancholic discovers, like Epictetus, that the door of the burning house is open.[24] Suicide may be the *idée fixe* of the melancholic person: he or she may expect from death what the believer awaits from God. "Now I know when the final morning will be – when the Light will no longer frighten away the Night and love – when sleeping will be forever just one unsuspendable dream", writes Novalis, adding that "my secret heart stays true to the Night, and to creative Love, her daughter.[25]" Eros and Thanatos are synonymous for the German poet: diurnal sobriety is no match for the sweetness of love-death. Novalis's melancholy may be a symptom of the "yearning for the end of the world. Everything changes its aspect, even the sun; everything ages, even disaster…[26]"

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[20] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *The Sorrows of Young Werther,* ed. Nathan Haskell Dole, trans. R. D. Boylan, (Boston: F. A. Nicolls & company, 1902), 112.

[21] Novalis, *Philosophical Writings*, trans. and ed. Margaret Mahony Stoljar, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 154.

[22] Kurt Cobain, "Suicide Note" in Alex S. Edelstein 2013, *Total Propaganda. From Mass Culture to Popular Culture*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 119.

[23] Goethe, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, 112-3.

[24] Epictetus, *The Discourses,* trans. W. A. Oldfather, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 163.

[25] Novalis, *Hymns to the Night*, trans. Dick Higgins, (Kingston, NY: McPherson & Company, 1988), 19.

[26] E. M. Cioran, *A Short History of Decay,* trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Arcade, 2012), 117.

In Schopenhauer's view, if life were completely unbearable, death would gain a salutary value. If *to live* is basically *to suffer*, *to die* means *to end suffering*. What if we experienced, as Miss X, one of Jules Cotard's patients, who suffered from a delirium of negation, the *impossibility of death*? "Miss X… claims that she no longer has a brain, nerves, chest, stomach or intestines; the skin and bones of her disorganized body [*corps désorganisé*] are all she has left (these are her own expressions). This delirium of negation even extends to metaphysical ideas which were once the object of her firmest beliefs; she has no soul, God does not exist, neither does the devil. Miss X ... is nothing more than a disorganized body [*corps désorganisé*], does not need to eat to live, she cannot die a natural death, she will exist eternally unless she is burnt, fire being the only possible end for her.[27]" What if death is the continuation of our sufferings, like in Baudelaire's poem, "Skeletons Digging": "Do you … intend to show/ That in the pit we may not know/ The sleep we have been promised there;// Non-being will not keep its faith;/ That even Death can tell a lie/.[28]" Maybe even hell has its basements: if an immanent hell can be used as a symbol for our secular world (i.e., "this world = hell"), it is not unconceivable that there may be inferior hells which bear no reference to the idea of heaven.

Maurice Blanchot, in a line of argumentation reminiscent of his thesis concerning the nihilism of being,[29] claimed that the "ambiguity of the negation is linked to the ambiguity of death. God is dead, which may signify this harder truth: death is not possible … We do not die, it is true, but because of that we do not live either; we are dead while we are alive, we are essentially survivors. So, death ends our life, but it does not end our possibility of dying; it is real as an end to life and illusory as an end to death.[30]" Death and God seem to belong to the same ontological category, not only because of the fact that *God* and *death of God* share a similar vibration. God mimics death (and not the other way around): death is the real

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[27] Jules Cotard, "Du délire hypocondriaque dans une forme grave de la mélancolie anxieuse", in J. Cotard, M. Camuset, J. Séglas, *Du délire des négations aux idées d'énormité*, (Paris: l'Harmattan, 1997), 19-20 (trans. mine).

[28] Baudelaire, "Skeletons Digging" in *The Flowers of Evil,* 191.

[29] See Maurice Blanchot, *The Infinite Conversation,* trans. Susan Hanson, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 149: "Until now we thought nihilism was tied to nothingness. How ill-considered this was: nihilism is tied to being. Nihilism is the impossibility of being done with it and of finding a way out even in that end that is nothingness. It says the impotence of nothingness, the false brilliance of its victories; it tells us that when we think nothingness we are still thinking being. Nothing ends, everything begins again; the other is still the same. Midnight is only a dissimulated noon, and the great Noon is the abyss of light from which we can never depart – even through death and the glorious suicide Nietzsche recommends to us. Nihilism thus tells us its final and rather grim truth: it tells of the impossibility of nihilism".

[30] Maurice Blanchot, *The Work of Fire,* trans. Charlotte Mandell, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 7-8.

limit of our existence, while God is the imaginary and idealized expression of our thirst for transcendence. While the Orthodox Christians hope that Christ "tramples down death by death", God is nothing else than a spiritualized version of the biological brutality of death. Moreover, both God and death are hegemonic: their control and power are authoritative and supreme, and one cannot fight/argue with them. Besides, as many authors argue, if we didn't fear death (our most basic anxiety), we wouldn't need God at all ("life eternal" is nothing else but "death eternal").

The patients with *melancholia simplex* (Krapelin's definition) or *severe anxious melancholy* (Cotard's version) are what we would nowadays call paranoid schizophrenics. The link between depressives and paranoids is, as we have mentioned, the parallel inflation of the ego and the "blindness" towards the other and the objective outside world. Moreover, the distinction between inside and outside fades away, a phenomenon observable in Roman Polanski's *Repulsion* (1965): the ego becomes a haunted house, and the harassment of the defense mechanisms of the ego is personified by the ones who try to break in and rape the main character played by the young Catherine Deneuve. When there is no differentiation between inside and outside, phantasy becomes reality: the "Sleeps and [the] Wakings [of the melancholy man] are so much the same, that he knows not how to distinguish them, and many times when he dreams, he believes he is broad awake and sees Visions.[31]"

However, melancholy (and depression) must be distinguished from the nuclear phase of paranoia. The psychotic evolves towards a kind of magical megalomania (a sort of Ragle Gumm syndrome[32]), while the melancholic becomes a disenchanted micromaniac, where personal worthlessness becomes the norm. The psychotic is leading actor-director in a cosmic movie, whereas the melancholic is mainly an extra in the slumber of perpetual hypersomnia, experiencing psychological starvation in a universe deprived of illusions and seductive denials.

4.   Melancholy or Depression?

I think that the difference between depression and melancholy may be compared to the distinction between fear and anxiety. While fear has always a concrete object, anxiety is a sort of super-fear ("fear of fear of…") which refers to (the nothingness of) being. In a similar manner, depression originates in a concrete loss (the famous

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[31] Butler, "A Melancholy Man," 158.

[32] See Philip K. Dick, *Time Out of Joint,* (New York: Caroll & Graf, 1987), 119: "A paranoiac psychosis. Imagining that I'm the center of a vast effort by millions of men and women, involving billions of dollars and infinite work... a universe revolving around me. Every molecule acting with me in mind. An outward radiation of importance... to the stars. Ragle Gumm the object of the whole cosmic process, from the inception to final entropy. All matter and spirit, in order to wheel about me".

Freudian association of depression with mourning), while melancholy refers to an ontological loss (the losing of myself or of my world). Rephrasing one of Julia Kristeva's statements, we might argue that "any loss entails the loss of my being – and of Being itself. The melancholic person is a radical, sullen atheist.[33]" In the post-Nietzschean world view, this "sullen atheism" of the one who experienced the death of God may even refer to the death of ego or the death of the self: when God died, the inner God also became void.

Because of the fact that melancholy lacks the concreteness of depression, it is more aerial, more *gaya* and less definite. Depression *is* pain, but melancholy is a sort of beautiful sadness, that lets one breath. It is confused with sadness on a regular basis. When Garbage sings that "it feels so good to feel so sad[34]" or when Cioran argues that "if you ever have been sad without a reason, you were sad your whole life without knowing it,[35]" the musicians and the philosopher refer to melancholy foremost. While melancholy is perversely enjoyable, depression has a funeral stench, that hides either mourning, or the putrefaction of my soul longing for annihilation.

There may be yet another way to grasp the distinction between depression and melancholy: that of music. Take for instance the *Andante grazioso* from Mozart piano sonata no. 11 in A major K. 331. It is a highly melancholic tune: melancholy has the kind of anti-gravitational sweetness which is not present in depressive states, when the "low and heavy sky weighs like a lid.[36]" Now listen to the *Marche funébre* from Chopin's second piano sonata in B-flat Minor Op. 35. It is extremely depressive, a dissociative howl of mourning, burial and despondency. In the end, lend an ear to both the *Adagio sostenuto* and *Presto agitato* from Beethoven's "Moonlight sonata" in C Sharp Minor Op. 27 No. 2. The sonata is published one year after Novalis's *Hymns to the Night* (1800), reminding of the atmosphere of this poem. The *adagio* combines graceful melancholy with severe depression, the identity between Eros and Thanatos playing a prominent part. The *presto* is furious, reminding of the manic phase of bipolar disorder. Indeed, these are some of the most famous examples. Other instances of depression include Beethoven's "Funeral march" sonata, Grieg's *Aase's Death*, some of Chopin's *Nocturnes*. There are also innumerable samples of melancholy: Chopin's *Largo* from his third piano sonata, Schumann's *Träumerei*, Schubert's *Impromptus*, and in naming these I restrict myself only to the piano repertoire.

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[33] Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun. Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 5.

[34] Garbage, "Only Happy When It Rains", on the album *Garbage*, 1995.

[35] Emil Cioran, *Amurgul gîndurilor* [*Twilight of Thoughts*], (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1991), 151 (trans. mine).

[36] Baudelaire, "Spleen (IV)", in *The Flowers of Evil,* 149.

According to Cioran, "[t]here exists … a clinical depression, upon which certain remedies occasionally have an effect; but there exists another kind, a melancholy underlying our very outbursts of gaiety and accompanying us everywhere, without leaving us alone for a single moment. And there is nothing that can rid us of this lethal omnipresence: the self forever confronting itself.[37]" Coming back to the quote which I have used as a motto, I venture to say that in a world without melancholy and with depression only, nightingales do indeed belch after swallowing an overdose of Prozac.

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[37] E. M. Cioran, *Anathemas and Admirations,* trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Arcade, 2012), 110.

BOOK REVIEWS

Enciclopedia Imaginariilor din România [The Encyclopaedia of Romanian Imaginaries], vol I., *Imaginar literar* [Literary imaginary], ed. Corin Braga (Iași: Polirom, 2020)

The volume *Imaginarul literar* [Literary imaginary] is part of the *Enciclopedia Imaginariilor din România* [The Encyclopaedia of Romanian Imaginaries], an encyclopaedia that undoubtedly represents one of the most ambitious projects of multidisciplinary academic research undertaken in Romania in the past few years. Structured in five volumes, the encyclopaedia aims, overall, to analyse our *tangible and non-tangible cultural heritage* and, by investigating the great fields of spirituality: literature, language, history, religion and the arts, attempts to map and inventory the representative elements that make up the constellations of the *Romanian* imaginary. From a strictly formal viewpoint, the term *encyclopaedia* is fairly adequate since, in the good tradition of encyclopaedism, the work aspires to completeness, representativity and compositional coherence. These features thus confer a unitary nature to the five volumes with respect to their *genre*, and the assumption of the analysis perspective characteristic to the imaginary sphere also offers it a necessary, but solid conceptual articulation.

In the clarifying preface of the volume, Corin Braga explains the idea from which the entire project came into being; he enumerates the primary work principles, traces the methodological directions followed by the work collective and sketches the outline of the volume overview. Benefiting from the now classic studies in the field of the imaginary (Gilber Durand, Gaston Bachelard, Wunenberger, etc.), as well as from the more recent ones (Peter Turchi), the volume dedicated to the imaginary is not, as Corin Braga also insists, another type of Romanian literary history, but, by avoiding the danger of the repetitiveness and sterility of the historical research method, the work brings to light, for the first time in Romania at a systematic, academic level, the newest approaches and critical methods in the literary imaginary field. The group of twenty researchers, reunited in this volume, is compiled of the following: Eleonora Sava, Laura Lazăr, Lionel-Decebal Roșca, Adrian Tudurachi, Călin Teutișan, Ioana Bot, Sanda Cordoș, Corina Croitoru, Cosmin Borza, Ligia Tudurachi, Corin Braga, Ion Pop, Adriana Stan, Laura T. Ilea, Horea Poenar, Levente T. Szabó, Dana Bizuleanu, Mihaela Ursa, Alex Goldiș and Marius Conkan. The

analysed themes are configured around an *imaginary universe*, treated in its diachronic dimension, and they each represent a chapter, or an *entry* in the encyclopaedia of the Romanian imaginary. Thus, with a unitary conceptual vision, this volume introduces, in the analysis of the literary phenomena, extraliterary systems of reference (the field of the imaginary), thus permitting the identification, in the evolution of the Romanian literature, of certain dominant themes, or *sematic pools*, that represent the object of each research. Amassing into large architectonic structures that configure the Romanian literary imaginary, the studies present in this volume recompile the overview on Romanian literature, thus conferring it profoundness and depth. By using concepts such as *cultural and social imaginary*, *symbolic constellations* and *imaginary worlds*, the volume aims to trace the evolution and development of the main imaginary pools of Romanian literature and to describe them in their entirety. Surpassing the methodological restraints of literary history that circumscribe the historical evolution, the research of the imaginary is also located outside the eternal dichotomy: the descriptive history of literature versus the critical and subjective history.

As a result of the need for maintaining the conceptual unity of the research methods, all the studies contain a repositioning towards the historicity that is characteristic to literary history and to the evolution of the literary forms, but, at the same time, regarding the analysis of the constellations of images identified by the authors, the imposed research method also assumes the diachronic dimension that actually represents the main direction for navigating through the semantic pools formed around the terms under scrutiny. In the articles that compile the volume, all of the authors operate with the same research instruments and critical methods and, by investigating the *semantic pool* that is the Romanian literature in its entirety, they identified the basins of the tributary streams that flow into the great pool of the imaginary and that, at the same time, represent the *entries* of the encyclopaedia. These entries are as follows: the semantic pool of folklore, literature of religious inspiration, literature of historical inspiration, the classical and Enlightenment pool, the pool of literary Balkanism, the Romantic pool, the decadent pool, social literature (on the subject of the revolution), literature of rural inspiration, literature of urban inspiration, psychological literature, the literature of authenticity, the literature of the Avant-Guard, the literature of minorities, but also that of the exile, or the newest one of textualism and Postmodernism. In a word, all of these great themes, each with its specifics and stages of evolution, of growth and adaptation to the nature of the Romanian literary realities compile the map of the evolution of Romanian literature from its beginnings to the present day.

Each theme, or encyclopaedia entry, follows the same basic principle, namely the identification, in accordance with the diachronic dimension, of the literary works that, in time, allowed for the evolution of the *semantic pool* and offered the *theme* magnitude, enriching it with new meanings in relation with the

evolution of literature. This research endeavour adds a new dimension to the traditional literary history, that of depth and profoundness, conferring amplitude to the historical method of literary research and, implicitly, specificity, through the effect produced by the evolution of a theme, or the *imaginary* associated with a theme, to the successive generations of readers. If we were to graphically represent this method of analysis, we could imagine the technique of depicting real three-dimensional objects within a certain environment and, despite the somewhat non-canonical nature, the similarity of the means of the technical operation cannot be overlooked. Thus, if the traditional history of literature renders the successive evolution of the literary movements, bringing together events and works, without, however, being able to also depict the literary form of relief, the method of researching the semantic pools, by inserting a new, additional dimension of depth, manages to record the structure of our literary landscape, following the example of a three-dimensional map. Through the *volumetric* perspective, on such a map, the eye perceives an embossed image, since it can identify details regarding all three dimensions – the impression of wholeness is thus created. However, the encyclopaedia dedicated to the Romanian literary imaginary presents itself, as the reader traverses it, in the form of a *diaphragm* that, as opposed to the technique of rendering a flat image in three dimensions, has the attribute that, as the viewer moves, the 3D image also changes in his mind, just as when we view a real object: new details appear on one section of the image, while on the other, they are lost behind the new ones. The impression of a diaphragm is, however, shown only if the reader takes in the entire volume, encountering, from one entry to the next, new details of the Romanian literature landscape. This depiction technique is also important from another viewpoint. Only thus can the enrichment and the concrete growth of literature can be observed, not only depending on its historical development, but also through analysis, within the entire semantic pool of the great ideas that fuelled its evolution, can the complex literary landscape be reconstructed, a landscape that is, in fact, impossible to render in its entirety.

Therefore, by combining the newest acquisitions in the sphere of the current literary research with the perspectives that today's thought on the imaginary revealed to the researchers, the volume dedicated to the literary imaginary fulfils, in our opinion, three main functions. First of all, it has a normative function, by conferring a systemic theoretical legitimacy nature to the analysis principle adopted individually until now, in disparate studies. Second of all, this new type of encyclopaedia implicitly fulfils a poetic function, by asserting itself both through the adopted critical perspective and through the expression and form, like a sensible, notable modification of the current critical consciousness that can no longer be ignored. An essential note, characteristic to the new thought paradigm, is the recognition of the fact that, far from being homogenous and stable, the constituent images from a certain semantic pool suffer, in time, semantic reshaping and

reconfigurations due to the often-sinuous motions of the main pool, or of the tributary streams, that determine, in some cases even independent from the tendency of the main stream, its trajectory. As long as the idea of the Romanian literature understood as an immense semantic pool surpasses the inevitably limitative nature of literary history, the entire process of reconstructing the literary landscape and of recovering its imaginary in the ensemble of culture will be carried on further and, through the connections with the other imaginaries (linguistic, historical, religious and artistic) it will offer a unitary encyclopaedic view on the Romanian imaginary universe. From this viewpoint, the entire project of the encyclopaedia of the imaginaries represents a work of major importance to our culture today.

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ȘTEFAN BOLEA, *Internal Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Literature. Reading the Jungian Shadow* (Lexington Books, 2020)

Ștefan Bolea (born in 1980), PhD in Philosophy and PhD in Comparative Literature, is a member of The Writers' Union of Romania, a multiple award-winning author, an anthologist and a translator. His activity covers various literary fields: poetry, prose, essays, criticism and literary history. For the English-speaking world, he published his papers in *Philosophy Now* (the prestigious Anglo-American journal) and in various Romanian scholarly journals of international circulation. In Romania, he is often seen as a "pioneer", due to his original and multidisciplinary research area – a "philosopher of culture", studying both high culture and popular/mass culture, fine art and pop art (encompassing literary fiction, music, cinematography, painting and so on). He is an expert on various art movements (Symbolism, Aestheticism, Decadentism, Surrealism, Expressionism, Postmodernism – and Romanticism, as we are about to see) and philosophical movements (Nihilism, Existentialism), discussed in several volumes (e.g., *Ontology of Negation*, 2004; *Introduction to Nietzschean Nihilism*, 2012; *Existentialism Today*, 2012, 2019; critical editions of works written by forgotten or neglected Symbolist poets, 2014-2017; *Theoria*, 2015).

Through *Internal Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Literature. Reading the Jungian Shadow*, Șt. Bolea introduces in his cultural equation a new, though not entirely unexpected, quintessential element: his previous works included psychological analysis, but to a lesser degree. Making this bold "chess move" (supported by an extensive bibliography and extensive research) and placing psychology (as an object of his studies) on the same level with philosophy and art, his ambitious "Philosophy of Culture" project morphs into "Philosophy and Psychology of Culture", a concept of even wider, enriched complexity.

The author's approach aims to prove that literature (in this particular case, Romantic and Postromantic literature) and related art forms (from H. Fuseli's famous *Nightmare* painting to Expressionist and even Postmodern cinematography) do not merely reflect philosophical movements and psychological theories: to a certain extent, fiction anticipates, shapes or inspires such movements and theories. Thus, Șt. Bolea brings to light an idea seemingly overlooked by literary critics: **the anticipation and the educated prediction are to be found not only in the literary works belonging to (hard) science fiction (often one step ahead of real-life science!), but also in the allegories and metaphors of any other fiction genre**.

To substantiate the above-mentioned demonstration, the Romanian philosopher "dissects" the key concept created by C.G. Jung (founder of analytical psychology): "the shadow" (and the Freudian counterpart of the "shadow" – "the personal unconscious"). Of course, the related concepts are not neglected, allowing

us to glimpse and (to begin) to understand the complexity of the subject matter (for example, "the persona" is explained in *Chapter 1*, "the double" and "the demonic/daimonic" being explained in *Chapter 2*). The resulting conclusions are then projected on seven literary masterpieces (given the multidisciplinary approach, the symbolic number could be a reference to the seven classical liberal arts), belonging to Romanticism or Postromanticism and interpreted with the generous support of Nihilistic and Existentialist philosophy.

Another very interesting idea emerging from *Internal Conflict ...* reflects **the many avatars (or faces, or shapes...) of "the shadow"**. **According to Romantic literature, our "dark alter ego" acquires, under certain peculiar circumstances, an (apparent) "physical form".** This "literary shadows" turn out to be: a sinful stepbrother fallen under the spell of a powerful, demonic potion (E.T.A. Hoffmann, *The Devil's Elixirs*), a man-made creature abandoned and doomed to eternal, maddening solitude (M. Shelley, *Frankenstein*), an embodied conscience (E.A. Poe, *William Wilson*), a destructive dissociated personality born in the protagonist's paranoid mind (F.M. Dostoevsky, *The Double*), the inherent human evil overcoming the weak human nature (R.L. Stevenson, *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*), an alien parasite controlling the body and the mind of its human host (G. de Maupassant, *Horla*) or a grotesque portrait mirroring the soul, not the body (O. Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*). All these various "shadows" represent repressed personalities and reveal (as the author points out) the philosophical speculation and the psychological analysis brought together and strengthen by literary allegory.

The importance of Şt. Bolea's exploratory analysis does not lie, however, "only" in interpreting Romantic fiction and revealing its foreshadowing power, its influences and its legacy, related and compared to other art forms, philosophical movements or psychological theories. **The author also coins original philosophical and psychological notions**, which, we believe, are not to remain unnoticed.

One such remarkable example is "**the shadow of the shadow**" (see *Chapter 5*): if our "shadow" possesses some "Luciferian depth and height" ("the golden aspect of the shadow" – the Jungian potential "light"; or the theological "Paradise Lost" mark – alluding to the previous grandeur), "the shadow of the shadow is completely deprived of nobility, and rectitude, having a somewhat animalic quality" (p. 71). Introducing "the shadow of the shadow", Şt. Bolea replaces the duality of human nature (reflecting the spiritual struggle between Good and Evil) with human nature's trinity: deep inside ourselves, we carry not only the germs of the Biblical Fall (mythological and theological references are not avoided in *Internal Conflict ...*), but those of the absolute Ruin (the Nietzschean Abyss), too. Man is, at the same time, the potential source of the Not-man (a term coined by E. Cioran, meaning "post-man", something "entirely different", a "stranger to Humanity"), through his "shadow," and of the Subman, through the "shadow of his shadow." This new paradigm nuances, even challenges the Nietzschean Superman doctrine: Man cannot

become more than Man (Superman), but can become something else (Not-man). All our "becoming" possibilities are to be found in our "shadows", "the shadows of our shadows" offering none. Considering his nihilistic and existentialist roots, the Romanian philosopher reaffirms here (as we see) his confidence in the regenerative power of the "decreation" process.

Also relevant is, for the targeted fields of knowledge (philosophy and psychology), the revealing of an "authentic **philosophy of the mask**" (found in F.M. Dostoevsky's *The Double* – see *Chapter 6*), followed by Şt. Bolea's own explanations and considerations regarding the "personology". The "mask" (or the "persona", a concept rooted in A. Schopenhauer's writings – see p. 14) is invested with special (positive) "powers", becoming a necessary counterweight to a dangerous, unleashed "shadow": "life is either a 'carnival' (where persona, the interface between individual and society, is the sole ruler ...), or an 'inferno' (where the shadow, the not-I and the inner split are the only masters)" – p. 77.

A third term standing out here is the "**pre-shadow**" (*Chapter 9*): "a version of the shadow is encrypted in the spiritual code before the archetypal shadow (Sauron's eye) exerts its influence" (p. 117). The apprentice-master relationship is thoroughly explored and the thesis of the "innocent victim" is firmly rejected: you cannot fall under the "spell" of a "shadowy mentor", unless your true, hidden nature mirrors your "master-to-be".

Reading *Chapter 10* (*The Shadow in Philosophy*), we have the opportunity to find in C.G. Jung's writings the very beginnings of ... Şt. Bolea's "philosophy and psychology of Romantic fiction": "I was held back by a secret fear that I might perhaps be like him, at least in regard to the 'secret' which had isolated him from his environment . . . *Thus Spake Zarathustra* . . . like Goethe's *Faust*, was a tremendous experience for me". But for C.G. Jung, acknowledging his personal connection with Nihilism and "Sturm und Drang" (proto-Romantic) literature was merely (co)incidental: although the Swiss psychiatrist seems to have been seriously interested in this idea (see also the quote: "[T]he self often appears as supraordinate or ideal personality, having somewhat the relationship of Faust to Goethe or Zarathustra to Nietzsche" – p. 8), he did not extend it beyond the above reference and did not use these thoughts to begin an interdisciplinary study: "In addition, Jung's interpreters have highlighted some shortcomings of the seminar. One of them notes that Jungian analysis is purely psychological" (p. 125).

In the same chapter, the following daring statement captures our attention: Fr. Nietzsche "practically creat[ed] psychoanalysis," being "among the first to speak of repression, resistance, unconscious, shadow, anima, self" (p. 126). **Psychoanalysis is, therefore, nothing less than philosophy's legitimate offspring.**

And, finally, in *Coda*, the author points out, among other things, the very essence of his guiding idea: "**between philosophy** [**and psychology** – n.n., O.C.] **and literature there are only distinctions of method, and not of substance**" (p. 145).

We could list here other merits of *Internal Conflict* ..., but it is not our intention to spoil the reading; we have already revealed enough to outline the originality, the complexity and the value of this authentic investigative and interpretative work. However, **we cannot conclude without noticing the bridge built by the Romanian author to two new related disciplines, maybe a future addition to his area of research: criminology and the sociology of deviance**. In fact, these (inter)disciplines gain in *Internal Conflict ...* the same secondary role previously assign to psychology; this could be, therefore, the beginning of interesting future developments. After all, the selected seven Romantic "shadows" are indisputably haunted by antisocial and criminal (even homicidal) urges and impulses, every and each one of them thoroughly analyzed and diagnosed. The incorrect, improper or superficial management of the "shadow" may unleash a monster far more terrible than Frankenstein's: C. Lombroso's "The Criminal Man". This is precisely the warning of Romantic literature, highlighted through philosophical and psychological means.

Can we extract from here, therefore, a criminological theory foreshadowed by dark Romanticism's doppelgängers and by Fr. Nietzsche/C.G. Jung's "shadow"? Philosophy being "the art of questioning" and *Internal Conflict...* being, more than anything else, a philosophical work, this is, we believe, one important question we are entitled to ask ourselves.

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FLORINA ILIS, *Introducere în istoria literaturii japoneze de la începuturi până în epoca modernă* [Introduction to the history of Japanese literature from its beginning to the modern age]
(Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2020)

The volume *Introducere în istoria literaturii japoneze de la începuturi până în epoca modernă* [Introduction to the history of Japanese literature from its beginning to the modern age] is an exploration of the history of Japanese literature that successfully combines, in an original manner, the traditional chronological view of literary evolution, with a hermeneutic approach based on closed reading that is meant to illustrate certain aesthetic concepts.

Structured in four chapters, which cover the Nara Period (710-794), the Heian Period (794-1185), the Medieval Period (1185-1573), and the Edo Period (1600-1868), the volume opens with the preface *Condiții specifice de evoluție a literaturii japoneze* [Specific conditions for the evolution of Japanese literature]. Here, the author provides an overview of the Japanese literary history, criticism and theory, and delineates her territory of applied research, which is comprised of the literary works that *claim* to depict the world and succesively become reference models for new texts. Florina Ilis proceeds by listing some of the defining features of Japanese literature: an inclination towards *writing practices*, rather than towards the systematic accounts of literary theory, the extraordinary aesthetic *maturity* and the acute *awareness* of its value, the commitment to poetic conventions and the maintenance of formal genre characteristics (*waka, haiku, nō, kabuki, bunraku* etc.). These features enable the author to set the interpretive frames within which she approaches all the literary texts chosen as representative for each period. However, well aware of the fact that literature is also an art of the language, the author fruitfully combines the aforementioned aesthetic analysis of literary works with a text-centred perspective, focused on linguistic, stylistic and rhetorical registers. These two coordinates that frame the readings are constantly backed by a historical perspective that remains essential in order to understand every epoch in itself. Florina Ilis thus manages to make an extremely interesting foray into the first millennium of one of world's oldest literatures.

Chapter I (*Epoca Nara și începuturile literaturii japoneze* [The Nara Period and the beginnings of the Japanese literature]) opens, like all the following chapters, with a historical breviary, aiming to explain the emergence of the main works of the classical tradition, between 710-794: the *Kojiki* (711-712) and *Nihon Shoki* (720) chronicles, and the *Man'yōshū* (759) poetry anthology. By emphasising the means through which the aforementioned chronicles make the transition from the country's mythological age, characterised by oral culture, to the historical or written age of the Japanese culture (pages 22-27), the author focuses on *Colecția celor zece*

mii de file [The Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves], as one would translate the title of the first poetry anthology in the Japanese literature, in order to argue, by examining the ages of the collection (629-672, 672-710, 710-733, 733-759), an outline of "an evolved consciousness of the idea of the perpetuation of poetry,[1]" in parallel with the phenomenon of the poets' quasi-*deification*.

Chapter II (*Perioada Heian și apogeul culturii aristocratice* [The Heian Period and the climax of the aristocratic culture]) analyzes the Japanese aristocratic period (794-1185), during which the capital city had been moved from Nara to Heian (Kyoto), and "literature flourished in almost all genres known at the time,[2]" namely poetry (waka) in *Kokinshū* (*The Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*, 905), the novel (*monogatari*) in *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, 1008), by Murasaki Shikibu, and the journal (*nikki*), in *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, 1002), signed by Sei Shōnagon. A writer herself, Florina Ilis praises the novel *The Tale of Genji* as a parallel chronicle that opens different types of meditations, be they literary, psychological, political or religious, and provides her own, literary-enhanced interpretation, with plenty of convincing arguments. This proposed rereading once again rediscovers the novel as an unmatched masterpiece of world literature.

When Murasaki Shikibu picked up the paintbrush in order to write *The Tale of Genji*, local literature was witnessing an effervescence of writing in vernacular language, at the heart of an aristocratic court that valued the official recognition of the culture of the Chinese language and of Japanese poetry, and within which a prominent role was played by the ladies of the imperial court, or from "the palace beyond the clouds". However, the *path* of letters cherished poetry at the time, at the expense of the novel genre. The novel (*monogatari*) was then regarded as a marginal literary genre, and was sometimes criticised for its frivolity and association with the fictional lie. It was seen as a form of entertainment and a pastime, that was meant to fill the moments of boredom and idleness. As part of the entourage of the empresses and of high aristocrats, the ladies in waiting, including Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon, formed female social "salons" with brilliant women that displayed vast knowledge of poetry and the arts. Therefore, *Genji monogatari* not only narrates the tale of Genji, the devilishly handsome imperial prince, gifted with special artistic talents, within an aristocratic environment filled with political and amorous intrigues, but also provides a compendium of *waka* or *yamato-uta* poems (lit. 'Japanese song'), whose social and ceremonial functions add to the theoretical-literary debate pertaining to the concept of "novel". *The Tale of Genji* was met with

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[1] Florina Ilis, *Introducere în istoria literaturii japoneze de la începuturi până în epoca modernă* [Introduction to the history of Japanese literature from its beginning to the modern age] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2020), 29. Original text: "unei conștiințe evoluate a ideii de eternizare a poeziei."

[2] Ibid., 51. Original text: "înfloritoarea literatură care a culminat în aproape toate genurile literare cunoscute atunci."

wide acclaim from its first publication, and remained undisputedly successful, as proven by its numerous copies. If the novel was initially written for the aristocratic and the poetry-trained public, at least until the printed version from the 17th century, several fragments of the book were later popularised through the *nō* theatre, or through other popular genres that were connected to music and dance. Moreover, during the 18th century, the revival of national studies determined Motoori Norigana to read *The Tale of Genji* as a unique testimony to the Japanese sensibility defined by the concept of *mono no aware* (the beauty of simple and ephemeral things).

Chapter III (*Epoca medievală și apogeul culturii războinicilor* [The medieval period and the climax of the culture of warriors]), after an introduction to the Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi (1336-1573) periods which summarizes the conflict for power between the Minamoto and Taira (Heike) families, discusses the main literary works of the period: the heroic epos *Heike monogatari*, a collection of war stories whose authors remained anonymous, and the anthology of the one hundred poems, written by one hundred poets, entitled *Ogura Hyakunin isshu*, edited by Fujiwara no Teika. Although rather tumultuous from a military point of view, the respective epoch also witnessed a cultural rebirth, which the author explores in the subchapters dedicated to the dramatic arts and the *renga* poem (*the linked verse*). The fascinating portrait of the *nō* universe is outlined by carefully selected information about the history and the evolution of the *nō* theatre, the preparation of performances and roles, and the remarkable contribution of theoretician and actor Zeami, who was considered the spiritual patron of the *nō* art, and whose troop was instrumental in the development of this theatrical form. With great attention to detail, Florina Ilis completes the image of the dramatic arts of the period in the following chapter, by focusing on the *kyōgen* comedy. The author points out that *nō* drama "cannot be conceived, as a performance, in the absence of the *kyōgen* plays," since the two forms of theatre complete each other "with respect to both the aesthetic purpose and the means of creating and obtaining the artistic effect.[3]" However, the innovative literary landscape of the age also counted the emergence of the *renga* poem, a poetic genre that encouraged "social interactions by jointly practicing the stimulative activity of poetic creation,[4]" a cultural gesture that marked the warrior elite's (*shōgun* and *samurai*) attempt at cultural "legitimacy" in relation with the Imperial Court, from which it had already taken the prerogatives of political and military power.

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[3] Ibid., 170. Original text: "atât în privința scopului estetic, cât și în ceea ce privește modul de realizare și obținere a efectului artistic."

[4] Ibid., 142. Original text: "interacțiunile sociale prin practicarea în comun a activității stimulative a creației poetice."

Chapter IV (*Perioada Edo și apogeul culturii orășenilor* [The Edo Period and the climax of urban culture]) presents the Edo Period (1600-1867) and its main characteristics. The development of the great urban centres, that emphasise "the desire to enjoy the pleasures of life,[5]" favoured the extraordinary momentum of the fine arts, the Genroku culture being considered "an artistic peak" that influenced literature, arts and theatre at the threshold between the 17th-18th centuries. In this context, three representative names stand out: Chikamatsu Monzaemon in theatre, Matsuo Bashō in poetry, and Ihara Saikaku in prose, whom Florina Ilis analyzes in turn.

The course of Japanese literary history from the first millennium of its existence is rounded off by a glossary of terms, a welcome contribution that is meant to familiarise beginners with the defining concepts of the Japanese literary history and aesthetics.

By exploiting a vast bibliography in the field, through an intro- and prospective overview of the evolution of Japanese literature, placed in detailed historical and social contexts, whose related information is readdressed throughout the chapters, the volume *Introducere în istoria literaturii japoneze de la începuturi până în epoca modernă* [Introduction to the history of Japanese literature from its beginning to the modern age] is a wonderful reading gift. As a unique contribution to the field, although the study aims, first and foremost, to be a university course addressed to the students of the *Japanese Language and Literature* major, this book can, at any point become, due to Florina Ilis's remarkable art of writing, an essential bibliographical source to all those interested in literature in general and in Japanese literature in particular, since it is also fairly easy to read for a larger, unspecialised audience.

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[5] Ibid., 179. Original text: "dorința de a se bucura de plăcerile vieții."

MARY AIKEN, *The Cyber Effect. Psihologia comportamentului uman în mediul online* [*The Cyber Effect: A Pioneering Cyberpsychologist Explains How Human Behaviour Changes Online*] (Bucharest: Niculescu, 2019)

Dr. Mary Aiken, the author of *The Cyber Effect: A Pioneering Cyberpsychologist Explains How Human Behaviour Changes Online* (2016) is backed by an academic and professional portfolio that credits such an exceptional work. Her book was chosen as the book of the year by *Times* magazine and it was reviewed in the *Nature* magazine. The almost 400 pages are organised into nine chapters preceded by an *Introduction*. The cover bears several remarkable opinions on the book, as well as certain accomplishments from the author's career – as all American books are usually "packaged."

Mary Aiken characterises the online environment as: *intoxicating, sensational* and *captivating*, offering an *absolute freedom*, which can *corrupt absolutely*. When we are on our phones, we are somewhere else, in a different environment, one that is real and distinctive, in which time is distorted and our instincts, which had been perfected for real life, fail. Technology is neutral, it mediates the behaviour just as any other technological product, but its use can also be abusive. The author emphasises the ethical boundaries of science, by using the dexterity of the word through abundant studies in the adverbs of protection. Many researches are difficult or impossible to carry out in longitudinal studies. Therefore, until the actual impact of technology throughout one's life is clear, the author relies on and recommends logic, common sense and rational arguments, insisting that *common sense is what accompanies good science*.

In the first chapter, *The normalization of a fetish*, Mary Aiken likens the behavioural influence and shaping inflicted by technology on the human behaviour to that inflicted by alcohol. People are under the illusion that the cybernetic space is safer than reality and they are more tempted by adventure. Just like alcohol, the online space makes people feel: liberated, encouraged to be direct, disinhibited, more impulsive and their judgement is thus impaired. The effect of the online disinhibition is that, in the virtual space, common sense, restraint and the rational attitude crumbles. Through the online escalation, the tendencies and vulnerabilities that produce difficulties in real life become more aggressive. The cyberspace is the field in which the antisocial and psychopathological behavioural mutations from real life reproduce.

Further on, in Chapter 2, entitled *Designed to addict*, the author explains the multiple cybernetic effects, sharply pointing at the slavery of the impulses that keep us within the Wi-fi networks. Mary Aiken mentions that people are not addicted to their phones, which had previously been hyper-orthodoxly described as *elegant little devils that snuck into our pockets*, but rather to technology. The

exploitation of impulsivity, of failure as entertainment, as well as the instinct to seek, as a form of existence, maintain the man-machine addictive relationship. Technology offers the illusion of control while undermining it.

Harlow's conclusions regarding the experimental preferences of the young at the expense of nourishment, argue for Aiken's concern regarding the necessity of certain messages of public interest transmitted to the parent's gadgets: *You must spend time with your child*! The way in which technology interferes with childcare, according to Aiken, could generate an *evolutionary syncope*. The author insists on the need to be aware of the importance of spending real time with the child, and of the fact that no device could ever replace the experience of life: caressing, speaking, eye contact, laughter or holding hands, reading and discussing. The fact that there is an ADHD epidemic is caused by the contrast between the strict school system and the rest of the digitalised and highly stimulating world.

The digital monster that today plays with the child is compared to Mary Shelly's character, Frankenstein's Monster – which has become the didactic material for explaining the dangers of losing parental control on one's own child. The digital revolution brings a somewhat new field in which the child grows up, one with very dangerous vicinities. Parents are recommended to be very vigilant when faced with a situation that could become a public health crisis, because of the excessive use and because of the pornographic contents that circulates online. The author is intrigued by the fact that we have reached a point in which we need studies to show that pornography is disruptive for 8-12-year-old children and she names it *a horrible situation, from a moral viewpoint,* in our society.

Under a suggestive subtitle, *Teenagers, monkeys, and mirrors*, the author poses the selfie issue. She analyses the cruelty, as well as the bluster, the desire to be appreciated, acknowledged, the ironic statements to the world – all of which usually emerge from the selfie. The author emphasises the fact that we have a true, human self, which must be cared for, not just a virtual, hyper-celebrated online self. The risks posed by the selfies are analysed at the level of the psychology of one's personality, for which she cites Zimbardo, who states that *the virtual self gradually becomes less and less similar to its real operator*. The issue of the rich pornographic content present online made sexting a cybernetic normality and a trend; the natural sexual curiosity of all time, expressed privately, behind different veils, now has an unlimited distribution, thus, at the same time, becoming the object of bullying and blackmail.

The analysis of the inline romantic relationships represents a different chapter. It shows the way in which the obstacle of separation, of distance (via the internet) generates romance, similarly to all the classical love stories. The online communication is made as a syndrome, that of *the stranger on a train*, to whom one can tell an entire life story in one breath. The problem is that the impostors and criminals lurk online, from profiles different from the real person behind it, on the

level of which the dark personality tetrahedron often lies: narcissism, psychopathy, sadism and Machiavellianism. Unfortunately, people tend to base their judgements on first impressions, following a gestalt principle of continuity that makes them ignore the *dark holes* of the whole. The number of rapes connected to online meetings increased sixfold. Cybernetic infidelity is explained through the experience of military psychology, in which it is easier to kill from a distance, while the cybernetic celibacy became a fad, since technology, just as alcohol, offers complete confidence, comfort, emotional consolation and relaxation.

The author does not overlook another widespread cybernetic effect: the cybernetic hypochondria, the health concerns inflamed by the information received from Dr. Google. The number of unnecessary medical check-ups substantially increased as a result of the cybernetic effect. Characters such as Hungry Joe from Joseph Heller's novel, *Catch 22*, or Munchausen are exemplary for hypochondria (after DSM) and for cyberchondria, a disorder estimated to afflict 4-9% of the population, enhanced by the web and thus generating difficult patients. Medicine now has a clear research subject for Iatrogenesis: the internet, multiplied into infinite healers that produce diseases of the *third cause of death* type.

As an expert in criminal psychology, Mary Aiken explains what hides in the depths, throughout an entire chapter dedicated to Cybernetic piracy. The deep web is compared to a deep, uncharted sea, much like the Caribbean, inhabited by pirates who use hideouts and grottos and who market stolen goods. Everything takes place in accordance with simple and few rules, which is why it bears the name of organised crime. The cybernetic criminals are described as antisocial figures of moral failure, whom people somehow still trust, based on a natural impulse. Hacking is explained by Aiken from three viewpoints: humanist – as love and revenge; behaviourist – as reward and profit, and psychoanalyst – as the desire to penetrate. The depths of the web represent the biggest threat to global safety through social engineering attacks: criminality as a form of employment, crypto-markets, cybernetic criminal networks and omnipresent victimology, since the weakest link in the secured system is: man!

By analysing *The cyber frontier*, the volume ends in a transdisciplinary approach: we are encouraged to think more, to discuss and to live in reality. Aiken understands the architecture of the internet as a Wild West crossed by a high-speed highway, which had initially been created as a mountain footpath. Suggestively, the author ends by having a discussion with her own gadget about… God. The app responds: yes, I am God!

The Cyber Effect can be read as a scholarly treaty, as a university course on cybernetic psychology, but also as a reflexive work containing a variety of confessions and examples taken from the author's own experiences and from her daily life, together with examples taken from the mass-media, movies, books or the studies that structure her knowledge into a unique, fascinating, critical, harsh,

incisive approach of the situations in which the scholar sees that the line of common sense has been crossed. As a film crew specialist who has the expertise on the course of the events, on the scene of life, the author, outraged, draws our attention to the lack of a firm reaction to the imminent dangers that not only will occur, but that are already underway. Mary Aiken takes a clear stance on the dilemmas of ecologist ethics claimed by the political correctness, giving primacy to the human being, to humanity, to life and the anthropological innateness, all of which are now more than ever threatened by the cybernetic effect, as part of the evolution of humanity. Her first-rate expertise, her experience, culture and humanism in writing, make The Cyber Effect an extremely interesting work that is extremely topical, easy to read and that must be discussed, disseminated and acknowledged, as a reference point for human rights and psychology in the cybernetic era.

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