New Europe College Yearbook 2013-2014

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DOMINIC NEGRICI
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NEW EUROPE FOUNDATION
NEW EUROPE COLLEGE

Institute for Advanced Study

New Europe College (NEC) is an independent Romanian institute for advanced study in the humanities and social sciences founded in 1994 by Professor Andrei Pleșu (philosopher, art historian, writer, Romanian Minister of Culture, 1990–1991, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1997-1999) within the framework of the *New Europe Foundation*, established in 1994 as a private foundation subject to Romanian law.

Its impetus was the *New Europe Prize for Higher Education and Research*, awarded in 1993 to Professor Pleșu by a group of six institutes for advanced study (the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Humanities and Social Sciences, Wassenaar, the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences, Uppsala, and the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin).

Since 1994, the NEC community of fellows and *alumni* has enlarged to over 500 members. In 1998 New Europe College was awarded the prestigious *Hannah Arendt Prize* for its achievements in setting new standards in research and higher education. New Europe College is officially recognized by the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research as an institutional structure for postgraduate studies in the humanities and social sciences, at the level of advanced studies.

Focused primarily on individual research at an advanced level, NEC offers to young Romanian scholars and academics in the fields of humanities and social sciences, and to the foreign scholars invited as fellows appropriate working conditions, and provides an institutional framework with strong

international links, acting as a stimulating environment for interdisciplinary dialogue and critical debates. The academic programs NEC coordinates, and the events it organizes aim at strengthening research in the humanities and social sciences and at promoting contacts between Romanian scholars and their peers worldwide.

Academic programs currently organized and coordinated by NEC:

- ***NEC Fellowships (since 1994)***
  Each year, up to ten NEC Fellowships open both to Romanian and international outstanding young scholars in the humanities and social sciences are publicly announced. The Fellows are chosen by the NEC international Academic Advisory Board for the duration of one academic year, or one term. They gather for weekly seminars to discuss the progress of their research, and participate in all the scientific events organized by NEC. The Fellows receive a monthly stipend, and are given the opportunity of a research trip abroad, at a university or research institute of their choice. At the end of their stay, the Fellows submit papers representing the results of their research, to be published in the New Europe College Yearbooks.

- ***Ştefan Odobleja Fellowships (since October 2008)***
  The fellowships given in this program are supported by the National Council of Scientific Research, and are meant to complement and enlarge the core fellowship program. The definition of these fellowships, targeting young Romanian researchers, is identical with those in the NEC Program, in which the Odobleja Fellowships are integrated.

- ***The Black Sea Link Fellowships Program (since October 2010)***
  This program, sponsored by the VolkswagenStiftung, invites young researchers from Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as from other countries within the Black Sea region, for a stay of one or two terms at the New Europe College, during which they

have the opportunity to work on projects of their choice. The program welcomes a wide variety of disciplines in the fields of humanities and social sciences. Besides hosting a number of Fellows, the College organizes within this program workshops and symposia on topics relevant to the history, present, and prospects of the Black Sea region.

- ***The Europe next to Europe (EntE) Fellowships Program (starting October 2013)***

  This program, sponsored by the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (Sweden), invites young researchers from European countries that are not yet members of the European Union, targeting in particular the Western Balkans (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia), Turkey, Cyprus, for a stay of one or two terms at the New Europe College, during which they will have the opportunity to work on projects of their choice.

Other fellowship programs organized since the founding of New Europe College:

- ***RELINK Fellowships (1996–2002)***

  The RELINK Program targeted highly qualified young Romanian scholars returning from studies or research stays abroad. Ten RELINK Fellows were selected each year through an open competition; in order to facilitate their reintegration in the local scholarly milieu and to improve their working conditions, a support lasting three years was offered, consisting of: funds for acquiring scholarly literature, an annual allowance enabling the recipients to make a one–month research trip to a foreign institute of their choice in order to sustain existing scholarly contacts and forge new ones, and the use of a laptop computer and printer. Besides their individual research projects, the RELINK fellows of the last series were also required to organize outreach actives involving their universities, for which they received a monthly stipend. NEC published several volumes comprising individual or group research works of the RELINK Fellows.

- ***The NEC–LINK Program (2003 - 2009)***
  Drawing on the experience of its NEC and RELINK Programs in connecting with the Romanian academic milieu, NEC initiated in 2003, with support from HESP, a program that aimed to contribute more consistently to the advancement of higher education in major Romanian academic centers (Bucharest, Cluj–Napoca, Iași, Timișoara). Teams consisting of two academics from different universities in Romania, assisted by a PhD student, offered joint courses for the duration of one semester in a discipline within the fields of humanities and social sciences. The program supported innovative courses, conceived so as to meet the needs of the host universities. The grantees participating in the Program received monthly stipends, a substantial support for ordering literature relevant to their courses, as well as funding for inviting guest lecturers from abroad and for organizing local scientific events.

- ***The GE–NEC I and II Programs (2000 – 2004, and 2004 – 2007)***
  New Europe College organized and coordinated two cycles in a program financially supported by the Getty Foundation. Its aim was to strengthen research and education in fields related to visual culture, by inviting leading specialists from all over the world to give lectures and hold seminars for the benefit of Romanian undergraduate and graduate students, young academics and researchers. This program also included 10–month fellowships for Romanian scholars, chosen through the same selection procedures as the NEC Fellows (see above). The GE–NEC Fellows were fully integrated in the life of the College, received a monthly stipend, and were given the opportunity of spending one month abroad on a research trip. At the end of the academic year the Fellows submitted papers representing the results of their research, to be published in the GE–NEC Yearbooks series.

- ***NEC Regional Fellowships (2001 - 2006)***
  In 2001 New Europe College introduced a regional dimension to its programs (hitherto dedicated solely to Romanian scholars), by offering fellowships to academics and researchers from South–Eastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Republic of Moldova,

Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, and Turkey). This program aimed at integrating into the international academic network scholars from a region whose scientific resources are as yet insufficiently known, and to stimulate and strengthen the intellectual dialogue at a regional level. Regional Fellows received a monthly stipend and were given the opportunity of a one–month research trip abroad. At the end of the grant period, the Fellows were expected to submit papers representing the results of their research, published in the NEC Regional Program Yearbooks series.

- ***The Britannia–NEC Fellowship (2004 - 2007)***
  This fellowship (1 opening per academic year) was offered by a private anonymous donor from the U.K. It was in all respects identical to a NEC Fellowship. The contributions of Fellows in this program were included in the NEC Yearbooks.

- ***The Petre Ţuţea Fellowships (2006 – 2008, 2009 - 2010)***
  In 2006 NEC was offered the opportunity of opening a fellowships program financed the Romanian Government though its Department for Relations with the Romanians Living Abroad. Fellowships are granted to researchers of Romanian descent based abroad, as well as to Romanian researchers, to work on projects that address the cultural heritage of the Romanian *diaspora*. Fellows in this program are fully integrated in the College's community. At the end of the year they submit papers representing the results of their research, to be published in the bilingual series of the *Petre Ţuţea* Program publications.

- ***Europa Fellowships (2006 - 2010)***
  This fellowship program, financed by the VolkswagenStiftung, proposes to respond, at a different level, to some of the concerns that had inspired our *Regional Program*. Under the general title *Traditions of the New Europe. A Prehistory of European Integration in South-Eastern Europe*, Fellows work on case studies that attempt to recapture the earlier history of the European integration, as it has been taking shape over the centuries in South–Eastern Europe, thus offering the communitarian Europe some valuable vestiges of its less known past.

- ***Robert Bosch Fellowships (2007 - 2009)***
  This fellowship program, funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation, supported young scholars and academics from Western Balkan countries, offering them the opportunity to spend a term at the New Europe College and devote to their research work. Fellows in this program received a monthly stipend, and funds for a one-month study trip to a university/research center in Germany.

- ***The GE-NEC III Fellowships Program (2009 - 2013)***
  This program, supported by the Getty Foundation, started in 2009. It proposed a research on, and a reassessment of Romanian art during the interval 1945 – 2000, that is, since the onset of the Communist regime in Romania up to recent times, through contributions coming from young scholars attached to the New Europe College as Fellows. As in the previous programs supported by the Getty Foundation at the NEC, this program also included a number of invited guest lecturers, whose presence was meant to ensure a comparative dimension, and to strengthen the methodological underpinnings of the research conducted by the Fellows.

New Europe College has been hosting over the years an ongoing series of lectures given by prominent foreign and Romanian scholars, for the benefit of academics, researchers and students, as well as a wider public. The College also organizes international and national events (seminars, workshops, colloquia, symposia, book launches, etc.).

An important component of NEC is its library, consisting of reference works, books and periodicals in the humanities, social and economic sciences. The library holds, in addition, several thousands of books and documents resulting from private donations. It is first and foremost destined to service the fellows, but it is also open to students, academics and researchers from Bucharest and from outside it.

***

Beside the above–described programs, New Europe Foundation and the College expanded their activities over the last years by administering, or by being involved in the following major projects:

In the past:

- ***The Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Religious Studies towards the EU Integration (2001–2005)***
  Funding from the Austrian Ludwig Boltzmann Gesellschaft enabled us to select during this interval a number of associate researchers, whose work focused on the sensitive issue of religion related problems in the Balkans, approached from the viewpoint of the EU integration. Through its activities the institute fostered the dialogue between distinct religious cultures (Christianity, Islam, Judaism), and between different confessions within the same religion, attempting to investigate the sources of antagonisms and to work towards a common ground of tolerance and cooperation. The institute hosted international scholarly events, issued a number of publications, and enlarged its library with publications meant to facilitate informed and up-to-date approaches in this field.

- ***The Septuagint Translation Project (2002 - 2011)***
  This project aims at achieving a scientifically reliable translation of the Septuagint into Romanian by a group of very gifted, mostly young, Romanian scholars, attached to the NEC. The financial support is granted by the Romanian foundation *Anonimul.* Seven of the planned nine volumes have already been published by the Polirom Publishing House in Iași.

- ***The Excellency Network Germany – South–Eastern Europe Program (2005 - 2008)***
  The aim of this program, financed by the Hertie Foundation, has been to establish and foster contacts between scholars and academics, as well as higher education entities from Germany and South–Eastern Europe, in view of developing a regional scholarly network; it focused preeminently on questions touching upon European integration, such as transnational governance and citizenship. The main activities of

the program consisted of hosting at the New Europe College scholars coming from Germany, invited to give lectures at the College and at universities throughout Romania, and organizing international scientific events with German participation.

- ***The ethnoArc Project–Linked European Archives for Ethnomusicological Research***

  An European Research Project in the 6th Framework Programme: Information Society Technologies–Access to and Preservation of Cultural and Scientific Resources ***(2006-2008)***

  The goal of the *ethnoArc* project (which started in 2005 under the title *From Wax Cylinder to Digital Storage* with funding from the Ernst von Siemens Music Foundation and the Federal Ministry for

  Education and Research in Germany) was to contribute to the preservation, accessibility,

  connectedness and exploitation of some of the most prestigious ethno-musicological archives in Europe (Bucharest, Budapest, Berlin, and Geneva), by providing a linked archive for field collections from different sources, thus enabling access to cultural content for various application and research purposes. The project was run by an international network, which included: the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute for Ethnography and Folklore, Bucharest; Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire, Geneva; the Ethno-musicological Department of the Ethnologic Museum Berlin (Phonogramm Archiv), Berlin; the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (Coordinator), Berlin; New Europe College, Bucharest; FOKUS Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems, Berlin.

- ***Business Elites in Romania: Their Social and Educational Determinants and their Impact on Economic Performances***. This is the Romanian contribution to a joint project with the University of Sankt Gallen, entitled ***Markets for Executives and Non-Executives in Western and eastern Europe***, and financed by the National Swiss Fund for the Development of Scientific Research (SCOPES) (December 2009 – November 2012)

- ***DOCSOC, Excellency, Innovation and Interdisciplinarity in doctoral and postdoctoral studies in sociology*** (A project in the Development of Human Resources, under the aegis of the National Council of Scientific Research) – in cooperation with the University of Bucharest (2011)

- ***UEFISCCDI – CNCS (PD – Projects): Federalism or Intergovernmentalism? Normative Perspectives on the Democratic Model of the European Union (Dr. Dan LAZEA); The Political Radicalization of the Kantian Idea of Philosophy in a Cosmopolitan Sense (Dr. Áron TELEGDI-CSETRI),*** Timeframe: August 1, 2010 – July 31, 2012 (2 Years)

- ***Civilization. Identity. Globalism. Social and Human Studies in the Context of European Development*** (A project in the Development of Human Resources, under the aegis of the National Council of Scientific Research) – in cooperation with the Romanian Academy (Mar. 2011 – Sept. 2012)

- ***The Medicine of the Mind and Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England: A new Interpretation of Francis Bacon*** (A project under the aegis of the European Research Council (ERC) Starting Grants Scheme) – In cooperation with the Warburg Institute, School of Advanced Study, London (December 2009 - November 2014)

- ***The EURIAS Fellowship Program***, a project initiated by NetIAS (Network of European Institutes for Advanced Study), coordinated by the RFIEA (Network of French Institutes for Advanced Study), and co-sponsored by the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme - COFUND action. It is an international researcher mobility programme in collaboration with 14 participating Institutes of Advanced Study in Berlin, Bologna, Brussels, Bucharest, Budapest, Cambridge, Helsinki, Jerusalem, Lyons, Nantes, Paris, Uppsala, Vienna, Wassenaar.

- ***UEFISCCDI – CNCS (TE – Project) Critical Foundations of Contemporary Cosmopolitanism,*** Team leader: Tamara CĂRĂUȘ, Members of the team: Áron Zsolt TELEGDI-CSETRI, Dan Dorin LAZEA, Camil PÂRVU (October 5, 2011 – October 5, 2014)

Ongoing projects

Research programs developed with the financial support of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, The Executive Unit for Financing Higher Education and Innovation, National Council of Scientific Research (UEFISCDI – CNCS):

- **PD – Project*: Mircea Eliade between Indology and History of Religions. From Yoga to Shamanism and Archaic Religiosity* (Liviu BORDAȘ)**
  Timeframe: May 1, 2013 – October 31, 2015 (2 and ½ years)

- **IDEI-Project*: Models of Producing and Disseminating Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: The Cartesian Framework***
  (Vlad ALEXANDRESCU)
  Timeframe: January 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015 (4 years)

- **Bilateral Cooperation: *Corruption and Politics in France and Romania (contemporary times)***
  Silvia MARTON – Project Coordinator, Constanța VINTILĂ-GHIȚULESCU, Alexandra IANCU, Frederic MONIER, Olivier DARD, Marion FONTAINE, Benjamin GEROME, Francais BILLOUX
  Timeframe: January 1, 2015 – December 31, 2016 (2 years)

ERC Starting Grant:

- ***Record-keeping, fiscal reform, and the rise of institutional accountability in late medieval Savoy: a source-oriented approach – Castellany Accounts***
  Ionuț EPURESCU-PASCOVICI
  Timeframe: May 1, 2015 – April 30, 2020 (5 years)

Other projects are in the making, often as a result of initiatives coming from fellows and *alumni* of the NEC.

Present Financial Support

The State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation of Switzerland through the Center for Governance and Culture in Europe, University of St. Gallen

The Federal Ministry for Education and Research of Germany

The Federal Ministry for Science, Research and Economy of Austria

The Ministry of National Education – The Executive Agency for Higher Education and Research Funding, Romania

Landis & Gyr Stiftung, Zug, Switzerland

Private Foundation, Germany

Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Köln, Germany

VolkswagenStiftung, Hanover, Germany

Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, The Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences, Stockholm, Sweden

European Research Council (ERC)

***

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MARIAN VIOREL ANĂSTĂSOAIE

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Provisional title of the thesis: *The Cuban Revolutionary Counterpoint: Tobacco-growing and Revolutionary Cosmology in Western Cuba*

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Max Plank Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle-Saale, Germany (2009)
Marie Curie SocAnth doctoral fellowship, University College, London (2006-2009)
Eastern Scholar, Civic Education Project, Romania (1999-2001)
Curriculum Resource Center fellow, Central European University, Budapest (Oct. 2009)
Open Society Institute's Scholarship, Budapest (1998-99)

Two edited volumes, several books chapters and book reviews published both in Romania and abroad
Participation to international conferences and workshops in France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Romania and the United Kingdom

TRACING THE FOOTSTEPS OF A WORLD ANTHROPOLOGIST: CLUES AND HYPOTHESES FOR A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN V. MURRA (ISAAK LIPSCHITZ)[1]

Abstract

This article addresses the relationship between personal identity, political commitment and scholarship in the biography of anthropologist John Victor Murra (Isaak Lipschitz). Born in 1916 into a Russian-Jewish family in Odessa, he grew up, studied and became involved in Communist politics in Romania before his departure for Chicago in 1934. His 1956 Ph.D. thesis at University of Chicago on the Inca state helped Murra to become an influential figure in the field of Andean anthropology. Based on archival work and several testimonies, this article traces the influence of his upbringing and political commitment on his academic career.

Keywords: John Murra, Romania, Spain, the Andes, history of anthropology, Jewish intellectuals, biography

Spain 1938. The Nationalist forces made a breakthrough in April capturing the small town of Vinaroz, on the Castellon-Valencian coast, splitting in two the territory still under the Republican control: Catalonia and the center and the south of Spain. Partly because he feared a French involvement into the conflict, Franco decided to attack Valencia rather than Barcelona – a decision that gave the Republican forces the necessary time to reorganize their defense. In July, the Republicans launched the Ebro offensive in order to regain the territory lost in the spring. This military engagement became the biggest battle of the Civil War. The Loyalist forces aimed at capturing the city of Gandesa, 25 km west of the Ebro, a strategic point in a hilly terrain. The surviving members of the International Brigades supplemented by young Spanish conscripts were involved into

fierce battles with the Nationalist forces. However, the surprise effect of the Republican offensive had been already overcome and Franco hurried men and air support to hold on and push back the Republican forces. Among the wounded soldiers of that battle was John Murra, a 22-year-old member of the Abraham Lincoln brigade. Having had his lower body paralyzed for a couple of months, he eventually fully recovered in a hospital in Barcelona. Since his arrival in Spain at the beginning of 1937, Murra had lived the most formative experience of his life, as he would recount years later.[2] In 1939, he crossed the French-Spanish border with other internationalist fighters and returned back to Chicago, where he had initially volunteered for the Brigades. In his own words,

> The war was very useful to me. It gave me a lot of self-confidence. I grew up in Spain, changing from the boy I was when I arrived, half sport aficionado, half communist. It wasn't because of the combat, for I fought very little; but it was because I could see in action the great communist leaders, which gave me useful antibodies for my maturation. Moreover, the war gave me the Spanish language. I am a graduate of the Spanish Civil War, not of the University of Chicago. What is important, I learnt it during the war (Castro *et al.* 2000:58, my translation).[3]

Immediately after his arrival in Spain, Murra had been assigned as a translator for political commissars at the headquarters of the International Brigades in Albacete. He was also responsible with the distribution of weekly rations to the US volunteers. For almost a year he witnessed as a translator the meetings of the political commissars, Communist party secretaries and the Soviet advisers. He observed the cynicism, the arbitrariness and the injustice of many political decisions. He also knew about the factional struggle between the Communist Party and other factions like the anarchists and the anti-Stalinist POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification). By the time he returned to the United States, Murra had given up his communist activism and reinvested his humanist, egalitarian, emancipatory aspirations into the study of anthropology.

John Victor Murra was the *nom de guerre* of Isaak Lipschitz, born on August 24th, 1916 in Odessa, into a Jewish family. His parents were not religious; however, Isaak had his bar mitzvah ceremony when he was thirteen years old.[4] His father, born in 1891, was one of eight siblings. They lost their father early. In difficulty, the mother put the youngest two children in an orphanage. Murra's father left the orphanage when he was

twelve years old and started to work in a rubber stamp workshop, and eventually specialized in paper manufacturing. Isaak's mother (b. 1897) was the youngest of three sisters.[5]

After the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, Murra's family moved to Romania in 1921 in order to avoid the hardships of the Civil War in Russia. His only sibling was his sister Beatriz (Ata), born in 1920. His father decided his children needed to learn foreign languages. Besides Russian and Romanian, Isaak and Beatrice learned German, French, and English. Murra's parents spoke Yiddish and Russian. Murra did not mention Yiddish among the languages he mastered, but he might have been familiar with the language, since Sidney Mintz recollected that Murra's Russian had a Yiddish accent (Carnegie and Mintz 2006:117).

He spent his childhood and early youth in Bucharest. He studied at the Lutheran School (hence his mastery of German), a common practice among the better-off Jewish and Romanian families at the time. As a child and teenager, he practiced football and cycling. He was particularly fond of football, about which he wrote several articles in the left-wing daily *Dimineața*.[6] He was an avid reader of literature, mostly French, Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse being among his favorite authors. In 1932, he was expelled from the prestigious Gheorghe Lazăr high-school, together with three other colleagues, for being Communist sympathizers. He was also briefly imprisoned on political grounds at the beginning of the 1930s. A formative influence during his period in Romania was Petru Năvodaru or Peter Fischer, another Jewish Communist student, who became a model for Murra.[7] Petru was five years older than Murra and impressed the latter with his leadership qualities and political commitment. In his life story interviews, Murra talks about Petru as being like an older brother to him.

According to his testimony, "as a child, my dominant thought was to escape my family" (Castro *et al.* 2000:16). He and his father had a distant relationship, but Murra acknowledged his father's support and help when he suffered political persecution on account of his political activism. After obtaining his baccalaureate in 1933 as a privately educated pupil, he travelled the following year to Chicago, where one of his uncles worked as a professional musician. His father died shortly after in July 1935. His mother and sister remained in Romania, surviving the anti-Semitic years before and during the Second World War. His sister was part of the interwar underground Communist Party. After the war she studied and became a physicist. In the late 1980s, she translated into Romanian a revised version of Murra's Ph.D. thesis (Murra 1987).[8]

Soon after his arrival to the US, Murra enrolled at the University of Chicago. He studied sociology and got his BA in 1936. He was also involved in the local communist movement, being arrested several times because of his participation to several anti-war and anti-segregation rallies. Significantly, he attended anthropology courses in the anthropology department – especially those of Alfred Radcliffe-Brown and Fred Eggan – deciding to continue his studies in this discipline. In July 1936 he married an American student and fellow Communist, Virginia Miller.[9] At the end of 1936, however, the Spanish Civil War broke out and he volunteered through the Communist Youth to defend the Republican cause.

After his return to the US in 1939, he spent the next fifteen years as a graduate student, research assistant and academic instructor. In 1956, he defended his Ph.D. thesis in anthropology at the University of Chicago with the title *The Economic Organization of the Inca State* and further embarked on a long research and teaching career, retiring from Cornell University in 1982. He became an active intellectual broker between Latin American, North-American and European anthropologists interested in the Andean cultures. His path-breaking research on the economic and political structures of the Inca state became a classic in the field and fertilized scholarly debates and anthropological research of the Andean countries. One of his main contributions deals with the functioning of the Andean political communities, based on the idea of a "vertical archipelago" of various ecological zones (Murra 2002).

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In this article, I tackle certain aspects of John Murra's biography that I consider to be essential for the understanding of his emergence as a cosmopolitan anthropologist. A caveat should be stated here: the present study, submitted just at the end of the NEC scholarship and shortly after my return from the research trip, advances preliminary conclusions based on partial analysis of the material collected during my research at the National Anthropological Archives in Washington, DC. A comprehensive analysis of the collected material – something which will take more time – may prompt a reconsideration or reformulation of some of the preliminary conclusions reached in this analysis. Apart my own personal interest in Murra's legacy,[10] I've initiated this project as an anthropologist interested in the history of this discipline. I subscribe to Irvin Hallowell's proposal that the history of anthropology should be approached as an anthropological problem (Hallowell 1965), implying an understanding of the emergence of anthropology as a knowledge practice in Western

culture and its subsequent diffusion and transformations. This has been the meta-framework that has inspired much of the research in the history of the discipline in the last decades, inspired by the work of George Stocking Jr., himself a student of Irvin Hallowell (see Stocking 2010).

The emergence of the academic discipline of anthropology, which has occurred in certain Western countries, has resulted in four main traditions: the American, the British, the French and the German (Barth *et al*. 2005). Outside this "big four" development, much less is known about other traditions of studying human cultural diversity. Only recently, Russian and other European ethnological traditions have seized the attention of historians of anthropology. In the 1960s, together with larger political processes (decolonization, revolutionary movements) and civic protest such as the civil right movements or the anti-Vietnam war protests, critical voices inside the discipline called for a "re-invention of anthropology" (Hymes 1969) and for a critical evaluation of its colonial past (Asad 1973). In the 1980s, the criticism of anthropology was renewed around key epistemological and methodological protocols, a movement that was inspired by an edited volume that quickly acquired the status of a generational manifesto, *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986). This time, the main point was not about denouncing power, imperialism, and colonization, but more about the critical examination of the persuasive power of anthropological writing and its validation protocols. These had beneficial effects on the anthropological research: reflexivity or the critical examination of research and writing practices has strengthened the discipline.

Today, one of the directions for the renewal of the discipline revolves around the so-called "world anthropologies" project (Ribeiro and Escobar 2006). This is a consequence of the above-mentioned epistemological and methodological debates and of the emergence of anthropology in countries that only two decades ago were a destination for fieldwork rather than for academic employment like today. The main proponents of this project are anthropologists from Latin America and Africa. They argue, in essence, for transnational networks and projects aiming at overcoming the dominance of Western traditions of anthropology and of particular national frameworks. Provincializing metropolitan centers, multiplying non-hierarchical exchanges and projects across national, regional and disciplinary boundaries are the main strategies meant to foster the emergence of cosmopolitan knowledge practices.

One might wonder what this particular project for a cosmopolitan anthropology has to do with John Murra. In this particular book on world anthropologies, he is mentioned as one of the precursors of the "world anthropologies" project (De la Cadena 2006:204). Murra was, already in the 1950s, practicing a cosmopolitan way of doing anthropology. He developed transnational research projects, engaged personally and professionally with intellectuals from Latin American countries and supported the institutional development of academic anthropology in these countries. This corresponds with his self-image: in the published life history interview he presented himself as being an "interstitial person":

> I am not Romanian, nor American, nor Peruvian. I am an interstitial person and I find difference to be humanly acceptable. I do not see a unique solution to any problem; I think there are various solutions (Castro *et al.*:85, my translation).[11]

Murra's cosmopolitanism, both assumed and recognized by current fellow-anthropologists, is a concern of present-day anthropology. We need, however, to be careful not to project today's standards and definitions of cosmopolitanism retroactively on Murra's life and scholarship. We need to keep a historicist perspective on the past, trying to understand the development of ideas, scientific careers and theories in their dynamic interaction with social, political and scholarly conditions of their time. In this sense, biographies of scholars are indispensable exercises of intellectual history since they help us understand better how anthropologists' ideas and cognitive styles have emerged in their own existential struggle with various political, social and intellectual problems and events. Because of his longevity, transnational trajectory, his close relationship to the currents of his time and involvement in some crucial historical events, Murra's biography offers a particularly rich perspective on twentieth-century anthropology.

I favor a problematized biographical research in order to avoid doing what Martine Boyer-Weinmann calls *les biographies blanches* (blank biographies): biographies without theoretical and methodological points, nor reflexivity, written by omniscient authors who reconstruct chronologically the lives of their subjects. At the opposite end, the biographies based on a project (*biographies à projet*) aim at finding an interpretative angle and the most appropriate form to deal with the singularity of a life (Boyer-Weinmann 2004). One has to be aware of

what Bourdieu denounces as the dangers of the "biographical illusion": to present the subject's life as a "coherent and finalized whole, which can and must be seen as the unitary expression of a subjective and objective 'intention' of a project" (Bourdieu 2004:299). Even if Bourdieu's point is well taken, one has to take into account the motives and the moral significance of the need of coherence in the life of a biographical subject – a point made by French sociologist Nathalie Heinich in her criticism of Bourdieu's position on biographical works (Heinich 2010). Since human life is full of moments of rupture and turning points, Heinich argues that a biographer should aim to understand his/her subject's search for coherence and continuity in its moral and cognitive aspects.

In the rest of the paper, I would like to address two issues that I consider to be central to Murra's biography, which need careful consideration based on the study of his personal archives at the Smithsonian Institution and other archives in the US and Romania[12] as well as testimonies of people who knew him.

John V. Murra's 'Unresolved Ethnic Identity'

In a recent paper discussing Murra's classes on the history of anthropology, Frank Salomon, a graduate student of Murra in the 1970s, reveals that the latter shared Claude Lévi-Strauss's view that "anthropology is a way of living with an unresolved ethnic identity" (Salomon 2009:96). However, Salomon writes that "Murra was notoriously touchy about his own 'unresolved ethnic identity'" (*ibid.*:97). In particular, he was displeased when someone referred to his Jewish name.

In an important paper on the question of the "Jewish Roots and Routes of Anthropology", Jeffrey Feldman addresses the question of the way present-day anthropologists deal with the Jewishness of many of their professional ancestors. Based on recent biographical inquiries about the Jewishness of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Sol Tax, Feldman distinguishes between two main modes of dealing with the Jewish identity of anthropologists: on the one hand, a static, normative and trans-historical one based on a nostalgic search for 'Jewish roots' and, on the other hand, a critically informed perspective, which addresses the contingent and dynamic character of the Jewish identity of certain anthropologists. George Stocking's essay on Sol Tax's changing engagement with his Jewish identity is an example of the latter approach. In Feldman's words,

> Stocking treats 'Jewish-ness' as a trajectory in its own right, neither assigning it the status of a dominant variable nor relegating it to the rose-tinted background. Stocking listens to Tax and he speaks back. Jewishness is not just identity, but credo, context, and the tension between the two (Feldman 2004:117).

A contextual and carefully documented perspective on the Jewish (or other ethnic) aspect of an anthropologist's identity is necessary in order to avoid falling into the trap of reifying his/her identity. An example of the latter is the book *Ordeal of Civility: Freud, Marx, Lévi-Strauss, and the Jewish Struggle with Modernity* (1974) of the late sociologist John Cuddihy. He advances a theory of the secularized Jewish intellectual as being constrained to mediate between a subaltern, colonized position of Eastern European Jewish communities and the modern, bourgeois, protestant Western culture. The theories of Freud, Marx and Lévi-Strauss are considered by Cuddihy to be double-edged: on the one hand, they provide an ideology and a charter of social change for their Jewish fellows, on the other, they provide an apologetics addressed to the Gentiles. For Cuddihy, "ideologies (socialism, liberalism, psychoanalysis, Zionism) [are] the functional equivalents of what are accounts, apologies, and excuses on the everyday level of social system behavior" (Cuddihy 1974:6).

One could imagine that what was partly behind Murra's refusal to talk or assume his Jewish background was an effort to refute simplistic visions like that of Cuddihy, more congenial to the WASP conservative academic American establishment of the late 1930s. Salomon's notes on Murra's lectures provide a nuanced view about how Murra's immigrant experience had influenced his reading of the history of US anthropology. Murra underlined the significance of the ethnic identity of Franz Boas or Edward Sapir in their frictions with the conservative elitist university environments of Harvard, Pennsylvania, Yale or New York. In his life history interview, Murra reported the opinion of his supervisor Fay-Cooper Cole regarding the cold reception and the difficulties Edward Sapir experienced during his time at Yale:

> When I, at a particular moment, was thinking to enroll at Yale as student, Cole told me: "Look, they killed Sapir"[…] I think he was referring to this situation of a Jew, a poet and an intellectual like Sapir among the troglodytes of the upper classes of Yale, very protestant, very upper class (Castro *et al.* 2000:102).

Murra himself was a visiting lecturer at Yale University in 1962 and 1970, where his close friend Sidney Mintz was a lecturer and then professor of anthropology between 1951 and 1974. Sidney Mintz, born in 1922 into a modest Jewish family in Dover, New Jersey, benefitted from the G.I. Bill and got his Ph.D. at Columbia University in 1951. According to his testimony, he was the first Jew employed by the Yale anthropology department after Edward Sapir. He didn't feel himself to be an outsider, but this was partly because he could pass as being non-Jewish, and partly because Yale University increasingly became, after the Second World War, more tolerant towards ethnic minorities.[13]

Could we explain the change of civil name from Isaak Lipschitz to John Murra simply as a strategy to avoid anti-Jewish discrimination? Change of civil name is one of the strategies discussed by Erving Goffman in his classical book on *Stigma*. Names are "identity pegs" or "positive marks", which can be changed in order to avoid personal identification and/or discrimination. This was a common strategy for many immigrants, not least the Jews coming from Eastern Europe to the US. I would contend that this was not the reason for the name change in the case of John Murra.

In Murra's case, there are testimonies that claim he graduated in 1936 at University of Chicago using his birth name.[14] Moreover, an article based on an interview with him, reported that Murra had to use his birth certificate from Odessa to be allowed entry back to the US in 1939. Isaak Lipschitz used "John V. Murra" as a *nom de guerre* during his involvement in the Spanish Civil War, while still having his birth name as his civil name. After his return to the US in 1939, he started to use John Murra as his civil name, but it is not clear when this change was officially registered.[15]

Personal names are attributes of personhood serving both to identify an individual as well as to assign him/her a place in the social world. Contrary to J. S. Mill's view that personal names only denote and do not connote, there are more complex perspectives on personal names, among which the connotative function of aspects of personhood is not unimportant. Anthropologist João Pina-Cabral, for example, writes that

> As objectifications of the person's relational constitution, then, wherever they are used, personal names refer to and reinforce those aspects of personhood to which they are associated (Pina-Cabral 2010:306).

The most elaborate explanation regarding the origin of Murra's *nom de guerre* is provided by one of his students in a biographical essay published after his death:

> John (or Johnny as he was known when he was young) was chosen for its qualities as a straightforward American name, Victor in anticipation of a successful struggle, and Murra because it is close to the Romanian word for mulberry. That was Johnny's nickname when he was a boy, because of his large, dark eyes (Barnes 2009:6).

However, the reason for choosing his second first name "Victor" was not that it could have been an omen for a successful struggle, as Barnes surmises, but a homage to his political mentor, Petru Năvodaru, whose underground name in the Communist movement was "Victor".[16]

In order to understand the permanent adoption of his *nom de guerre* as a civil name, we need to grasp, among other things, the citizenship status of Murra. He lost his Romanian citizenship in 1938, together with more than 200,000 Romanian Jews as a result of the anti-Semitic legislation of the Goga-Cuza government.[17] He was stateless between 1938 and 1950, until he was granted US citizenship after a long legal battle. His involvement in the Spanish civil war and his youth communist activism were considered suspicious by the US authorities at the start of the Cold War. Moreover, as a consequence of the suspicion regarding Communist sympathizers during McCarthyism, Murra received his passport only in 1956.

More generally, his name change could be better understood as being symptomatic of a period of crisis and self-redefinition. In 1939, upon his return to the US, Murra was a stateless former combatant of the Spanish Civil War. Keeping "Murra" as his civil name, Isaak Lipschitz acknowledged and assumed the formative experience of the Spanish Civil War, which, as mentioned earlier, he considered more important than his university education. Moreover, Murra was his name in a community of former combatants who preserved a sense of brotherhood and friendship – a form of fictive kinship. Stateless, with his family trapped in Romania by war and excluded by the anti-Semitic policies of the Antonescu regime, Murra could find support among friends he made during the Spanish Civil War, such as Saul Newton, his psychoanalyst during the crucial years of finishing his Ph.D.[18]

This period of crisis and self-redefinition lasted probably until the completion of his Ph.D. I am making this claim tentatively and aware

of the need to substantiate or amend it after systematic research of his personal archive. However, Murra himself offered elements for supporting such a view in his life history interview. He talked about his economic difficulties as a graduate student living on short-term contracts and teaching positions, his struggle with the US federal authorities as they opposed his naturalization because of his past Communist politics. He mentions also his psychological blockages, neurosis and difficulties in finishing his Ph.D. He started in 1949 a long-term therapy with Saul Newton, a psychoanalyst he had met in Spain. This therapy helped him to finish his Ph.D., as he writes in the thesis acknowledgements.

I would contend that this period of redefinition partly overlapped with another critical phase in the anthropologist's education, i.e. the fieldwork and the writing of his Ph.D. thesis. Claude Lévi-Strauss spoke of the importance of fieldwork for the would-be anthropologist in order to "accomplish that inner revolution that will really make him into a new man" (Lévi-Strauss 1963:373). He explicitly compares the fieldwork experience with psychoanalytical training. It is a necessary training in order to form that cognitive capacity to perceive and organize forms of social existence as a whole:

> Such forms of social existence cannot be apprehended simply from the outside – the investigator must be able to make a personal reconstruction of the synthesis characterizing them; he must not merely analyze their elements, and apprehend them as a whole in the form of a personal experience – his own (Lévi-Strauss 1963:373).

For non-anthropologists this might look like a self-serving professional myth, but it is something that has remained the classical training experience of the discipline so far, overcoming critical scrutiny from outside and inside the discipline (cf. Clifford and Marcus 1986).

Murra's case is an interesting one in this respect. His Ph.D. thesis was not based on proper fieldwork, but on library research. This might seem to invalidate what I have just said about the importance of fieldwork for anthropological training and its cognitive and emotional transformative effects. However, Murra had, for six months, in 1941-1942, his first research experience in the Andes, as a member of an archeological research team in southern Ecuador. This first experience, even though short, was decisive for his formation as an anthropologist interested in the Andes. As well as providing the material for his master thesis defended in

1942 at Chicago and to his first professional publication, this fieldwork also enabled him to obtain insights and some working hypotheses which were later explored in his thesis. According to his testimony

> In 1941-42 I was overwhelmed by the Andean life…then I could see all there was, I read the scientific literature and I saw it was a very good, very big topic… (Castro *et al.* 2000:66, my translation).[19]

It took another decade of reading the anthropological literature, of extensive archival research on the first chronicles written by Spaniards after the conquest of the Inca state, and of exposure to innovative ideas such as those discussed by the group around Karl Polanyi in order for him to produce a Ph.D. dissertation that subsequently inspired a whole regional research program.

John Murra didn't see himself as an immigrant living in the US. In an oral history interview with anthropologist May Mayko Ebihara he says

> Again, because I'm a Romanian. Maybe that is, I should have said that earlier. I don't think of myself as an immigrant. I have not come here to be a Romanian-American. I'm a foreigner and I plan to leave.[20]

This remark should be placed in the context of that particular moment of Murra's life as he was close to retirement from Cornell University and unsure where he will settle permanently after that. Nevertheless, it also points to the fact that Murra stressed the Romanian component of his identity rather than his Jewish origins or his US nationality. It is a point that needs to be closely looked at through the reading of his personal diaries, in order to understand how he worked through his own personal conflicts, insecurities and personal history. We should consider here the larger phenomenon of the European refugees, among which many Jewish intellectuals and scholars, escaping the Nazi persecution in Germany or other countries under Nazi control (Fleming and Bailyn 1969; Coser 1984). Murra's relationship with other European immigrants and his connection with the US should be placed within the larger context of this European exodus in order to understand the specificity of his case and the commonalities it shares with other cases. In comparison with the large, mostly German-speaking Jewish refugees who came a few years later to escape persecution, Murra arrived as a simple immigrant in 1934. Being only eighteen years-old, he lacked the cultural capital and connections

of more established scholars, but he could enroll at university and could obtain his first academic degrees. Lacking the organizational support and connections of other European refugees (mostly based in New York), Murra managed, nevertheless, to make friendships and obtain support from academic patrons in Chicago in order to make a living and put the basis of an academic career, in spite of delayed acquisition of the US citizenship.

A last point regarding the role of ethnicity or ethnic conflict in his personal redefinition and scholarship needs to be made. Based on my on-going reading of his work and of reviews, testimonies, commentaries and obituaries dedicated to Murra, as well as the preliminary reading of documents from his personal archive, I would contend that his experience in the multi-ethnic and conflict-driven atmosphere of interwar Romania was a formative experience that made him emphasize ethnicity as an important category of social analysis (Salomon 2009:96) and gave Murra the impetus to continue his training as an anthropologist once his involvement in the Spanish civil war ended.[21] This claim is substantiated by an elaborate answer Murra gives to May Mayko Ebihara in the above-mentioned life history interview. Asked whether there was something in his early life that influenced him to become an anthropologist, Murra answered, at length, by firstly evoking his childhood multiethnic experiences in Romania, with Bulgarian and Gypsy/Roma sellers on the street, and secondly by giving a short exposé on Romanian history and its nation-building process stressing the role of intellectuals in articulating Romanian ethnicity. He explicitly compares the nationalist independent movements in the Balkans, stirred by intellectuals mostly trained abroad – for example in France, as in the case of Romanians –, with the African independence movement a century later.[22] He continues by explicitly comparing himself to the intellectuals involved in Romanian nation-building:

> I see my role in the Andes or in Puerto Rico like that of those Romanians who came from under Hungarian-Austrian rule and in the early nineteenth century insisted that, yes, our language gets re-written. Yes, we have a history even though we haven't had a polity for three hundred years and have lived under the Turks. So in that sense, I was prepared for anthropology.[23]

Murra's socialization in the culturally effervescent interwar period in Romania, where intellectuals played an important role in formulating and participating in various political and cultural projects concerning

the consolidation of a new expanded nation-state, might have sensitized Murra to become more receptive to Latin American intellectual traditions thus making him more willing to engage with local intellectuals than other anthropologists. In the 1950s and 1960s, when subaltern and post-colonial studies were still a thing of the future, Murra paid attention to, collaborated with and promoted local intellectuals in Puerto Rico and especially in the Andean countries. His friendship and intellectual exchange with the Peruvian writer and anthropologist José María Arguedas was arguably the most emblematic one (Murra 1983; Murra and López-Baralt 1996).

J.V. Murra's Political Engagements: From Communist Youth Activism to the Radical Potential of Anthropology

The second aspect I consider worth investigating is the complex relation between Murra's precocious political activism, his experience of the Spanish Civil War and his post-1939 political stance. Time and again, he mentions his early political activism in Romania during the 1930s. However, we know so far very little about this. For example, we don't know the exact circumstances, reasons for and the length of his imprisonment as a result of governmental persecution of Communist sympathizers. Murra mentions the very important influence of Petru Năvodaru, a Communist Party member, on his political awakening. The political scientist and historian Vladimir Tismăneanu mentioned Năvodaru among the few 'idealists', as opposed to many opportunists, inside the higher ranks of the Romanian Communist Party.[24] He was close to Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, the communist leader who was sentenced and executed in 1954 during the Stalinist period. It seems that Năvodaru barely escaped imprisonment at that time. John Murra retained a life-long admiration for Năvodaru and met with him each time he visited Romania, in 1967, 1976 and 1986. Further research on Năvodaru, especially on his life and political trajectory, would be needed in order to understand the type of personality and political engagement that Murra found so compelling and admirable.

Murra's sister Ata (Beatrice) Iosifescu, a physicist, was married to the literary critic Silvian Iosifescu, both deceased now. They were members of the Communist Party before 1944 – the group of underground communists or *illegaliști* as they are commonly labeled in the historiography. They were friends with the sociologist Pavel Câmpeanu, another underground communist and the author of very insightful political analyses of late Romanian socialism (Câmpeanu 1986).

The experience of this network of underground communist activists – later academics or professionals with little involvement in political decisions and increasingly critical of the socialist regime (without ending up being dissidents) – is extremely helpful in understanding Murra's disenchantment with Communist party politics and his view of really existing socialism. It might be the case, and this is a point to be further explored, that his retreat from political activism and critical posture towards state socialism was not only an effect of his Spanish experience, but also of his familiarity and direct contact with this particular group in Romania. What were the political aspirations and experiences of these people who remained in Romania? Since most of them were of Jewish origin, it would be important to understand how they coped with the anti-Semitism of the 1930s and 1940s, but also with that of the post-WWII socialist Romania. How did they experience the Stalinist years and the increasingly repressive years of the late socialist period in the light of their youthful involvement in the Communist movement? An answer to these questions could be formulated after a careful examination of the voluminous correspondence between J. Murra and his sister Ata Iosifescu (in the NAA) and other documents in the files of the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (*Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității* – CNSAS).

There is another dimension of Murra's political engagements and ideas, which has been very little discussed in obituaries and articles dedicated to him, i.e. his commitment to the African independence movement and his collaboration with African intellectuals and politicians. His deep attachment to and collaboration on African issues, especially independence of African countries and their political and economic development was one of the discoveries of my research in his files at the NAA (see also Barnes 2009:19).[25] This greatly overlapped with his theoretical interests in the British social anthropological work done in Africa – a body of work he came to appreciate for its ethnographic and methodological qualities while studying in Chicago with A. Radcliffe-Brown, and which he drew upon in his interpretation of the Inca statecraft and ethno-historical work.[26] In the late 1940s and 1950s, John Murra was seen as an expert on African cultures. In 1951-52, he worked as an African area specialist for the Trusteeship Council, United Nations, writing research papers on land tenure in African trust territories.[27] In 1952, he was consulted by two sociology faculty members at Boston University for a project to establish at that university a comprehensive African area program.[28] This initiative was successful, but in the end John Murra wasn't hired, since a local faculty

member, Bill Brown, became its first director. As late as 1962, Murra was willing to do research in Africa, in particular in a Ghana research project drafted by anthropologist Stanley Diamond, but this project was never started, most probably because of lack of funding.[29]

Perhaps the most detailed and enlightening formulation of Murra's conception of the relationship between anthropology and politics lies in several letters he wrote to Peruvian anthropologist Carlos Ivan Degregori in 1968.[30] The latter was at that time a graduate student at Brandeis University on a scholarship John Murra had helped him to obtain. Degregori wrote frequently to John Murra for advice during that year, searching for answers to pressing problems regarding the way anthropologists could answer the political challenges of the moment. In a letter dated March 7th, 1968, Degregori confesses to Murra that, in spite of his excellent grades and learning experience, he feels a bit alienated and puzzled to see how intellectuals and anthropologists around him become very learned specialists, while being "sad" (*tristes*) and "without hope" or "having agreed/compromised" (*han pactado*) with the powers that be. Murra answers on April 12th, 1968, in a letter which he drafted three times (the first two also kept in his personal archive). It is a 4-page-typed letter in Spanish, in which he formulates his vision of how to reconcile the demands of political action and those of anthropology. One could think of this letter as a sort of *Anthropology as a Vocation* manifesto, a half-century later personal answer to questions which also animated Max Weber in his two conferences on science and on politics (Weber 2008).[31] Murra shares the concerns of Degregori regarding the depoliticization of and the sterile and excessive specialization of anthropological research. He writes about his personal experience in the Spanish Civil War as his contribution at the time to fighting fascism and impeding the outbreak of a world war. He continues by saying that he returned from Spain with a different vision of himself and of his political commitments. Murra outlines three possible paths open to a politically engaged intellectual/anthropologist.

The first one would be the revolutionary action and he cites the case of Ernesto Che Guevara who abandoned medicine for the revolutionary struggle. Murra considers this to be a valid solution as he himself subscribed to it in 1937. He adds, though, an important caveat: one has to know not only what one opposes, but also for what one fights. The second solution is that of poets, writers and artists. He mentions the case of Pablo Neruda and José María Arguedas. For Murra the artistic work helps humanity to keep on imagining and striving for a solution to all evils. The third possibility is

that of the intellectual who is neither a revolutionary nor an artist, but "one that shares the rejection of the existing societies and strives for a society closer to people and to its human potential."[32] These intellectuals need to understand the lost cultural tradition of indigenous people who had been defeated by the colonial powers and to help with the strengthening of their cultural resources, notwithstanding the indigenous languages. Murra puts it bluntly "In the Andes it appears to me more revolutionary to fight for the use of the Quechua in teaching and for popular and high literatures in the Andean languages than to assault banks…"[33] Equally important, Murra sees the role of intellectuals as contributing hitherto unconceived solutions to human problems as well as "formulating NEW QUESTIONS" (all caps in the original).[34] Anthropology's role in the present, Murra continues, is to show that cultural diversity is a pool of resources and solutions designed by a multitude of communities. This includes also the study of kinship (the political relevance of which Degregori had questioned in a previous letter), which is for Murra a reason to make anthropologists proud of their discipline: "it [kinship – *parentesco*] is an example of human creativity like a poem is or a geometrical theorem and nobody but us have discovered it and valued it."[35]

Murra's statement on how one could find a way to accommodate anthropology and politics corroborates other interpretations of Murra's belief in the radical potential of anthropology as a source for alternative, utopian thought – a point also made by Salomon (2009) and by Barnes (2009). In 1968, when youth protests against political establishment had been ignited around the world, his answer might have seemed too compromising in the eyes of more radical anthropologists. However, his own early political involvement and disillusionment with Communist party politics pushed him to search for and support the cause of anti-colonial movements and indigenous groups in Latin America and Africa.

Conclusions

This preliminary account is part of a larger project which will hopefully result in a biography of John Victor Murra based on more archival research and interviews with people who knew him personally. His long life, his involvement in crucial events of the twentieth century, his transnational life and the influence of his scholarship on Andean anthropology make him a very compelling figure for the history of twentieth-century anthropology. While only a book-length biographical account could do justice to such

complex personality, in this text I have chosen to tackle some crucial aspects of his biography, i.e. his own sense of his ethnic identity and his political commitment. For these dimensions of his biography, I have identified the period between 1936 (the year he went to Spain) and 1956 (the year he defended his Ph.D.) as being a crucial one in his life, when Murra had to deal with major challenges: redefining his political activism, discovering anthropology as his vocation and defining his own path within the discipline, fighting for his US citizenship under the threat of being expelled because of his political commitments and clarifying the nature of his attachments to Romania and to his relatives and friends there. This is a period when, significantly, he experienced a precarious economic status with short-term academic or research contracts. During this time, too, he built strong intellectual and personal friendships that helped him find a path and settle in a new adoptive country. There is a sense, though, that Murra never came to see the US as his home country – for example, he refused to considered himself as an immigrant or a Romanian-American. He emphasized both his Romanian upbringing and his cosmopolitan aspirations, while playing down his Jewish identity. We still need to understand, by a careful contextualization and reconstruction of that period of his life, how these three aspects of his personality played a role in his life choices, interaction with his peers and fashioning of his scientific persona.

For current anthropologists, especially for those at the beginning of their post-doctoral career, his innovative research in the Andes and personal involvement in transnational research cooperation, exchange and training, could serve as an example for bridging still unequal academic exchanges between US and Western European anthropologists and those based in Latin America and Africa.

For discussing the reception or, more accurately, the non-reception of Murra's scholarship in Romania one would need to give an elaborate picture of the challenges of the development for anthropology in this country for which there is no space in this paper. Nevertheless, Murra's work and engagement with other intellectual and cultural traditions could help to broaden the geographical reach and conceptual realm of Romanian anthropology, which is still largely confined to Romania and neighboring countries. Murra's insightful combination of various kinds of data (archaeological, historical, ecological, and ethnographical) for building theoretical interpretations of phenomena such as Inca statecraft and Andean cultural ecologies could push anthropologists from Eastern Europe to set up comparative and trans-disciplinary projects.

NOTES

1 This paper is the first published article based on my research project as a NEC International Fellow during the 2013-2014 academic year. In June 2014, I did research at the National Anthropological Archives, at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington working on the John Murra Papers, benefiting from the amazing support of the NAA staff, especially its reference archivist Adam Minakowski. This research trip was made possible by the financial support of the NEC, which does not bear responsibility for the points expressed in this paper. I thank Anca Oroveanu for putting me in contact with Maria Iosifescu, John Murra's niece. In June 2014, I met her in New York and she kindly and generously gave from her time and provided me with rich stories about her uncle and her family in general. Two US anthropologists were helpful in initiating my interest in Murra's life and work. Herb Lewis told me about his experience as a graduate student doing fieldwork summer trips in Martinique under the supervision of John Murra back in the 1950s. He also put me in contact with his colleague, Frank Salomon, who was very helpful and provided me with material and advice concerning Murra's life and oeuvre. In Romania, Zoltán Rostás was a very supportive interlocutor on this project. Back in Halle, where this project initially took shape, I benefited from Mihai Popa's and Patrick Heady's comments and encouragement. Puiu Lățea was an attentive and critical interlocutor while discussing this project and the history of the US anthropology in general. Before going to print, this text improved after an attentive reading by Ioana Măgureanu. Benjamin Keatinge generously provided a careful proofreading of the text. Of course, the usual disclaimer applies here too: the inaccuracies, misunderstandings are my sole responsibility, and not of any of my generous interlocutors.

2 Harry Fisher, a former member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, published his memoirs of his involvement in the Spanish Civil War. They contain information about John Murra's involvement in the Spanish Civil War (see Fischer 1997:159-61). For a more general perspective on the Abraham Lincoln brigade, see Caroll (1994).

3 In the original Spanish text: "Pues, la guerra me ha sido muy útil, porque me ha dado mucha más confianza en mí mismo. De ser un muchacho cuando llegué, medio deportista, medio comunista, crecí mucho en España. No por pelear, porque luché muy poco, pero ver a los grandes líderes del comunismo en acción, me creó unos anticuerpos que me educaron. Además, la guerra me dio el castellano. Yo soy graduado de la guerra civil española, no de la Universidad de Chicago. Lo importante lo aprendí en la guerra." (Castro *et al.* 2000:58).

4 Invitation card for the bar mitzvah ceremony for Isaak Lipschitz, at the Choral Temple Synagogue in Bucharest, document in the JMP, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.

5 NAA contain a certified copy of Asna Bialic's birth certificate – Murra's mother. It states that she was born in Chișinău on December 16th, 1897 as the daughter of Moise Leib Bialic and Clara Bialic. Maria Iosifescu, one of the daughters of Ata, Murra's sister, believes that this birth certificate is not accurate, since she believes the family was from Odessa and not from Chișinău. According to Maria Iosifescu (personal communication), this certificate stating the birth place of Asna Bialic to be in Chișinău, helped her grandmother and her mother to avoid losing the Romanian citizenship after the enactment of the Goga-Cuza anti-Semitic legislation in 1938.

6 At the NAA, in the John Murra Papers (Series IV Biographical, Box 1, Folder 'Spain – Civil War') there is a photocopy of an article from *Dimineața*, September 27th, 1932. It is a chronicle of several football games from Bucharest, notably that between Juventus and Macabi clubs. The article is signed 'A. Lpș.' In a letter dated October 9th, 1980, Ata Iosifescu writes to her brother about how she discovered an envelope among their mother's papers, on which it was handwritten 'Mura.' It contained five clips from the newspaper *Dimineața*, from September 1932, signed either 'Alexandru Lăpușneanu' or 'A. Lpș.' Choosing a pseudonym was a common practice among the collaborators of the newspaper *Dimineața*, many of them being of Jewish origin. John Murra spoke in several interviews about this short trial period as a young journalist in Bucharest as being a very formative experience. In an entry from his personal diary dated January 29th, 1961 he lists among the good things that happened in his life his collaboration with *Dimineața* newspaper.

7 Petru Năvodaru (1913-1988), born Peter Fischer, an economist by training, was a Romanian-Jewish member of the illegal Communist Party during the 1930s and 1940s. Maria Banuș (1914-1999), a Romanian-Jewish writer and member of the Communist movement alongside Năvodaru, kept an extensive diary, recently published, which contains frequent annotations of Petru Năvodaru's underground activities during the WWII. She portraits Năvodaru as driven by a Romantic, idealistic dedication to the Communist cause, partly expiatory due to a guilty consciousness of being a member of a wealthy Transylvanian family (Banuș 2014:523-4). After 1947, Năvodaru became part of the socialist bureaucracy in charge of economic planning, but he was a marginal member of the Communist nomenclature. He was close to Bellu Zilber and other former underground Communists like Gheorghe Preoteasa. In the last decade of his life, he fell into political disgrace and was under *Securitate* surveillance as his daughter was married to the dissident-writer Paul Goma.

8 John Murra Papers (NAA) contain a folder with letters regarding the translation and the publication of Murra's book in Romania. Most of the letters are written by Ata Iosifescu, asking her brother for information and clarifications, and informing him about the ongoing interactions with the

editors in charge of the publication of the book. John Murra answers, in detail and in Romanian, his sister's inquiries and this exchange is particularly interesting for the understanding of the challenges of translating certain anthropological concepts and some notions of Andean cultures into Romanian.

9 He divorced Virginia Miller in July 1940. Murra's second marriage with Elisabeth Ann Sawyer (February 1946) also ended in divorce in 1958.

10 I first came across Murra's name in Paris in 2004 while I was studying for a Master in Anthropology at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. His work was used and commented on in the Latin American interdisciplinary seminar of the EHESS. At the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle-Saale, I met in 2010 the US anthropologist Herb Lewis with whom I discussed Murra's Caribbean connections, especially his participation in the Puerto Rico research coordinated by Julian Steward (1956) and his association with Vera Rubin and the Research Institute for the Study of Man, which organized fieldwork training for graduate students in the Caribbean area (Martinique, Jamaica). John Murra was the fieldtrip supervisor of Herb Lewis (then a graduate student at Columbia University) and five other students from Vassar College, Columbia University and University of Montréal in Martinique during the summer of 1956.

11 In the original Spanish text: "Pregunta: Pero hay mucho antropólogo formal, cualquiera sea la disciplina a la que se dedica, que puede escribir magistralmente un texto, pero que no está comprometido con ninguna cosa. Eso es la diferencia. Murra: Pero esto no se me ocurrió nunca (risas). Yo estoy en este negocio. Es que también lo necesito. No encajo. No soy ni rumano, ni norteamericano, ni peruano. Yo soy una persona intersticial y la diferencia me parece humanamente aceptable. No veo una sola solución a un problema; creo que hay varias soluciones." (Castro *et al.* 2000:85).

12 The National Council for the Study of the *Securitate* (CNSAS)'s archives contain documents regarding John Murra which I haven't consulted yet.

13 See Oren (2000:141-145) discussing the discrimination suffered by anthropologist Edward Sapir during the 1930s at the Graduate Club of the University for his Jewish activism and identity.

14 Memorial statement about John Murra at Cornell University (2006) by Jane Fajans, Chair; Frederic W. Gleach, John Henderson and Bernd Lambert; retrieved from http://theuniversityfaculty.cornell.edu/memorials/murra.pdf (last accessed, July 31st, 2014).

15 In the summer of 1941, John Murra prepared for his fieldtrip in Ecuador, which entailed bureaucratic paperwork in order to be allowed to travel outside the US. He had applied by that time for US naturalization, but he hadn't yet been granted US citizenship (it would take almost another decade). In a letter by Fay-Cooper Cole, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago to S. E. Duran Ballen, Consul General of the Republic

of Ecuador, 'Isaak Lipschitz' appears in parenthesis, as a name of John Victor Murra (letter of Fay-Cooper Cole to S. E. Duran Ballen, August 8th, 1941, NAA, JVM Papers, Series IV, Biographical, Box 1, Folder 'Ecuador Trip'). Also in an official letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, US Department of Justice to Fay-Cooper Cole, it is stated that "there appears to be some question as to Mr. Murra's correct name, as shown on the manifest of his arrival" (letter of Marchall E. Dimock to Fay-Cooper Cole, July 16th, 1941, NAA, JVM Papers, Series IV, Biographical, Box 1, Folder 'Ecuador Trip').

16 Maria Iosifescu, personal communication, June 2014.

17 The decree no. 169, from January 22nd, 1938 reviewed the citizenship of all Romanian Jews. Those able to prove they had been residents of Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina before the formal unification with the Romanian Kingdom in 1918 could retain their citizenship. Since Odessa was not part of Bessarabia, the Jewish residents of the city who moved to Romania, like Murra's family, were stripped of their Romanian citizenship.

18 Saul B. Newton (1906-1991), whose original family name was Cohen, was born into a Jewish family in St. John's, New Brunswick, Canada. After studying at the University of Wisconsin, he went to Chicago where he was involved in Communist, unionist and anti-fascist circles around the University of Chicago. He fought in the Spanish Civil War and in the Second World War. He had no formal training in psychoanalysis, but his first wife Jane Pearce, M.D., was a qualified psychotherapist and follower of Harry Stack Sullivan (1892-1949), an innovative psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Saul Newton and Jane Pearce established in 1957 the Sullivan Institute for Research in Psychoanalysis, a psychoanalytical institute and a commune in Upper Manhattan. For a biographical *aperçu* of Saul B. Newton, see the essay published by his step-daughter and anthropologist Esther Newton (2001). Amy S. Siskind, a former member of the Sullivan community, has published a monograph dedicated to the Sullivan Institute, based on interviews with former members of the community after its dissolution in the early 1990s (Siskind 2003). For this current project, I am interested in understanding how Newton's particular psychoanalytical doctrine might have influenced John Murra's relationship with his family and especially with his mother. In this respect, Murra's intimate diaries, preserved at the NAA, are a vital source, as they contain notations of Murra's interactions and sessions with Saul Newton.

19 In the Spanish original text: "En 1941-1942, quedé deslumbrado por lo andino. Ocurrió en el Ecuador. Yo fui para ganarme el pan no fui para hacer grandes proyectos intelectuales. Sin embargo allí vi todo lo que había, conocí la literatura y vi que era un problema muy bueno, muy grande." (Castro *et al.* 2000:66).

[20] Transcript of an oral interview realized by May Mayko Ebihara with John Murra on August 24th, 1981, p. 15 (May Mayko Ebihara oral history interviews with anthropologists, NAA, Box 1, Folder 'Murra, John').

[21] Frank Salomon argues that ethnicity was a more important variable of analysis than class for Murra, which set him apart from other Marxist or materialist approaches in anthropology such as those proposed by Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz. Moreover, during his classes on the history of anthropology Murra stressed the centrality of ethnicity for understanding the academic battles of foreign-born intellectual leaders such as Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski (Salomon 2009:96).

[22] In spite of the fact that he left Romania in 1934 and didn't return until 1967, John Murra remained in contact, sporadically during the war, but more intensively after the end of the WWII, with his mother and especially his sister in Romania. Furthermore, he also seemed to be concerned about the political transformations in Romania immediately after the end of WWII. At the NAA, I found a four-page typed memorandum, in Romanian, entitled "Problema Minoritatilor Etnice din Romania" [The Problem of Ethnic Minorities in Romania] (JMP, Series I, Correspondence, Box 19, folder "[Iosifecu, Ata and family], 1940-1978, 1988-1990"). It is signed "John V. Murra (Ion V. Mura), Profesor de Etnologie, University of Chicago." The document is not dated, but judging from its content and the events it refers to one could assume it was written between 1945 and 1947. It gives an overall picture of interwar Romanian policies regarding ethnic minorities, pointing out their persecution at the hand of Romanian right-wing governments, especially the targeting of Jewish and Hungarian minorities (he does not mentions though the persecution of Roma under Antonescu regime). The report addresses also the situation of the German minority and its collaboration with the Nazis during WWII. Murra suggests that a rectification of borders, as was the case between 1940 and 1944, when northern and eastern Transylvania was under Hungarian sovereignty, would not be a realistic and peaceful solution. Instead, a peaceful coexistence inside the same borders, inside Romania, could be the only viable solution. The document mentions a map of Romania showing the demographic proportions of ethnic minorities, but this seems to have been lost. The circumstances of its production and the utility of such a document are not clear. Most probably, in the aftermath of the WWII, in the context of peace negotiation and pacification of Eastern Europe, John Murra was asked to make a report of the ethnic minorities' situation in his country of origin. However, considering the fact that the document was written in Romanian, one could assume that the public or its designated addressee was Romanian and not American.

[23] Transcript of an oral interview realized by May Mayko Ebihara with John Murra on August 24th, 1981, p. 5.

[24] Tismăneanu, V. (June 30th 2013), "Cine a fost Petre Borila? Intre Famiglia Comintern si familia Ceausescu (Updated)", retrieved from http://www.contributors.ro/global-europa/cine-a-fost-petre-borila-intre-famiglia-comintern-si-familia-ceausescu/ (last accessed on July 15th, 2014).

[25] In 1952-1953 Murra was a consultant on West African affairs for the Foundation for World Government. In this capacity, he attended the North American Assembly on African Affairs in Ohio on June 19th, 1952. In a letter to Basil Davidson dated August 15th, 1952, he makes an all-round description of the gathering and of the need for providing more information on economic development in Africa, especially regarding the protection of mining resources. He writes to Davidson that "my experience and association with people from West Africa at the UN and outside that organization confirms your findings: there is a serious lack of interest in economic matters and a lack of information and awareness of the complexities of economic development in mid-twentieth century. I have encountered this underestimation in Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean and read enough of it for other parts to think of it as a concomitant of dependent status in our time" (letter from JM to Basil Davidson, JMP, Series I, Correspondence, Box 10, folder 'Davidson, Basil').

[26] His theoretical preferences were with the Manchester school under the leadership of South-African and British anthropologist Max Gluckman (1911-1975). Murra and Gluckman sporadically corresponded. In a letter exchange with Mexican anthropologist Susan Drucker-Brown, Murra answers to Susan's dilemma of where to go for a Ph.D. in anthropology – Cambridge or Manchester – by rephrasing it as a choice to work either with Meyer Fortes or Max Gluckman: "As to the choice between Gluckman and Fortes, I am pro-Manchester for ideological, not personal, reasons. I simply like Gluckman's anthropology much better than Fortes'." (Letter of J. Murra to S. Drucker-Brown, June 16th, 1960, JMP, Series I, Correspondence, Box 10, Folder 'Drucker-Brown, Susan'). It seems that Murra's preference didn't deter Susan from doing her Ph.D. at Cambridge University under the supervision of Fortes with a thesis on the Mamprusi people in Northern Ghana. For an illuminating article on Fortes' personality and influence on her career, see Drucker-Brown (1989).

[27] 'CV of John Murra', JMP, Series I, Correspondence, Box 6, folder Boston University.

[28] JMP, Series I, Correspondence, Box 6, folder 'Boston University' contains letters exchanged between Alvin Zalinger, Department of Sociology, Boston University and J. Murra. The folder also contains a copy of a 'Prospectus for an African Area Studies Program at Boston University', to be submitted to the University Administration. John Murra appears as one of the two consultants for the Faculty Committee for an African Area Studies Program. Interestingly, the folder contains a letter of John Murra to Melville J. Herskovits, a leading

specialist on Africa at Northwestern University, asking for advice concerning the initiative to establish the African Area program at Boston University (J. Murra, letter to Melville J. Herskovits, April 16th, 1952). On April 23rd, 1952, Melville J. Herskovits answers John Murra advising the latter to go with the initiative. The initiative to establish the program was successful and its first director was Bill Brown. Alvin Zalinger writes to J. Murra on March 11th, 1953 informing the latter of the success of the establishment of the program and advising him to apply for a position at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Since this is the last letter in the folder, it is unclear if John Murra followed the advice and applied for that position or not.

29 A memorandum dated 'February 1st, 1962', by Dr. Stanley Diamond, Research Anthropologist, National Institute of Mental Health addressed to Dr. John Edgcomb, Chief of Ghana Unit, National Institutes of Health, contains a research proposal dealing with "the psychopathological factors associated with the transformation from traditional ways of life to transitional, i.e., relatively 'urbanized', 'westernized', 'commercialized', and 'secularized', behavioral modes" in the Southern Sector of the Volta Region." (Memorandum from Dr. Stanley Diamond to Dr. John Edgcomb, February 1st, 1962, JMP, Series I, Correspondence, Box 10, Folder 'Diamond, S.'). Various staff possibilities were proposed, including J. Murra either as principal investigator or co-investigator with S. Diamond.

30 Carlos Iván Degregori Caso (1945-2011) was a Peruvian anthropologist and professor at the University of San Marcos and researcher at the Institute of the Peruvian Studies (*Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*). He was a member of the *Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación* ('The Truth and Reconciliation Commission') established by the provisional president of Peru, Valentín Paniagua, in 2001 to address the internal violence in Peru in the 1980s and 1990s due to the armed confrontation between the army and the Shining Path and the Revolutionary Movement Tupac Amaru.

31 Max Weber's speeches on *Science as a Vocation* (München, 1917) and *Politics as a Vocation* (München, 1919) have become classical references for understanding the dilemmas of science and politics in the twentieth century. Understandably, his vision is shaped by the concerns of German academic life at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially by the opposition between a vision of education as *Buildung* or humanist self-cultivation and one focusing on the production and transmission of more narrowly specialized knowledge. Weber defended the latter perspective and interpreted scientific progress as an important factor in the overall process of 'intellectualization' subsumed under the modernization of the world. In this regard, however, contemporary science can no longer offer answers to questions about the meaning of the world or about ethical norms for conducting one's life. The space at my disposal allows me to make only a short remark regarding a comparison between Weber's conception of

science and Murra's vision of anthropology. Murra defends the humanistic and comparative pursuit of anthropology in documenting and understanding the "[c]ultural history of all human societies, with a special, though not exclusive, commitment to those civilizations vanquished in the expansion of Europe and the United States…" (Murra 1982 cited in Salomon 2009:99). While in his comparative scholarship Weber aims at understanding the uniqueness of the development of European modernity, Murra argues for the importance of uncovering and defending the diversity of human cultural innovations within the overall process of human evolution.

32 Letter of John Murra to Carlos Iván Degregori, April 12th, 1968 (NAA, JMP, Series I, Correspondence, Box 10, Folder 'Degregori, Carlos Iván').

33 *Ibidem*; In the Spanish original: "…En los Andes me parece mucho más revolucionario luchar por el uso del Quechua en la enseñanza, por una literatura (tanto popular como artística) en los idiomas andinos, que atacar bancos…"

34 *Ibidem;* In the Spanish original: "Me parece que nuestro papel, el de los intelectuales es de formular NUEVAS PREGUNTAS, tener mejor visión de lo que puede ocurrir, del tercera y quinta y tercerdécima movimiento. Guardar un ojo sin pánico cuando la gente movida solo por lo cuotidiano se hunde en él."

35 *Ibidem;* In the Spanish original: "…yo insistiría que el parentesco es solo un tema entre tantos pero nuestro, antropológico y somos orgullosos de haberlo descubierto. Es un ejemplo de la creatividad humana, como un poema, como un teorema geométrico y nadie sino nosotros lo hemos descubierto y valorado."

Archival Collections

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'LA SAUSSE VAUT MIEUX QUE LE POISSON': DAVID RUHNKEN'S 1754 PUBLICATION OF THE PLATONIC LEXICON OF TIMAEUS

Most scholarship takes place in the head; some of it is merely imaginary. The eighteenth-century English classical scholar Richard Porson wrote:

> I went to Strassburg, where I got drunk/With that most learnd professor Brunck/I went to Wortz, where I got drunken/With that more learnd professor Ruhnken.[1]

In fact, David Ruhnken and Porson never met, and perhaps the verses were merely attributed to, rather than authored by, Ruhnken. Porson never left England, and yet the idea of a Republic of Letters, in which one met and drank and argued, was now so strongly entrenched in the faculties of classical languages of Europe that if not true, at least the quatrain was *ben trovato*. The language and poses of novelty, of heroic scholars cutting a swath through the barbarisms of earlier generations, so familiar from the humanists of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, were by the early eighteenth century no longer really appropriate. New finds of any significance, such as the discovery of the Homeric digamma by Richard Bentley, were thin on the ground.[2] It is, in this regard, surely of interest that David Ruhnken turned, toward the end of his career, to the scholarly work of editing not an author of classical antiquity, but rather Marc-Antoine Muret, a humanist from the golden period of the sixteenth century.[3] He corrected Muret's Latinity, however, just in the same way as if he had been editing the faulty Latinity of a manuscript of Varro or Lucretius. Indeed, the interest in Muret was of longer duration, for we find Ruhnken reading Muret's *Variae lectiones* by 1754.[4] This essay, however, does not deal with this larger issue of David Ruhnken's relationship to the changes in the classical scholarship of the early Enlightenment in general. Rather it

confines itself to the role that Ruhnken's 1754 publication of the *Platonic Lexicon* of Timaeus played in the elaboration of this career forged in the twilight of the giants of philology. Written in the spirit of communicating to a wide interdisciplinary audience, this essay places the publication of the *Lexicon* in the larger context of the disciplinary reformations of what was once 'humane letters' and what was becoming *Altertumiswissenschaft*, in a way which is consistent with recent scholarly literature on the contribution of philology to the eighteenth-century 'invention' of the human and social sciences. However, its particular contribution is to examine critically the role of Ruhnken's Timaean philology in the wider "search for the historical Plato" and to, more narrowly still, suggest the relevance – for the *Lexicon* – of an unnoticed aspect of the private teaching of Tiberius Hemsterhuis, who had been Ruhnken's mentor in Leiden.

Ruhnken was born in 1723 in what is today Poland's Bydlino, but what is today Germany's Bedlin. His father was a "rentmaster" to the Graaf Podewils. It is accidental, but happily so, that Ruhnken should have been a classmate of Immanuel Kant in the Collegium Fredericianum, which, according to the most recent scholar, had affinities with, but no explicit influence from, the pietist formation by Francke at Halle.[5] The chief twentieth-century Ruhnken scholar E. Huhlshoff Pol refers to it, not unjustly, as "de beroemdste school von Noord-Duitsland".[6] In a letter exchange, much quoted by later scholars, Ruhnken and Kant were both a little dismissive of the education that they received at the Collegium, but if Kant was to travel further than Ruhnken from its strictures, both were in its debt. Yet Ruhnken's path was where the Greek was, and in the early eighteenth century, the University of Leiden was considered the great nursery of Hellenists. Ruhnken's life was from this point on essentially a Leiden life. And his closest influences were also all from Leiden: Johannes Alberti, Tiberius Hemsterhuis, Valcknaer.

So when Ruhnken, as we shall see, published an edition of a highly techincal work of philology on the corpus of Plato, what he thought he was doing was naturally conditioned by the changing patterns of the relation of philology to philosophy in the early eighteenth century. The grand tradition of such Renaissance giants, who squarely adopted a philological approach to philosophy had begun to falter. The great master of early enlightenment philology, Richard Bentley, notably steered clear of Aristotle and Plato. With the separation of the universal culture of Renaissance philology into the ever more specialized disciplines and 'studies of man' in full force, classical scholarship found itself on the defensive, or at least, operating in

a very different 'social economy' of the universities than before. For one (I hope helpfully) schematic account of this, I represent here the work of Michael Carhart's account of these changes:

The contribution of Renaissance philology to 'cultural studies' split three ways (*pace* Carhart, 2007, p. 240) in the 1770s

Philology (Scaliger, Casaubon, Grotius, Vossius, ?Ruhnken: 1600 -1750)
- Platner: cognitive psychology
- Meiners and Herder: sociology/history/anthropology
- Kant: critical reflection on human reason and its methodological implications

In this light, one *might* see the publication of the highly technical lexicographical work by Ruhnken as a contribution to this development. Yet that is too generalizing, and, as I hope to show, there are certain 'local' explanations that remain important. Furthermore, Carhart's thesis about Ruhnken's aims in the Timaeus *Lexicon* is also not yet made out, it seems to me. In order to explore this further, however, more should be said of the *Lexicon*.

The first thing to say about the work is that it is a very small book indeed. The work contains 468 words of supposedly Platonic origin, and for each word offers a simple gloss. It, is in other words, a work that would fit in a few pages of A4 typescript. Let us leave out of consideration for the time being that some of the words are not Platonic. And then the traditional ascription of the work to Timaeus the Sophist suggests plenty of other problems. Let us not dwell too long on the fact that some of the glosses by the author are unhelpful or banal. But its very unhelpfulness poses problems that, to the enquiring mind, are suggestive. Here is an apt characterization from a recent scholar:

> Even more strikingly, in spite of its elevated claims (after all, we are dealing with a *lexicon vocum Platonicarum*), it takes account of a surprising number of non-Platonic words, deals with some issues of pure grammar (one may mention the appearance of positive, comparative, and superlative forms of ῥᾴδιον, 371-373), and refers to words or particles we would probably not deem worthy to include in a Platonic dictionary. All this may prove rather confusing to anyone expecting a work of, let us say, more ambitious aspirations – for such an individual, the lexicon might come as somewhat of a disappointment or, at the very least, surprise. Thus, it seems, the

> work does demand some explanation: given that the introductory letter clearly defines Timaeus' aim as that of providing an instrument which would facilitate a better understanding of the Platonic dialogues, it seems reasonable to assume that the *voces non-Platonicae* appeared in the course of transmission, as a result of the marginal notes penetrating into the archetype. With regard to the grammatical issues or the explanations concerning particles we may assume they were deemed necessary in view of the development of Greek language in the imperial era (after all, notes of similar character can be found in Neoplatonic commentaries). These assumptions, however, do not explain anything but the most general framework, leaving a reader with several nagging questions.[7]

But such nagging questions are not merely 'in the air'; particular circumstances about the emerging study of lexicography in early eighteenth-century Leiden gave shape to the particular ways in which Ruhnken responded to these questions. Perhaps just as influential as any attractions of the work itself was the impact of the friendship of Joannes Alberti. The two men were close, and already in 1745, Alberti records in the preface to his edition of the Greek lexicographer Hesychius that it was the 22-year old Ruhnken, who helpfully provided him with a copy of the little book of the Leipzig professor, Ernesti, *On the Correct Use of Dictionaries*.[8] This work explicitly mentions Timaeus and his Platonic lexicon, and it is the likely immediate source for Ruhnken's view of the relation between lexicography and *imitatio*.[9] Its high humanist faith in the variety diversity of human wits and minds (*varietas*, *diversitas*, *ingenii*, *mentes*) combined with the belief that the stylistic copiousness and abundance of certain classical writers (above all Homer and Plato) – and hence their imitation – was sufficient to cope with such variety is perhaps less explicitly rooted in the particulars of the historical circumstances of the antique schoolroom than Ruhnken's account, but one sees the genesis of the latter in Ernesti. Alberti, perhaps at Ruhnken's insistence, chose to include the entire work of Ernesti as part of the prefatory matter to his Heyschius edition. In any case, the value of lexicography for the young Ruhnken was now clear in his personal career path, as evidenced by the Heyschius edition, as it was in his own thinking about Classical Antiquity.

How does Ruhnken himself describe this work? Some of the detail of the preparation for this project has already been covered (albeit in a rare doctoral thesis published half a century ago), but I want to focus less on what actually happened than the way in which Ruhnken presents it. Let me paraphrase his preface. He starts in an eminently humanistic way, if

by humanistic (in the Renaissance) we mean someone who takes style seriously. Plato wrote in a way, Ruhnken avers, that had a style far removed from normal speech. Thus there grew up a school of lexicography, first of whom was Harpocriton (Ruhnken draws his authority here from the Suda). Then one Boethus (for two citations of whose work, Ruhnken draws on the *Bibliotheca* of Photius). Although both these works were lost in the general 'shipwreck of letters' that the coming centuries caused, Ruhnken thinks that he can detect evidence of these lost works in the Timaeus work. He then proceeds to place Timaeus in the line of Platonist writers such as Porphyry, Iamblichus, Boethus and Plotinus. In other words, he adverts to the *philosophical* tradition within which this little libellus of lexicography may be seen. Turning to the moderns, Ruhnken is keen to start his constellation of scholars by quoting one of the greatest Dutch scholars of the golden age, Daniel Heinsius. Ruhnken quotes at some length a discussion taken from Heinsius' eighth dissertation of Maximus of Tyre. If only Heinsius had wished that the Platonists had not only produced accounts of Plato's doctrines, *but also of his words*. No mention of any of the Platonic revival philosophers of the seventeenth century follows, but rather Bernard De Montfaucon, who had actually discovered the manuscript. After that, we here of the meeting between Henry Gally and Ruhnken, which was influential in the genesis of the manuscript. Given that Ruhnken was still a young man when this project was mooted, one can see clearly a certain careerist tendency in this name-dropping. However, Ruhnken continues by discussing the role of imitation in ancient prose style. Plato's prose style found many imitators, since he was such a supreme stylist. Therefore Ruhnken needs to understand these words by reference to these later writers on occasion (Maximus of Tyre, Julian, Synesius, Themistius and so on). This is not only sensible, but also begins to suggest why Ruhnken found this a particularly valuable work on which to produce a vastly extended commentary of several hundred pages. It should be noted that Ruhnken is quite adept at correcting silently the more silly mistakes of the manuscript copyist.

What does Ruhnken do with this lexicon? Michael Carhart's recent book *The Science of Culture in Enlitenment Germany* already has a fascinating and provocative answer.

> In two hundred pages of text and commentary, Ruhnken built a case that the historical Plato was not the eighteenth-century Plato. Even the Plato of antiquity was not the historical Plato, but rather a construction built over generations.[10]

We will return to this interesting claim. Let me first reproduce here some of Ruhnken entries with an accompanying paraphrase in English.

> 23. ἁλαζών. Lysid. p.112 B. φοβοῦμαι μή ὥσπερ ἀνθρωποις ἁλαζοῖς, λόγοις τιςί τοιοῦτοις ἐντετυχήκαμεν. Hipp. Min. p. 232 D. τὸν Ἀχιλλέα εἰς τὸν Ὀδυσσέα λέγειν, ἀλαζόνα. B Charm. P. 244 D […]. Mendaces vates frequentissime ἀλαζόνας dici, eleganter docet Hemsterhuis ad Lucian. Dial. Mort. XXVIII p. 447. Polit. VIII p. 498 D ψευδεῖς δὴ καὶ ἀλαζόνες, οἶμαι, λόγοι καὶ δοξαί. Sic etiam Gorg. p. 313 D ψεύδος καὶ ἀλαζονεια. Phileb. P. 94 E. Euthydem. p. 219 F. Phaedon. P. 391 B. Polit. VI. 470 A 471 D. Demodocus 378 C. Proprium autem erat sophistarum epitheton, qui, quod nesciebant, pulcre scire, fatuosa vanitate iactabant. Quem usum, Atticis familiarem observait Schol. Aristoph. ad Nub. v.102 et ad Ran. v. 282. Plato, vel, si mavis, Aeschines Socraticus, Eryx. p. 744.

This is a not untypical passage where the word in question was indeed to be found in the Platonic corpus. So, in essence, here we have a word in the Timaeus Lexicon, and then its gloss ("liars"), to which Ruhnken gives a further range of Platonic parallels, pointing out that Tiberius Hemsterhuis had made already a contribution on the relation between this word and its particular appropriateness to deceitful prophets, and finally adding a comment that this was a word, according to Attic usage (exemplified by the ancient scholiasts on the Greek comic poet Aristophanes), had a derogatory flavour and was often applied to Plato's enemies, the "sophists". He closes noting that his source for this is an ancient dialogue of Plato, but which may have been by someone else (something that the well-diffused Diogenes Laertius had already recorded).

> 51. Ανδραποδώιδη τρίχα] pro ἴδιον Suidas minus recte ἰδίως, apud quem mox desunt verba, αἱ δοῦλαι τε καὶ. Pertinet glossa ad Alcibiad. I p. 32 A. ἔτι τὴν ἀνδραπαδώδη τρίχα ἔχοντες ἐπι τῆι ψυχῆι…Quem locum Olympiodorus commentariis in hunc Dialogum manu exaratis, quos inter libros Vossianos Leidensis Bibliothecae excussimus, egregrie illustrat: παροιμία ἐστὶ γυναικῶν, επὶ τῶν ελευθερουμένων δούλων, καὶ εἰμενοντων ἐν τῆι δουλείαι-ὅτι ἔχεις τὴν ἀνδραποδώιδη τρίχα ἐν τῆι κεφαλῆι, τουτέστιν, ἔτι τὴν δουλουκὴν τρίχα ἔχεις

...[Greek quotation continues for a few lines more]. Eandem observationem, sed minus integram, iam olim ex MS protulit vir magnus I. Casaubonus ad Persii. Sat. V p. 426. A Platone suo sumpsit Proclus in Tim. LI p. 31 διότι τὴν παντοίαν Αἰγυπτων σοφίαν οὐ [illegible], ἀλλ᾽ὀι πλεῖστοι παρ᾽αὐτοῖς, τὴν ἀνδραποδώδη τρίχα ἔφερον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Adde Eustathium Kustero laudatum ad Il. A. p. 79. Multum differt illud Lysidis ap Iamblich. V. P. cap. XVII p. 64. Πυκιναὶ γὰρ καὶ λάσιαι λόχμαι περί τὰς φρένας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν πεφυκάνται τῶν μὴ καθαρῶς τοῖς μαθήμασιν ὠγιασθέντων.

This passage (on the 51st lemma of Timaeus's *Lexicon*, "slavish hair") begins by making a small textual emendation on the passage from the Suida that accompanies the Timaean original. Then it gives a parallel from another Platonic work, the *Alciabides*, and then makes the point that Olympiodorus, a late antique commentator on Plato, had used the very same passage in making his own commentary on the *Alcibiades*. It had clearly become a proverb by the time of Olympiodorus that to have slavish hair in one's heart was to say, despite the non-servile long locks of the freedman, something "slavish" still stuck in his soul. Ruhnken notes that this was, if not in its entirety, an observation also that found its way into a manuscript version of Isaac Casaubon's commentary on Persius' *Satires* (which Ruhnken had found, he notes, in Leiden Library). Proclus liked this phrase sufficiently (that perhaps is the implication of 'suo') to add into his own commentary on the Timaues, and even Eustathius, the late commentator on Homer, is dragged in, showing how this little phrase had a life beyong the Homeric corpus (and perhaps suggesting why the phrase should have been selected by Timaeus). Then there is a rather hard to follow comment to the effect that this phrase is very different from the words put into the mouth of Lysis and quoted by Iamblichus in his work on the Pythagorean way of life (which is something about how difficult is to free the mind and heart of irregular thoughts and ideas amongst those who have not received the pure training). One might call the gist of this passage a history of a Platonic proverb.

55. Ἄντυγες] Theaetet. P. 141 F. ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαπώμεν ἂν ἐρωτηθέντες ο τί ἐστιν, ἁμαξα, εἰ ἐχοῖμεν ειπεῖν, τροχοί, ἄξων, ὑπερτερία, ἄντυγες, ζυγόν. Quod ἄντυξ esset, vulgo paene ignorabatur, donec illud praeclare, ut infinita alia, exponeret Ti. Hemsterhus. Ad Lucian Deor. Dial. XXV p. 279.

This is a fairly straightforward instance of praise of Hemsterhuis. No-one had understood what this word had meant until Hemsterhuis explained

it in his work on Lucian. What I want to emphasize, and although here I have provided merely a few examples, they are examples that could be very significantly multiplied, is how far these examples are from proving what Carhart seems to suggest.The first substantive result of my research relates to Carhart's thesis about Ruhnken's separation of Plato from Platonism. Ruhnken's notes to the *Lexicon* distinguish Plato from his later predecessors. Although the basic arguments about this distinction had been made a few years before Ruhnken, Ruhnken picks them up. I must say that I do not understand how this understanding has happened. I appreciate that only some of you know Latin, but it is quite clear from a look at the Ruhnken text that there is in fact very little of this disambiguation going on. Now, at one point in the preface, he does say that Ruhnken takes particular pleasure in showing where later authors have taken a particular passage from Plato. But this is more about *imitatio*, than intellectual history, since we are talking about the history of particular tags and phrases rather than positions. What we have seen rather is how later authors select particular phrases of Plato and then re-use them. But this is very different from saying that what we think about Plato is different from the real Plato. At one level, of course, simply reiterating that Platonic commentary often reuses particular phrases and took place within a curriculuar context of imitation of Platonic style is already to refuse to talk about the Platonic system in the way that, perhaps, Ficino would have done. But it is not to say that the generally accepted view of the Platonic system is incorrect to the historical actuality of the Platonic corpus.

This is, perhaps, merely a matter of emphasis, and naturally saying how important philology to philosophy is is already to take a certain position on the historicity of Plato, but I think we must resile from the bolder formulation of Carhart. A person may understand the problems of philosophy and its characteristic argumentative moves very well, have a certain intrinsic talent for some flavours of philosophy, and yet not really want to 'do' philosophy. What made that more true in the early modern period that, in large measure, education just was philosophy: every student spent an entire year on the study of Aristotelian logic, in a way that later generations of classical scholars often would not, thereby creating a greater institutional difference between philosophy and philology. For two hundred years, the only people who write commentaries on ancient philosophy are themselves scholars who devote themselves entirely to ancient philosophy, whereas before a scholar, such as Ruhnken might work on both Aristotle, and say, one of the ancient poets, such as Apollonius

Rhodius. One consequence of this (which is not explored in the text) is the answer to the question, what is the relavant unit of analysis in the history of philosophy: word, phrase, sentence, paragraph? This has further consequences (at least methodological, if not philsophical *stricto sensu*), even if I am sceptical about the historicizing thesis of Carhart. Namely, for Ruhnken and all such philologists, the starting point of exposition in philosophy is the word.

Furthermore, I think we can pinpoint some more precise elements of Runhken's enthusiasm for this edition of a work of philosophical lexicography. And rather than suggest that Ruhnken is part of some unstoppable tide of historicism, an explanation leaves out the scope of what I call more local and more precise factors, let us attend to something else. Let me underscore the influence of Tiberius Hemsterhuis, Ruhnken's tutor. What I want to suggest is that in addition to the general interest in what sort of Plato was necessary, Ruhnken's tutor inspired in him an interest in philosophy in general, and, most interesting, and what I should like to underline is that Hemsterhuis did *not* just approach philosophy as a philologist. We have already seen the impact of Hemsterhuis on particular details in relation to particular words in the *Lexicon*. One would imagine therefore that the impact of Hemsterhuis was, in a narrow sense, philological. One piece of evidence, however, inclines us to a more sophisticated picture of what Hemsterhuis thought he was up to, and, then, perhaps, also Ruhnken. Ruhnken, in a eulogy made after his tutor's death, note that how addicted to the study of philosophy Hemsterhuis was. He (Hemsterhuis) would compare ancient and modern philosophy, calling John Locke an Aristotelian, and Leibniz a second Plato, though he was quite clear that in the field of *Metaphysics* no progress had been made since the ancients.[11] But despite his tutor's interest in ancient philosophy, there is no evidence for this interest in his published works – it was a private passion clearly (if we take Ruhnken's testimony seriously). Still more interesting is something else that Ruhnken says about Hemsterhuis's approach to philosophy. Ruhnken says that Tiberius Hemsterhius was amazed that, despite the massive amount of material that it offered, the discipline of the history of philosophy had barely been touched. What does this mean? We can see both sides of the philosophical choice in Hemsterhuis, between viewing the history of philosophy as a forum in which you can make comparsions, because philosophy is about arguments and ideas, and on the other hand, viewing philosophy as in essence a historical discipline which will need to start with philology. Ruhnken

was clearly impressed by the force of his tutor's interest in philosophy, even though Hemsterhuis's published works do not betray this interest; it was clearly an example of the more free-wheeling style characteristic of oral tuition. And we see that, given the changed nature of the times, the chance discovery of a highly lexicographical Platonic manuscript, pushed Ruhnken in the second of these directions. Already in 1801, the scholar Rink saw the relation between Hemsterhuis and Ruhnken as a peculiarly close and important one, and I am happy to pay tribute to Rink's groundbreaking work.[12] And, furthermore, before we dismiss this Ruhnken kind of philological detail of as no interest to philosophers, let us remind ourselves that probably the most intellectually powerful and productive scholar of ancient philosophy today, the Oxford and Geneva based Jonathan Barnes, has collaborated with Magadalena Bonelli to produce a recent commentary on this very same lexicon of Timaeus, a commentary that is gargantuan compared to the tiny compass of the original work: 500 pages.[13] Truly, Valcknaer said of Ruhnken's work on the *Lexicon*, quoting, with a certain self-conscious piquancy, Scaliger, "La sausse vaut mieux que le poisson".[14]

NOTES

1 M. L. C., *Richard Porson: A Biographical Essay*, London, p. 16.

2 For Bentley, see now K. Haugen, *Richard Bentley: Poetry and Enlightenment*, Harvard, 2012, with full bibliography.

3 *Marci Antonii Mureti Opera Omnia*, 4 vols., ed. D. Ruhnken, Leiden: Luchtmans, 1789.

4 *Lexicon*, p. 36.

5 *Die Schule Kants: Mit dem Text von Christian Schiffart*…., p.1. He cites there further bibliography for the conflict between Wolf and Halle, however, that caused the works of Wolf to be influential in the curriculum at the Collegium.

6 *Studia Ruhnkeniana*, p. 14.

7 *Bryn Mawr Classical Review,* 2010.10.03.

8 Joannes Alberti, *Hesychii Lexicon....,* Leiden: Luchtmans, 1746, sig. ††††††††††2$^{r.}$

9 J. A. Ernesti, *De vero usu et indole glossariorum Graecorum*, Leipzig, sig. B2^{r-v}.

10 Michael Carhart, *The Science of Culture in Enlightenment Germany*, Harvard, 2007, p. 123.

11 See David Ruhnken, *Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhuisi*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1875, p. 13. There is a more recent edition of this: H. Nikitinski, *Ruhnkenii Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii*, Munich/Leipzig, 2006, which I have not been able to consult.

12 F. T. Rink, *Tiberius Hemsterhuis und David Ruhnken. Biographischer Abriss ihrens Lebens*, Koenigsberg, 1801.

13 Madalena Bonelli and Jonathan Barnes, *Timee le sophiste. Lexique platonicien*, Leiden, Brill, 2006.

14 See *Studia Ruhnkeniana*, p.152 n.64 (and for the quotation from Scaliger, "*Secunda Scaligerana*, Groningen, 1669, II.5", which I have taken from *Studia Runhkeniana*, and which must, slightly confusingly, refer to the book with the title 'Prima Scaligerana quibus adjunta et altera Scaligerana', there being no other such work published in that year at Groeningen).

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BATIR LA REUSSITE FAMILIALE DANS SON VILLAGE D'ORIGINE. MIGRATION ET INVESTISSEMENTS IMMOBILIERS D'UN GROUPE ROM ROUMAIN

Résumé

Cet article traite des investissements domestiques et immobiliers de migrants roms roumains dans leur village d'origine. Depuis les années 2000 et l'augmentation des circulations migratoires roumaines, une forte compétition immobilière a vu le jour dans de nombreux villages de migrants. Le groupe rom dont il est question ici n'y a pas échappé. A travers une analyse des relations entre parenté et espace domestique, il s'agit de comprendre d'une part les origines spécifiques de l'obsession immobilière au sein de ce groupe, d'autre part comment l'amélioration de la maison villageoise, qui incarne la trajectoire sociale de ses habitants, doit nécessairement être interminable.

Mots-clés: Roms, migration, parenté, espace domestique, immobilier, réussite sociale.

Introduction

Cet article propose une analyse des pratiques d'habitat et des investissements immobiliers dans un village roumain, tels qu'on les observe dans les foyers roms dont la plupart des membres sont installés en France. Les descriptions et l'analyse se fondent sur une enquête ethnographique menée durant cinq ans auprès de plusieurs familles, dans leur ville de résidence en France, dans un des villages d'origine de ce groupe, et sur la route, dans le microbus qui conduit les migrants d'un lieu à l'autre. Les membres de ce groupe rom sont originaires de plusieurs villages de la région d'Arad, et forment une constellation de familles liées par des unions matrimoniales depuis plusieurs générations. Une partie de

chaque famille – si ce n'est la famille entière – est installée de façon durable à l'étranger. Ce sont eux qui subviennent aux besoins de leurs parents qui ne sont pas partis, ou de ceux qui sont rentrés définitivement – le plus souvent, il s'agit de personnes âgées et des enfants qui leurs sont confiés temporairement. Le réseau familial de ces gens s'étend aujourd'hui entre différentes villes de France, Belgique, Irlande et Écosse, en fonction des opportunités d'installation que les uns et les autres y ont trouvé. Dans la proximité comme dans la distance, ceux avec qui chacun s'organise sont les membres du foyer, du groupe domestique, autrement dit : la maisonnée. Sa composition varie d'une famille à l'autre, mais elle comprend au moins un couple parental, leurs enfants célibataires, et leur dernier fils marié accompagné de sa femme et de ses propres enfants. Dans la migration, elle se perpétue sous la forme d'une maisonnée transnationale. Les déplacements humains, la manifestation de l'affection et de la solidarité matérielle, ou encore le maintien d'une intimité virtuelle à travers les contacts téléphoniques fréquents montrent que malgré la distance, cette maisonnée transnationale reste le pilier de l'organisation, des soucis quotidiens comme des projets à long terme.

Les trajectoires migratoires des membres de ce groupe s'inscrivent dans un contexte national fortement marqué par l'émigration et les circulations pendulaires. Depuis 2002 et la fin de l'exigence de visa pour les déplacements des citoyens roumains au sein de l'Espace Schengen, les mobilités de ces derniers ont sensiblement augmenté, prenant un caractère circulaire plus systématique. Ces circulations ont eu des conséquences particulièrement fortes sur le développement et le niveau de vie dans les milieux ruraux, où les remises de fonds constituent aujourd'hui encore la principale source de revenus des familles de migrants (Horvath & Anghel, 2009). C'est aussi à ce moment que débute le « grand mouvement immobilier » (Mihailescu, 2011) : les constructions dans les localités d'origine se multiplient, et concernent aujourd'hui au moins 50% des ménages migrants (Grigoraș, 2006).

Les personnes dont il est question dans cet article sont arrivées à Montreuil, ville de la proche banlieue parisienne en 2001, après de multiples séjours en Allemagne ou en Belgique au cours des années 1990. Au fil des années, elles y ont développé des réseaux de relations, trouvé des opportunités de travail, ou du moins des niches économiques informelles à exploiter, entre mendicité, récupération de ferraille, et tous types de commerces ou d'affaires temporaires. Ces Roms ont d'abord vécu à Montreuil dans des maisons ou bâtiments squattés, jusqu'à la

mise en place par la mairie d'un programme de relogement et d'insertion locale en 2008. Depuis, près de 400 personnes ont été soutenues par cette initiative, et logées sur un terrain muni de caravanes. Le programme commence aujourd'hui à déboucher sur l'accès à des logements standards. Mais il a en premier lieu offert aux Roms montreuillois une stabilité résidentielle et une protection juridique qui ont favorisé le développement ou la concrétisation de projets personnels, le plus souvent tournés vers l'investissement immobilier dans leur village d'origine.

Désormais bien ancrés à Montreuil, où ils passent le plus clair de l'année, ces Roms en sont devenus des citadins à part entière. Entre leur village et Montreuil, ils ont développé un véritable double-ancrage, qui leur permet, à chaque trajet en bus dans un sens ou dans l'autre, d'affirmer qu'ils « rentrent à la maison ». Ce sentiment est largement favorisé par le fait qu'une grande partie du tissu social du village est recomposé sur le terrain municipal de Montreuil, assurant une continuité dans les repères sociaux, culturels, moraux. Cette configuration résidentielle particulière dessine par ailleurs les contours d'une expérience migratoire commune et partagée par tous les membres du groupe. Les enjeux liés à la réussite migratoire, à la honte de l'échec et à la part de ce qu'il faut cacher à ses parents restés au village, ne se manifestent pas ici de manière classique. Bien qu'ils soient désireux de prouver à leurs pairs leur capacité à *réussir*, ces migrants ont en effet traversé ensemble, et sans déshonneur particulier, les nombreuses galères propres à la vie sur les terrains illégaux, à la mendicité, aux travaux informels etc.

Tandis que Montreuil est devenu le lieu de résidence, de travail et de l'épargne minutieuse, le village d'origine s'est peu à peu transformé en lieu de vacances qui, comme le disent les intéressés, « mange » en quelques semaines les économies accumulées toute l'année. Ces séjours sont un temps de retrouvailles familiales et de travaux immobiliers, qu'il s'agisse de petit entretien, de rénovation ou de construction. Au sein de ce groupe, la possession d'une maison villageoise que l'on a soi-même réalisée est en effet un élément essentiel à l'accomplissement social des hommes et des femmes. Les migrants roms ne sont bien sûr pas les premiers à construire dans leur pays d'origine des maisons qui narrent leurs parcours migratoires. Ils ne sont pas non plus les premiers à construire des maisons qu'ils n'habitent pas. Tout comme nombre de migrants roumains depuis 1989, ils sont pourtant accaparés par leurs projets immobiliers, jusqu'à être piégés dans une compétition sans fin autour de leurs maisons villageoises. Partant de ce constat, l'objectif de

cet article est de comprendre comment les habitations roumaines de ces migrants installés en France sont produites, organisées et continuellement transformées pour pour être le lieu de reproduction de la vie domestique et collective, mais aussi le lieu où se crée puis s'exprime l'ascension sociale familiale. En plaçant mes observations sous l'éclairage des notions de vie sociale des objets (Appadurai, 1986) et de biographies d'objets (Kopytoff, 1986 ; Bonnot, 2002) ainsi que de la branche de la culture matérielle consacrée à la consommation (Miller, 1995 ; Warnier, 1999), j'ai développé une analyse des maisons roumaines comme *objet social* produit par les gestes de leurs propriétaires et les discours qu'ils tiennent à leur propos. La biographie de ces bâtisses, constamment modifiées, évolue au fil des opportunités et du parcours migratoire des habitants, qui souhaitent y voir incarnée au mieux leur carrière sociale et familiale au sein du groupe.

Le début de cet article reconstitue brièvement l'histoire résidentielle des habitants du quartier rom, nécessaire pour comprendre l'évolution des manières de s'inscrire dans le quartier et le village après l'ouverture des frontières et la généralisation des circulations internationales. Mais dans ce groupe, l'accomplissement social est avant tout dépendant de la constitution d'un foyer, dont la seconde partie de l'article retrace les principales étapes. C'est en effet dans les règles matrimoniales, analysées ici du point de vue des jeunes filles qui cherchent à s'émanciper de leur belle-famille, que l'on trouve le socle des préoccupations immobilières de chacune et chacun. Dans une dernière partie, je m'intéresse aux gestes domestiques des femmes et plus largement, aux mouvements imprimés aux habitations, depuis les petites répétitions quotidiennes jusqu'aux plus grands chantiers de construction. Les relations entre les habitants et leurs maisons montrent comment ces ambitions immobilières qui ne trouvent jamais de fin, s'ancrent en réalité dans la nécessité de continuer à faire évoluer son parcours individuel et familial tout au long de sa vie.

1. D'où viennent les Roms d'ici ?

Quarante cinq kilomètres après le passage de la frontière hongroise, l'arrivée à Ghireșteni[1] par la départementale 793 offre toujours le même paysage. A perte de vue, de part et d'autre de la route, l'immense plaine donne à voir des champs tracés au cordeau, dont bien peu sont cultivés. Mais contrairement au paysage immuable des alentours du village, celui

du centre change en permanence. Chaque année, de nouvelles maisons à étage, toutes briques apparentes et à diverses étapes de construction, remplacent quelques maisons paysannes sur la route principale. Avant l'arrivée du printemps, presque tous les chantiers sont à l'arrêt en attendant le retour de leurs propriétaires, qui feront avancer les travaux en fonction de leurs moyens financiers respectifs. Dans toutes les rues du village, de gros cubes de briques sous plastique sont déposés ça et là, sur le bord de la chaussée, devant de vieilles maisons paysannes promises à la destruction, devant des chantiers arrêtés ou devant des parcelles vides, comme le premier signe visible d'un projet enfin amorcé.

Des récits recueillis, et de la répartition effective de l'habitat jusqu'à aujourd'hui, deux rues émergent comme étant celles de l'installation pionnière des Roms, celles où ces derniers sont majoritaires depuis plusieurs décennies. Situé au sud-est du village, le quartier débouche sur la zone que l'on nomme indifféremment *pi-margina* (sur la marge, sur le côté) ou *po-campo* (au champ). Un des villageois roms relate en des termes assez clair l'évolution des résidants de sa rue, où les Roms ont peu à peu remplacé les paysans gadjé :

> *Norah*: Donc avant, il n'y avait que des gadjé ?
> *Kalo*: Que des gadjé.
> *N.*: Et depuis combien de temps il n'y a plus que des Roms ?
> *K.*: Depuis… trente, trente-cinq ans.
> *N.*: Et pourquoi tous les gadjé sont partis ?
> K. : Ben ils sont partis, parce qu'ils sont partis dans les villes, plus grandes. D'autres sont morts, d'autres sont partis chez leurs femmes, d'autres à Arad… Mais la majorité sont morts ici. Et leurs femmes, leurs familles ont vendu les maisons.
> *N.*: Elles ne voulaient plus rester ici ?
> *K.*: Non, elles ne voulaient plus. Ils se sont acheté des maisons plus loin d'ici.
> *(Entretien avec Kalo, Ghireșteni, mai 2011)*

Le peuplement du quartier par les Roms apparaît donc comme le résultat du départ progressif de tous les habitants gadjé. À mesure que les vieux paysans s'éteignaient, les Roms locaux, et d'autres arrivant de deux villages voisins, manifestaient la volonté de racheter leurs maisons à leurs héritiers. On imagine aisément que pour ces derniers, conserver une maison dans un voisinage exclusivement rom ne présentait plus aucun intérêt. Selon les généalogies et les parcours résidentiels recueillis durant

mon enquête, il apparaît que le regroupement définitif de la plupart de ceux qui constituent le groupe actuel ne remonte pas plus loin que 40 ou 50 ans. Quant aux raisons de ce regroupement, et aux événements qui l'ont précédés, ils restent jusqu'à présent impossibles à reconstituer à partir de la mémoire orale des intéressés.

En effet, chaque fois que les souvenirs d'un passé lointain ont été évoqués en ma présence, ils l'ont été en réponse à mes sollicitations. Je pense pouvoir affirmer sans me tromper que ce type d'expérience est partagée par une majorité de chercheurs sur leurs terrains tsiganes. Certains d'entre eux les ont d'ailleurs relatées de manière détaillée, comme c'est le cas de P. Gay y Blasco (2001 : 634) et de M. Stewart (1997 : 28). Les récits du déménagement d'un village à l'autre se corroborent en partie, mais ses raisons restent peu claires, et les dates avancées par les uns et les autres se contredisent largement, confirmant leur désintérêt pour tout ce qui touche au passé (Stewart, 1997 : 60). Dans ces récits sommaires, le temps s'étire parfois démesurément ou au contraire, se rétrécit soudain, jusqu'à superposer différentes époques de leurs vies. La mémoire collective des adultes narrateurs, qui ont tous plus de 45 ans, ne remonte qu'à deux générations. Si la connaissance des relations extensives entre les vivants est soigneusement entretenue, alors que la mémoire généalogique est rapidement oblitérée, c'est avant tout parce que dans ces groupes, la parenté *"is focused on the future rather than the past and is encapsulated in the process of producing children and grandchildren"* (Cartsen, 1995: 319).

2. Une maisonnée bien composée

Un détour par quelques notions de parenté nous permettra de mieux comprendre les enjeux individuels et collectifs liés aux réalisations immobilières, et de proposer une première analyse du rapport à l'espace domestique dans ce groupe.

2.1. Le *njamo* et la parenté

Chez les Roms de Ghireșteni, les termes utilisés pour parler de parenté se résument à *njamo* ou *familia*[2]. Le *njamo*, issu du roumain *neam,* est utilisé dans la plupart des groupes locuteurs du romanès. Il renvoie à une idée d'appartenance et d'ascendance commune, et désigne à la fois les parents et les relations de parenté. Le terme semble en effet avoir « un

emploi aussi vague que l'équivalent français que nous lui donnons ; il peut désigner le père et la mère ou bien tous les consanguins ou bien même les consanguins et les affins » (Williams, 1984 : 150). Il ne recouvre donc pas notre notion de lignage, dont le contenu est bien plus précis (*ibid.* : 139), et relève plutôt d'un « mode d'identification de l'individu que d'un groupe de descendance au sens sociologique du terme » (Olivera, 2007 : 234). Le second terme, *familia,* désigne quant à lui l'entité créée par les liens du mariage, une fois que le couple a procrée.

Le *njamo* est une notion clé dans la sociabilité du groupe, dans la mesure où l'on n'existe socialement que si l'on est relié à un *njamo*, et identifié comme tel par ses pairs. La centralité du *njamo* dans les relations est reflétée par la question qui s'impose chaque fois que deux inconnus se rencontrent : *Kasko san tu ?* À qui appartiens-tu ?, demande-t-on toujours avant d'engager plus loin l'interaction. Car l'identification d'un individu comme étant ou non membre de son *njamo* s'avère être autant un outil d'inclusion que d'exclusion. C'est en tenant compte du rôle de l'appartenance que l'on peut notamment comprendre l'usage des termes de références comme termes d'adresse au sein de la parenté élargie. Dans beaucoup de situations, les Roms prennent un plaisir manifeste à s'adresser à chacun de leur interlocuteur par le terme d'appartenance qui le relie à eux : *murro chogorro* (mon beau-frère), *murri socra* (ma belle-mère), *murri chej* (ma fille), *murri bibi* (ma tante), *murro jamutro* (mon gendre)… autant d'expressions utilisées au quotidien qui confirment le rôle fondateur des liens de appartenance mutuels dans la détermination des relations sociales. Dans ce cadre, l'union matrimoniale est une des étapes les plus importantes pour *devenir quelqu'un* dans un *njamo* comme dans le groupe.

2.2. S'accomplir par le mariage

Dans un foyer, les rôles de chacun des membres sont strictement répartis. Le benjamin d'une fratrie reste vivre avec ses parents, dont il a la charge jusqu'à la fin de leur vie. C'est aussi lui qui hérite de leur maison, où il habitera avec son épouse et ses enfants[3]. Les frères aînés quant à eux, s'ils restent souvent plusieurs années chez leurs parents après leur mariage, finissent par construire ou acquérir leur propre maison. Dans le pays de migration, où parents et enfants adultes sont bien souvent réunis, la décohabitation est également observée, mais à plus petite échelle. Sur

le terrain municipal où les familles ont été relogées, les jeunes couples emménagent dans leur propre caravane peu de temps après leur mariage. Celle-ci est installée près de celle des parents du garçon. Dans les anciens squats, les jeunes mariés quittaient la chambre familiale où dormaient tous les enfants célibataires d'une même famille, pour emménager dans une autre pièce de la maison occupée. Lorsqu'ils vivaient dans un bâtiment industriel ou sur un terrain vague, la nouvelle famille se construisait une cabane indépendante.

L'énonciation de ces quelques règles résidentielles en sous-entend une dernière : au moment de leur mariage, les filles quittent le domicile de leurs parents et intègrent une nouvelle famille, celle de leur mari. C'est celle qui m'intéresse le plus, car le garçon (*chavo*) qui se marie devient un homme (*rom*), mais la fille (*chej*) ne se transforme pas si facilement en femme (*romni*). Son parcours vers un accomplissement personnel et social est beaucoup plus long que celui des hommes, et durant de longues années, elle reste seulement une bru (*bori*). C'est en partie parce que « le statut de *romni* est beaucoup plus difficile à acquérir tandis que celui de *rom* découle automatiquement du mariage » (Hasdeu, 2007 : 111), qu'il m'a semblé juste d'interroger le processus d'accomplissement social à travers le parcours des femmes. Par ailleurs, suivre les trajectoires féminines permet d'observer de près les actrices principales des réalisations domestiques, qui figurent parmi les enjeux centraux de la réussite de toute la famille.

Commençons donc par réfléchir à ce que signifie une vie accomplie pour les adultes rom de ce groupe. Le mariage est évidemment une étape nécessaire ; indispensable à sortir d'un statut enfantin pour entrer dans l'âge adulte. Le célibat de l'individu et la stérilité du couple sont pareillement impensables, et procréer est essentiel autant pour les individus que pour tout le groupe. Il est donc important d'avoir plusieurs enfants, si possible des deux sexes, afin que tous les « rôles » soient pourvus et que la maisonnée puisse être, un jour, complète. Cependant, les parents savent qu'ils vont perdre leurs filles au profit d'une autre famille, qui va les acquérir par le mariage d'un de leur fils, et en faire des *bori* à leur service. En même temps qu'ils regrettent de voir partir leurs filles dans une autre famille, les parents comptent sur leurs fils pour faire entrer de nouvelles filles dans la famille. Avoir plusieurs garçons est une richesse particulièrement recherchée, car un foyer parfaitement composé compte idéalement plusieurs *boria*, dont une qui restera toute sa vie attachée au domicile de ses beaux-parents. C'est donc une fois ses enfants mariés que le couple parental se sent accompli : les hommes, lorsque leur plus

jeune fils a pris le relai des rentrées d'argent ; les femmes lorsqu'elles ont enfin une *bori* à leurs côtés, qui leur offre cette reconnaissance qu'elles ont toujours recherchée[4].

2.3. S'accomplir comme *bori*

Le chemin parcouru par une femme est une succession de transformations. Le jour de son mariage, la fille (*chej*[5]) est transformée en mariée (*mireasa*) par les femmes de sa famille. Dès l'union conclue entre les deux familles, et dès avant la fin de la noce, elle devient la *bori* de sa belle-famille. Ce changement de statut est acté par un déplacement physique d'une maison à l'autre, voire d'une région à l'autre, lors des unions inter-villageoises. L'expression qui décrit ce changement de statut témoigne du caractère fondamentalement spatial, mais aussi collectif du mariage des femmes. Lorsqu'une femme se marie, sa nouvelle famille dit qu'elle est « (de)venue *bori* chez nous » (*avilè bori amende*). Tant que dure la cohabitation, la jeune épouse est en effet *bori* de tous les membres de la famille de son mari. Le terme est utilisé par tous, qui peuvent tour à tour être amenés à parler de « notre bru ». Cela témoigne également du fait que si *bori* désigne un état ou un statut, au même titre que *rom* et *romni*, le terme désigne en plus une relation dans le réseau de parenté (Williams, 1984 : 318). Et dans l'esprit de sa belle-famille, la bru reste une *bori* bien longtemps après le départ du couple de la maison parentale.

La formation au rôle de *bori* est dispensée par la belle-mère (*soacră*), mais les femmes de l'entourage prodiguent elles aussi toutes sortes de conseils. Les nouvelles épouses, souvent encore adolescentes à leur arrivée dans leur belle-famille, tentent de prendre leurs marques le plus rapidement possible. La formation de la *bori* nécessite parfois quelques transformations sur sa personne même, surtout lorsqu'elle arrive d'ailleurs, apportant avec elle des manières ou des gestes inappropriés à son nouveau milieu. L'apprentissage des bons gestes, des bonnes attitudes en relation avec la maison dont elle s'occupe, conditionne l'intégration de la *bori* dans sa nouvelle famille. Elle doit apprendre à se plier aux caractères des uns et des autres, aux petites habitudes domestiques qui diffèrent, éventuellement à une différence de statut social. Mais en réalité, les petites filles rom font très tôt l'apprentissage des gestes qu'on attend d'elles : pour les mères de famille, les assistantes ne sont jamais trop nombreuses, et dès qu'elles ont dix ou onze ans, les filles sont très sollicitées pour les épauler dans les tâches domestiques. C'est d'autant plus le cas dans les

foyers qui n'ont pas encore accueilli de bru sous leur toit. Les jeunes épouses ne sont donc jamais complètement ignorantes, mais elles doivent faire leurs preuves en accomplissant de la meilleure manière les tâches quotidiennes qui leur sont assignées. Tout au long de la journée, la *bori* enchaîne les tâches ménagères courantes, s'interrompant à tout moment pour répondre aux sollicitations de sa belle-mère qui peut avoir besoin d'aide dans ses propres travaux domestiques. On peut ici reprendre la description que livre P. Williams des tâches dévolues à la *bori* dans la maison de ses beaux-parents :

> C'est la *bori* (ou les *boria*) qui tient le foyer. Le matin elle doit se lever la première et préparer le café, aller ensuite faire les courses, servir le thé, le premier repas de la journée, puis accomplir les travaux du ménage. L'après-midi, si elle ne part pas en ville avec une femme de la famille de son époux dire la bonne aventure, elle aide sa belle-mère à des tâches diverses ou bien elle bavarde avec sa belle-soeur ou bien – et c'est de loin ce qu'elle préfère, mais c'est ce que sa belle-mère n'apprécie pas – elle va se promener chez ses parents. La *bori* doit servir tous les hommes du foyer comme s'il s'agissait de son beau-père ou de son mari. Et surtout, elle doit servir les visiteurs, ceux qui, dans la journée, passent pour annoncer ou prendre des nouvelles, qui sont les associés du moment d'un des hommes du foyer (…) sans leur demander et sans attendre l'ordre de sa belle-mère, elle doit leur servir le thé ou le café. Les *boria* ne s'assoient pas à la table où mangent les hommes et les Rom estiment que c'est un manque de respect de la part d'une *bori* que de manger en présence de son beau-père. Les jours de fête, les visiteurs – et surtout les femmes – sont encore plus attentifs à la qualité de son service, à sa discrétion, à la grâce, et ces jours-là son beau-père attend d'elle qu'elle accomplisse parfaitement son travail … (Williams, 1984 : 320).

Si le café a aujourd'hui remplacé le thé à toute heure de la journée, et la mendicité la bonne aventure, le rôle de la bru dans sa belle-famille est resté sensiblement le même. Dans tous les groupes roms, la soumission de la bru à ses beaux-parents constitue un socle inébranlable de l'organisation sociale de la famille et plus largement, de tout le groupe.

La cohabitation de plusieurs jeunes femmes sous le même toit, *bori* ou filles non mariées de la famille, est souvent délicate. Les conflits éclatent lorsque les femmes ne s'entendent pas sur la manière de tenir la maison, ou lorsque l'une tente de faire autorité sur l'autre. Nombre d'entre elles préfèreraient d'ailleurs tout faire toute seule plutôt que de

subir les humeurs et les ordres d'une belle-soeur. Mais au-delà de ces cohabitations, qui sont nécessairement temporaires, le véritable pilier du foyer est le couple formé par la belle-mère et l'épouse de son dernier fils. Si la première est bienveillante et aimable, et que la seconde est travailleuse (*harnico*) et respectueuse, les femmes parviennent à s'entendre et à gérer la maison dans une relative harmonie. Trop souvent cependant, le devoir de soumission de la bru à sa belle-mère prend des proportions extrêmes, comme l'a montré I. Hasdeu (2007), et comme j'en ai vu de fréquents exemples. Il est vrai que dans tous les foyers roms, et en particulier durant les premières années du mariage des jeunes gens, « la *bori* constitue une cause inépuisable de disputes » (Williams, 1984 : 319). Comme il est de rigueur dans cette société, ce type de querelles prend le plus souvent des proportions impressionnantes pour l'observateur extérieur, qui est bien l'un des seuls à s'inquiéter de leurs conséquences puisque, comme l'explique encore P. Williams, elles relèvent à part entière de l'institution du mariage[6] (*ibid.* : 322). Plusieurs années s'écoulent donc avant que la jeune femme sorte de ce statut transitionnel et inconfortable de *bori* dépendante. R. Reynolds (2012) décrit le processus tout à fait similaire que traversent les belles-filles kirghizes des milieux ruraux :

> Kelin [daughters-in-law], which literally means incomer, occupy an interstitial position between affinal and consanguineal relation, and as young women are strictly regulated by the expectations of the family into which they have married. Their status is often dependent upon their ability to bear male children, but also on their skills in carrying out household tasks (Hortacsu and Bastug 2000), such as cleaning, washing, cooking, and serving relatives and guests. This personhood is nevertheless temporary, as they will eventually move from being a daughter-in- law to a part of the married couple heading the household, either through establishing a separate household with their husband (more usual for women married to older sons) or, through the practice of ultimo geniture, inheriting their parents-in-law's home (as is usual for those married to the youngest son). (Reynolds, 2012: 289-290).

Notons que si les règles résidentielles sont les mêmes chez les Roms de Ghireșteni, aucune des femmes qui ont épousé les plus jeunes fils ne se contente de vivre dans la maison dont elles héritent par leur mariage. Le déménagement leur permet à elles aussi d'affirmer leur place à la tête du foyer et de s'émanciper autant qu'elles peuvent de leur belle-famille. Car à mesure que ses beaux-parents vieillissent, et qu'elle-même devient

mère de plusieurs enfants, la *bori* finit par remplacer sa belle-mère pour devenir la principale figure de l'autorité domestique sous son toit.

2.4. S'émanciper par l'immobilier

Contrairement à'autres groupes roms, l'immobilier ne vient pas, ici, avec le mariage. L'acquisition d'une maison est l'affaire du couple une fois marié, qui doit réunir les fonds nécessaires pour acheter d'abord une maison « toute faite » (*kerdimé*), et peut-être par la suite, en faire construire une. Dans l'attente de cette étape importante, les adultes distinguent clairement la maison de leurs parents de celle qu'ils possèderont un jour. « Je n'ai pas de maison », disent les fils ainés, mais aussi leurs femmes, tant qu'ils vivent chez les parents du garçon. Aucun d'eux ne confondrait la maison où ils vivent et celle dont ils *devraient* être propriétaires. Vivre dans la maison des parents n'est en effet légitime que pour le plus jeune fils et son épouse. Mais le chemin vers une situation respectable n'est pas pour autant plus court pour eux. Si leur projet immobilier n'est pas pressé par la même urgence matérielle qui anime les aînés, il recouvre cependant des enjeux similaires, en particulier pour les brus, qui savent qu'elles ne seront jamais délivrées de la cohabitation avec leurs beaux- parents.

Les propos que Gabi tient à ce sujet résument parfaitement les préoccupations de toutes les femmes dans sa situation. Gabi a épousé Roberto, le benjamin de sa fratrie. Les parents de celui-ci vivent toute l'année à Ghireșteni, avec leur fille qui revient régulièrement à mesure que ses mariages échouent. Lors de leurs séjours au village, Gabi et Roberto vivent avec eux, dans cette maison qui est, de fait, aussi la leur. Mais les frères aînés de Roberto continuent pourtant de désigner le lieux comme étant « chez le vieux » (*ko phuro*). Après une énième querelle avec sa belle-soeur, Gabi déclare que c'en est fini pour elle de ce village où « il n'y a rien du tout », que sa vie est désormais à Paris et que c'est décidé, elle ne viendra plus. Et sa nouvelle maison, dont elle vient à peine de poser les fondations ? « C'est juste pour venir en vacances ! », dit-t-elle, avant d'ajouter : « Parce que celle-ci, ce n'est pas la mienne, c'est celle des vieux. Ils peuvent me mettre dehors quand ils veulent ! » (*Naj murro, le phuresko ! Shai te nachan man kana kamen !*). Elle poursuit, en expliquant à quel point c'est important d'avoir sa propre maison, érigée avec son argent à elle : oui, elle s'entend bien avec sa belle-famille, mais on ne sait jamais, après tout ce n'est pas sa famille, ce n'est pas son sang (*naj murro rat*). Elle ne veut être redevable de personne, et surtout pas

de sa belle-mère. Les belles-mères, qui ont elles-mêmes lutté pour leur position à la tête de la famille qu'elles ont fondée, savent bien que leurs brus ne se réjouissent pas de cette cohabitation, qu'elle soit temporaire ou permanente. Alors, celles qui possèdent plusieurs maisons mettent en avant, dans les négociations matrimoniales, l'indépendance résidentielle qu'elles peuvent offrir à une future belle-fille : « Je te mettrai pas ici avec moi, je te mettrai là-bas, dans cette autre maison ! », argumentait cette femme après avoir énuméré toutes les qualités de son fils. Une autre femme expliquait à l'inverse qu'elle avait construit sa villa aussi grande dans l'idée d'y faire loger tous ensemble ses six enfants mariés et leurs propres familles[7]. Devant le refus de ces derniers de partager le même toit, elle et son mari ont presque l'air encombrés par cette grande villa à étage, dont seule la salle de bains est pour le moment achevée. En même temps que la mère avance l'argument du nombre, son fils aîné a entrepris la construction d'une villa à l'architecture identique, mitoyenne à celle de ses parents. Sur une troisième parcelle se trouve la maison paysanne où le couple parental vit depuis quelques années. A terme, explique le mari, elle sera détruite pour laisser place à la villa d'un second fils. Le nombre d'enfants à loger est l'argument avancé par tous les propriétaires de villas lorsque je m'étonnais de la taille impressionnante du bâtiment. On comprend cependant qu'une telle offre n'est pas recevable pour les enfants adultes des propriétaires : se laisser ainsi déposséder de leur propre projet immobilier est impensable. C'est que pour ces adultes qui ont fait leur vie en France, la maison n'a que peu à voir avec un impératif de logement. Les hommes et les femmes se réalisent socialement par l'édification de leur maison, mais pour les femmes en particulier, la maison apparaît comme une étape aussi importante que celle de l'enfantement, celle qui les émancipe enfin du statut de *bori* soumise. Dans leur nouvelle maison désormais, ce sont leurs beaux-parents qui vivent chez elles, et non l'inverse. C'est à dessein que je ne parle pas ici de rite de passage. Car lorsqu'ils entrent dans ce processus immobilier, les acteurs n'en sortent pas dotés d'une nouvelle condition sociale. Une fois qu'ils entament leurs investissements immobiliers, les propriétaires ne peuvent que l'alimenter, tout au long de leur vie. J'ai montré jusqu'ici comment devenir un homme ou une femme accompli(e) nécessitait la création d'une maisonnée autonome et elle-même fructueuse. On va le voir maintenant, la demeure qui les abrite doit être à l'image de leur réussite. Et idéalement, les maisons doivent se succéder les unes aux autres, et refléter l'évolution et le parcours du couple à la tête de son foyer.

3. Bâtisses et bâtisseurs : une obsession immobilière

3.1. Dans les maisons paysannes

Les anciennes maisons paysannes, construites de plain pied, dans lesquelles vivent encore la plupart des habitants du quartier rom, correspondent à la structure traditionnelle de l'habitat rural roumain. Elles sont souvent composées de la même manière, d'« une entrée centrale et deux chambres latérales. L'une d'entre elles est la pièce principale, où on prépare à manger et où dort toute la famille. La deuxième sert dans la plupart des maisons « respectables » à mettre en scène la dot de la femme et à abriter les événements rituels importants de la famille » (Mihailescu, 2011 : 98). Cette seconde pièce est un élément central des intérieurs roumains, bien que son usage ne soit pas partout le même. Les maisons des Roms reproduisent la structure duale des maisons paysannes et partout, on distingue un espace de vie collective chauffé, et un autre qui reste plongé dans un froid glacial tant que dure l'hiver. Mais chaque famille ménage également un espace au stockage plus ou moins ordonné des affaires dont elle n'a pas l'usage immédiat. Et selon les la composition de chacune des maisons, la répartition entre les espaces de vie quotidienne, d'apparat et de rangement est soumis à certaines variations. Dans les maisons rénovées ou récemment construites, c'est en hiver que l'on comprend que la majorité des habitants conservent des habitus spatiaux communs et datant de l'ancien aménagement ou des maisons paysannes dans lesquelles ils ont grandi. Les habitants modernisent leurs maisons paysannes, mais continuent à dormir tous ensemble l'hiver et parfois l'été, conservent la belle pièce ainsi qu'une pièce qui fait office de débarras.

La plupart des jeunes couples, lorsqu'ils parviennent à déménager de la maison appartenant aux parents du garçon, emménagent dans ce genre de maisons paysannes. Cette maison prête à habiter constitue une deuxième étape importante de la trajectoire sociale des jeunes adultes, après leur mariage. Chacun d'eux la considère comme une maison de transition, mais beaucoup y restent plus d'une décennie, le temps de réunir les fonds nécessaires à la construction d'une maison neuve. Le chemin vers la réussite sociale commence rarement avec la construction d'une villa sur la grande route : durant toutes ces années, il commence dans la maison paysanne, avec les petits gestes quotidiens des femmes qui entretiennent leur intérieur. Elles y entreprennent également de modestes chantiers, qui vont du déplacement d'un meuble ou de l'ajout d'une dentelle, au réaménagement de toute la maison, jusqu'à la construction

d'une ou plusieurs pièces supplémentaires à la maison d'origine. Tout autant que l'extérieur de la maison, son intérieur est pour ses habitants le support d'une communication visuelle, informant leurs pairs des valeurs et de la situation des propriétaires. Les modifications successives de l'espace domestique, première étape du grand mouvement immobilier qui anime les villageois roms, sont donc d'une grande importance dans la compréhension de ce phénomène.

4. Trajectoires domestiques

4.1. Les femmes migrantes et leur trousseau

Contrairement à ce qui se pratique dans de nombreux groupes roms et non-roms en Roumanie, où la dot du garçon est composée d'une maison habitable, et celle de la fille d'un trousseau domestique complet (Iuga, 2009 ; Mihailescu, 2011), ici les jeunes gens entament leur union les mains vides : pour sceller l'union entre deux jeunes gens, la famille du garçon paie le « prix de la fiancée » (Williams, 1984). Cette pratique matrimoniale limite les possibilités résidentielles du jeune couple. Sans maison où habiter, il réside chez les parents du garçon, qui commence dès lors à travailler pour acquérir sa propre maison. Sans trousseau confectionné par sa famille, la jeune femme doit se charger elle-même après son mariage de réunir tout le nécessaire domestique à son installation dans une maison indépendante. À chaque séjour au village, les jeunes femmes rapportent de l'étranger de nouveaux éléments pour leur futur intérieur. Année après année, elles accumulent tout le nécessaire qui remplira, à échéance plus ou moins longue, leur maison villageoise : meubles, linge de maison, vêtements, décorations, nappes et rideaux, vaisselle et ustensiles de cuisine, produits de beauté et d'entretien… Rangés dans de grands sacs, ces biens sont stockés dans la famille du garçon et encombrent peu à peu pièces et greniers. Lorsque les projets n'aboutissent pas ou peinent à démarrer, ils peuvent rester remisés plusieurs années.

À chacun de leurs séjours, les femmes passent en revue leurs possessions, qu'elles admirent et commente avec leurs belles-soeurs. Parfois, elles déballent le contenu des sacs, lessivent tissus et vêtements, dépoussièrent objets et vaisselle, avant de les ranger de nouveau jusqu'à leur prochain séjour. Lors de chaque déballage, entre femmes, le plaisir éprouvé est manifeste. Fouiller dans ses propres affaires pour se rappeler

ce que l'on possède permet d'entrevoir tout ce que ces biens vont devenir un jour, dans un autre lieu. C'est une émotion similaire à celle que ressent celui qui, ouvrant un carton, se replonge dans ses souvenirs. En ouvrant ces sacs, les femmes se plongent quant à elles dans l'avenir, impatientes de voir ces biens enfin prendre vie dans le décor qu'elles attendent souvent depuis longtemps.

4.2. Gestes quotidiens et techniques du corps

Au commencement de la journée, dans tous les foyers, les femmes font disparaître les restes de la nuit. Dans ces maisons où l'on dort toujours à plusieurs dans la pièce principale, on s'empresse de rendre à celle-ci son usage collectif de jour. Il n'est pas rare qu'une voisine, en route de bonne heure pour le magasin, s'arrête chez l'un ou l'autre. Personne ne prend le risque de devoir recevoir un visiteur, même des plus familiers, dans le décor de leur sommeil. On refait donc le lit, on replie les banquettes des canapés, on plie les nombreuses couvertures, on redonne une forme homogène aux immenses oreillers, et on les empile sur l'un des lits, soigneusement. Un premier balayage de toute la maison suit cette opération, après quoi certaines femmes se rendent dans le centre, où elles font les courses nécessaires aux repas de la journée. Rapidement après le retour, il faudra commencer à préparer un premier repas, que l'on prendra à l'heure où les hommes déclarent avec impatience qu'ils ont faim ; généralement avant midi. Durant le reste de la journée, les tâches s'enchaînent et se répètent. Il faut nettoyer les restes du repas, ranger et nettoyer l'une ou l'autre des pièces, avant d'envisager le repas suivant. Cela dépend des habitants et des visites : les enfants ont joué et dérangé, un parent est venu en visite, que l'on a accueilli dans le salon avec nourriture et boissons… Chaque jour, les femmes répètent plus ou moins les même tâches de préparation, d'entretien, de rangement. Le dimanche est le seul jour où les femmes brisent le rythme des lessives quotidiennes, toujours réalisées à la main. En fin d'après-midi ou en début de soirée, celles qui, devant leur maison parfaitement rangée sont satisfaites d'avoir tout accompli, s'en vont alors rendre une *visita* chez une voisine, ou sur le chantier de construction d'un parent, dans le quartier rom ou dans le centre.

Tous ces geste d'entretien quotidien relèvent de véritables techniques du corps (Mauss, 1936), bien plus complexes qu'il n'y paraît, et que les femmes du villages accomplissent avec l'aisance que leur confère des années de pratique. L'ethnologue maladroite qui s'y applique tant bien

que mal risque toujours les réprobations de son hôte ou pire, les moqueries des enfants qui les maîtrisent déjà autant que leurs parents. On ne peut en effet improviser la manière parfaite de faire un lit, de disposer coussins et couvertures, de coincer entre le sommier et le matelas le pan de dentelle qui doit courir le long du lit, et descendre jusqu'au sol sans pour autant le toucher.

4.3. Amplifier le mouvement

Le rythme des tâches domestiques est régulièrement alimenté d'initiatives plus ponctuelles, mais de plus grande ampleur. Lorsque les travaux nécessaires à l'entretien routinier sont achevés, il existe mille autres prétextes au mouvement, des besoins impérieux que l'on improvise d'un ton déterminé, pour ne pas risquer de se retrouver trop longtemps les bras croisés. Car au-delà des gestes domestiques quotidiens, le changement, minime ou de grande ampleur, existe comme un devoir latent, un impératif pour tous les propriétaires d'une maison.

Dans certains foyers, le grand ménage de printemps est un prétexte idéal pour ajouter, modifier ou rénover une partie de l'habitation. Lors de ce rituel saisonnier, on prépare la maison pour l'été en lessivant l'intérieur et en modifiant l'aménagement, afin de l'adapter aux pratiques domestiques que l'on adopte durant la saison chaude. On sort tous les tapis, qu'on lave dans la cour, et l'on range le poêle à bois jusqu'au retour de l'automne. Enfin, le mobilier de cuisine est souvent sorti et installé dans la cour, parfois sous un auvent : tout l'été, c'est dehors, à l'ombre, que l'on cuisine, mange, et que l'on reçoit ses visiteurs. Certains profitent de ce chantier pour entreprendre des rénovations supplémentaires, et repeignent les murs d'une ou plusieurs pièces, installent un parquet, ou remplacent tout le mobilier du salon.

Pour ceux qui résident au village toute l'année, ou de longs mois d'affilée, les grands changements sont noyés dans le rythme des tâches ménagères. C'est quand arrivent les familles qui ne séjournent que brièvement que l'impératif des modifications devient plus visible, et que l'on perçoit avec le plus d'acuité de quelle manière la vie au village « mange » l'argent des Roms. Tous ceux qui possèdent une maison ressentent en effet l'obligation morale des travaux, et la perpétuent par leur propre comportement. C'est pour cette raison que personne ne prévoit de séjour au village s'il n'a pas d'argent à dépenser dans des améliorations domestiques. Dans cette logique, on attend de ceux qui arrivent qu'ils

aient les moyens de certains travaux. Ces derniers se retrouvent dans une obligation de démonstration d'une part, de changements effectifs d'autre part. Le temps de leur séjour, les grands mouvements sont également répartis parmi les petits gestes du quotidien, et sont dans un premier temps annoncés à tous les voisins et parents, puis mis en route : il faut acheter le matériel, démarcher et négocier avec les ouvriers que l'on souhaite voir travailler. Dans ce premier temps, d'une durée variable, les transformations existent à l'état de projet. Leur mise en route peut être très rapide, mais est parfois entravée pour diverses raisons. Un été, la véranda en plastique vert est construite rapidement, et celui d'après, on attend des semaines durant la livraison du ciment qui permettra de bétonner la cour. Pendant ce temps, les propriétaires s'impatientent, menacent parfois de « porter plainte » contre le magasin qu'ils ont déjà payé, et débattent avec tous les visiteurs des détail du projet qui tarde tant à se concrétiser.

Dans ce besoin de mettre en mouvement les corps comme les habitations, l'entretien et l'amélioration de l'extérieur de la parcelle domestique figure en bonne place dans la liste des prétextes mobilisés. Le jeune homme qui possède une tondeuse à gazon a beaucoup de succès parmi les propriétaires du quartier rom, qui le recrutent l'un après l'autre pour qu'il passe successivement sur les bandelettes de gazon devant chaque portail. Le travail minutieux du garçon n'empêche pas les maitresses de maison de repasser derrière lui, parfois au ciseau, à l'affut des touffes d'herbes coincées entre les pierres du muret. On voit alors que l'obligation de modifier l'habitation s'étend jusqu'aux extrêmes limites de chaque parcelle, jusqu'aux portions de trottoir qui la prolongent. Les propriétaires qui font tondre leur gazon ou repeindre leur palissade poussent parfois leurs soins de quelques centimètres sur la parcelle voisine. Loin d'être un souci de partage, il s'agit en réalité de mieux mettre en valeur leur parcelle, et d'éviter que les herbes hautes du voisin ou son muret mal entretenu ne ternisse l'éclat de leur propre façade.

Lorsque l'on constate l'ennui, voire l'angoisse physique qui s'empare des ménagères qui ont accompli toutes leurs tâches domestiques, on comprend que les projets de petits et grands travaux décidés sur un coup de tête permettent avant tout de se maintenir en mouvement dans et autour de la maison. Car si les nombreux travaux ménagers sont une corvée, les femmes y trouvent aussi l'accomplissement du rôle qui leur est dévolu : être une bonne *bori*, et plus encore, une parfaite maîtresse de maison. En effet, celles-ci expriment clairement qu'elles détestent rester sans rien faire, mais aussi la nécessité impérieuse d'être vue en mouvement par le

visiteur, qui peut à tout moment entrer sans frapper, et s'attend à trouver la maison lustrée et la *romni* occupée. Les habitants alternent entre petits gestes répétés et grands mouvements ponctuels, par lesquels la maison est maintenue en évolution permanente. Qu'il s'agisse de remettre en place un meuble dérangé, de nettoyer la poussière, d'apporter une innovation, une amélioration ou une réparation, les habitants, et les femmes en particulier, ne cessent de manipuler l'espace domestique et les objets qui le composent. C'est ainsi qu'est réamorcée, chaque matin, la trajectoire individuelle et familiale vers une reconnaissance et une réussite sociale au sein du groupe.

5. Trajectoires résidentielles

5.1. Vers la grande route

Après 1989 et les premiers départs à l'étranger, les transactions immobilières se sont clairement accélérées parmi les Roms du village, reflétant l'intensité des circulations internationales de l'époque. Depuis, au rythme des succès migratoires, les habitants n'ont cessé d'acheter, revendre, racheter et construire des maisons. Dans le quartier rom, toutes les parcelles sont depuis longtemps occupées. Les jeunes couples, qui cherchent à accéder à une propriété immobilière, doivent donc bien souvent chercher hors des limites du quartier. Mais la saturation du quartier rom, et la nécessité d'emménager ailleurs n'est une contrainte pour personne, au contraire. Les couples plus âgés, déjà propriétaires d'une maison qu'ils ont eu le temps d'améliorer ou de reconstruire, voire parfois de construire sur un terrain vide, ne se satisfont pas non plus d'un tel achèvement : déjà propriétaire ou non, chacun et chacune veut continuer d'avancer vers le centre.

Chaque habitant du quartier rom a un avis dépréciatif sur la rue située derrière la sienne. Les voisins de derrière, qui sont juste un peu plus éloignés du centre que l'on ne l'est soi-même, sont toujours plus négligés, leurs espaces publics sont moins entretenus. Dans le même temps, on parle avec envie, voire avec jalousie, de ceux qui vivent désormais dans le centre, sur l'asphalte. « Il lui fallait la grande route ! », dit-on avec une pointe de mépris de celui qui a eu des prétentions, s'est estimé « trop bien » pour rester vivre dans le quartier rom. La plupart de ceux qui ont réussi à déménager, en une seule fois, du quartier périphérique au centre

asphalté du village, sont ceux qui ont émigré « en Irlande ». Cette entité à la géographie incertaine regroupe, pour ceux qui n'y ont jamais mis les pieds, les pays des îles britanniques en général. Les *Irlandezi* y touchent, dit-on, des allocations familiales autrement plus intéressantes que celles accordées par l'Etat français. Ce sont ces aides sociales, combinées à quelques niches économiques informelles qui fonctionneraient encore – contrairement aux pays situés sur le continent – qui auraient permis à leurs bénéficiaires de réunir suffisamment d'argent pour racheter une maison ou un terrain à un gadjo du village. Car les paysans savent la valeur d'une maison située dans le centre pour les Roms d'ici, et fixent leur prix en conséquence. La ruée des Irlandais sur l'asphalte, si elle suscite des réactions ambigües parmi les moins fortunés, reflète finalement la tendance générale chez les Roms du village, qui veut que chacun se rapproche du centre, dès qu'il en a les moyens. Les parcours résidentiels de Cornel, Irina et leurs filles est à cet égard exemplaire, et témoigne de toute la complexité des projections immobilières des Roms de Ghireșteni.

5.2. Un parcours familial

Depuis vingt ans, Irina et Cornel ont investi tous leurs gains dans l'amélioration d'une modeste maison achetée à une gadji du village. D'une maison paysanne construite en longueur, ils sont parvenus à faire un bâtiment en L, grâce à la construction d'une pièce supplémentaire. Irina et Cornel séjournent brièvement à Montreuil plusieurs fois par an, ce qui leur permet d'apporter des modifications à leur intérieur chaque année. En 2011, Irina me dévoile fièrement le nouveau revêtement de son salon, un linoléum aux motifs de parquet, ainsi que les grandes frises dorées dont elle vient d'orner ses murs. Les frises précédentes étaient similaires mais plus petites ; celles-ci sont plus voyantes et bien plus belles. Mais la carrière esthétique de leur maison est relativement lente, et mérite à peine l'attention des voisins. Le couple peut toutefois s'enorgueillir de l'évolution rapide des trajectoires résidentielles de ses filles mariées. Tandis qu'Irina se contente de devoir installer elle-même le linoléum de son petit salon, sa fille aînée, Rudica, possède depuis plusieurs années déjà une maison paysanne entre le quartier rom et le centre, et a récemment commencé á ériger une grande villa sur l'asphalte, en plein centre. Si Rudica et son mari ont eu les moyens de cette avancée immobilière enviable, c'est qu'ils sont tous deux salariés, à plein temps et depuis plusieurs années, dans une entreprise de la région parisienne.

La fille cadette, Sorina, a acquis une vaste maison située en face de celle de ses parents. Mais son parcours résidentiel vient soudain de s'accélérer, alors qu'elle et son mari ont racheté une maison paysanne hors du quartier rom : composée de deux bâtiments construits en longueur, elle est située juste avant l'angle de la route asphaltée, mais elle est surtout mitoyenne de la villa de Guga, dont la réussite constitue un exemple pour tout le village. Pour le moment, Sorina et son mari habitent encore dans leur maison du quartier rom. Lorsqu'ils font seulement de brefs séjours au village, c'est chez les parents de Irina et Cornel qu'ils logent, pour s'épargner le nettoyage complet nécessaire à rendre leur maison habitable après une longue absence. Et lorsque la belle-mère de Sorina rend visite au jeune couple, son unique préoccupation est de voir de ses propres yeux la nouvelle maison de son fils.

Diana est la troisième fille de Cornel et Irina. Bien qu'elle ne soit pas encore mariée, ses parents l'ont poussée à faire l'acquisition de sa propre maison, située sur la parcelle voisine de l'actuelle maison de sa sœur Rudica. Diana est embarrassée de cette situation inhabituelle, qui pourrait presque être mal vue : on n'a jamais vu une femme célibataire habiter seule dans une maison. Mais l'investissement constitue en réalité, pour les parents de Diana, une tentative audacieuse d'attirer de nouveaux prétendants pour cette fille qu'ils ont du mal à marier, et dont le célibat prolongé interdit également le mariage de la benjamine de la famille. La maison, rachetée à un Rom du village, a couté 6000 euros, une somme que Diana a réunie avec l'aide de ses parents. Elle doit être entièrement rénovée avant d'être habitable, et Diana veut ce qu'il y a de plus moderne pour son futur intérieur, en particulier une salle de bain. Tandis que ses deux filles aînées mènent leurs projets immobiliers respectifs, Irina a, dès le début, pris en charge les travaux de rénovation de la maison de Diana, qui vit et travaille en France toute l'année. Dè le printemps, lorsqu'on cherche Irina, ce n'est pas dans sa maison du quartier rom qu'on la trouve, mais « chez Diana », du matin au soir et du lundi au dimanche. Pour Irina, s'approprier et réaliser elle même tous les travaux avec les mandats ponctuels que lui envoie Diana, est un prétexte idéal pour se mouvoir, plusieurs mois durant, autour d'un projet immobilier important – alors même qu'elle n'a pas les moyens de rénover sa maison, et encore moins de déménager plus loin. Ses voisines du quartier rom, qui passent par là sur le chemin de l'épicerie, s'arrêtent parfois pour constater l'avancée des travaux, et débattent avec Irina des choix esthétiques passés ou à venir. Le prestige de l'investissement immobilier de leur fille profite donc également

à Cornel et Irina, et c'est d'abord à eux que leurs voisins associent cette maison dans laquelle ils les rencontrent souvent. Il est vrai que Cornel et Irina, qui ne passent que quelques semaines par an en France, ont des moyens plus modestes que leurs filles pour porter leurs ambitions domestiques. Mais à la fin de mon dernier séjour à Ghireșteni, Irina a fini par me confier l'idée qui semble la travailler depuis longtemps. Ce dont elle et son mari rêveraient, ce serait en fait – si Dieu les aide – de vendre leur maison actuelle, et racheter celle de leur fille Rudica, voisine de celle de Diana. Les trajectoires résidentielles des membres de cette famille sont faites d'étapes souvent modestes et très espacées dans le temps, mais répétées. Leur succession montre que lorsqu'il s'agit de l'évolution individuelle ou familiale au sein du groupe, à travers les réalisations immobilières, il n'y a jamais de petit avancement. Comme la plupart de leurs voisins, Cornel, Irina et leurs filles se projettent toujours ailleurs.

Les maisons construites durant ces deux dernières décennies, et l'aspect sous lequel elles se présentent, sont une des manifestations de la culture de la migration que partagent les Roms de ce village. Répandue également parmi tous les migrants roumains qui ont eu l'occasion de « voir le monde », elle valorise, entre autres, la reproduction au village des standards de vie dont ces derniers ont été témoins durant leurs séjours à l'étranger. Comme l'explique D. Moisa (2010) à propos des migrants roumains de Certeze, village renommé pour ses constructions monumentales,

> les individus développent des comportements qui sont le résultat d'une rencontre dialectique entre leurs représentations locales et celles acquises ou parvenues de l'étranger. La nouvelle maison devient ainsi l'extériorisation de cette rencontre, et finalement, la façon individuelle et collective d'exprimer un statut nouveau et supérieur à l'ancien (Moisa, 2010 : 15).

A cette culture de la migration s'ajoute une compétition pour le prestige social, incarnée ici dans une consommation spécifique de l'argent et de l'espace, que partagent ceux qui ont également en commun une expérience migratoire similaire. Aux « Irlandais » les villas du centre ; aux autres les maisons paysannes à transformer, un jour, en maison à étage. Cette compétition immobilière semble à première vue déclenchée par « l'urgence d'être le premier » (Moisa, 2010 : 441), et relever d'un effort individuel pour se distinguer de son voisin, en faisant preuve d'une

modernité plus clinquante. Il me semble plus intéressant de voir ce phénomène par le prisme des théories de la reconnaissance sociale, telles qu'elles sont reprises par V. Mihailescu (2000, 2011) dans son analyse des maisons modernes construites par les paysans roumains[8]. Selon lui, parler de distinction et de capital symbolique ne suffit pas à expliquer ces investissements immobiliers « irrationnels » (Mihailescu, 2011 : 109) et concurrentiels. Ceux-ci doivent être compris comme des tentatives « d'éviter la marginalisation ou, en termes positifs, de « rester dans le jeu », d'avoir une position dans l'ordre social »[9] (Mihailescu, 2000). Bien évidemment, quitte à prendre part à ce jeu, autant tenter de le faire dans une position sociale intéressante – d'où la surenchère d'efforts des uns par rapport aux autres. Le but n'est donc pas, pour les acteurs, de gagner la compétition, auquel cas le jeu social qui les meut s'achèverait avec elle. En effet, malgré les critiques que chacun tient sur son voisin rom, les investissements immobiliers et esthétiques, de même que le moindre geste domestique, sont destinés aux regards de leurs pairs.

Si ces Roms installés à Montreuil continuent de nourrir la compétition domestique et immobilière dans leur village roumain, ce n'est donc pas pour être *contre* les autres, mais bien pour rester *avec* eux, tant que possible, et ce malgré la lente individualisation de leurs trajectoires résidentielles et professionnelles en France.

NOTES

1 Le nom du village, ainsi que les noms des personnes ont été modifiés, afin de protéger tant que faire se peut leur anonymat.

2 On rencontre également dans certains groupes le terme de *viţa* (Williams, 1984 ; Olivera, 2007, Tesar, 2012), qui a un usage similaire.

3 Cette règle d'héritage relève par ailleurs du « droit coutumier » en vigueur dans toute la Roumanie (Mihailescu, 2011: 98).

4 Pour une analyse détaillée des rapports de pouvoir entre la *bori* et sa belle-famille, on lira avec profit le travail de doctorat de I. Hasdeu (2007), et en particulier le chapitre 3, « *Bori, r(R)omni* et mariage », pp. 107-160.

5 *Chej bari* (litt. « grande fille ») est l'expression consacrée pour désigner les jeunes filles non-mariées, et donc encore vierges.

6 Quant aux conflits ou aux mésententes trop importantes entre époux, ou entre la bru et sa belle-famille, ils peuvent déboucher sur des divorces. Et bien que ceux-ci soient rares, Williams note encore qu' « il en existe cependant, qui ont lieu le plus souvent dans les premiers mois du mariage. Il n'y a pas de procédure de divorce, chacun se présente comme un cas d'espèce et connait un règlement particulier » (Williams, 1984 : 324-325).

7 Ses enfants sont installés en France et, comme dans la plupart des familles nombreuses, ne sont jamais de retour au village tous en même temps.

8 Voir en particulier P. Ricoeur (2004), A. Honneth (1995), A. Caillé (2007).

9 Mihailescu reprend ici les analyses de E. Gellner (1986), qui proposait de voir « la vie sociale comme la maîtrise du langage, l'usage d'un code, la participation à une conversation. (…) … dans la plus grande partie de leur vie, les hommes ne maximisent rien du tout, ni ne cherchent à atteindre un but concrètement identifiable, mais tiennent tout simplement à être intégrés, ou à demeurer dans une pièce qui se déroule. Le rôle est sa propre récompense, mais non un moyen pour parvenir à une situation donnée comme fin » (Gellner, 1986 : 33).

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THE SYMBOLIC FUNCTION OF MATHEMATICS IN ERNST CASSIRER'S PHILOSOPHY OF CULTURE

Abstract

Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms offered the theoretical framework for a unified study of culture, including such nonrational forms assumed by human understanding of the world as mythical thinking. At the same time, Cassirer defended the role of mathematics and natural science as models of rationality in the Kantian sense. This paper offers a discussion of the role of mathematics in Cassirer's philosophical project, given the fact that he first developed the notion of symbolic form in order to account for the rationality of theory change in physics. The historical perspective of Cassirer's approach suggests that rationality depends not so much on the assumptions of some specific theory as on the unifying power of mathematical method. He argued for a model of rational thinking which, owing to its symbolic character, can be articulated in various ways without being contradicted by the fact that there are different symbolic forms.

Keywords: Cassirer, mathematical method, neo-Kantianism, symbolic form.

From Neo-Kantianism to the Philosophy of Symbolic Forms: The Problems of a Unified Theory of Culture

Ernst Cassirer was born in 1874 in the German city of Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland). During his studies in philosophy at the University of Berlin, he took a course on Kant taught by Georg Simmel. In particular, Simmel recommended to his students *Kants Theorie der Erfahrung* (1871) by the founder of the Marburg School of neo-Kantianism, Hermann Cohen. After reading Cohen's book, Cassirer decided to move to Marburg to complete his education under the supervision of Cohen and Paul Natorp. Cassirer studied at the University of Marburg from 1896 until

1899. He moved back to Berlin in 1903 and received his habilitation at the University of Berlin in 1906. Cassirer's early works, *Leibniz' System in seinen wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen* (1902), the first two volumes of *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit* (1906-1907), and *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff: Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen der Erkenntniskritik* (1910), were deeply influenced by Cohen's interpretation of Kant's transcendental philosophy.[1] Cohen pointed out that the method of transcendental philosophy differed from that of psychology both in its object and in its method. The object of transcendental philosophy is not so much actual experience as the a priori principles of knowledge, namely those principles that are independent of experience because they lie at the foundation of a possible experience in general. In the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Kant (1787, 25) called "transcendental" all cognition that is occupied not so much with objects but with our manner of cognition of objects insofar as this is to be possible a priori. The transcendental analysis of the conditions of knowledge presupposes the distinction between sensations and spatiotemporal phenomena. Kant maintained that phenomena are given in the pure intuition of space and time in general. Experience is made possible by the application of the pure concepts of the understanding to the manifold of intuition.

On Cohen's view, experience in Kant's sense differed from psychological experience because of the general validity of a priori cognition. Therefore, Cohen distanced himself from Kant's theory of the faculties of the mind and identified experience with scientific knowledge. In order to clarify this point, in the introduction to his second book on Kant, *Kants Begründung der Ethik* (1877), Cohen characterized the transcendental method as follows:

> Experience being given, the goal of the transcendental inquiry is to find out the conditions of the possibility of experience. Insofar as these conditions make experience possible in such a way that this can be considered to be valid a priori (i.e., strictly necessary and generally valid), the same conditions form the characteristics of the concept of experience, and it is from the latter concept that all which has the epistemic value of objective reality has to be deduced. This is all the transcendental philosophy has to do. Experience is hence given in mathematics and in the pure part of natural science. (Cohen 1877, 24-25)[2]

Cohen referred to the method adopted by Kant in the *Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen Metaphysik die als Wissenschaft wird auftreten können* (1783). Given the fact that generally valid judgments are found in mathematics and physics, the conceptual analysis of their presuppositions provides us with a priori principles of knowledge in the above sense. It follows from Cohen's interpretation that the defining characteristics of a priori notions (i.e., necessity and generality) depend on their being implicit in scientific knowledge. In other words, scientific knowledge tends to assume a foundational role for the transcendental inquiry into the conditions of knowledge.

Cohen's characterization of the transcendental method motivated Cassirer to face the problem whether Kant's conditions were compatible with later scientific developments, such as non-Euclidean geometries, the mathematization of logic, relativistic physics, and quantum mechanics. In his 1921 book *Zur Einstein'schen Relativitätstheorie: Erkenntnistheoretische Betrachtungen*, Cassirer formulated the problem concerning a renewal of Kant's transcendental philosophy as follows:

> Kant believed that he possessed in Newton's fundamental work, in the *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, a fixed code for physical "truth" and believed that he could definitively ground philosophical knowledge on the "factum" of mathematical natural science as he here found it; but the relation between philosophy and exact science has since changed fundamentally. Ever more clearly, ever more compellingly do we realize today that the Archimedean point on which Kant supported himself and from which he undertook to raise the whole system of knowledge, as if by a lever, no longer offers an unconditionally fixed basis. (Cassirer 1921/1923, 352-53)

Are there a priori principles of knowledge? On Cassirer's view, a solution to this problem according to the transcendental method required a reformulation of the notion of a priori in terms of anticipation of possible experience. That which is presupposed a priori, in Cassirer's sense, is not so much a set of allegedly immutable truths as a range of hypotheses including all possible specifications to be found in experience. Mathematics plays an a priori role because it provides the appropriate tools for the hypothetico-deductive kind of reasoning that is characteristic of theoretical physics. Owing to the use of mathematical method, the objectivity of physical theories does not depend directly on empirical

facts. As the French physicist and historian of science Pierre Duhem (1914, 298) put it, in order to provide the basis for the development of a physical theory, empirical facts have to be transformed and put into a "symbolic form." Cassirer (1921, 96, and note) borrowed this expression from Duhem to indicate the fact that the interpretation of measurements presupposes theoretical principles and in the latter general functions of coordination between the principles and the empirical manifold.

On account of the symbolic form of physical reality, Cassirer contrasted objectivity as an epistemic value with the idea of an absolute reality: the possibility of univocally establishing the meaning of the symbols correlated with physical events, and therefore the objectivity of the theory, depends not on direct reference, but on the generality of the frame of reference. At the same time, he believed that a philosophical account of reality required a broader perspective than that offered by the theory of knowledge. He wrote:

> It is the task of systematic philosophy, which extends far beyond the theory of knowledge, to free the idea of the world from this one-sidedness. It has to grasp the *whole system* of symbolic forms, the application of which produces for us the concept of an ordered reality, and by virtue of which subject and object, ego and world are separated and opposed to each other in definite form, and it must refer each individual in this totality to its fixed place. (Cassirer 1921/1923, 447)

It followed that symbolic forms cannot serve as the expression of "truth" and "reality" in their singularity but rather as a system, which ought to include the forms of the theoretical, ethical, aesthetic, and religious understanding of the world.

Cassirer developed his view in the *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, which appeared in three volumes in 1923, 1925, and 1929. In the introduction to the third volume, which is devoted to the phenomenology of knowledge, Cassirer made it clear that the implementation of his philosophical project presupposed a widening of his original Kantian and neo-Kantian perspective. He wrote:

> The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms is not concerned exclusively or even primarily with the purely scientific, exact conceiving of the world; it is concerned with all the forms assumed by man's understanding of the world. It seeks to apprehend these forms in their diversity, in their totality,

> and in the inner distinctiveness of their several expressions. And at every step it happens that the "understanding" of the world is no mere receiving, no repetition of a given structure of reality, but comprises a free activity of the spirit. (Cassirer 1929/1985, 13)

The continuity between the philosophy of symbolic forms and Cassirer's earlier studies in the philosophy of science lies, nonetheless, in the fact that the history of mathematics and of physics – in Cassirer's reconstruction – most clearly showed the spontaneity which is characteristic of any symbolic form. The problem of formulating universal criteria of physical objectivity had its counterpart in the more general problem of overcoming one-sidedness after the divide between *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*. Cassirer's solution was Kantian in spirit because it was based on the idea of freedom as a presupposition for both theoretical and practical uses of reason. In order to account for a larger variety of cultural phenomena than those considered by Kant, Cassirer maintained that the free activity of the mind in shaping human experience originates from the more fundamental level of symbolic thinking. This way of thinking is not a prerogative of reason, as it is characteristic of such nonrational symbolic forms as myth as well.

Owing to Cassirer's approach, and to his background in a variety of disciplines, his philosophy of symbolic forms offered a promising basis for the development of a unitary, but not hierarchical, theory of culture. In a similar way, Cassirer played a mediating role between the emerging traditions in twentieth-century philosophy, namely the so-called "analytic" and "continental" traditions. He had fruitful exchanges with leading figures of logical positivism, such as Moritz Schlick, Hans Reichenbach, and Rudolf Carnap, whose work in logic and the philosophy of science were seminal for the development of analytic philosophy in the United States and in the English-speaking world. And he was the main opponent of Martin Heidegger during the celebrated "International University Course" held in Davos, Switzerland, in 1929, when Heidegger's existentialist version of Husserl's phenomenology was about to become dominant in Germany and continental Europe after the advent of Nazism.[3]

Cassirer's philosophy draws increasing attention in current attempts to reconstruct the history of these traditions. In particular, Cassirer's work has been rediscovered in the English-speaking philosophical community, after Michael Friedman (2000, 159) indicated Cassirer as the most suitable source of ideas for finally beginning a reconciliation between the analytic

and the continental traditions. Massimo Ferrari, Thomas Ryckman, and Friedman himself, among others, emphasized the relevance of Cassirer's epistemology to ongoing discussions in the philosophy of science, with special focus on the philosophical aspects of general relativity. Structural realists such as Steven French, James Ladyman, and Angelo Cei referred to Cassirer (1936) in support of their own account of such physical objects as quantum particles in relation to the problem of individuality and identity. Meanwhile, the ongoing publication of Cassirer's Nachlass initiated by John Michael Krois cast new light on the significance of his exchanges with scientists such as Einstein and with the logical positivists.

However, Friedman raised compelling objections against both Cassirer's philosophy of science and the philosophy of symbolic forms. He attributed to Cassirer a formalistic account of knowledge. It followed that empirical knowledge cannot be clearly distinguished from pure mathematics, on the one hand, and from coherent but arbitrary systems of metaphysics or myth, on the other (Friedman 1999, 27). In the following, I discuss Friedman's objections concerning Cassirer's philosophy of science. I argue that a contextualization of Cassirer's studies in the history and philosophy of science might shed light on the role played by mathematics in his architectonic of knowledge, both in the narrower sense of scientific knowledge and in the context of his philosophy of culture.

Cassirer's Argument for Continuity across Theory Change

According to Friedman, Cassirer offered a possible solution to a problem he was confronted with especially in his interpretation of Einstein's general relativity: is there continuity across theory change? To put it in a later terminology created by Thomas Kuhn (1962), the shift from classical mechanics to relativistic physics is a classic example of "paradigm shift." As a consequence of such a shift, subsequent paradigms are incommensurable: the theoretical terms of the new theory have completely different physical referents from those of the previous one. Therefore, Kuhn maintained that "an apparently arbitrary element, compounded of personal and historical accident, is always a formative ingredient of the beliefs espoused by a given scientific community at a given time" (Kuhn 1962, 4). As the range of espoused beliefs increases considerably outside the domain of experimental sciences, Kuhn's consideration calls

into question the possibility of knowledge altogether. How to escape the conclusion that all knowledge is local?

Friedman (2005) interprets Cassirer's philosophy of science as an attempt to show that continuity across theory chance can be accounted for in terms of mathematical structures. He refers to the fact that Cassirer was one of the first philosophers to recognize that Euclidean geometry can be included in a general system of hypotheses and considered as a limiting case of non-Euclidean geometries. Similarly, the mathematical structure of general relativity can be proved to contain that of Newtonian physics as an approximate special case. However, this consideration does not provide a solution to the main problem: discontinuous changes affect the physical interpretation of abstract mathematical structures. Therefore, Friedman suggests that Cassirer's argument should be completed by the relativized conception of a priori principles proposed by Hans Reichenbach in *Relativitätstheorie und Erkenntnis apriori* (1920). Reichenbach (1920, 46) distinguished between two meanings of the notion of a priori in Kant's philosophy. On the one hand, a priori principles are supposed to be valid for all time. On the other hand, they are constitutive of experience insofar as they provide nonempirical presupposition for the definition of empirical concepts. In this sense, a priori principles can be identified with the coordinating principles linking mathematical structures to empirical reality, and might be subject to revision as in the case of Einstein's general theory of relativity.

Friedman's point is that, even in such a case, there can be continuity with regard to the meta-scientific, philosophical level of conceptual transformations. For example, he mentions the fact that Einstein was involved in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century debate about the consequences of non-Euclidean geometry for the Kantian theory of space.[4]

The above reading of Cassirer seems to presuppose a classification of mathematical structures from a formal-logical viewpoint. However, Cassirer's argument for continuity across theory change depends not so much on the use of formal logic as on his insights into the history of mathematics. First, Cassirer observed that abstract concepts had been developed in the nineteenth century for the solution of specific issues in mathematics. One of the goals of these developments, in the works of mathematicians such as Bernhard Riemann and Felix Klein, was to better understand the connection between different branches of mathematics, as well as that between mathematics and physics. The kind of continuity that emerged from Cassirer's interpretation of these works depends not

so much on the supposition of some underlying mathematical structures as on his view of the mathematical method. Second, a formalistic account of knowledge would contradict Cassirer's commitment to Kant's transcendental philosophy. The role of mathematical reasoning in Cassirer's architectonic of knowledge is due to the fact that mathematical method reflects an important characteristic of the method of transcendental philosophy: ontological assumptions are disregarded, so that hypotheses regarding the objects of experience can be classified from the most general viewpoint. In order to clarify this point, the following paragraph reconsiders Cassirer's view from 1907 to 1921. My supposition is that Cassirer's approach towards the history of mathematics in his earlier works lends plausibility on his argument for continuity across theory change as formulated in 1921.

Kant and Nineteenth-Century Geometry

After János Bolyai and Nikolay Lobachevsky developed consistent systems of non-Euclidean geometry, in the 1820s, both scientists and philosophers addressed the question whether the Kantian conception of space as a priori intuition ought to be refurbished or even rejected. The possibility of considering a variety of geometrical hypotheses appeared to contradict Kant's assertion that Euclidean geometry is grounded in a priori intuition, and suggested the view that the problems concerning the form of space are a matter for empirical investigation. Related to these problems, in the concluding remarks of his celebrated inaugural lecture of 1854 "Über die Hypothesen, welche der Geometrie zu Grunde liegen," Bernhard Riemann wrote:

> The answer to these questions can only be got by starting from the conception of phenomena which has hitherto been justified by experience, and which Newton assumed as a foundation, and by making in this conception the successive changes required by facts which it cannot explain. Researches starting from general notions, like the investigation we have just made, can only be useful in preventing this work from being hampered by too narrow views, and progress in knowledge of the interdependence of things from being checked by traditional prejudices. (Riemann 1854/1996, 661)

Riemann's views about space and geometry – especially in the interpretation of the German physiologist and physicist Hermann von Helmholtz (1870) – caused a debate about the question whether the origin of geometrical axioms is empirical or a priori. The debate culminated in the solution provided by the French mathematicians and physicist Henri Poincaré (1902, 66-67): geometrical axioms are neither a priori synthetic judgments in Kant's sense, in which case geometrical hypotheses could not be varied, neither empirical judgments to be discovered on a case by case basis, because the use of geometry in the description of empirical facts already presupposes that geometrical axioms have been stipulated.

Cassirer was one of the first philosophers to observe that Poincaré's solution was in line with the development of the mathematical method from nineteenth-century projective geometry to David Hilbert's "Grundlagen der Geometrie" (1899). In contrast to Euclidean definitions, which take concepts such as "point" and "straight line" as immediate data of intuition, these developments show that the properties of geometrical objects can be derived as the consequences of general rules of connection. This way of proceeding suggests that the object of mathematical investigation consists not so much of particular elements as of the relational structure as such. According to Cassirer, Hilbert's work is the clearest expression of this interpretation of the mathematical method, as it begins with a group of axioms, which we assume, and whose compatibility has to be proved (Cassirer 1910, 93).

Cassirer's (1907, 31-32) objection against Kant's assumption of a priori intuition as a source of mathematical certainty was that nineteenth-century mathematics deserved a purely logical derivation of the fundamental principles. As a priori intuition was Kant's middle term for the application of the concepts of the understanding to the empirical manifold, Cassirer's objection seems to undermine Kant's architectonic of knowledge altogether. Nevertheless, Cassirer argued for an equivalent architectonic of knowledge based on Kant's notion of synthesis in general. Kant distinguished the manifold of representations from the combination of a manifold or synthesis in general as follows:

> The manifold of representations can be given in an intuition that is merely sensible, i.e., nothing but receptivity, and the form of this intuition can lie a priori in our faculty of representation without being anything other than the way in which the subject is affected. Yet the *combination* (*conjunctio*) of a manifold in general can never come to us through the senses, and therefore

> cannot already be contained in the pure form of sensible intuition; for it is an act of the spontaneity of the power of representation, and, since one must call the latter understanding, in distinction from sensibility, all combination, whether we are conscious of it or not, whether it is a combination of the manifold of intuition or of several concepts, and in the first case either of sensible or non-sensible intuition, is an action of the understanding, which we would designate with the general title *synthesis* in order at the same time to draw attention to the fact that we can represent nothing as combined in the object without having previously combined it ourselves, and that among all representations combination is the only one that is not given through objects but can be executed only by the subject itself, since it is an act of its self-activity. (Kant 1787, 129-130)

For Kant, knowledge presupposes both the receptivity of sensibility and the spontaneity of understanding. At the same time, he made it clear that an act of the understanding is required in order for any combination in the object to be conceived. On Cassirer's view, Kant's clarification suggests that the receptive aspect of knowledge depends on its spontaneity in the formulation of hypotheses. The claim that "we can represent nothing as combined in the object without having previously combined it ourselves" appeared to be confirmed by the hypothetical status of geometrical assumptions in axiomatic systems.[5]

At the same time, Cassirer pointed out that the study of mathematical structures from the standpoint of the transcendental philosophy differs from formal logic because it is occupied not so much with the consistency of the hypothetico-deductive systems of mathematics as such but rather with the relationship between mathematical and empirical concepts. The goal of the transcendental philosophy is to prove that the same syntheses that lie at the foundation of mathematics rule over the cognition of the objects of experience as well (Cassirer 1907, 45).

Cassirer developed his view in his first major work in epistemology, *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff: Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen der Erkenntniskritik* (1910). On Cassirer's view, there is a tendency in the history of mathematics and of natural sciences to shift from concepts of substance to concepts of function. Both kinds of concepts are universal. The difference is that concepts of substance only admit relations of genus and species. Their formation, therefore, ultimately presupposes the existence of some individuals. On the contrary, a mathematical function represents a universal law, which, by virtue of the successive values which the variable can assume, contains within itself

all the particular cases for which it holds. For example, Cassirer mentions Richard Dedekind's (1888) definition of natural numbers as "free creations of the human mind" based on the general notions of set theory and on the one-to-one correlation of each number to its successor in the series.

Cassirer's goal was to use the logic of the mathematical concept of function for the purposes of transcendental philosophy. Therefore, he emphasized that the field of application of this kind of logic is not restricted to mathematics alone. "On the contrary, it extends over into the field of the knowledge of nature; for the concept of function constitutes the general schema and model according to which the modern concept of nature has been molded in its progressive historical development" (Cassirer 1910/1923, 21). Thereby, the mathematical concept of function assumed the role played by the concept of time in Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*: the form of time contains the general conditions under which alone the concepts of the understanding can be applied to any object. Kant called the formal conditions of the sensibility, to which the use of the concept of the understanding is restricted, the "schema" of this concept, and he called the procedure of understanding with these schemata "schematism" of the understanding (Kant 1787, 179). On Cassirer's view, the schematism of the understanding corresponds to the fact that the general schema provided by the mathematical concept of function can be extended from the formation of algebraic and numerical concepts to that of the concepts of geometry and of physics.

Cassirer's analysis of the relationship between algebra and geometry is found in the third chapter of his work on "The Concept of Space and Geometry". Cassirer (1901/1923, 80) observed that in projective geometry – which flourished in the nineteenth-century after the works by Lazare Carnot, Jean-Victor Poncelet, Jakob Steiner, and Christian von Staudt – the object of inquiry consists not so much of the properties of a given figure as of the network of correlations in which it stands with other allied structures. Since ancient geometry, projections had been known to alter properties such as distances and the measure of angles. Therefore, from the standpoint of projective geometry, figures that are distinct from each other in ordinary geometry (e.g., circles, ellipses, parabolas, and hyperbolas) are classified as the same kind of figures (i.e., the conics). This fact suggests that the study of the projective properties of figures can attain the same generality of algebraic methods in the classification of the related structures. At the same time, Cassirer believed that projective geometry shed light on the formation of spatial concepts.

Cassirer relied, in particular, on the early works by the German mathematician Felix Klein: "Über die sogenannte Nicht-Euklidische Geometrie" (1871) and "Vergleichende Betrachtungen über neuere geometrische Forschungen" (1872). The latter was a written text which was distributed during Klein's inaugural address as newly appointed Professor at the University of Erlangen and became known as the "Erlager Programm."[6] Klein proposed a synthesis between two different traditions in projective geometry. On the one hand, he was familiar with Arthur Cayley's analytical treatment of projective metric by means of the algebraic theory of invariants developed by the British mathematicians George Boole and James Joseph Sylvester. On the other hand, Klein was introduced by his friend, the Austrian mathematician Otto Stolz, to the purely descriptive foundation of projective geometry by Christian von Staudt. Klein (1921, 51-52) reported that, in the summer of 1871, after his exchanges with Stolz, he came to idea that there must be a connection between projective metric and non-Euclidean geometry.[7]

Klein used Cayley's metric to provide the first example of a classification of geometries by means of group theory. Klein showed that geometric properties obtain as invariants relative to specific groups of transformations (i.e., functions from a set to another set or to itself); where the defining conditions for transformations to form a group are that the sum of operations of the group always gives an operation of the group and that, for every operation of the group, there exists in the group an inverse operation. Projective geometry is independent of the different possible hypotheses regarding the existence and the number of parallel lines because the group formed by projective transformations is wider than the group of Euclidean transformations, and contains both Euclidean and non-Euclidean hypotheses as special cases.

In *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff*, Cassirer used Klein's classification to interpret the notion of the form of space in general as follows:

> In this connection, projective geometry has with justice been said to be the universal "a priori" science of space, which is to be placed besides arithmetic in deductive rigor and purity. Space is here deduced merely in its most general form as the "possibility of coexistence" in general, while no decision is made concerning its special axiomatic structure, in particular concerning the validity of the axiom of parallels. Rather it can be shown that by the addition of special completing conditions, the general projective

> determination, that is here evolved, can be successively related to the different theories of parallels and thus carried into the special "parabolic," "elliptic" or "hyperbolic" determinations. (Cassirer 1910/1923, 88)

Cassirer associated Kant's form of space with the Leibnizian notion of space as the "possibility of coexistence" in general. Thereby, geometry could retain the status of an a priori science grounded in the form of space. At the same time, the relational aspect of Leibniz's notion shed light on the fact that the form of space provides us not so much with a specific axiomatic structure as with such a general classification of hypotheses as Klein's.

Cassirer's goal was to prove that this way of considering the form of space was necessary for the use of geometry in physics. We discuss Cassirer's argument in the next section. In the concluding part of this section, it noteworthy that, for Cassirer, not only did Klein's characterization of geometric properties as relative invariants of groups of transformation offer a model for the formation of concepts in physics, but it could be compared to the way of proceeding of transcendental philosophy. Cassirer wrote:

> Since we never compare the system of hypotheses in itself with the naked facts in themselves, but always can only oppose one hypothetical system of principles to another more inclusive, more radical system, we need for this progressive comparison an ultimate constant standard of measurement of supreme principles of experience in general. Thought demands the identity of this logical standard of measurement amid all the change of what is measured. In this sense, the critical theory of experience would constitute the universal invariant theory of experience, and thus fulfill a requirement clearly urged by inductive procedure itself. The procedure of the "transcendental philosophy" can be directly compared at this point with that of geometry. Just as the geometrician selects for investigation those relations of a definite figure, which remain unchanged by certain transformations, so here the attempt is made to discover those universal elements of form, that persist through all change in the particular material content of experience. (Cassirer 1910/1923, 268-69)

The inductive aspect of Cassirer's approach lies in the fact that the results of the universal theory of experience depend on the history of science. Therefore, he maintained that even the principles of Newtonian mechanics need not be taken as absolutely unchanging dogmas; Cassirer

rather regarded these principles as the temporarily simplest intellectual hypotheses, by which we establish the unity of experience (*ibid.*). This claim suggests that Cassirer's approach did imply a relativized conception of the a priori, which became explicit in Cassirer's book on Einstein's general relativity. The misunderstanding in later reconstructions of his argument for continuity across theory change depends on the broader scope of Cassirer's theory of experience: the a priori role of the principles relative to specific theories presupposes a comparison of hypotheses at the meta-scientific level of the formation of concepts. Cassirer's model for such a comparison, in 1910, was Klein's group-theoretical treatment of geometry. In a similar way, Klein (1910, 21) maintained that projective geometry provided a rational ground for the assumptions of relativistic physics. He characterized special relativity as the theory of invariants of Minkovski's four-dimensional spacetime relative to the Lorentz group of transformations.

In 1921, Cassirer argument for continuity across theory change depended on the role of Riemannian geometry in Einstein's general relativity. A thorough discussion of Cassirer's argument would require us to add more details about Cassirer's and others' philosophical interpretation of general relativity.[8] For my present purpose, in the following section I limit myself to a few remarks about the philosophical significance of Riemann's geometry.

Cassirer's Argument in 1921

One of the most striking aspects of general relativity lies in Einstein's use of Riemannian geometry and its developments in Gregorio Ricci-Curbastro's and Tullio Levi-Civita's absolute differential calculus from the 1890s. Whereas projective metric sufficed to characterize Newtonian physics and special relativity as the invariant theories of the Galileian and of the Lorentzian transformation groups, respectively, the formulation of Einstein's equations presupposed completely different geometrical hypotheses about the structure of the spacetime continuum, which in general relativity is a four-dimensional manifold of variable curvature.

Riemann's work on manifolds of variable curvature did not receive much attention in the debate on the epistemological relevance of non-Euclidean geometry, as they appeared to be purely mathematical

speculations. Cassirer was one of the first philosophers to recognize that this assessment had to be reconsidered after general relativity:

> The real superiority of Euclidean geometry seems at first glance to consist in its concrete and intuitive determinateness in the face of which all "pseudo-geometries" fade into logical "possibilities." These possibilities exist only for thought, not for "being;" they seem analytic plays with concepts, which can be left unconsidered when we are concerned with experience and with "nature," with the synthetic unity of objective knowledge. […] [T]his view must undergo a peculiar and paradoxical reversal. (Cassirer 1921/1923, 442-43)

On the one hand, deviations from the Pythagorean metric required a physical explanation: the value of the constant, which expresses the deviation, depends on the gravitational field, and can be neglected at the infinitesimal level and in the other cases in which the same results obtain according to special relativity. On the other hand, there is a reversal in what appeared to be "abstract" and "concrete." Now, relatively complex expressions have a physical meaning and Euclidean geometry is considered a limiting case.

Owing to his relativized conception of the a priori, Cassirer revised his former argument as follows. He identified the a priori of space as the more general function of spatiality that is expressed in the linear element of spacetime and pointed out the empirical meaning of the particular value of curvature. Nevertheless, he emphasized continuity with former physical theories as for the use of geometric concepts as "methodical anticipations" of experience. Since Riemannian geometry found a surprising application in Einstein s theory of gravitation, "the possibility of such an application must be held open for all, even the most remote constructions of pure mathematics and especially of non-Euclidean geometry" (Cassirer 1921/1923, 443). On Cassirer's view, the appropriateness of the transcendental method received a surprising confirmation as well, because the foregoing argument for the synthetic character of mathematics enabled Cassirer to account for the role of mathematics, including non-Euclidean geometry, in the formulation of new hypotheses. As Cassirer put it:

> A doctrine, which originally grew up merely in the immanent progress of a pure mathematical speculation, in the ideal transformation of the hypotheses that lie at the basis of geometry, now serves directly as the form into which the laws of nature are poured. The same functions,

> that were previously established as expressing the metrical properties of non-Euclidean space, give the equations of the field of gravitation. (Cassirer 1921/ 1923, 440)

To turn back now to Friedman's objection, the above quotation shows that Cassirer did not require continuity of mathematical structures across theory change in this case. Cassirer's argument for continuity, after general relativity, was based on the role of geometric concepts as methodological anticipations of possible experience. This consideration suggests that, if Cassirer's philosophy of science is to contribute to a possible solution to the Kuhnian problematic, the kind of continuity he is mainly concerned with is at the meta-scientific level of the transformation of concepts. The argument is that, although the symbolic language of Euclidean geometry adopted so far did not suffice for the correlation between space, time, and matter, which subsists according to the general theory of relativity, the theory of manifold first articulated mathematically over the second half of the nineteenth century provided Einstein with the appropriate tools for the discovery of the spacetime structure of general relativity.

As the symbolic function of mathematics in Cassirer's philosophy of science is strictly related to his account of physical reality in structural terms, the clarification of this point lends plausibility to his approach to the problem of reality in general. The consideration of different, even nonrational symbolic forms does not undermine the objectivity of knowledge, insofar as it confirms the unifying power of symbolic thinking in the articulation of human experience. It is because of the symbolic character of mathematics that the system of experience in the sense of transcendental philosophy is always capable of further generalizations. At the same time, Cassirer's historical perspective on rationality led him to extend his consideration to symbolic thinking as a more fundamental level of experience than logical thinking. In order to highlight this point, the following section sketches the connection between Cassirer's account of mathematical method and his broader perspective on rationality from the standpoint of the philosophy of symbolic forms.

The Task of Rationality and the Legacy of Enlightenment

Cassirer dedicated himself to the philosophy of mathematics and to the philosophy of science until the end of his life. In 1936, he published an

important work on the philosophical implications of quantum mechanics. An overall presentation of his epistemological views is found in the third volume of the *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (1929) and in the fourth volume of *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit,* which was written in 1940 and appeared posthumously in 1957 (1950 in English translation). At the same time, he deepened his interests in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, psychology, and intellectual history. In 1919, he was appointed Professor at the University of Hamburg. In 1920, while he was still working on *Zur Einstein'schen Relativitätstheorie*, he paid his first visit to Aby Warburg's Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Hamburg, where he was impressed by the variety of perspectives on human culture offered by the ethnographic and aesthetic studies contained in the library. This visit, along with Cassirer's engagement in the debate about the geometry of space, seems to have contributed to his conviction that a philosophical account of "spatiality" deserved a more comprehensive study of the formation of the concept of space in its mythical, theoretical, and aesthetic meaning.[9] But Cassirer's visit to the Warburg library seems to have played an important role especially in Cassirer's broadening of his original perspective on symbolism.[10]

Notwithstanding the importance of this development in Cassirer's thought, he constantly relied upon his earlier account of mathematical method. In particular, his writings from the period between the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, shed light on Cassirer's views about the role of scientific thinking and rationality in intellectual history and its potential. In the preface to his 1932 book *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung*, Cassirer characterized his approach toward the Enlightenment as follows:

> The age which venerated reason and science as man's highest faculty cannot and must not be lost even for us. We must find a way not only to see that age in its own shape but to release again those original forces which brought forth and molded this shape. (Cassirer 1932/1951, XI-XII)

Cassirer's defense of the values of the Enlightenment was strictly related to the symbolic and therefore constructive aspect which for Cassirer is characteristic of knowledge. The counterpart of the spontaneity of knowledge, in practical philosophy, is the conviction that rationality is not so much a fact, which we can take for granted, as a task to fulfill

under the present circumstances. In this sense, Cassirer's stance in favor of rationality had a political significance.

In 1928, Cassirer was one of the few intellectuals in Weimar Germany to give a public speech about the history and legacy of the idea of republic. The political significance of this speech, whose written version appeared in 1929, and of his work from that period, was also due to the fact that in 1929-30 he acted as Rector of the University of Hamburg and as the first Jew to hold such a position in Germany. After the advent of Nazism, in 1933, Cassirer emigrated. He spent two years lecturing at the University of Oxford and six years at the University of Göteborg, Sweden. In 1941, he moved to the United States. He taught at the Yale University from 1941 to 1944 and at the Columbia University in 1944-45. Over these years he published an introduction to the philosophy of symbolic form for the English-speaking public under the title *An Essay on Man* (1944) and *The Myth of the State* (1946), which was devoted to the raise of fascism. Cassirer died in New York in 1945.

Under similar circumstances, intellectuals such as Edmund Husserl, Theodor W. Adorno, and Max Horkheimer took an opposite stance towards scientific thinking and the legacy of Enlightenment. They considered the mathematical expression of natural laws as a reduction of nature to technical processes which have nothing to do with human life and freedom. Not only did this view imply that there is an unbridgeable gap between natural sciences and the humanities, but – especially in Adorno's and Horkheimer's *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1944) – it established a direct connection between the scientific approach to nature and authoritarian thinking. Cassirer's defense of the critical potential of rationality relied on a completely different – and well-documented – account of mathematical and scientific method. In this regard, it may be helpful to contrast Cassirer's view on mathematics with Husserl's. Owing to his scientific education, Husserl had a special interest in the philosophy of mathematics at the beginning of his career and was one of the first philosophers to appreciate the philosophical significance of Riemann's theory of manifolds. However, in his later works, he sharply contrasted the formal methods of mathematics with the method of the transcendental idealism.[11] In *Die Krisis der Europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendentale Phänomenologie* (1936), Husserl characterized mathematical science as follows:

> Mathematics and mathematical science, as a garb of ideas, or the garb of symbols of the symbolic mathematical theories, encompasses everything which, for scientists and the educated generally, represents the life-world, dresses it up as "objectively actual and true" nature. It is through the garb of ideas that we take for true being what is actually a method – a method which is designed for the purpose of progressively improving, in infinitum, through "scientific" predictions, those rough predictions which are the only ones originally possible within the sphere of what is actually experienced and experienceable in the life-world. It is because of the disguise of ideas that the true meaning of the method, the formulae, the "theories," remained unintelligible and, in the naïve formation of the method, was never understood. (Husserl 1954/1970, 51-52)

A thorough discussion of Husserl's view would require us to take into account the phenomenological approach to the complex of individual, social, perceptual, and practical experiences which for Husserl form the life-world. For our present purpose, it is noteworthy that Husserl contrasts the objectivity of scientific theories with what he supposes to be the true nature of things as given to us. Therefore, he agrees with Cassirer that the mathematical method on account of symbolism fully abstracts from the immediate or intuitive aspects of experience. However, mathematics in Husserl's sense cannot provide us with a unified theory of experience in general, because his emphasis lies on the negative side of "abstraction" as loss of content. Instead of direct reference, mathematics and mathematical theories can only provide us with predictions that can be compared to one another in terms of accuracy.

By contrast, Cassirer dealt with the problem of perception in continuity with his account of mathematical symbolism. In the third volume of the *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, Cassirer noticed that even actual experience in everyday life presupposes the capacity to establish connections which is characteristic of symbolic thinking. In order to account for the use of the same capacity at the basic level of perception, Cassirer maintained that experienced phenomena are characterized by a form of "symbolic pregnance," which he described as follows:

> Just as, mathematically speaking, directed and nondirected quantities cannot simply be added together, we cannot, in our phenomenology and critical theory of knowledge, speak of "matters" and "forms," "phenomena" and categorical "orders" being "combined" with one another. On the other hand, we not only can but must determine every particular in respect to

> such orders, if experience is to come into being as a theoretical structure. It is participation in this structure that gives to the phenomenon its objective reality and determinacy. The symbolic pregnance that it gains detracts in no way from its concrete abundance; but it does provide a guarantee that this abundance will not simply dissipate itself, but it will round itself into a stable, self-contained form. (Cassirer 1929/1957, 203-204)

On Cassirer's view, symbolic thinking is not opposed to empirical contents, because it is the condition for recognizing these contents as parts of experience, both in the sense of everyday life and in that of scientific knowledge. The development of knowledge depends not so much on the accumulation of particular facts as on the inseparable connection between observable and nonobservable facts within a system of hypotheses. In other words, symbolic pregnance has its counterpart in the anticipatory role of the mathematical method in its empirical use.

Cassirer's view posed the problem of explaining how such different symbolic forms as myth and science are related. On the one hand, in the Introduction to the third volume of the *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, he emphasized the autonomy of nonrational forms of thinking, which cannot be derived from rational explanations. Therefore, in *An Essay on Man*, he maintained that the notion of symbol offered a more promising clue to human nature than rationality, as symbolic pregnance manifests itself in all of the forms assumed by human understanding and organization of experience. On the other hand, there seems to be a hierarchy of symbolic forms, from the most primitive to the most complex forms of science and of art in Cassirer's articulation of the system. The problematic aspect of such an order is that this seems to imply that rationality predominates at later stages of civilization.

With regard to the liberating role attributed to culture by Cassirer, Skidelsky (2008) considers Cassirer the last exponent of the humanistic tradition of the past two centuries. In this interpretation, one of the leading ideas of this tradition was that the manifestation of the symbolic capacity in culture and civilization shows a progressive direction. By contrast, twentieth-century philosophy was forced to rethink its basic presuppositions: "It could no longer treat as given the fact of science and culture" (Skidelsky 2008, 126). However, it seems to me that the above assessment overlooks the fact that the freedom of reason for Cassirer, as well as for Kant, is the condition of any critical attitude toward historical facts.

Cassirer himself had to call into question the said aspect of his philosophy, when, in *The Myth of the State,* he was confronted with the problem of accounting for the emergence of the modern political myths of the Nazi regime.[12] Nevertheless, even in his later works, he defended the legacy of the Enlightenment as a source of critical thinking also in relation to the present and reaffirmed the paradigmatic role of the sciences.[13] Without proposing a solution of the dialectical tension in Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms, I limit myself to conclude that the mathematical method on Cassirer's view assumed and retained a paradigmatic role as symbolic thinking. This does not necessarily mean that the history of human culture should reflect some hierarchy of values; the clarification of the constructive aspect of symbolism in relation to the mathematical method rather left the system of experience open to the possibility of deliberately articulating the same capacity in various ways.
(Endnotes)

NOTES

1 On Cassirer's education and on his relationship to Cohen and Natorp, see Ferrari 1988.

2 My translation from the German original: "Die Erfahrung ist gegeben; es sind die Bedingungen zu entdecken, auf denen ihre Möglichkeit beruht. Sind die Bedingungen gefunden, welche die gegebene Erfahrung ermöglichen, in der Art ermöglichen, dass dieselbe als a priori giltig angesprochen, dass strenge Nothwendigkeit und unbeschränkte Allgemeinheit ihr zuerkannt werden kann, dann sind diese Bedingungen als die constituieren Merkmale des Begriffs der Erfahrung zu bezeichnen, und aus diesem Begriff ist sodann zu deducieren, was immer den Erkenntniswerth objectiver Realität beansprucht. Das ist das ganze Geschäft der Transcendental-Philosophie. Die Erfahrung ist also in Mathematik und reiner Naturwissenschaft gegeben."

3 On Cassirer and the Vienna Circle, see Cassirer (2011). On the Davos disputation between Cassirer and Heidegger, see Aubenque et al. (1992); Friedman (2000); Gordon (2010).

4 See Friedman 2002.

5 In the foregoing quote, Kant was referring to a priori cognition in general. Kant clearly bore in mind the example of geometrical objects, if one compares this notion of synthesis with the following quote from the Preface to the second edition of the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*: "A new light broke upon the first person who demonstrated the isosceles triangle (whether he was called 'Thales' or had some other name). For he found that what he had to do was not to trace what he saw in this figure, or even trace its mere concept, and read off, as it were, from the properties of the figure; but rather that he had to produce the latter from what he himself thought into the object and presented (through construction) according to a priori concepts, and that in order to know something securely a priori he had to ascribe to the thing nothing except what followed necessarily from what he himself had put into it in accordance with its concepts" (Kant 1787, XII).

6 The Erlangen Program is often mistaken for Klein's inaugural address (see Rowe1983). Klein's comparative review of the existing directions of geometrical research circulated as a pamphlet when Klein gave his inaugural address and became known as Erlangen Program, arguably because, after the second edition of 1893, Klein himself (e.g., in Klein 1921, 411-14) presented it as a retrospective guideline for his research.

7 On the sources of Klein's *Erlanger Programm*, see Wussing 1969, 133ff; Birkhoff and Bennet 1988; Rowe 1992.

8 For a thorough historical reconstruction of the early philosophical interpretation (and misinterpretations) of general relativity, see Hentschel 1990. For a reconsideration of Cassirer's and others' idealist perspective on the philosophical significance of general relativity, see esp. Ryckman 2005.

9 In 1931, he articulated this view in "Mythischer, ästhetischer und theoretischer Raum".

10 In a letter to Warburg dated 28 November 1920, Fritz Saxl, the deputy director of the library and Cassirer's guide during his visit, reported the following: "I began in the second room with the bookcase 'Symbol,' since I thought that Cassirer would find this an easy way to get to the library's problem. He immediately stopped short in surprise and explained that this was the very problem that had preoccupied him a very long time and on which he was presently working. Only a small portion of the literature on the concept of the Symbol that we have collected was known to him, and its orientation to the visual (the making visible of Symbolism in gesture and art), not at all." On the significance of the orientation of the library for the development of Cassirer's understanding of symbolism, see also Krois 2011. The English translation of the foregoing quotation is borrowed from Krois (2011, 15) as well.

11 See esp. Husserl's *Formale und Transzendentale Logik: Versuch einer Kritik der logischen Vernunft* (1929). For a thorough comparison with Marburg neo-Kantianism on the relationship between formal and transcendental logic, see Kern 1964.

12 Cassirer wrote: "When we first heard of the political myths we found them so absurd and incongruous, so fantastic and ludicrous that we could hardly be prevailed upon to take them seriously. By now it has become clear to all of us that this was a great mistake. We should carefully study the origin, the structure, the methods, and the technique of the political myths. We should see the adversary face to face in order to know how to combat him" (Cassirer 1946, 296). Although this self-criticism does not necessarily imply a revision of the system of symbolic forms, it clearly suggests that intellectual history from the viewpoint of such a system should take into deeper consideration the material conditions for the emergence of the political myths (see Pettoello 2013).

13 See, e.g., the following quotation from *An Essay on Man*: "The work of all the great natural scientists – of Galileo and Newton, of Maxwell and Helmholtz, of Planck and Einstein – was not mere fact collecting; it was theoretical, and that means constructive, work. This spontaneity and productivity is the very center of all human activities. It is man's highest power and it designates at the same time the natural boundary of our human world. In language, in religion, in art, in science, man can do no more than to build up his own universe – a symbolic universe that enables him to understand and interpret, to articulate and organize, to synthetize and universalize his human experience" (Cassirer 1944, 278).

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NATURALISING EPISTEMIC NORMS THROUGH HUMEAN STANDARDS OF TASTE

Abstract

This paper reflects on the possibility of expanding the normative options available within a naturalized epistemology using strands of thought that emerge in Hume's account of the role of philosophical relations in causal judgments. Working within the confines of a naturalized action-focused epistemology it will be demonstrated that standards of taste generate evaluative judgments regarding causal inference. Such judgments of taste are characterized as objective to the extent that they are fixed not merely within the individual but also in the community and are subject to evaluation against a steady and general point of view. This process attempts to moves beyond instrumental normativity and bestow these judgments with epistemic justification. In avoiding the positing of irreducibly normative facts and properties it will be demonstrated that we can expand this account to the wider context of epistemic justification within a naturalized epistemology.

Keywords: Naturalism, normativity, Hume, standards of taste, inductive inference.

While the broad outline of Hume's sceptical argument is well known, Hume is often taken to be an advocate of naturalism in philosophy.[1] Given the prominence of naturalism in our contemporary philosophical landscape, Hume's naturalism represents more than a historical curiosity. Hume gives the question of "how do we arrive at our beliefs?" a central role in epistemologies ameliorative task of improving our reasoning strategies. Like many contemporary naturalists, he recognizes that this descriptive task is essential to any attempt to proffer prescriptions about belief formation. However, the descriptive approach of naturalist epistemology has led to great concern about the capacity of such approaches to generate epistemic norms. At the heart of the normative problem facing versions

of contemporary naturalized epistemology is the fact that, descriptive material, which provides a reason for why we reason in certain ways, does not provide epistemic justification for such reasoning. Hume's naturalism must also confront this difficulty in producing epistemic norms given its commitment to a descriptive methodology. This paper seeks to investigate the kind of norms available within a naturalized epistemology using strands of thought that emerge in the sections of Hume's naturalist account of causal inference.[2] It will be demonstrated that the action focus of Hume's naturalist epistemology does not limit him to a purely instrumental account of norms. An action-centred epistemology cannot disconnect from the context of engaged social agents hence it facilitates the exploration of alternative sources of justification. Specifically, it will be argued that epistemic standards of taste play a role in the evaluation of our causal judgments as they enable us to weigh up conflicting evidence in order to arrive at a considered judgment.

It is Hume's desire to improve our reasoning processes and it is in the impulse to make recommendations about how we can improve our reasoning strategies that normative content emerges in Hume. In Section 1 of the paper it will be demonstrated that, in taking a naturalistic turn in response to his skeptical findings regarding causal belief formation, Hume has not only changed the route of epistemological inquiry but he has also changed its destination. There is a shift from justification to action as the focus of epistemological investigation. We are encouraged to move the focus of epistemological inquiry away from addressing the sceptical challenge to human reason by placing human action at the centre of our epistemological concerns. Hume's action-centred approach puts the focus of epistemological inquiry on developing a theory of reasoning excellence that has an ameliorative aim. This revision of epistemology's goals necessitates the generation of practical rather than theoretical findings. Given this practical drive we might expect Hume to appeal only to instrumental normativity. Hume does indeed provide clear instrumental reasons for why we should form causal beliefs. However, as will be discussed in Section 2, he is not happy to confine the normative reasons for such beliefs to instrumental normativity. It will be argued that what I have reason to believe does not have to depend on the content of my goals.

Having set out Hume's ameliorative objective (Section 1) and rejected purely instrumental justification for our causal beliefs (Section 2) in Section 3 we turn to look at an alternative source of evaluation for our causal beliefs. In his 1993 article "Why We Believe in Induction" Bennett W.

Helm argued that the model of evaluation Hume proposed for aesthetic judgments is also deployed in the epistemological context of judgments regarding inductive inferences. On the aesthetic model standards of taste act as reasons that justify our aesthetic judgments. Drawing on Helm's account strands, in Hume's writing that point to the role of standards of taste in the evaluation of our causal judgments will be explored and developed. To the extent that these standards cohere in a steady and general point of view they take on normative force. It will be argued that such a model points the way for naturalism to be conducted as a normative enterprise even if it does not satisfy standard conditions of normativity. This process expands the kind of justification available to epistemologists working within a naturalized framework.

Section 1: Ameliorative Epistemology

What clearly emerges in Hume's account of causal inference is that an explanation of why one in fact makes the inference does not justify it. Nevertheless, it is only once we are able to make such inferences that it makes sense to ask whether they are justified or not. When Hume initially asked how we make inferences from one idea to the other he provides a descriptive explanation of why we in fact do so, but what justification can he provide for such inferences? Notwithstanding the danger of deriving 'ought' claims from 'is' claims, many naturalists are committed to generating norms from the empirical information they possess. There is little doubt that Hume wished to distinguish between reasonable and irrational beliefs, "weaning our mind from all those prejudices, which we may have imbibed from education or rash opinion" (EHU 112-3; EHU 12.1.4; SBN 150).[3] This process of developing recommendations that move us away from flawed beliefs is a normative task. However, in adopting a descriptive method how can Hume legitimately generate normative recommendations about our causal judgments?

Hume's sceptical findings famously concluded that our causal inferences are not based on reason. Hence, if our causal judgments are to be epistemically justified the source of this justification cannot be some infallible *a priori* criterion. These skeptical findings set strict limits on the kind of solution Hume can develop in response to his own skeptical challenge. One of the key shifts necessitated by an acceptance of these skeptical findings is the conviction that any meaningful account of the

justification of causal inference cannot ignore information about how humans actually reason. We can also find this approach advocated among contemporary epistemologists as Brown states, "epistemic norms that are based on a particular account of our cognitive abilities become suspect if that account is rejected, and norms that require us to do what is beyond our capabilities are surely unacceptable" (Brown 1996, 31). Our beliefs are not the epistemic possessions of disembodied spirits but aspects of the activity of essentially embodied creatures. Hume's naturalism begins from this point highlighting that a full understanding of why we make an inference from cause to effect demands first an understanding of the natural transition that makes such inferences possible. Hence the descriptive method advocated in naturalism is essential if we are to understand the kinds of belief-forming mechanisms that make the generation of causal beliefs possible. It is only once such a descriptive account is in place that reasoning strategies that take account of our cognitive capacities can be provided. While acknowledging a link between the question "how do we arrive at our beliefs?" and "how ought we arrive at our beliefs" Hume is not prepared to eliminate prescriptive directives.

In working through the process of coming to terms with his sceptical findings, Hume comes to a point where addressing the sceptical challenge is no longer regarded as the central task of epistemology. In Hume we find the focus of epistemology being directed away from developing solutions to sceptical problems and towards the development of normative reasoning strategies. A concern with the realities of human action is the primary driver of this move. Hume was very much aware that scepticism is incompatible with how we live and, as such, is an untenable position. A preoccupation with confronting scepticism has generated a distorted picture of man in which his capacity for reason was viewed as the only facet with epistemological relevance. Hume's sceptical findings demonstrate that reason alone fails to provide us the kind of knowledge necessary for action. What we find in Hume is recognition that the belief forming process cannot be explained through reason alone. Hume acknowledges that "Man is a reasonable being" (EHU 7; EHU 1.6; SBN 8) but he continues to highlight that "Man is a sociable, no less than a reasonable being" (EHU 7; EHU 1.6; SBN 8) and crucially that "Man is also an active being" (EHU 7; EHU 1.6; SBN 8). For Hume, these three facets of man are relevant to the process of belief formation. As Hume points out in the opening of the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, there are two ways to approach the science of human nature:

> The one considers man as born for action, and as influenced in his measures by taste and sentiment; …. The other species of philosophers consider man in the light of a reasonable rather than an active being, and endeavor to form his understanding more than cultivate his manners (EHU 5; EHU 1.1-2; SBN 5-6).

Hume ultimately recommends a middle path, one necessitated by Nature. Nature says, you may indulge your passions for science "but let your science be human, and such as may have a direct reference to action and society" (EHU 7; EHU 1.6; SBN 9). Hume's work seeks to have a direct reference to action and society.

Hume does not seek to deal with the specific claims of the sceptic but accepts them in their most potent and rigorous form. Strawson aptly describes Hume's response to the sceptical challenge as "a response which does not so much attempt to meet the challenge as to pass it by" (Strawson 1985, 3). In bypassing the sceptical challenge, Hume has set a new goal for the science of man, one that focuses on the outcome rather than the inputs of the belief formation. In attempting to understand the acquisition, growth and changes of belief, epistemologists have tended to focus on the input to and internal interactions of our cognitive states. Hume's primary concern however, is on the output; his is an action-focused approach. In demonstrating that we are not the slaves of reason, Hume is concerned primarily with action. As he puts it;

> The great subverter of Pyrrhonism, or the excessive principles of scepticism, is action, and employment, and the occupations of common life. These principles may flourish and triumph in the schools, where it is, indeed, difficult, if not impossible, to refute them. But as soon as they leave the shade, and by the presence of the real objects which actuate our passions and sentiments, they are put in opposition to the more powerful principles of our nature, they vanish like smoke, and leave the most determined sceptic in the same conditions as other mortals (EHU 112; EHU 12.2.21; SBN 158-159).

Hume deems that our philosophical science should have a direct reference to action and society. Deleuze held that what we find emerging in Hume is a case for insisting that "Philosophy must constitute itself as the theory of what we are doing, not as a theory of what there is" (Deleuze 1991, 133). As a theory of what we are doing, Hume's science of human nature strives not to defeat scepticism but to provide useful guidance to

reasoners. Far from inviting us to a sceptical attitude toward life in general, Hume tells us that the sceptical attitude is of academic merit only; it has no value for our actual living. Sceptical philosophy Hume maintains, does not "undermine the reasoning of common life, nor carries its doubts so far as to destroy all action as well as speculation" (EHU 36; EHU 5.1.2; SBN 41). Wittgenstein also held that belief could not be radically divorced from praxis. He states that: "Giving grounds, however justifying the evidence, comes to an end; – but the end is not certain propositions' striking us immediately as true, i.e. it is not a kind of seeing on our part; it is our acting…" (Wittgenstein 1969, 204).

In placing the focus of his epistemological investigation on action, he anticipates the development of 20th century pragmatism where knowledge is placed in the context of action. C.I. Lewis, for example, reminds us that "knowledge, action, and evaluation are essentially connected. The primary and pervasive significance of knowledge lies in its guidance of action: knowing is for the sake of doing" (Lewis 1946, 3). The guidance of action should form the normative thrust of our epistemology. Kemp Smith (1905, 155-7) highlights that Hume regards reason and knowledge to be 'practical' and concludes that Hume is providing a new naturalistic conception of the function of reason "to afford us guidance in practical life" (Smith 1905a, 155). This is the basis for a genuinely prescriptive epistemological theory.

Hume was primarily interested in why people do what they do, not in why they think what they think. Much of Hume's sceptical argument highlights that people do what they do, not because they are motivated by rational arguments but rather as the result of natural relations. Like pragmatists who strive to put the practical bearing at the centre of philosophical considerations, Hume's action focus gives his work an ameliorative drive that is intensified if we accept that knowledge is for action.[4] If the action focused approach is to make any headway in its attempt to improve the outcome of our reasoning, it must take into account the actual elements which contribute to the belief forming process. Hume's sceptical findings have a role to play here, as they expose the untrustworthiness of our cognitive faculties. This Humean insight, Collier claims, should direct us away from comparisons between Hume and advocates of replacement Quinian versions of the contemporary naturalized epistemology project. The heirs to Hume's project are best located, not in academic philosophy, but in the fields of psychology, anthropology and human ecology. Collier argues instead that comparisons

should be drawn between Hume and cognitive scientists such as Daniel Kahneman and Richard Nisbett. As with Hume's investigations, the research of these cognitive scientists reveals profound, systematic and fundamental errors in our intuitive judgments. In marking out such researchers as the "genuine descendants of Hume's approach", Collier highlights how their findings "provide support for Hume's contention that a careful examination of our everyday beliefs raise serious concerns about the reliability of our faculties" (Collier 2008, 307). I agree with Collier regarding the comparisons between Hume and the kind of contemporary cognitive scientists who reveal errors in our intuitive judgments is apt in locating the inheritors of Hume's negative program. However, Collier fails to make similar connections with Hume's positive program.

It is my contention that Hume also anticipates moves in contemporary cognitive science to provide guidance on the improvement of our reasoning strategies in the light of such tendencies to error. The cognitive scientists of interest here do not detect errors in our intuitive judgments in order to advance sceptical ends, indeed, most explicitly indicate their ameliorative objectives. For example, in *Thinking, Fast and Slow,* Kahneman (2012) also sets out research findings that demonstrate among other things the effects of cognitive biases on decision making in order to offer practical insights into how we can use different techniques to guard against the mental slips that often lead to inappropriate action. Similarly, behavioural economist such as Dan Ariely (2008), the author of *Predictably Irrational*, have produced research findings that show that we are not as rational as we think when we make decisions. Again, in this case the goal of the research is not simply to expose errors in our intuitive judgments; the principle goal of such research is to enable us to recognize how we make cognitive mistakes so we can begin to improve. This desire to make prescriptions about how we ought to acquire belief is certainly not forsaken by Hume. Far from dispensing with an ameliorative thrust, the desire to proffer recommendations on belief formation preserves a normative component within his enterprise. The whole force of Hume's anti-dogmatic approach is to contribute to this wider task of improving our reasoning strategies in order to ensure that we come to reason better.

It is not only in the kind of psychology that exposes the flaws in our reasoning strategies that we find Hume's legacy but also in the branches of psychology that seek to improve reasoning. Following Bishop and Trout (2005), I will refer to these branches of psychology as 'Ameliorative Psychology'. Examples include Paul Meehl's *Clinical Versus Statistical*

Prediction (1966), which demonstrates that the application of statistical prediction rules (SPRs) make more reliable predictions than human experts in a variety of domains. Other examples include Gerd Gigerenzer's (1999) work, which demonstrates that people making high-stakes diagnoses can improve their reasoning by reformulating the problems about probabilities as problems about frequencies. These findings provide normative guidance about how we ought to reason about certain kinds of problems; this direct link to action in improving reasoning strategies has been lost in much contemporary epistemological research. I want to go further than Collier and identify Hume not only with the error identification motif but also with the ameliorative drive of those cognitive scientists who are his genuine descendants. Given Hume's action centred approach, it should come as little surprise that his motivation in exposing the flaws in our reasoning is not to undermine our belief forming process but to advocate for improvements where flaws arise.

As the findings of ameliorative psychology demonstrate, in the practical fields of human activity epistemic norms are rooted in descriptive knowledge about facts. Any meaningful prescriptions must embrace accounts of theory change that are consistent with the way that cognition has been discovered to work. As a result, epistemology's ameliorative task cannot be done entirely without being informed by cognitive science. Consequently, any search for justification must be primarily concerned with the analysis of cognitive processes of belief formation and not with the logical analysis of relations between propositions. We might expect the prescriptions of such ameliorative findings to appeal only to instrumental justification. But as we will see in the next section Hume is not content to rest his account of the evaluation of inductive inferences purely on instrumental justification.

Section 2: Beyond Instrumental Justification

The use of inductive inference in the sciences has been a great success and yet philosophers have found it extremely difficult to satisfactorily resolve the problem of induction raised by Hume. C.D. Broad famously described induction as "the glory of science and the scandal of philosophy" (Broad 1952, 143). But why have philosophers encountered such difficulties in their attempts to resolve the problem of induction? Wilfrid Sellars (1964) identifies the reason for this difficulty in the fact that

philosophers have attempted to justify induction by theoretical rather than by practical reasoning. O'Shea argues that:

> Hume attempted to resolve the traditional philosophical problem (or perhaps more accurately, to set it aside on principled grounds) by transforming the issue from one of theoretical consistency to one of pragmatic coherence (O'Shea 1996, 1).

Given Hume's action-centred approach, he is firmly committed to the use of practical rather than theoretical reasoning. Audi (2004) characterizes practical reason as above all our capacity for rational action whereas theoretical reason is above all our capacity for knowledge and rational belief. In shifting his focus to action, Hume is primarily concerned with developing a theory of practical reason as this provides the basis of rational action and attempts to explain the relationship between practical and theoretical reason.

In pursuing a philosophical investigation which is to have a direct reference to action and society, Hume's distinction between the theoretical and the practical certainty of our ideas takes on a pivotal importance. This is evident in Windelband's analysis of Hume when he states that,

> The associations of ideas which lie at the basis of the conceptions of substance and causality are, indeed, attended neither by demonstrative nor by intuitive certainty; instead of this, however, they are accompanied by a conviction, which has its roots in feeling, a natural belief, which unperturbed by any theoretical reflections, asserts itself victoriously in man's practical procedures, and is completely adequate for attainable ends of life, and for knowledge relating to these (Windelband 1958, 477).

In our lived experience we find that some ideas that cannot secure demonstrative certainty nevertheless possess a practical certainty. Hume's sceptical findings would seem to indicate that, epistemically speaking, we should have no beliefs, while his naturalism points to the fact that forming beliefs is an inescapable part of human life. However, it is not just unavoidability that Hume emphasizes but also the instrumental normativity attached to these beliefs.

Hume provides clear instrumental reasons why we should form inductive beliefs. He states that if we jettison our customary transition from causes to effects, a foundation of all our thoughts and actions, we would

immediately "perish and go to ruin" (T 148; T 1.4.4.1; SBN 225). In doing so, he has provided a clear end for any chain of means-end reasoning that would seek instrumental normativity for the causal instinct. The ends supplied by the causal instinct provides the first premises for a chain of means-end reasoning. If you want to avoid perishing, and if operating in accordance with the causal instinct ensures that you avoid perishing, then you ought to operate in accordance with it. We can set about justifying induction not by theoretical but rather by practical reasoning. Instrumental approaches to the problem of induction such as Reichenbach's (1963) bestows our faith in induction with a kind of practical rationality. Given the high cost of a failure to operate in accordance with these natural instincts, it would seem that beliefs they generate possess this kind of practical rationality. Reichenbach's pragmatic approach to the problem of induction justifies the use of good inductive reasoning because, if that does not work, then nothing will. If no courses of action guarantees success but one holds out the possibility of success, then it is rational to embark on the latter. The natural instincts themselves and many of the content specific beliefs they give rise to are often cited by Hume as having a clear instrumental value. For Hume our natural beliefs are conducive to our survival. As the following examples demonstrate, when defending a belief, or an inference rule, it is never simply naturalness that Hume cites:

> The 'natural' principles "are the foundation of all our thoughts and actions, so that upon their removal human nature must immediately perish and go to ruin" (T 148; T 1.4.4.1; SBN 225).

> The 'unnatural' principles "are neither unavoidable to mankind … or so much as useful in the conduct of life (T 148; T 1.4.4.1; SBN 225).

> …all Human life must perish, were [the sceptic's] principles universally and steadily to prevail. All discourse, all action would immediately cease; and men remain in a total lethargy, till the necessities of nature, unsatisfied, put an end to their miserable existence. It is true; so fatal an event is very little to be dreaded. Nature is always too strong for principle (EHU 119; EHU 12.2.23; SBN 160).

> …this operation of the mind, by which we infer like effects from like causes, and *vice versa*, is so essential to the subsistence of all human creatures… (EHU 45; EHU 5.2.22; SBN 55)

Here, again, it is the instrumental value of the natural mechanism which Hume cites by way of a recommendation. Indeed, Audi (2002) suggests that "broadly Humean versions of instrumentalism are among the most plausible contenders to represent instrumentalism as a contemporary naturalistic position in the theory of practical reason" (Audi 2002, 235). Contemporary advocates of naturalized epistemology frequently commit themselves to instrumental teleological theories of epistemic normativity. Truth-conducive norms of reason are valuable and motivating insofar as they promote the ends we have. According to instrumentalists, epistemic norms are binding insofar as conforming to them makes it more likely that we will form beliefs that promote our ends.

But is such instrumental reasoning trivial and inadequate as a normative theory? There is a difference between forming and retaining beliefs for epistemic reasons and forming and retaining beliefs for instrumental or pragmatic reasons. The kind of hypothetical oughts generated in instrumental reasoning take the form: If *X* wants *A*, she ought to do B. Hypothetical oughts are concerned with logical advice and do not offer substantive, categorical advice such as: You ought to do *X*. To give substantive advice, one needs to eliminate the subjectivity of the antecedent in the conditional. One prominent difficulty facing the instrumentalist approach is its inability to evaluate whether or not a goal is worth pursuing. Siegel argues that "instrumental rationality itself depends on a non-instrumental conception of rationality, that is, that instrumental rationality cannot be coherently understood without recourse to a 'categorical' conception of rationality which underlies it" (Siegel 1996, 118). Even if normativity can be retained by appealing to instrumental norms contingent upon our aims, the instrumentalist still requires an account of the normative force of those aims. As Hilary Kornblith points out:

> We cannot rest content with Quine's seemingly innocent suggestion that epistemic norms 'become descriptive when the terminal parameter is expressed', for we need to know what the source of this terminal parameter is. What, ultimately, is the source of epistemic normativity? (Kornblith 2002, 139)

The pursuit of one's cognitive goals can provide instrumental rationale for why one acts in one way rather than another. However, despite the fact that one has certain cognitive goals, it seems possible that I could have

reasons to hold beliefs about a given topic even if I have no goal which would be advanced by my believing the relevant truths. For example, having been committed to working on the night of a big match I might record the match and undertake deliberate measures in order to avoid discovering what took place during it. The goal of these measures is to avoid the acquisition of reasons for believing the truth about how the match ends. Thomas Kelly using a similar analogy, to not having seen a movie you are intending to see draws our attention to the fact that:

> …if the possibility of acquiring reasons for believing the truth about p is contingent on one's having some goal which would be better promoted by believing the truth about p, then this project is incoherent: there is no need to deliberately avoid the acquisition of epistemic reasons to believe propositions about subjects with respect to which one has no desire to believe the truth, for one knows *a priori* that there are no such reasons (Kelly 2003, 628).

If the measures I put in place fail and a particularly irritating friend blurts out the final score I might then acquire epistemic reasons to believe the truth about how the match ends despite my not having the relevant goal. It could not then be the case that nothing is epistemically rational for those who lack the relevant goal. I might have epistemic reasons to believe the truth about how the match ends, despite my not having the relevant goal. As a result, attempts to reduce epistemic rationality to instrumental rationality fall short, because one can have epistemic reasons to believe propositions even in cases in which believing those propositions does not advance any of my goals. For this reason Kelly argues that "it can be epistemically rational to believe propositions even in cases in which it is clear that believing those propositions would not advance any goal which one actually holds" (Kelly 2003, 630). It would seem then that what I have reason to believe does not have to depend on the content of my goals.

The realms of epistemic and pragmatic justification operate in accordance with different requirements. While pragmatic responses may establish that our inductive reasoning and our inductive beliefs have a kind of practical rationality or instrumental justification, it cannot establish grounds in an epistemic sense. Focusing on the instrumental benefits of inductive belief formation establishes that our inductive reasoning and our inductive beliefs have a practical rationality. But the sceptic does not deny this. The point of Hume's sceptical argument is that our beliefs

are not well grounded in an epistemic sense. As we have seen, Hume attaches strong pragmatic justification to his account of belief formation. But as Meeker points out,

> The sceptical interpreter of Hume can agree that we still form beliefs for various reasons but insist that we should abstain from maintaining that one belief (or system of inquiry) is more justified (epistemically speaking) than its competitors (Meeker 1998, 42).

Hume's difficulty is with epistemic justification, not with instrumental justification.

What kind of normativity can we derive from description? How are we to get from the experimental findings of an investigation into belief generation to normative recommendations? One avenue is to reflect on the reliability of our belief-forming strategies. On such a reading, epistemic norms are to be identified with scientific descriptions of facts about humans' reliable processes of reasoning. The task of naturalized epistemology is to judge, on the basis of scientific findings, which, among humans' cognitive capacities, are the most reliable guide for the activities of man. In such a naturalized framework, the meaning of epistemic justification is also altered with the focus now placed on reliability. Epistemic norms are thus regarded as descriptive statements about reliable cognitive processes for achieving knowledge. A reliable process is one which, in the majority of cases, leads to the truth. There is, however, a key difficulty with locating the source of a justified belief in its production by a reliable process. What justification do we have to accept that in the long run poor reasoning tends to lead to worse outcomes than good reasoning? How are we to connect good reasoning (strategies that lead to true beliefs) with good outcomes? Research has demonstrated that in some very significant situations, having false beliefs leads to better individual outcomes than having true beliefs. In the case of research carried out by Shelley Taylor and her colleagues, it was shown that 'positive illusions' and 'unrealistic optimism' in patients with HIV leads to both better psychological coping and slower progression of the infection (Taylor 1989; Armor and Taylor 2002). In these cases it would appear that good reasoning will be unsuccessful, as those with false beliefs live longer and have a higher quality of life.

As we have seen both Hume and contemporary naturalized epistemologies are in a position to develop strong instrumental norms. When epistemic norms are replaced with instrumental norms, successful

practice comes to be seen as the standard by which norms are sorted and raised or lowered in epistemic status. However, even if we accept that it is sometimes in our interest to have false beliefs, we might interpret such occasions as a refusal to engage in epistemic activity rather than an example of epistemic behaviour. There are times when we choose not to investigate the truth of a proposition without violating any norms of judgment. This may arise, for example, in cases where the propositions would be unacceptably time-consuming or trivial. As we will see, in the Humean account when one chooses to engage in an epistemic activity then one is governed by the applicable epistemic norms. In choosing not to engage in some activity I do not reject the norms that govern that activity.

Hume's readiness to reject all belief and reasoning stems from an inability to comparatively rank his beliefs according to their probability of being true, thus reflecting a concern with epistemic, not pragmatic, justification. We have seen above Hume provides clear instrumental justification for making inductive inference. The fact that I have the goal of learning a certain truth gives me an instrumental reason to act in a certain way: I engage in the activity of looking for evidence that bears on the goal. The rationality in play here is instrumental rationality in the service of a cognitive goal. However, in addition to regularly attributing instrumental value to the causal inferences generated by natural relations Hume also refers to philosophical relations and the normative underpinnings of evaluative judgments about such inference. One might ask why he does both? One possible explanation of this is the recognition that in order to effectively pursue one's cognitive goals one needs both epistemic and instrumental elements. Even if the reasons we have to engage in practices of evidence-gathering and experimentation are instrumental reasons, it is clear that once the information has been gathered what it is rational to believe is no longer a matter of instrumental (but rather epistemic) rationality. While instrumental rationality may govern the rationality of my looking for that evidence it cannot also be said to govern how I respond to the evidence. Kelly (2003) gives the example of hearing a strange sound behind me and, seeking to find out the source of this noise, I turn around. My cognitive goal is to find out what has made the noise; given this goal, it is instrumentally rational for me to turn around. Having turned around and discovered a cat in an otherwise empty room, it is now epistemically rational for me to believe that a cat was responsible for the noise.

Given the vast explanatory resources of scientific findings, it is one's particular cognitive goals and the instrumental reason to engage in certain

mental activities that gives theoretical reasoning its focus. As Harman notes "your desires can rationally affect your theoretical conclusions by affecting what questions you use theoretical reasoning to answer" (Harman 1999, 15). In pointing to both the instrumental rationality and epistemic rationality of causal inference, Hume lays the ground for the recognition that the cognitive goals one possesses makes a difference to the outcome of theoretical reasoning. For Hume, in appropriately responding to the evidence we encounter in attempting to fulfil our cognitive goals, particular standards are appealed to. Once one is engaged in an epistemic activity, one is governed by these standards. Such epistemic norms apply regardless of instrumental considerations. In evaluating our causal judgments Hume appeals to philosophical relations, in the next section we will examine the standards that underpin the operation of these relations. It is within Hume's examination of the philosophical relations of causal judgment that we find insights on how to move beyond instrumental normativity and bestow these judgments with epistemic justification. Expanding on these strands of thought, it will be argued that, we can begin to see new possibilities for the generation of epistemic normativity within contemporary naturalized epistemology.

Section 3: Standards of Taste

In his descriptive account of how we form causal beliefs Hume points to the unavoidable pull of natural relations. However, in addition to this descriptive account Hume also points to judgments regarding the philosophical relation of causation as involved in determining the normative status of our inductive inferences. The first hint that we might consider reformulating the problem of how to evaluate our epistemic judgments in terms of taste comes when Hume states that: "Tis not solely in poetry and music, we must follow our taste and sentiment, but likewise in philosophy." (T 72; T 1.3.8.12; SBN 103) Specifically, in relation to the case of inductive inferences, the subject of this paper, Hume states that:

> No questions in philosophy are more difficult, than when a number of causes present themselves for the same phaenomenon, to determine which is the principal and predominant. There seldom is any very precise argument to fix our choice, and men must be contented to be guided by a kind of taste or fancy, arising from analogy, and *a* comparison of similar instances (T 323fn; T 3.2.3.fn; SBN 504).

If we are to use taste as a model for justifying our inductive judgments it will be necessary to take account of two key features of judgments of taste as set out in Hume's account of aesthetic reasoning. Firstly, judgments of taste are characterized as objective to the extent that they are fixed not merely with in the individual but also in the community. Secondly, judgments of taste are subject to evaluation against what Hume called a steady and general point of view. In his 1993 article "Why We Believe in Induction" Bennett W. Helm investigates why Hume gives two definitions of causation one of causation as a natural relation the other of causation as a philosophical relation. Drawing on Helm's reading of Hume it will be argued that Hume tries to model the way we justify our inductive inferences on aesthetic reasoning. Helm argues that:

> According to Hume, our probable reasoning is a matter of *taste,* in the sense that which inferences (or which general rules) we are willing to endorse depends on our appreciative sense of how good the inference is (Helm 1993, 130).

It will be demonstrated that for Hume standards of taste enable us to weigh up conflicting evidence in order to arrive at a considered judgment. On this model, standards of taste provide a form of justification appropriate within the constraints of a naturalized epistemic landscape.

Having provided a detailed description of how it is that we make causal judgments, taste is for Hume the mechanism by which we defend why it is we ought to make a given inference. Standards of taste guide us in the evaluation of our judgments by providing us with good reasons for our judgments. In appealing to standards of taste to underpin the philosophical relations that enable us to evaluate our causal judgments it may appear that we have made such claims 'subjective' in the sense that their truth depends not only on how things are with the objects they explicitly concern, but on how things are with some subject not explicitly mentioned. However, it is important to bear in mind that for Hume an appeal to taste in making causal inferences, just as in morality and aesthetics, does not carry with it the implication that one person's taste is as good as another person's. In both Book *3* of the *Treatise* and in his essay "Of the Standard of Taste", Hume makes it clear that there exist standards to which one's judgments of taste (in morality, aesthetics, or causation) must conform. While Hume recognizes that there exists a "great variety of Taste" (ST 1), he notes that we hold there to be such things as good taste and bad taste. Hume gives

the example of Sancho's kinsmen who can discriminate one wine from another (ST, 15). In this example the taste of one man can be applauded as 'good' and another dismissed as 'bad'.

We do not accept that all sentiment is right. If judgments of taste were meant to be expressions of someone's likings or dislikings, this "great variety of taste" would be understandable. But there seems to be evidence that this is not how things are as it clashes with the way we think and talk within these domains. We express our aesthetic judgments in an objective mode of speech. When I say something is likely and you deny this we are genuinely disagreeing with each other, and not making compatible claims about our respective tastes. It would follow then that our judgments of taste are meant to designate some objective matter of fact. Hume argued that it was "natural for us to seek a Standard of Taste; a rule, by which the various sentiments of men may be reconciled; at least, a decision, afforded, confirming one sentiment, and condemning another" (ST 6). There exist, then, standards for deciding whether one person's taste is better than another's. Hume observes that:

> …whoever would assert an equality of genius and elegance between OGILBY and MILTON, or BUNYAN and ADDISON, would be thought to defend no less an extravagance, than if he had maintained a mole-hill to be as high as TENERIFE, or a pond as extensive as the ocean (ST 8).

Anyone expressing such views would be dismissed, as Hume states, "no one pays attention to such a taste; and we pronounce without scruple the sentiment of these pretended critics to be absurd or ridiculous" (ST 8). Costello points out that while there is room for disagreement in certain cases, "no one could possibly 'agree to disagree' with somebody who took lesser poets over greater, because that would be to ignore accepted standards governing the judgments regarding such authors" (Costelloe 2003, 173).

On this model, aesthetics is an empirical investigation. Such an investigation tries to find out the "certain qualities in objects, which are fitted by nature to produce those particular feelings" (ST 16) of delight inherent to beauty, or of uneasiness attendant to deformity. Such knowledge of the objective basis of aesthetic qualities would, provide the "rules of composition" (ST 9) which an artist has to observe in his creations. Such rules of composition would constitute an objective standard of taste. And aesthetic criticism would become an empirical science, as Hume had

projected it in the introduction to his *Treatise*. Until we have a scientific aesthetics, however, artists must discover the rules of composition "either by genius or by observation" (ST 9). With respect to the standard of taste, we have to rely on the joint judgment of the community of good critics because good critics are the best epistemic instruments we have for aesthetic qualities.

Just as the process of justification worked for poetry we can look to locate standards which guide us in the evaluation of our causal judgments. In identifying objective standards of taste as the root of the philosophical relations that make epistemic judgments possible, Hume has opened up new avenues of exploration for contemporary naturalists, particularly for those who seek to reconcile commitments to both subjectivity and disagreement.[5] Likings and judgments refer to different orders of existence as opinions do not make claims about objective reality, but refer only to the subject who utters them. When it comes to likings there are no criteria in terms of which one might be correct or incorrect. Judgments, by contrast, presuppose general or rational standards, they are open to public evaluation. As Costelloe observes, likings "do not involve the parties in genuine contradiction because no claim to common standards (universality) is being made". However, in the case of judgments reference is made to common standards in order to produce the general assent. To endorse general rules for evaluating judgments based on standards of taste is not to say that what I think is right will inevitably be right (even just for me). Standards of taste are fixed not merely within the individual but also in the community.[6] The process through which we reach belief cannot be addressed in purely formal and abstract terms, with no reference to concrete contexts. It is not only the biological imperatives of the human species which are vital to an understanding of our belief-forming processes, but also the social nature of that species.

Through standards of taste, the descriptive and explanatory resources of scientific findings (not just psychology, but also a broad range of human sciences that can contribute to our understanding of actual epistemic practices, e.g. biology, cognitive neuroscience, sociology, anthropology, and history) are united with the language of community and individual justification. Both elements are needed for meaningful discourse, as together they create the frame within which we live and act. Capaldi describes humans as "cultural beings whose values are shaped by biology and history and the capacity for sympathetic identification with others" (Capaldi 1992, 132). Human understanding, according to Capaldi, cannot

itself be understood except from the perspective of engaged social agents. If each individual is permitted to fix their beliefs by their own methods, then in the context of social interaction she will find that others have different beliefs and doubt will reoccur. Hume is clear on the point that our opinions of all kinds are strongly affected by society and sympathy. It is virtually impossible for us to support any principle or sentiment against the universal consent of everyone. However, standards of taste are fixed not merely with in the individual but also in the community. The normativity of the standards of taste exist only in a social context; the 'oughts' they produce require a community. This Humean emphasis finds resonance with contemporary virtue and social epistemologists for whom intellectual agents and communities are the primary source of epistemic value and the primary focus of epistemic evaluation.

Hume views knowledge as essentially a social phenomenon, and holds that the social nature of our experience fundamentally shapes our beliefs. In discussions of a child's socially interactive yet pre-semantic situation Casey notes how that context of social interaction is not merely "a starting point to be left behind as the child matures; it is the continuing environment, the ground that keeps our language rooted to reality, however recondite and sophisticated our knowledge may become" (Casey 2006, 327). As we have seen, Hume openly declares that "Man is a sociable no less than a reasonable being" (EHU 7; EHU 1.6; SBN 8). Man is born into a family and social state; indeed, Hume goes as far as to say that "man cannot live without society" (T 259; T.2.3.1.9; SBN 402). This social aspect of our being has a profound effect on belief-formations. If the "mutual dependence of men is so great in all societies that scarce any human action is entirely complete in itself, or is performed without some reference to the actions of others, which are requisite to make it answer fully the intention of the agent" (EHU 68; EHU 8.1.17; SBN 89), then an action-centered epistemology must take proper account of the social nature and context of man. In clearly recognizing the primacy of man's social nature, Hume is in fact questioning whether the traditional approach of accounting for our understanding as a purely theoretical activity is a coherent one. Stumpf reminds us of Feuerbach's warning: "Do not wish to be a philosopher in contrast to being a man .... do not think as a thinker .... think as living, real being .... think in existence" (Stumpf 1993, 553).

The kind of epistemic normativity we can derive from standards of taste appear much 'weaker' than traditional normativity. They do not present

infallible and unchangeable standards. But all naturalism is required to do is to satisfy its own standard of reasoned beliefs, and these have nothing to do with mysterious, infallible, *a priori* sources. Traditional epistemology seeks to derive epistemic norms from *a priori* foundations, on the assumptions that such norms form the foundation for all our knowledge. As empirical data are part of that knowledge base, they cannot give rise to epistemic norms without incurring vicious circularity. Hence introspection is regarded as an indubitable source of epistemic norms and the most effective tool for checking if a process of reasoning is reliable. Most naturalists reject the idea that epistemic norms, justified *a priori,* can form necessary and infallible foundations of our knowledge about the world. Not only do they reject the possibility of objectively verifying such *a priori* foundations, they also insist that epistemic norms must be based on empirical knowledge about human cognitive capacities.

The traditional meaning of 'epistemic norms' as infallible assertions derived from *a priori* foundations has no place within a naturalist framework. Naturalists start from a fallibilistic conception of justification and knowledge, which emerges with the rejection of first philosophy and the acceptance of a continuity between science and epistemology. As such, naturalized epistemology forms conditions of justification on the basis of scientific descriptions of humans' cognitive processes and abilities, it is clear that naturalist epistemology starts from very different philosophical presuppositions to traditional epistemology. As a result, naturalistic conditions of normativity are different from the traditional ones. The naturalist no longer operates with the traditional understanding of terms such as 'epistemic norm' and 'justified belief'. On the naturalist framework, 'epistemic norms' emerge as empirical information about correct processes of reasoning. We can accept naturalized epistemology to be normative only according to its own presuppositions. Hume's skepticism has made it impossible to locate the source of epistemic norms by *a priori* means or in infallible sense data. However, given the commitments of naturalism there is no onus to satisfy traditional standards. Given the radically different commitments naturalized epistemology has from that of traditional epistemology, the framework for justification must also be radically different.

Most naturalists reject the idea that we can have necessary and infallible foundations of our knowledge about the world. Likewise Hume's work also evolved to a position where certainty was no longer a valid requirement for justification. Once we dispense with the idea of certainty we are in a

position to recommend or prescribe conditions for making good causal inferences based on the strength of such inferences as determined by a matter of taste. As Helm argues:

> just as we cannot and do not expect there to be specifiable sufficient conditions for things in general to be beautiful, we should not expect there to be specifiable sufficient conditions for something to be a good causal inference. The lack of such conditions does not prevent our being able to provide reasons for our aesthetic judgements, to criticize the judgements of others, or to resolve conflicting judgements so as to arrive at a consensus concerning the aesthetic value of a given work of art; likewise, the appeal to taste and the lack of specifiable sufficient conditions for good causal inferences need not prevent the kind of discussion and criticism essential to doing science (Helm 1993, 131–2).

By addressing the difficulty of how it is we are to evaluate our judgments in terms of taste, Hume has located a non *a priori* standard on which to endorse judgments. In searching for a justification for our causal reasoning, Hume demonstrates that we have no reason to believe that the future will be like the past. Without such reasons there is no empirical evidence that can be *sufficient* for justifying our causal reasoning. But having set up a naturalized framework, it is no longer an imperative to set out the sufficient conditions for making good causal inferences. Hume states that "to judge an object properly, that object must be surveyed in a certain point of view" (ST 21). What we must do if we are to arrive at a considered judgment is balance conflicting evidence in such a way that it can survive the test and scrutiny of time. Hume argues that, "the best way of ascertaining the relevant criteria for evaluating a particular case is to appeal to those models and principles, which have been established by the uniform consent of nations and ages" (ST 17). As a result, the key feature of a considered judgments for Hume is that such a judgment is 'steady' or 'constant'. For Hume: "the utmost constancy is requir'd to make us persevere in our enquiry, and the utmost sagacity to choose the right way among so many that present themselves" (T 117-8; T.1.3.15.11; SBN 175).

If we are to arrive at considered judgments then this kind of examination is critical. The key question to be asked on this Humean approach is whether: "looking back at the evidence again in light of one's experience with similar cases since, one would arrive at the same judgments for the same reason" (Helm 1993, 134). We can only make sense of a standard

of taste in light of such "steady and general points of view" (T 171-2; T 3.3.1.15; SBN 581-582). As Hume puts it in the *Treatise*, we must regulate our judgments in light of principles that "stand the test of the most critical examination" (T 177; T 1.4.7.14; SBN 272) and so "bear the examination of the latest posterity" (T 177; T 1.4.7.14; SBN 273). These standards provide the tools for critical reflection;[7] Hume's is a naturalist account that could survive our reflective scrutiny and fits with our capacity for autonomous evaluation and action.

If we are to arrive at a more stable judgments of things, Hume argues that we must "fix on some *steady* and *general* points of view; and always, in our thoughts, place ourselves in them, whatever may be our present situation" (T 372; T.3.3.1.15; SBN 582). Laird (1931) argues that beliefs for Hume are those ideas that fit into a stable system. In this way, Hume encourages us to see the wider normative task of epistemology, in a naturalized framework, as one that draws on the findings of all our resources to assess judgments within the relevant circumstances. There are many factors that can be taken into consideration and these factors will vary from case to case.

Flanagan describes the normative component of naturalized epistemology as involving "the gathering together of norms of inference, belief, and knowing that lead to success in ordinary reasoning and in science" (Flanagan 2006, 439). This gathering together is essential so that in each case we can come to identify what is relevant for evaluating our judgments. Unlike the hypothetical oughts generated in instrumental reasoning, the generality and steadiness of taste allows us to construct a coherent all-things-considered 'ought'. As we have seen, from the perspective of natural relations, there can be no reason for a causal relation beyond a descriptive account of belief formation and such a reason is not a justification. When we search for justificatory reasons for our causal inferences we must turn to philosophical relations. From this perspective, we are presented with what Hume describes as an enlarged view that encompasses "several instances" of the relation. (T 115; T 1.3.14.31; SBN 170) We may recall that Wilfrid Sellars famously stated that "The aim of philosophy, abstractly formulated, is to understand how things in the broadest possible sense of the term hang together in the broadest possible sense of the term" (Sellars 1976, 369). Similarly, for Hume, it is only by taking such a steady and general enlarged point of view that justificatory reasons can be given for inferences. It is, as Helm points out, "only because our judgments of taste are considered judgments, judgments that have

withstood reflection in light of such a steady and general point of view, that they will be reasonably certain and backed up by good reasons." (Helm 1993, 135) There is, of course, no implication that such reasons provide certainty but such certainty is not a requirement of judgments in a naturalized framework.

Conclusion

As we have seen, Hume is keen to provide a holistic picture of man, characterizing man not just as a reasonable being, but also as an active being and a sociable being. Essentially, Hume is to be interpreted as a common sense philosopher and is in no way anxious to destroy faith in human knowledge. In foregoing the search for ultimate explanations, in the rationalist sense, Hume is content to found epistemology on what happens in human life and on how we as human beings function in the world. *A priori* epistemic norms have no place within a naturalized framework, but the project of improving our reasoning strategies remains the naturalist's normative task. In making the connection between knowledge and action, Hume has moved the focus of epistemological enquiry from a focus on inputs to a focus on outputs, thus indicating the possibility of combining descriptive and prescriptive aspects of the epistemological task. A descriptive epistemology is not reduced to appeals to instrumental justification. For Hume, in both epistemology and aesthetics, standards of taste enable us to weigh up conflicting evidence in order to arrive at a considered judgment. Such judgment must withstand the test and scrutiny of time if we are to have confidence in them. Hume does not simply reject inductive inference because he demonstrates that it cannot be modelled on deduction. Instead Hume indicates an alternative account of the kind of justification we can expect for our causal inferences. In pointing to standards of taste as a potential source of reasons for evaluative claims, Hume provides a path to naturalizing normative judgments. Epistemic standards of taste can then account for features of normative discourse such as its objective purport, its apparent universality and its non-arbitrariness, while avoiding positing the existence of irreducibly normative facts and properties.

NOTES

[1] As with contemporary naturalism there is no single unitary account of what Humean naturalism entails. Norman Kemp Smith's seminal work on Hume led the way on naturalist interpretations and there now exists a wide array of competing naturalist readings of Hume, see for example Garrett (1997), Loeb (2002), Pears (1990), Stroud (1977), P.F. Strawson (1985).

[2] There is no attempt here to develop a unified and holistic interpretation of Hume's philosophy but rather the goal is to extract specific Humean insights that provide instructive guidance on approaching the place of epistemic normativity in a naturalized context.

[3] Abbreviations used for Works by David Hume

T **A Treatise of Human Nature**
Norton, David Fate, and Mary J. Norton, eds. 2011. David Hume: *A Treatise of Human Nature*: Two-volume Set. Reprint. OUP Oxford.

EHU **An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding**
Beauchamp, Tom L., ed. 2006. David Hume: *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*: A Critical Edition. Clarendon Press.

ST **Of the Standards of Taste**
English Essays: Sidney to Macaulay. Vol. XXVII. The Harvard Classics. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909–14; Bartleby.com, 2001. www.bartleby.com/27/. [11/07/2012].

[4] Contemporary thinkers such as Korsgaard (1997), Velleman (2000), and Rosati (2003) have attempted to ground normativity in what is constitutive of action.

[5] Such difficulties in accounting for the possibility of disagreement in subjective discourse are reflected in the criticism contemporary relativists level against contextualism.

[6] Lynn Hankinson Nelson has argued that it is "communities that construct and acquire knowledge" (1993:124). Kusch (2002) has argued that socially isolated individuals are unable to generate normative phenomena while the individual remains the type of entity that conforms or fails to conform to epistemic norms.

[7] Korsgaard (1996) emphasizes the unavoidability (for us) of deliberation or reflection.

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THE ROMANIAN WRITER: FROM SOCIO-CULTURAL NEED TO "DEMOCRATIC" DISINTEREST

Introduction

The specific aim of this article is to make as clear as possible the structural, socio-cultural differences between the Romanian literature before 1990 and after, integrating examples (Romanian writers) that are not only representing "artistic" exceptions, but also general cultural rules. That is why important and representative Romanian writers such as Marin Preda or Nichita Stănescu, Norman Manea or Mircea Cărtărescu, Radu Aldulescu or Dan Lungu have been selected.

The interest is in examining (and making visible) the contexts in which our writers manifested and constructed themselves. I am referring to social and ideological contexts, material determinations and implications, not "ideal" and idealistic ones.

The names of authors such as Marin Preda or Nichita Stănescu became parts of a cultural canon that all categories of our public shared. These names were influential, since their role grew exponentially. It is interesting to see why these authors were selected by the socio-cultural period before the Revolution as canonical Romanian writers; why they shaped the Romanian readers imaginary inside the Socialist period. Why this prose writer and why this poet – and not other ones, such as Nicolae Breban or Ștefan Agopian, Leonid Dimov or Ileana Mălăncioiu?

This article seeks to explain the mechanism of canonical selection and investment, seen as part of what I have called "socio-cultural need". I have embarked on the re-reading and the examining of these authors' books from a perspective which is not that of a "pure" literary critic, interested in terms of individuality and specific elements of artistic personality. This type of analysis is relevant for Stănescu and for Mălăncioiu also, for Preda

and for Agopian – for every significant Romanian writer. His or her fictional world, themes, discourse, literary strategies, and so on are specific. But this artistic specifity cannot be linked with the general conditions and the particularities of the political and historical period (Dimov, for example, is a pure onirical poet); and, on the other hand, the cultural system does not integrate such writers in the high-mainstream and does not invest them with canonical status.

We can assume that, generally speaking, there is a chance for every writer to be not only part, but the center of the literary scene of this time. Nevertheless, it is obvious that, in the Romanian literature before 1990, Preda and Stănescu had a sort of canonic supremacy, determined by their literary value; but also by some socio-cultural conditions and historical factors that are now… history.

It is worth investigating these socio-cultural conditions and these historical factors which are "responsible" for the canonical status of some Romanian authors in a closed society, dominated by an omnipotent State. Whether or not the Romanian writer understood the totalitarian regime of his birth, youth and maturity, some decades of his/her life were marked by the Socialist era that ended in 1989.

Living and writing in conditions of absolute control and censorship produced a type of writer that tried desperately to express a personal imaginary in a historical period that refused, blocked or marginalised it. Likewise, for the Romanian reader, living and reading in conditions of absolute control and censorship created a particular type of aspiration. Writers and their works are significantly much more important for the readers in a totalitarian period than in a democratic one, since their books make possible not only escapism, but also access to some truth impossible to find in the public discourse. Therefore, the socio-cultural need expresses the readers' admiration for the novels of Marin Preda, and, also, their need for the truth (or parts of truth) form the novels of this canonic writer. This explains why a novel as *Delirul* (which is not a very good one) had a huge public impact, superior to that of Preda's masterpieces, *Întîlnirea din Pămînturi* and *Moromeții* (I).

If we read Romanian contemporary literature only for itself, we don't have access to the socio-cultural system that determined or influenced this "self". On the other hand, if we read and understand Romanian literature only as a product of a socio-cultural system, we do not have access to that personal imaginary of the writers, with their distinct and specific elements. The first approach is too aesthetic; the second is too mechanical. The first

can be reduced to the immortal value of the masterpieces, surpassing the social contexts and the historical periods. The second can be reduced to the description of the system, but with the risk of not responding to the essential questions of my research. Why this author was a canonic writer? Why this author was selected by the system? Why Nichita Stănescu, and why not Leonid Dimov or Ileana Mălăncioiu? Why Marin Preda, and why not another Romanian prose writer?

Resistance and/ or "priviligentsia"

In her research of the Romanian literary institutions before 1989, Ioana Macrea-Toma assimilates Romanian writers with a "priviligentsia" of that time.[1] We find significant data in her research, but this well-documented book has, in my opinion, an error of perspective. The error is to neglect or to ignore the structural implications of the totalitarian configuration, by the State, of our society in the Socialist period. A totalitarian configuration means a very powerful State and a diminuated, closed, controlled, surveilled, censored society.

There are many examples that are illustrative for what the real socialism meant for the Romanian society and for the Romanian writer before 1990. I shall further choose one.

In the book published by Clara Mareș[2] and comprising documents from *Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității* – the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (CNSAS) – we can find a list of the discussions and phone calls from Ion D. Sîrbu's apartment. The *Securitate*, a key-institution for the functioning of the regime, before 1990, had no problem in focusing on Sîrbu, an intellectual of Left values, imprisoned in 1958. This surveillance took place *after* Sîrbu's detention, which ended in 1963. This surveillance covers almost all the rest of Sîrbu's life, from November 1968, up to December 1988. (The writer died in September 1989.)

We have to remember that, in 1968, Nicolae Ceaușescu was assimilated with a liberal figure and was acclaimed by the Western countries as a reformist in the Socialist block. Behind this "reform", we can remark that the Sîrbu family's apartment was surveilled by the *Securitate* in the "liberal" period of Nicolae Ceaușescu's era, up to the end of his totalitarian regime. There is an obvious continuity in this surveillance of the Romanian writers and intellectuals. Left-thinkers as Ion D. Sîrbu and

Right-thinkers like Gabriel Liiceanu[3] are put under surveillance by the same totalitarian institution, with the same specific double purpose: to control the Romanian intellectual, his area, and block the spreading of his ideas and writings that are not obedient and instrumental to the regime.

The official documents available at this moment, in Ion D. Sîrbu's files, are conclusive. But probably there are more to discover in the archives, when some files will be de-classified. The second example, with other archive documents from the CNSAS, found in the same book published by Clara Mareș, is related also to Sîrbu's experience. The Communist, idealist intellectual, favourite student of Lucian Blaga, is sentenced in 1958 for seven years of prison by a regime that speaks in the name of the People. But even more impressive for an objective reader is another document: the one regarding the funeral of the writer, in September 1989. Sîrbu, a Romanian leftist intellectual, is surveilled even after death, even at his funeral, by the totalitarian regime, through its key-institution, the *Securitate*.

We can assume or, if not, suggest that the Romanian writers are exponents of a socio-cultural need, in the Socialist period; and they are a potential threat for the regime, from 1958 up to 1989, in Sîrbu's case. But Sîrbu is not an isolated case, an exception. He illustrates a set of rules and mechanisms, as Blaga also illustrated them in the first years of the Romanian totalitarian period. Sîrbu, as a student of Blaga and Liiceanu, as a disciple of Noica is representative – individually and in relation – for the acts and institutional mechanism of the totalitarian regime, from the fifties to the eighties: surveillance, control, political detention (just also like Noica), isolation. This is the structure of the totalitarian regime, in the period before 1990. The *Securitate* is only one of its institutions.

The regime's politics is control and leveling. In this macro-social context, the effort of the Romanian writers to be themselves was a first and important step of cultural and intellectual resistance. We encounter the same situation for a "private" philosopher as Noica, refusing class- and mass-leveling and cultivating purposely a cultural elite. He is not part of the *privilligentsia* that Ioana Macrea-Toma is referring to; neither was Blaga a part of it. Ion D. Sîrbu, Norman Manea, Gabriel Liiceanu, Mircea Cărtărescu: such different Romanian writers and thinkers that were important for their writings and thinking were not a part of a Romanian *privilligentsia*. They are part of the first category and semantic area of the term: *resistance*.

What is very interesting in Ioana Macrea-Toma research is the data referring to the number of copies of Romanian authors' books and the Romanian authors' rights in the Socialist period. It seems paradoxical, but in a closed society, with very few rights, the Romanian authors have substantial financial rights as writers. They had no freedom to write their books, but they benefited from a lot of money from selling their books, in the State-controlled system.

Let us consider a few examples of these benefits, which are not inferred from legends, but real situations of publishing in the Romanian Socialist period. The following constitute data extracted from interviews with Romanian authors, after 1990, achieved or quoted by Ioana Macrea-Toma.[4] Z. Ornea, literary critic and editor: 1 book of 500 pages = 60,000-70,000 lei = 1 *Dacia* car. Nicolae Manolescu, literary critic: 1 book of 300 pages = 30.000 lei. Petru Cimpoeșu, novelist: 1 novel of 350 pages = 1 house near Bacău. Georgeta Dimisianu, editor: 1 book = 1 year of the decent living of the Romanian author in the sixties. Aurel Rău, writer and translator: 1 book translation = 20.000 lei.

Prose writers, poets, literary critics, translators: all had very sweet memories of their books published before 1990… Still, there are some categorial differences. If the best paid Romanian authors (Marin Preda is among the champions of the benefits) got the equivalent of 25 monthly salaries for a book (in the State-controlled system of distributing and selling books), the worst paid authors got the equivalent of 5 monthly salaries for a book. The medium or "reasonably" paid Romanian authors received the equivalent of 10 to 15 salaries for a book.

The contrast with the Romanian authors published after 1990 is obvious. The new historical period is very different from the previous one. The freedom of speech, of opinion, and of writing had been gained; but the material satisfactions and subsistence safety of the Romanian writer was lost along with the shift from a State-controlled system to a Market specific one.

As we can see from the data available in the archive of the Romanian Writers' Union and collected by Ioana Macrea-Toma,[5] Marin Preda, Ion Caraion, N. Carandino, Zaharia Stancu, Lucian Raicu, Adrian Păunescu, Pompiliu Marcea, Ileana Mălăncioiu, Fănuș Neagu, Constantin Abăluță, Sorin Titel, Ștefan Agopian are among the Romanian authors managing to live in the 1970 from their books. The chart indicates the levels, with two well-paid authors (Ion Caraion, 52,500 lei; N. Carandino, 50,490 lei) and two better, but worse-paid writers (Sorin Titel, 13,500 lei, Ștefan Agopian,

13,500 lei). Marin Preda, the canonical prose writer, is the champion of the benefits in 1979 (224,435 lei). At the same time, Preda was the Writer and the Editor. After 1970, he was the director of *Cartea Românească*, probably the most important Romanian publishing house.

If these differences mark the categories in which Romanian authors are included, before 1990, in a State-controlled system and a "stable" area of selection, the following difference will mark the gap between writing in Socialism and writing in the post-Socialist period. The comparison is illustrative for both the general conditions and particularities of the Socialist period in the Romanian literature; and for the general conditions and particularities of the democratic period, after 1990. The example is about earning a living from one book that one is writing and publishing. For Marin Preda, in 1979 (224,435 lei = 3 *Dacia* cars = 2 apartments), it is extremely easy. For Radu Aldulescu, in 2009 (1,500 lei = 1 monthly salary), it is impossible.

With this parallel, we are approaching the other segment of my research and the next part of this article: the segment of what I have called "democratic" disinterest.

Socio-cultural need *vs.* "democratic" disinterest

The complex of this opposition between different stages of personal experience is engaging the problem of the Romanian writer in the post-Socialist period, especially of the writer that had a great success and recognition before 1990. For everybody it is difficult to pass from a type of society to another, completely different, at a time when fundamental changes are not that appealing. But for a writer it is especially difficult to adapt to a new society and to a new reality completely different from those experienced by him up to the age of 50-60. It seems more difficult for Nicolae Breban (born in 1934) than for Mircea Cărtărescu, who was 33 years old in 1989.

The Romanian writer, as a category, tried to accommodate to the time of freedom of speech and writing, in a new world that the next generation was born in. But in the interior of this category, there are individual lines, evolutions and involutions. The situation is different from case to case. In the Socialist period, there was an uniformity even in the general lack of freedom. In the democratic period, the Romanian writer discovers that he

is not a generic Writer, part of a category with the same conditions, but an individual case that has to be personally managed.

If the status of the Romanian writer improved after December 1989 (as the status of all the Romanians citizens), the *role* of the Romanian writer changed dramatically. For the Romanian writers, the examples of personal great success in the new society are rare: Mircea Cărtărescu, Dan Lungu, Filip Florian. We can add Andrei Pleșu, probably the most admired Romanian intellectual, after Octavian Paler.

But how are these names selected by the new system? It is the same question, in a different period of time and a different socio-cultural system. The "old" question was: why Nichita Stănescu, and why not Leonid Dimov? The new question is: why Mircea Cărtărescu, and why not Ion Mureșan?

If the canonical negociation of a status and a symbolic role is distinct not only from one writer to another, but also from a strictly determined historical period to another, we have to make visible the different "rules" of becoming an important writer after 1990. There are not the same "rules" as for Marin Preda in the fifties and for Marin Preda in the eighties. The rules are the same for Preda in the eighties and for young Cărtărescu in the eighties. Finally, there are not the same "rules" for Cărtărescu in the eighties, in the final decade of Ceaușescu's era, and for the same writer in the nineties, in a democratic society.

The Romanian writers forced and obliged to adjust to censorship conditions had to adapt to the public lack of cultural interest after censorship has disappeared. This is why there are questions to the method of some Romanian authors of literary histories which are discussing the new literature in the same "pure aesthetic" terms – as if the socio-political and cultural system would not have changed significantly after December 1989. Eugen Negrici[6] will be probably an exception, if he focus on the new period, the new socio-cultural context and the new literature. We can see the historical period through a writer. Nonetheless, we can see the writer through a historical period. Meanwhile, we can see both, one through another, with an analysis of the two socio-cultural systems, with referrence to the important works – seen as important works – inside them.

For the Romanian generic writer, the problem of his own status in the post-Communist society was – and still is – an important one. The more recent globalization themes and elements have not scrubed out the more profound anxiety of the Romanian middle-aged writers (and, generally speaking, of the Romanian artists of the same generations) who

passed from a type of society to another. The examination of this change was impregnated, very often, with subjectivity, since it was *she*/*he* who was affected by the change. It is easier for an examinator, who studies the process from a distance and as part of a scientific research, than for the people involved, with their (periods of) lives, in the process we are interested in.

And, definitely, this is not a "pure" literary discussion or analysis, but a socio-cultural investigation focused on the status of the writer in two different times; two historical periods separated by a Revolution; and two distinct models of understanding culture.

The contexts in which our writers manifested and constructed themselves differ from one decade to another. Almost each decade is associated with problems and troubles that a responsible intellectual has to confront with. There is a difference between how the Romanian writer understood the totalitarian regime of his birth and youth and how he activated his writings with a moral function, in the bleak eighties. The next decade is associated with the problems of the new, open society. The question is now if the Romanian middle-aged writer succeeds in accommodating to the time of freedom of speech and writing, in a new world that the next generation was born in.

The passing from a society dominated by an omnipotent State to a society liberated by this controlled and forced perspective was not so easy to be individually achieved. There is a gap between living and writing in conditions of absolute control and censorship – and living and writing in conditions of public, "democratic" disinterest for the literary and artistic sophisticated products. If the status of the Romanian writer improved after December 1989 (as the status of all the Romanians citizens), the *role* of the Romanian writer changed dramatically to an almost insignificant one. Dictatorship made out of our good writers public figures of social hope and cultural need. Names of authors as Marin Preda or Nichita Stănescu became parts of a cultural canon that all categories of our public shared. These names were influential; both writers were exponential.

Examining the books of these authors is part of the professional duty of a literary critic. But it is also very interesting to study the socio-cultural conditions of their preeminence: the factors and "objective" elements of their canonical supremacy. (The literary or ethic objections that some critics formulated, after December 1989, in re-discussing their works and general bio-bibliographical course are suppossed to be criticised, too,

if they ignore the context and the *system* of high-culture models in the socialism of the Romanian State.)

On the other hand, if this system has changed and created a new socio-cultural reality in the last two decades, the aim of this article is to make visible the different "rules" and criteria of becoming an important writer. Three prose writers, from three different generations (Marin Preda, Radu Aldulescu, Dan Lungu), become important not only by their personal, authentic talent, but also by their efforts to adapt to the cultural and ideological patterns of their times.

Adaptation is *not* necessarily obedience, conformism, mono-ideological turn. Before 1989, homogenization and nivelation are at their peak, so that our writers' effort to be themselves is a part of intellectual resistance, as we have concluded before. The process of adaptation may be seen as a process to recognize the patterns of the cultural system that you belong to and to choose the best individual strategies for supplying your writing with different functions and values that are important in the specified context. Large sectors of Romanian literature – if not the Romanian literature as a whole – adapt to the social and historical contexts that a totalitarian regime makes very clear.

And the same literature forced to adapt to censorship conditions had to adapt to the public lack of cultural interest after the censorship had disappeared. These very different and problematic elements that our middle-aged writers have to confront make them revelators for the society change and cultural remodeling. We "read" in their novels and their poems the experiences of the fictional characters and the modulations of their lyricism; but we understand better the change and the new socio-cultural model by studying their strategies of adaptation to all these: to the totalitarian conditions of thinking and writing, as well as to the democratic ones.

Dan Lungu himself studied the building of identity in a totalitarian society.[7] Undeniably, Macrea-Toma and Lungu make a good documentation and an interesting analysis of the Romanian socio-cultural configuration before 1989. But we have to add the elements of change and of contrast that fix even better the totalitarian profile. The individual courage is measured after the exterior conditions that are given to it.

Therefore, my approach is not that of a "pure" literary critic. I started from the general conditions to get closer to the particularities. (While a literary critic's strategy is the opposite.) Beyond the historical dimension, this research had to be carried at an intersection of social elements,

ideological determinations and various aspects of mentality. The research was, in its inner structure, multidisciplinary, since each discipline – sociology, politology, historiography, literary history and criticism – has its signs in the writer's reactions and literary adaptation to the system *as he is seeing it*.

The "pure" aesthetic autonomy functions for the totalitarian period as a very good strategy to reject ideological control, but it will be not a revelator anymore after 1990, in the new conditions of political pluralism and freedom of thought.

Two historical periods, two socio-cultural systems, two paradigms for writers

The most adopted and quoted formula for the historical period between 1948 and 1989 is that of *postbellum period* in the Romanian culture and literature. This is a neutral formula as to the political dimension and regime in the Eastern and, respectively, in the Western European block.

The postbellum period in the Romanian culture and literature is a *totalitarian* one, while the same period in most Western cultures and literatures (Spain of Franco, excepted) is a *democratic* one. For Romania, the postbellum totalitarian period starts with the forced abdication of King Michael I (December 1947) and ends with the execution of the Ceaușescu couple (December 1989). When Romania becomes part of the Socialist block, obedient to the Soviet Union, the shift is not only from interbellum to postbellum (historical operators that are too general and are not marking the differences between East and West), but also from the interbellum pluralism to the postbellum totalitarianism. If King Michael's forced abdication opens a totalitarian period that the Romanian culture will be forced to conform to, the execution of the Ceaușescu couple opens a different historical period, with a different type a society. Romanian literature and Romanian contemporay middle-aged writers have experienced this shift. For some of them, the shift was a gap impossible to overcome.

There is a significant symmetry between the Romanian generations that experienced the first gap (the shift from the democratic interbellum period to the totalitarian postbellum period) and the Romanian generations that experienced the second gap (the shift from the totalitarian postbellum

period to the democratic post-revolutionary period). Both have been forced to adapt to macro-social changes that are very difficult to confront with.

For the first category and the first gap, relevant examples are the Dinu Pillat's political detention and Monica Lovinescu's exile. Both experiences are traumatic for an individual. But the conditions associated with the totalitarian regime are traumatic for the majority of Romanian intellectuals and writers born and grown up in the previous conditions of an open society. The "escape" was, for Dinu Pillat, the family and the faith, while for Monica Lovinescu, it was the exile and the political opposition to the regime.

For the second category and the second gap, relevant examples are of those Romanian writers and intellectuals that experienced both the totalitarian period and the democratic, post-revolutionary one. Even if Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu are the most prominent figures of the Romanian cultural canon before 1990, their examples cannot be mentioned here, since they have died *before* December 1989 and, thus, they have not experienced the new society at all.

Norman Manea is not a relevant example for this category, since he was exiled from the totalitarian Romania during the eighties and he has experienced freedom not with the whole Romanian society, in December 1989, but individually, as Monica Lovinescu some decades before.

Neither Radu Aldulescu, nor Dan Lungu are relevant for this experience of the second gap, since they were too young in December 1989 for illustrating the Romanian cultural and literary options during a totalitarian regime.

Relevant examples are those of Nicolae Breban and Mircea Cărtărescu, two important authors from different generations, the first born in the thirties (and, thus, middle-aged in December 1989), the second born in the fifties (and, thus, still young in December 1989). The individual experiences differ and the age plays a role in this difference.

Nicolae Breban cannot adapt to the new structure of the new society, in which the Romanian writer has a reduced social importance and confirms the "democratic" disinterest for literature and its authors. Nicolae Breban, from the generation of Nichita Stănescu, was familiar with a completely different structural situation and personal status: those of cultural and literature-centered public expectancies, those of a socio-cultural need.

This is why, in his impossible adaptation to the new structure and the new cultural period, Nicolae Breban shows all the symptoms of nostalgia. The object of this nostalgia is not the totalitarianism, but the status of the

Romanian writer during the totalitarian regime. Nicolae Breban associated himself with the *high values* and the *true values* that Romanian literature had from the sixties to the nineties, *i.e.*, the period of literary manifestations for his generation.

For the nostalgic writer, the contrast with the present is obvious. The new generations do *not* have literary values comparable to the values of his generation. The evaluation could be correct, but a comparison has to be made between the terms of the same macro-social context. The fact is that the nostalgic Romanian writers compare literary works and results from two historical periods without internalizing the gap between them and the structural change from one to another. In a way, the new period is "doomed" for the Romanian nostalgic writers; the worse of the literature and the other arts become, the more rosy is the previous model and the previous system of the ex-canonical writer.

A different type of reaction to the challenge of the macro-social structural change is that of Mircea Cărtărescu. He became part of the Romanian cultural canon as a young writer and as a poet, supported by the literary critic Nicolae Manolescu, one of the two mentors of the new generation in the eighties. (The other mentor, supporting the prose writers of the same generation, was Ovid S. Crohmălniceanu.) Experiencing the historical shift at an age with less difficulties of adaptation (33 years), Mircea Cărtărescu did not have Nicolae Breban's problems and perceptions.

Even if Breban is a vitalist and expansive type of author, while Cărtărescu is an interiorized and depressive one, the first maintained his "anchor" in the past, while the latter tried to adapt to the given present. He succeeded in adapting to the new historical period and the new cultural structure by reinventing himself constantly. The poetry has been left behind in favor of the prose writing. Then, the prose writer was emulated by the columnist. Then, the columnist became a political analyst. And – the last auctorial experience – the political analyst has left behind the political analysis, for writing (in the present) a new book of fiction. Mircea Cărtărescu's nostalgia is a literary experience, an instrument used for creating a fictional world. Nicolae Breban's nostalgia is an individual reaction, the expression of a personal difficulty to adapt to the new socio-cultural system.

This new socio-cultural system, with its terms, is characterized by both writers. Breban characterizes it by refusing and rejecting the new conditions, the new values, the new type of selecting and diseminating values. The opening of the society and the diminished role of the

Romanian writer and intellectual are associated with a dissolution. For Mircea Cărtărescu, on the contrary, the opening of the Romanian society is associated with the extension of his reading public, outside Romania, through translations.

Each writer sets a paradigm. There are many Romanian writers and intellectuals in the paradigm of Nicolae Breban's attitudinal reaction; and there are many Romanian writers and intellectuals connected with Mircea Cărtărescu's type of reaction.

The nostalgic writers mention and debate the disolution of the high values and the public dangerous disinterest for the masterpieces. They are referring to the audience of the Romanian writers before 1990 and to the huge number of copies each Romanian writer sold. This past-oriented evaluation is linked to the present-oriented one. The main topic for the present is the Romanian writer's impossibility to earn a living from selling his books.[8] The responsibility for this situation is that of the Romanian State: substantial subventions have to be integrated in the public budget, in order to support Romanian writers.

Subventions, symbolic prizes, patrimonial support from the State, all are elements that have to sustain the *national culture*. The writers within this paradigm are perceiving and representing themselves not as parts of the national culture, but as the canonical center of it. The State has to support the writer from the national culture and from the Romanian patrimony. The continuity with the model working in the totalitarian period is obvious. But the period is now completely different; this makes the writers from this paradigm nostalgic.

The adaptative Romanian writers, from the paradigm set by Mircea Cărtărescu, are not past-oriented, even if, in their writings, they can explore the temporal substance of their memory (the childhood is explored by Mircea Cărtărescu, Dan Lungu, Filip Florian, the youth by Radu Aldulescu). They have individual lines of evolution, in the area of seeking literary residences and fellowships, good translators for their works, convenient editorial contracts. Their discourse is a reader-centred one, and the reader that they prefer is the one of the new historical period, especially the young. The patrimonial discourse of the nostalgic writers is structurally opposed to the Market discourse of the adaptative writers. The first is in terms of pure literary values, that has to be supported and promoted by the State. The latter is in terms of personal literary success, measured by the number of copies sold and the number of translations.

An interesting institutional configuration was that of the Romanian Cultural Institute (RCI) with Horia-Roman Patapievici as president. RCI has supported both paradigms, with an interest in the patrimonial dimension of the Romanian culture and literature, but with a focus on those Romanian young writers and artists illustrating the opening of the Romanian society and mentality. Dan Lungu and Filip Florian, two of the most well-known Romanian still young prose writers, have been supported by the Romanian Culture Institute, in a cultural and conceptual projection of the future, and not in a patrimonial frame.

Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu, the Novelist and the Poet

If the analysis of the Romanian writers status in the postbellum totalitarian period is coherent with the analysis of the Romanian writers status in the post-revolutionary democratic period (the same analyst studies two macro-social structures, with implications in the individual experiences of the writers), the socio-cultural need for a Romanian Writer placed in the symbolic center of the society, before 1990, can be investigated with the examples of Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu.

The first was considered the most important prose writer in the postbellum period, and this evaluation was made during this period and during his life. The latter was considered – in a parallelism that speaks for itself – the most important poet in the postbellum period, and this evaluation was made during this period and during his life. Who made the evaluation and why have these Romanian writers occupied the first places in the Romanian literary canon?

In the first years of the Romanian *real Socialism*, after 1947, the literature was forced to adopt a mono-ideological scheme of values, symbols, and even literary forms. Analyzed by Eugen Negrici in his important work *Literatura română sub comunism* (Romanian Literature under Communism),[9] the ideological instrumentalization of the literary writings was made possible by the authors themselves; some of them enthusiastically adopting the official models, others with less conformism, at least in their daily behaviour, if not in their texts.

The Romanian literature of the late forties and of the fifties became mono-ideological, while important authors of the previous period, the interbellum democratic historical period, were pushed in a condition of marginality, isolation or, in the extreme cases, political detention. The

new literature is programatically opposed to the "old" one, forbidden to be reduplicated in the present and linked to a "guilty" past of the Romanian literature seen as a whole. The new literature is the expression of the social, political, moral and cultural progress that the decidents of the day mark as such. This Orwellian re-writing of the factual past, for a mono-ideological triumphant present, with *new* values, *new* authors and a *new* literature, explains why the totalitarian regime had the need for literary works (novels, poems) able to express and, at the same time, shape the new cultural canon.

These are the macro-social context and the ideological frame that the future canonical status of Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu is related to. The natural instinct of a writer for gaining critical and public recognition, literary prizes for his works, a place in the official curricula is encouraged by the political regime, with its concrete and abstract, financial and symbolic advantages. Preda, in the fifties, will be the first; Stănescu, at the beginning of the sixties, will be the second. Marin Preda became an official prose writer with the first volume of *Moromeții* (1955); Nichita Stănescu, with his individual debut, *Sensul iubirii* (1960). Both have been supported by the official literary critics of the sub-period, with the most notable example of Paul Georgescu. And both have been obliged to produce texts obedient to the official, mono-ideological line, as a price paid for their future success and as a guarantee for the regime that they were implicated in, not as escapist writers.

Their selection as official writers is not an exception, but the rule. Preda and Stănescu illustrate a rule of mono-ideological State institutional selection that is illustrated also by many other examples of Romanian prose writers and poets, from Petru Dumitriu to George Bălăiță and from Dan Deșliu to Ana Blandiana. The area of selection is very large because the main goal of the totalitarian regime, in its cultural strategies, is to present an image of literary multitude and consistency, for competing the cultural reality of the interbellum democratic period.

In the fifties, the interest of the political regime for the arts and their producers is at its peak. The activists have the inferiority complex of the ruler with no real cultural and intellectual legitimacy. And this legitimacy may be obtained only by editing many literary works of many *new* Romanian writers. For such reason, Marin Preda will get soon a canonical status superior even to that of Mihail Sadoveanu, an interbellum prose writer deeply involved in the mono-ideological shape of the Romanian society, culture and literature. Sadoveanu is still linked to the previous

historical period, while Preda can play the role that he is expected to play: the role of a product of the new era.

The symbolic official investment will be marked, again and again, with the significant obedient Romanian writers; and even with the non-significant obedient ones. There is a mass-production symbolical investment, opposed to the individualism of the previous historical period. And the area of selection is almost one with the area of Romanian obedient writers. The totalitarian regime wants them all, as a symbolical and a statistical proof that The Popular Republic of Romania produces a new literature.

The symbolical contract signed by the regime is doubled by an incalculable number of financial contracts guaranteed by the State, the supreme authority in the cultural domain. The totalitarian State has all the instruments and the regime uses them, illustrating a double condition: the one of a contractual partner and the other of the institutional authority decident in contracting. It is enough for a Romanian writer to show obedience and conformity to the regime's cultural demands: he will become a contractual partner, with material benefits and, very frequently, symbolical honors.

The *privilligentsia* that Ioana Macrea-Toma focuses on is a term and a category that are proper for this historical sub-period: 1948-1963. Almost all obedient Romanian writers are part of the *privilligentsia* of the time, while Right or even Left-intellectuals, as Lucian Blaga, Constantin Noica, Ion D. Sîrbu are in political detention or in a condition of social marginality (like Blaga). The biographical facts are different in the same social and historical context. This is the reason for which a term and a category like *privilligentsia* cannot be used as a valid operator for characterizing *all* Romanian writers and thinkers, in the fifties.

The crucial point for a Romanian writer to represent an upper level of the canonical hierarchy and to be selected as the most important Romanian author in his genre is an intersection point. The selection made by the political regime has a large area and cannot mark *the* Novelist or *the* Poet. Adrian Păunescu, the favourite poet of the regime Ceaușescu, in the seventies and the beginning of eighties, could not replace Nichita Stănescu as the recognized canonical figure of Romanian postbellum poetry – even if Păunescu had a type of lyricism much more Party-, and on the other hand, Reader-oriented.

The accessible poems of Păunescu could not replace the modernist poems of Stănescu in the Romanian collective imaginary about what is

and what should be a Poet. A similar impossibility to replace Marin Preda from the highest level of canonical status can be observed and detailed. Even if there were many realistic novelists, even if Preda's themes, epic conflicts, narrative forms were copied or emulated, the distance of *the* Novelist from his followers was the same.

The intersection and crucial point for this canonical supremacy is, in the case of Marin Preda, as well as of Nichita Stănescu, a convergence of elements and factors. I list them without subscribing to the theories of chance, luck, imponderables, and so on. First of all, obedience or conformism to the mono-ideological demand is needed. (Constantin Noica, Ion D. Sîrbu, Leonid Dimov, Ileana Mălăncioiu, Gabriel Liiceanu lacked this essential obedience to the totalitarian regime.)

Secondly, an authoritative support from the official literary critics is needed. Both Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu were supported and even acclaimed by the most important and official literary critics of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties.

Thirdly, success gained in the area of the Romanian public is needed. Preda has constantly adapted and accomodated himself with the expectancies of the Romanian readers, from *Moromeții* (1955) up to *Cel mai iubit dintre pământeni* (1980), with the very important example of *Delirul* (1975). While Nichita Stănescu played with a sort of natural genius the role of the Poet, in the inner and outer levels of his poems. He was *the* Poet not only by his poems (Dimov, Mălăncioiu, M. Ivănescu have been great poets, too), but also by his personal charisma, uncomparable to any other Romanian poet's.

The fourth relevant factor is the recognition of the aesthetic value of the novels and the books of poetry written by Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu. The junction inside the canonical convergence of elements is the one that puts together the mono-ideological imperative of the officials and the aesthetical imperative of the literary critics tolerated in the Romanian literature. With their most important writings, both Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu have been placed in an aesthetic literay canon, forged by Nicolae Manolescu and other literary critics active in the sixties, the seventies, and the eighties.

The fifth relevant element is Preda's and Stănescu's continuity in the various contexts of the historical period. They have continued to write, to publish, and to adapt their personal strategies of success to the distinct moments of the official imperatives and demands, from 1948 (Preda) and 1960 (Stănescu) up to 1980 (Preda) and 1982 (Stănescu). Thirty or

twenty-five years of writing and publishing, in the literary mainstream of a historical and cultural period, are connected with a canonical status of a Romanian writer. The most important competitor of Marin Preda, Petru Dumitriu, had not this dimension of continuity. Neither did Nicolae Breban. The first has chosen the exile, in 1960, while the latter had conflicts with the Communist Party structures (in 1971), after representing them.

The last relevant factor in this canonical supremacy of *the* Novelist or of *the* Poet is the credit that the symbolical figures of the Romanian exile (Monica Lovinescu and Virgil Ierunca) have given, in the Radio *Free Europe* programmes, to the Romanian writers that illustrated a type of resistance or opposition to the totalitarian regime. In an interesting parallel, the selection process area of Radio *Free Europe* was comparable to the selection process area of the Romanian Communist Party. The Romanian officials needed obedience from *all* Romanian writers. Radio *Free Europe*, through Monica Lovinescu's and Virgil Ierunca's programmes, supported *all* resisting and opposing Romanian writers, with a reduced interest for the aesthetical value *per se* of a Romanian writer.

This is why Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu, after gaining the support of Radio *Free Europe*, have been evaluated and judged for their acts of mono-ideological conformism. But, in the eighties, it was too late for such a re-evaluation to have concrete results in the Romanian cultural system. Only after the Revolution of December 1989, the canonical preeminence of Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu will be problematized and negated. The sixties, the seventies, the eighties are the decades of *the* Poet and *the* Novelist who have succeeded in marking all these relevant factors and their essential convergence.

Canonical status in two systems

If Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu illustrate – at the first level of the Romanian postbellum literary canon – the socio-cultural need and the two writers are paradigmatic for the convergence of factors and elements that determined the selection of *one* name for each genre, they are not relevant any more for the new, post-totalitarian socio-cultural system. They remain, undoubtedly, at the highest level of the literary canon, but their places are disputed, after 1990, by re-evaluated Romanian writers. Leonid Dimov, M. Ivănescu, Ileana Mălăncioiu are compared more frequently with Nichita Stănescu; and their poetry is re-considered as equivalent or

superior to that of Stănescu. Ștefan Agopian, Mircea Cărtărescu, Radu Aldulescu are, similarly, compared with Marin Preda, and their novels present an equivalent originality and a superior modernity to those of Preda's novels.

This type of artistic competition is inadequate in itself, since literature is a domain permissive to all individual imaginary experience. Its interest derives from the fact that in the collective symbolic investment, in the totalitarian period, *the one* was preferred to the several "competitors". After December 1989, in the new type of society, of culture, and, finally, as a structural effect, of literature, the idea of *the one*, with its illustrations, is forgotten with almost no public regret. The Market rules influence not only the material status of the Romanian writers, collapsing their perspectives of earning a living from selling copies, but also the stability of the valorization framework. The new literary canon has perturbations, fluctuations, and consistent changes from a decade to another, while the previous canon had a much greater stability, from the sixties to the eighties.

It is impossible to estimate how Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu would have seen this shift, after 1990. But the examples of Marin Sorescu, Ana Blandiana, Augustin Buzura, Nicolae Breban, George Bălăiță, Dumitru Radu Popescu present a diagram of diminishing interest. The literary critics and the public do not share the "old" enthusiasm any more: a fact that complicates this stage of personal experience for each of these Romanian writers. Probably Preda and Stănescu would have shared this symbolical crisis, expectable for each writer with a consolidated status during the totalitarian period.[10]

What remains relevant, for this investigating and problematizing segment, is the placement of Preda and Stănescu in the literary canon shaped and fixed before 1990, in the macro-social context of a totalitarian State and a closed society. They have not experienced the new context, the new society, the re-shaping of the literary canon and the "democratic disinterest" that make their colleagues nostalgic. They illustrate paradigmatically the literary canon and the socio-cultural structure of a historical period that ended in December 1989.

On the other hand, Mircea Cărtărescu, Radu Aldulescu and Dan Lungu were too young for defining, through their careers, an insertion in the previous literary canon. Aldulescu and Lungu made their editorial debut after 1990, while Cărtărescu became important, before 1990, as a poet of the new generation, not as a prose writer. An important difference between the previous literary canon and the post-Socialist one

is that poetry diminished considerably its importance in the new cultural structure. This explains Mircea Cărtărescu's transition from poetry to novel. The professional writer offered himself a new chance, adapting his writing and its genre to the public expectations and interest, in a Market economy that literature and the other arts are playing into. Ion Mureșan, poet of the same generation, remained a poet. The Romanian readers and the translators have chosen Cărtărescu. And the surface readers had no alternative. For them, Ion Mureșan is almost unknown.

If Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu are paradigmatic for the previous Romanian literary canon and its shaping and stability during thirty years, and if Mircea Cărtărescu, Radu Aldulescu and Dan Lungu are relevant for the new, fluctuating, aesthetical and marketable literary canon, there is a writer who illustrates both structures of literary selection and valorization. This writer, with a canonical status in two historical periods and two different socio-cultural systems, is Norman Manea.

Manea has chosen exile in 1986, in the most terrible years of Nicolae Ceaușescu's totalitarian regime. At that time, he was already the author of a number of books that have gained the appreciation of the most important Romanian literary critics. Paul Georgescu, Lucian Raicu, Valeriu Cristea, Liviu Petrescu, Nicolae Manolescu, Mircea Iorgulescu, and others[11] placed him in the modernist category of prose, with an interest to the interiority of the characters, to the forms of narrating, problematizing and debating, and with an indirectly expressed, but persistent, post-traumatic memories.

In the following years, years of complete freedom for the citizen of the United States who continued to write in Romanian, Manea's memories tended to organize themselves as memoirs and as a memorial. The Jewish experience of the child in a Far-Right regime (that of Ion Antonescu) and the Communist experience of the young in a Socialist totalitarian regime (that of Gheorghiu-Dej) mixed deeply with the social experience of Romanians during the nationalist years of Ceaușescu regime. Three different historical periods of dictatorhip impregnated the writer's memory with a substance that demanded to be explored, organized and expressed through literature. The final traumatic experience, that of the exile, may be seen as the epic catalyser of the memorial, written in Romanian, then translated in English: *The Hooligan's Return: A Memoir* (2003).

The impressive success of this book has an international dimension, while the previous literary reception of Norman Manea's writing was reduced to the Romanian cultural and literary scene. And in three decades of canonical preeminence of Marin Preda, the first level of the Romanian

literary canon could not have been reached by any other Romanian prose writer.

Even if the Romanian literary critics marked and valued the originality of several novelists, Manea included, the socio-cultural configuration of an East-European totalitarian State blocked any chances of real cultural exchange. Before 1990, the translations from Romanian writers were controlled also by the State or were made only by the permission of its officials. The Romanian writers in search of a personal career in other cultural spaces were obliged to choose the exile. This option was doubly traumatic: the writer had to change his language and to adapt to a foreign culture and society; and, with this option made, he was "deleted" from the Romanian literary scene, bookshops and libraries. Choosing freedom of thought and of speech had as effect the erasing of the Romanian writer from the Romanian literary map. The example of Petru Dumitriu, exiled in 1960 (even though he was one of the most important prose writers of the Socialist sub-period) and "invisible" in Romania until December 1989, is also paradigmatic.

The chance of Norman Manea, after a number of dictatorships, familial and personal traumas, is that he left Socialist Romania in 1986, after a sustained and consolidated presence in the Romanian literary modernist canon, with a few years before the collapse of the totalitarian regime. Deleting Norman Manea's name and titles from 1986 to 1989 was a measure of the same type of censorship, but of other level of importance than deleting Petru Dumitriu's name since the sixties, or Paul Goma, Dumitru Țepeneag and others since the seventies. The interval of Manea's cut from the Romanian literary canon, in the postbellum totalitarian period, was reduced. The effects of this cutting and deleting punishing process are insignificant.

This leads to the conclusion that Norman Manea had the previously mentioned and analyzed continuity in the Romanian literary mainstream, together with Marin Preda (d. 1980), Nicolae Breban, Augustin Buzura, George Bălăiță and other prose writers from the same generation of middle-aged authors in December 1989. But he marks a specific difference, by the fact that he is part of a new literary and cultural canon, with an international background and dimension, after 1986.

Almost two decades in the Romanian literary canon (Manea made his editorial debut in 1969) are completed by almost three decades in an international and, from a point, Global cultural canon. The Romanian writers from his generation are, with some notable exceptions, nostalgic,

representing by idealising the previous socio-cultural structure, with them in its center, as an objective necessity. Norman Manea, on the contrary, shares his experience and the substance of his memories with an indefinite number of readers from different parts of the world, fixing the anchor and the center in his inner literary Self.

With this identity and Self-investigation put in the mobile vehicle of many languages (Manea's books are already translated in Germany, Italy, France, Spain and Latin America, Netherlands, Israel, England, Portugal, Turkey, United States, China…[12]) and with a literary reception made by literary critics from all these cultural spaces, the previously exiled Romanian author may be considered an international one. He continues to use Romanian as the language of literary exploration and substance; but the circle of reception and influence is incomparable to any other Romanian writer's. If Marin Preda is *the* Novelist from the Romanian literary canon before 1990, Norman Manea is undoubtedly *the* Novelist from Romanian literature in the International and Global literary canon. His name and Mircea Cărtărescu's one are often quoted as possible winners of the Nobel Literary Prize, after Nichita Stănescu's has been mentioned in his last years and Marin Sorescu's, in the nineties.

Romanian Writers in the years of "democratic" disinterest for literature. Two of them

Radu Aldulescu and Dan Lungu conclude the series of illustrative examples for each canonical configuration. Marin Preda and Nichita Stănescu set a paradigm for the selection and the consecration of the Novelist and the Poet in a totalitarian period, in a socio-cultural reality with visible and rigid rules. Norman Manea and Mircea Cărtărescu illustrate both the mainstream and the "pure" literary canon of the Romanian Socialist period; and the international, global, multi-centered cultural canon of the last two decades.

But there is still a Romanian writer' experience that has to be analyzed and detailed. This experience is that of the Romanian writer very young before 1990 and who has made his editorial debut in the new society and the new socio-cultural frame. The freedom of thought, of speech and of literary expression is now a characteristic socially and politically guaranteed; while before 1990, it was a sphere of individual risk for the writer.

There is a very important difference between a writer such as Ion D. Sîrbu and one such as Dan Lungu not only from a literary point of view; but also from a socio-cultural one. Sîrbu wrote his books in conditions of dictatorship and censorship, after several years of political detention, with the apartment surveilled, as we have seen, by *Securitate* from 1968 to 1988. His most important books, *Jurnalul unui jurnalist fără jurnal* and *Adio, Europa!*, will be published after December 1989. (He died in September 1989.) Lungu writes his prose in years with no mono-ideological control of the writers and artists, in an open society. He can choose any narrative form, any word (there are no more forbidden words) and he can represent a Left dictator as a character with no anxiety that an institution named *Securitate* will push him to political prison or exile. All these threats from a totalitarian State, with writers forced to become dissidents to express a truth or parts of a truth, have disapperead in December 1989. The socio-cultural need for the truths that some East-European writers have risked to express ends with the historical period marked by Nicolae Ceaușescu totalitarian regime.

Dan Lungu and, before him, Radu Aldulescu will write and publish prose in this new macro-social context, when the interest of the Romanian public is spreading to all the novelties and discoveries, in the frame of a democracy. In these years, in a Market economy and cultural system, with a real competition between writers for a Romanian public that diminished considerably, the major problem of the writer has a financial, not an ideological nature.

The totalitarian State was replaced by a Market with reduced interest for the "pure" literary value of the books. Poetry is the first victim of this shift. The books of prose are preferred by editors, since the public prefers them and almost ignores the volumes of poetry. And the public is now disputed between the translations in Romanian of the books from other cultural spaces (many of them, best-sellers worldwide) and the Romanian titles.

If the problem of the Romanian writer was, before 1990, to maintain his moral integrity, under the pressure of the mono-ideological State-controlled system, the problem of the Romanian writer is, in the new historical and socio-cultural period, to maintain his literary integrity, under the pressure (for immediate profit) of the Market economy and its actors.

Radu Aldulescu is the "victim" of this re-configuration, since he publishes one of his best novels, *Amantul Colivăresei*, during the nineties (1996). Dan Lungu has the chance to be in synchronicity with two important programs: one, editorial, implemented by Polirom Publishing

House for the *new* Romanian prose writers (*Ego-Proză* collection, started in 2004) and the other, with translations, sustained by the Romanian Cultural Institute with Horia-Roman Patapievici as President (2005-2012). His novel *Raiul găinilor* was published by Polirom in 2004; and its first translation was published in France in 2005.

A Romanian writer has to become a *brand* in order to be sure that he can earn a living from selling his books. This new stage is, for the moment, an ideal for the Romanian writers; and a goal to achieve. Living from writing and selling books will create the category of Romanian professional writers: *professional* in the solid meaning of the term, and not only in that of personal talent and pure literary value.

NOTES

1 MACREA-TOMA, I., *Privilighenția. Instituții literare în comunismul românesc*, Casa Cărții de Știință, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

2 MAREȘ, C., *Zidul de sticlă. Ion D. Sîrbu în arhivele Securității*, Curtea Veche, IICCMER, Bucharest, 2011.

3 LIICEANU, G., *Dragul meu turnător*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2013. Other important radiographies of the Romanian cultural system in the totalitarian period have been realized and published before the moment of opening CNSAS archives. Among them:
VERDERY, K., *Compromis și rezistență. Cultura română sub Ceaușescu*, translated by Mona and Sorin Antohi, Humanitas, Bucharest, 1994;
GABANYI, A.U., *Literatura și politica în România după 1945*, translated by Irina Cristescu, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, Bucharest, 2001.

4 MACREA-TOMA, I, *vol. cit.*, pp. 151-152. Ioana Macrea-Toma uses the material of personal interviews (with writers and intellectuals such as Constantin Țoiu, Aurel Rău, Paul Cornea, Ion Vlad, Gelu Ionescu, Augustin Buzura, Nicolae Prelipceanu) and that of interviews from the research project *Remaining Relevant after Communism* (Andrew Wachtel, Irina Livezeanu, Marius Lazăr, Daniel Cristea-Enache), 2001: interviews with Eugen Uricaru, Z. Ornea, Georgeta Dimisianu, Nicolae Manolescu, Ioana Ieronim and others. The factual information offered by both sets of interviews is the same, testified by all the authors.

5 *Idem*, p. 149.

6 Eugen Negrici analyzed Romanian literature under Communism, with interest not only for the literary value of the prose and poetry works, but also for their reception in the areas of mono-ideological and, respectively, aesthetical valorization. If the analysis will be made for the following historical period and socio-cultural system (after December 1989), we'll probably have a convergence between his interpretations and conclusions and the interpretations and conclusions from this article.

7 LUNGU, D., *Construcția identității într-o societate totalitară*, Junimea, Iași, 2003. Before gaining public recognition and success as a novelist, Lungu specialised in the area of sociology. Later on, the literary critics put together the two approaches, the scientific and the fictional one, insisting on the fine sociological texture of his novels. See: CRISTEA-ENACHE, D, "Răpirea din Serai", in *România literară*, 10, 2007.

8 See Radu Aldulescu's financial problems, discussed above, in parallel with Marin Preda's benefits in one year: 1979.

9 NEGRICI, E., *Literatura română sub comunism. Proza*, Editura Fundației PRO, Bucharest, 2002.

10 In his recent autobiographical and memoirs book, Ștefan Agopian is at the same time one of the emergent Romanian writers in 1979 and a very precious

observer of the canonical figures: Nichita Stănescu especially, who accepted the younger writer as close friend, and Marin Preda. What seems to be a coincidence represents a confirmation of the convergence of elements and factors analyzed above. Paul Georgescu, one of the official literary critics very influent from the fifties up to the eighties, had an enthusiastic reception of Preda's, Stănescu's and Agopian's masterpieces. See:
AGOPIAN, Ș., *Scriitor în comunism (niște amintiri)*, Polirom, Iași, 2013.

11 The list, important in order to describe the writer's reception in the area of the Romanian literature in the seventies and the eighties, is to be found in the monograph of Claudiu Turcuș, the editorial debut of a literary critic from the new generation. See:
TURCUȘ, C., Est*etica lui Norman Manea*, Editura Cartea Românească, Bucharest, 2012.
See also:
CRISTEA-ENACHE, D., "Fără epic" (I-II), in *Observator Cultural*, 624-625, 2012.

12 All the translations from Norman Manea's writings until 2011 are listed in the volume, in bilingual edition, dedicated to the writer. See:
* * *, *Obsesia incertitudinii/ The Obsession of Uncertainty. In honorem Norman Manea*, volume edited by Cella Manea and George Onofrei, Polirom, 2011.

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RÉFLEXIONS SUR L'ÉCRITURE D'UNE HISTOIRE DE LA CONTESTATION EN ROUMANIE

La révolte paysanne de 1907, allégorie de la modernité ?

Résumé

Approcher la contestation en Roumanie, c'est plonger dans les méandres d'une historiographie schizophrène. L'abondance des analyses avant 1989 qui labellisent toute manifestation de la contestation sous le sigle du socialisme, révèle la préoccupation des communistes de légitimer leur autorité. Et l'obsession des historiens post-1989, de revenir sur les origines du libéralisme, laissant la contestation en marge du récit, semble relever d'un mécanisme inverse, non moins en proie aux déterminismes historiques. L'objet de cet article est de proposer une méthodologie sortant des catégories déterminées, afin d'élaborer un récit de la contestation en Roumanie. La révolte paysanne de 1907 en est le point de départ.

Mots clés : Histoire discontinue, socialisme, contestation, révolte paysanne, mouvements sociaux, utopies, modernité, nationalisme, transferts de modèles, historiographie, archives, temporalités événementielles

En replaçant la révolte paysanne de 1907 au cœur du processus de modernisation en Roumanie, cet article au sous-titre qui peut sembler provocateur, propose d'interroger l'écriture de l'histoire de la période, au tournant du 20ème siècle[1]. Le récit historique a bien souvent considéré la modernisation à l'Est comme un processus continu et progressif qui devait s'accomplir en miroir, conformément aux modèles désignés, les États gardiens de la civilisation. Partir de la révolte paysanne et plus largement des formes de contestation qui s'expriment en contrariété avec cette modernité est un moyen d'approcher le sujet depuis une autre perspective,

en décalage avec la tradition historiographique. En effet, l'historiographie post-1989[2] de la Roumanie a principalement perçu et décrit cette révolte comme un écart, une réminiscence fortuite d'un passé féodal mal digéré qui se dresse en travers du chemin linéaire de la modernisation de l'État, et que l'on voudrait oublier.

Suite à l'unification des provinces roumaines, les anciens sujets de la Fédération de Russie et de l'Empire Ottoman font l'expérience de l'État-nation, sous l'autorité du traité de Berlin (1878), qui trace les frontières et reconnaît, entre autres, l'indépendance de la Roumanie. C'est la modernité qui est invoquée, l'expérience constitutionnelle, l'état national souverain, le modèle des élections, dont le gouvernement des libéraux s'empare sous l'égide de la Monarchie Constitutionnelle des Hohenzollern. En 1907, le pays s'enflamme sous forme de révoltes paysannes et de débats d'opinion qui cherchent à donner un sens à l'explosion de la colère. Les paysans de ce jeune État, les plus nombreux, et pourtant les laissés pour compte de la modernité, avaient-ils autre chose à dire que ce que la violence de leurs actes exprimaient déjà ? Comment les discours sur l'émancipation, l'autonomie de la nation, les espoirs tournés vers l'Ouest, l'introduction de la Roumanie dans les rouages du commerce international, l'apparition d'une bourgeoisie locale, pouvait-ils intégrer ce printemps 1907, sans renvoyer la modernité invoquée à une fantaisie de l'esprit ?

Cela peut sembler paradoxal, voire illégitime qu'à l'effigie de la modernité, habituellement associée à son lot de récits sur les révolutions industrielles, les principes démocratiques, les pratiques parlementaires, les institutions représentatives, et les envolées idéologiques émancipatrices, on trouve une jacquerie de paysans, dont l'imaginaire collectif conserve en mémoire les figures hirsutes, désespérés et effrayantes, dévastant les domaines agricoles des grands propriétaires terriens. Mais opter pour 1907 comme point de départ d'un retour sur le récit historique, alors que presque quarante ans s'étaient écoulés depuis l'adoption de la première constitution démocratique roumaine (1866), est une option méthodologique dont la raison se trouve essentiellement dans les conflits historiographiques sur le sujet.

Il ne s'agit pas ici d'entrer dans le débat sur la véracité des récits, ou sur la réalité des faits, chaque récit poursuivant une perspective qui lui est propre. Il s'agit plutôt de placer la lecture le l'événement dans une autre perspective, qui consiste à centrer l'attention non pas sur les espaces politique en train de s'auto-légitimer, mais plutôt sur les processus à

l'œuvre de leur construction, et surtout sur ce qui se joue au cœur de la révolte paysanne, dans le cœur des paysans. Je propose de considérer cette révolte comme sujet significatif dans l'écriture d'une histoire de la Roumanie à cette période.

D'autre part, le coup porté au mouvement socialiste, rendu responsable des émeutes paysannes, marqua un tournant au sein du discours socialiste qui finit par se sédimenter dans la création d'un parti en 1910, sur la base de ce virage. Approcher la contestation durant cette période, c'est donc également porter un regard sur la formulation et les pratiques du socialisme, s'érigeant en représentant d'un modèle de contestation.

L'objet du présent article n'est donc pas d'entrer dans le récit de la contestation en Roumanie, mais de construire les fondations préliminaires à l'écriture d'une telle histoire, en mettant en perspective mouvements sociaux et modernité, socialisme et idéologies, historiographie et récits sur le passé.

Dans un premier temps j'aborderai les ressorts de la fabrication de l'histoire de la modernité, et la place conflictuelle des mouvements sociaux dans celle-ci. L'objet de mon deuxième temps retiendra la révolte de 1907 comme moment charnière dans le récit, en vertu de l'hypothèse selon laquelle les mouvements sociaux ne sont pas seulement des aléas dans le processus historique, mais motivent également l'écriture de l'histoire. Puis j'aurai quelques réflexions liées à la définition du socialisme, érigé en doctrine représentante des mouvements sociaux, dans un contexte où les transferts de modèles se jouent aussi dans le discours contestataire. Enfin, dans une analyse historiographique, je développerai quelques remarques sur le rapport à mes sources, complexifié par 44 années de régime communiste, dont l'une des œuvres principales est d'avoir contribué à figer l'histoire dans les cadres du matérialisme historique.

I. Les mouvements sociaux au cœur de la fabrication de l'histoire

Avant de développer la méthode d'approche que je privilégie pour observer les mouvements sociaux de la Roumanie et de montrer leur importance dans la fabrication de l'histoire, il me semble essentiel de revenir sur l'influence qu'exercèrent la modernisation et le nationalisme sur le récit historique.

I.1. La place de la modernité et du nationalisme dans la construction du récit historique

L'attention portée à la contestation dans l'argument que je propose ici est, en premier lieu, une manière de mettre le doigt sur les failles d'un système qui cherche à s'imposer par l'invocation de modèles. Parmi les modèles invoqués, ceux qu'on appelle alors les grandes puissances européennes, comme la France ou l'Allemagne, matrices de la modernité et du nationalisme. Maria Todorova rappelle dans son article «The trap of Backwardness : Modernity, Temporality, and the Study of Eastern Europe Nationalism », qu'il existe un consensus parmi les chercheurs sur le nationalisme, concernant le lien entre modernité et nationalisme, « le nationalisme (…) [étant] un produit de la modernité (…)[3]». Cette filiation du nationalisme, dans la forme que l'on connaît à la fin du 19ème siècle, à la modernité s'opèrent dans le rapport que ces deux concepts entretiennent avec le temps, qu'il soit un rapport au passé ou un rapport au futur, et donc dans leur rapport à l'écriture de l'histoire[4].

> Le nationalisme, contrairement à la modernité, qui s'appuie sur le changement et le renouvellement, insiste sur le besoin de racines et de tradition, c'est-à-dire sur l'obsession de la généalogie et de la continuité[5].

De ce point de vue, le récit des continuités historiques semble pris dans les ficelles du nationalisme qui se sert de celui-ci pour « se raconter et se légitimer[6]». Poser la question des processus de modernisation, c'est donc aussi poser la question de l'écriture de l'histoire. Et l'apport du concept des *discontinuités* dans la discipline, est un outil essentiel de la remise en question du discours sur la modernité. Je reviendrai plus loin sur cet aspect.

L'intention de Maria Todorova est donc d'interroger les discours invoquant la modernisation, qui inventent la nation et qui se servent du récit historique pour se sédimenter. Selon cette auteure, l'*a-priori* trop rarement discuté, selon lequel se mettrait en place dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle une dualité de temps et d'espace avec d'un côté un Occident républicain, national et universalisable, érigé au rang de modèle, et de l'autre, un Orient retardataire, dont les efforts de mimétisme seraient sans cesse insuffisants, sert un certain type de discours. En effet, le postulat d'un nationalisme qui aurait précédé un autre dans le temps, rendant le second « moins mature, plus jeune, incontrôlable, faisant naître des formes qui ne seraient pas organiquement appropriées au contexte dans

lesquelles elles ont été transplantées, et par voix de conséquence, vouées à dégénérer[7]», répondrait à des logiques inhérentes aux nécessités du discours. Maria Todorova s'applique de manière pertinente et documentée à invalider ce postulat, démontrant dans la *longue durée*, une relative simultanéité des nationalismes à l'est comme à l'ouest. Ainsi, le discours sur le retard économique de l'Est serait un outils entre les mains de ceux qui le produisent, servant entre autre, le discours sur la nation. Et aux historiens de tomber dans le « piège », selon les termes de Maria Todorova, et de reprendre à leur compte ce discours sans l'interroger.

Le présent propos ne cherche pas à connaître la temporalité exacte des nationalismes de l'Est et de l'Ouest. Ce qui m'intéresse ici se trouve dans les conséquences de telles hypothèses sur l'édification du discours historique. Et pour mettre en lumière ce sujet, il s'agit justement de regarder à l'endroit où un tel discours est sollicité, à savoir à quel moment et pourquoi est-il essentiel que l'Est demeure dans l'ombre d'un modèle mal reproduit, relégué sans cesse dans ce wagon de queue dont chaque tentative de raccrocher le train de la modernité se solde par un échec. A quel moment du passé, le discours sur le retard est-il systématiquement invoqué ?

En outre, et pour apporter de l'eau au moulin de la thèse de Maria Todorova, on remarque que les discours sur le retard endémique de la Roumanie ne s'attardent pas tant à en comprendre les causes, ou a en expliquer les mécanismes internes, qui semblent, par ailleurs, tomber sous le sens. Ce qui motive ce discours c'est plutôt de cristalliser l'attention sur la gravité du décalage et sur la nécessité de rattraper le retard. Et les moments de fissures sociales, où les choses semblent échapper aux autorités, sont autant d'opportunités pour ce discours d'en appeler au sens de la cohésion nationale afin de colmater les fissures. La quête de la modernité se dresse donc devant la nation comme un long chemin, au bout duquel rayonne dans un horizon inatteignable mais vivement recommandable, un système idéal à l'image du modèle.

A ce stade, quelques questions se posent. Comment cette course à la modernité mobilise-t-elle les esprits? Pourquoi est-il indispensable de rester dans la course ? Si la plupart des idéologies ont tôt ou tard repris à leur compte les outils du discours sur la modernité, le libéralisme en tête, puis le conservatisme qui s'en accommoda plus difficilement – du fait de la dimension indépendantiste du nationalisme au 19ème siècle –, la palme d'or revient certainement au discours marxiste qui en exploita tous les ressorts. La contradiction, la mise en duel de forces qui s'opposent, constituant l'essence de la pensée marxiste, le discours sur la modernité,

encré dans le nationalisme, offrait un terrain propice à toutes les théories marxistes. Entre centre et périphérie, ouvriers et paysans, occident et orient, modernité et obscurantisme, progrès technique et retard endémique. La métaphore du train en marche est reprise à l'infini, la locomotive étant incarnée par l'Ouest, les wagons de queue par l'Est. C'est en cela que les paradoxes du discours socialiste émergent. Comment manier à la fois internationalisme et modernité, socialisme et État-nation ? Comment s'ériger en modèle de contestation tout en utilisant les mêmes ressorts discursifs que le système contesté ?

Comprendre ces logiques, c'est non seulement entrer dans les fondements du discours sur la modernité, mais c'est aussi comprendre les mécanismes de sédimentation du discours socialiste, afin de déconstruire l'édifice sur lequel il repose.

I.2. Les transferts de modèles, et variation d'échelle. Réflexions sur les modèles socialistes

La notion de transfert de modèles est un outil exploré depuis une dizaine d'années dans les travaux de Michael Werner et Bénédicte Zimmerman[8], essentiel pour comprendre ce qui est à l'œuvre dans le processus de modernisation en Roumanie, et en particulier dans l'articulation de la pensée socialiste. Ainsi, si la construction de l'État-nation en Roumanie de même que les impératifs d'émancipation liés aux idéaux libéraux et républicains de 1789 et de 1848, s'inscrivent dans des mécanismes de transfert de modèles, certes variables, inégaux et discutables, l'articulation de la contestation et l'élaboration de contre-modèles ne répond pas moins à la même dynamique de référence à certains modèles exogènes érigés au statuts d'archétypes, et cependant tout autant interprétés, façonnés et reformulés, selon les nécessités locales et les conjonctures particulières. Et les modèles invoqués de n'avoir de forme évidente que dans les discours de ceux qui s'en revendiquent. Il s'agit de s'arrêter sur les tensions dans le discours que révèlent l'observation des résultats, aux regards des modèles invoqués ou des intentions formulées. Ainsi cette argumentation méthodologique tente de penser l'histoire dans ces moments de rupture, dans la lignée des réflexions animées par Michèle Riot-Sarcey et Mauricio Gribaudi, au sein des séminaires organisés à l'EHESS depuis une dizaine d'année[9]. Reposant sur les concepts de discontinuités, de ruptures et de paradoxes que soulèvent ces réflexions, la démarche prend en compte « l'historicité » des événements, définit par Michèle Riot-Sarcey, comme étant

> le rapport spécifique entre le sujet qui énonce et qui signifie quelque chose et la chose dite. (…) La signification d'un mot doit être non seulement restituée dans une temporalité mais surtout mise en rapport avec le sujet qui l'énonce[10].

Et quand il s'agit du « socialisme », alors la mise en lumière de ce rapport ouvre le champs à cette histoire discontinue, où la rencontre des différentes versions des phénomènes constitue le point de tension à observer.

L'analyse de ces « réalités conflictuelles[11]» s'articule à différents niveaux. Il s'agit d'aborder le socialisme roumain dans ses inter-actions avec le socialisme international et d'observer la place du modèle dans les discours. Tout en interrogeant les possibilités du transfert dans l'ère géographique roumaine, je pose également la question de l'autorité du modèle, voire de sa légitimité.

S'agissant du socialisme international, je m'appuie sur le travail amorcé par George Haupt, historien d'origine roumaine, spécialiste des archives de la Deuxième Internationale. A travers une grille de lecture chronologique et conjoncturelle, ses recherches l'on amené à soulever les contradictions fondamentales entre les socialistes de l'Internationale, notamment autour de la question de l'impérialisme[12], contradictions qui indurent l'échec de l'organisation à la veille de la Grande Guerre. A travers le même prisme méthodologique, mais en changeant d'échelle, j'observe les inter-actions que les socialistes entretiennent avec la réalité sociale qu'ils invoquent au niveau local. Au croisement du social et du politique, j'interroge le rapport des individus qui se revendiquent socialistes à la réalité sociale qu'ils analysent et mettent en jeu dans leurs discours. Que signifie pour un socialiste roumain de la fin du 19ème siècle d'invoquer le problème paysan ? Quels sont les enjeux d'un discours sur l'émancipation des juifs ? Dans quelle mesure le discours produit-il un décalage avec le contexte social qui le fait naître ? Quelles interactions s'établissent entre l'intelligentsia socialiste et les acteurs des mouvements sociaux?

La réponse à ces questions se trouve précisément dans l'observation de ce qui échappe aux intentions, aux modèles invoqués, dans les angles morts des discours calqués, là où se forment « les interventions collectives destinées à transformer les conditions d'existence de leurs acteurs, de contester les hiérarchies ou les relations sociales, et à générer, pour cela, des identités collectives et des sentiments d'appartenance », selon la définition que Michèle Pigenet et Danielle Tartakowsky confèrent

aux mouvements sociaux dans leur ouvrage collectif « Les mouvements sociaux en France[13] ».

L'attention est portée sur ces fragments de l'histoire, souvent relégués aux marges du récit historique parce qu'ils en dérangent la continuité, parce qu'ils surprennent le discours. Dans un jeu de miroir du « modèle » avec sa « copie », il s'agit d'en faire émerger les paradoxes de ce jeu, mais surtout ce qui lui échappe, dans les interstices des édifices idéologiques, les espoirs, les irruptions de joie, les peurs, les doutes, toutes ces manifestations de l'humain, qui sont autant de matière des événements. Ce récit des possibles, rarement objet de la recherche historique, se trouve dans les contingences indéterminées, les inter-dépendances qui lient les individus entre eux. Je reviendrai la dessus dans la dernière partie de mon développement.

I.3. Lhistoire discontinue, une histoire des possibles

Si l'historien tente souvent d'expliquer dans une démarche déterministe, *a posteriori,* les causes économiques et politiques qui provoquent les événements, l'observation les traces du passé dans leur historicité le pousse souvent à constater que les événements dans leur temps étaient bien parfois imprévisibles, qu'ils relevaient du hasard ou plutôt d'une multitude de conjonctures échappant aux analyses, qu'on appelle les contingences.

Dans sa critique des continuités historiques[14], Michèle Riot-Sarcey met en exergue que cette forme d'écriture de l'histoire, qui cherche à lisser les aspérités du temps, afin de lui conférer une continuité, sert surtout au renouvellement des régimes politiques nationaux qui entretiennent leur propre légitimité. Cette histoire favorise une analyse détaillée de la politique, perçue dans sa définition la plus réductrice, c'est-à-dire comme mode de gouvernement des hommes. Il y en a de nombreux exemples dans le domaine de l'histoire des idées, du développement économique, de la modernisation de l'État, des institutions ou du développement technique… Ces récits ont en commun de centrer l'analyse au niveau des instances de pouvoir, dans les institutions, dans les ministères, parmi les élites économiques, fabriquant des groupes d'appartenance impersonnels, laissant de côté le macro-monde, qui par ailleurs constitue l'épaisseur humaine des sociétés, qui se fait jour après jour. Les rapports sociaux entre les individus sont relégués aux marges de la réflexion, comme si l'histoire politique ne pouvait être comprise que par le prisme de la démocratie, des élections, des groupes représentatifs et des idéologies[15]. Ce que propose

Michèle Riot-Sarcey, c'est de comprendre « cette fracture entre social et politique qui a marqué l'écriture de l'histoire[16] » et qui détermine nos manières de penser. Pour l'auteure, le récit des continuités historiques se produit sur la base de cette fracture. Elle en saisit les ressorts en revenant dans la temporalité de la fracture, et en portant le regard sur les aspérités du temps, sur les moments qui dérangent la continuité. Ainsi, en empruntant la méthode à la sociologie, il s'agit de remettre l'individu au centre du récit historique puisqu'il est l'artisan du monde social qui l'entoure.

Par le prisme de la révolte paysanne de 1907, mais aussi au-delà, je propose d'ajuster la focale sur la contestation. Le sujet n'est pas l'emballage politique d'une société qui fermente, mais plutôt la fermentation elle-même. Qu'est ce qui se joue entre les individus, ces illustres inconnus qui n'ont pas atteint les instances du pouvoir, et dont personne ne se souvient[17], mais qui véhicule pourtant, c'est l'hypothèse que je propose, leur version de l'histoire.

A contre-pied de l'histoire déterministe, je me situe avec ses opposants[18] dans la lignée d'une histoire des possibles. Pour Walter Benjamin, dans l'introduction de ses « passages parisiens », l'histoire de la civilisation qui naît dans les continuités est une fantasmagorie :

> L'objet de ce livre est une illusion exprimée par Schopenhauer, dans cette formule que pour saisir l'essence de l'histoire il suffit de comparer Hérodote et la presse du matin. C'est là l'expression de la sensation de vertige caractéristique pour la conception que le siècle dernier se faisait de l'histoire. Elle correspond à un point de vue qui compose le cours du monde d'une série illimitée de faits figés sous forme de choses. Le résidu caractéristique de cette conception est ce qu'on a appelé « l'Histoire de la Civilisation », qui fait l'inventaire des formes de vie et des créations de l'humanité point par point. Les richesses qui se trouvent ainsi collectionnées dans l'aerarium de la civilisation apparaissent désormais comme identifiées pour toujours. Cette conception fait bon marché du fait qu'elles doivent non seulement leur existence mais encore leur transmission à un effort constant de la société, un effort par où ces richesses se trouvent par surcroît étrangement altérées. Notre enquête se propose de montrer comment par suite de cette représentation chosiste de la civilisation, les formes de vie nouvelle et les nouvelles créations à base économique et technique que nous devons au siècle dernier entrent dans l'univers d'une fantasmagorie[19].

Ainsi le récit historique, selon Walter Benjamin, parce qu'il se limite à la description des choses et des formes de vie, participe à l'illusion

collective. Et si le récit historique sur la modernité participait lui-aussi à l'univers d'une fantasmagorie ?

Observant les *mouvements sociaux* en marge de la construction de l'État-nation roumain, et de même que pour le concept d'*utopie*, je me situe parmi les historiens qui s'emparent de ces notions, d'avantage explorées par la sociologie, pour en faire des objets du récit historique.

II. La révolte paysanne au centre de l'histoire

Avant de revenir sur l'historiographie de 1907, il convient de montrer en quoi les mouvements sociaux, tel celui du printemps 1907 en Roumanie, véhiculent-ils les utopies motrices de l'histoire.

I.1. La dimension utopique des mouvements sociaux, un moteur de l'histoire

Les mouvements sociaux sont difficiles à saisir pour la discipline historique, du fait de leur dimension saccadée et irrégulière. On trouve d'avantage d'outils d'analyses de ces phénomènes chez les sociologues sur lesquels je m'appuie. Charles Tilly, sociologue américain, définit les mouvements sociaux selon ce qu'il appelle leurs «répertoires de contestation»[20]. Et son intention est de leur donner la forme d'un objet de recherche par la description de leurs contextes économiques et politiques d'occurrence. L'utopie est elle aussi généralement du ressort de la sociologie ou de la littérature. Comme le souligne Michelle Riot-Sarcey, « l'utopie est un objet problématique pour l'historien[21] ». La dimension impalpable des utopies est une donnée qui encombre les historiens attachés à la restitution d'un passé par les événements. Et pourtant selon la même auteure,

> les utopies concrètes ne sont que des écarts par rapport à l'entre-deux des temporalités vécues par l'être humain. Entre la perception du quotidien des réalités sociales et la projection d'une autre réalité, jugée possible, se joue, (…), une large part du mouvement de l'histoire[22].

L'utopie en histoire serait donc saisissable dans les formulations d'espoirs, tournées vers l'avenir, les désirs d'amélioration des conditions de vie, les traces des projets de société qui ont l'ambition de multiplier

les lignes de fuite. Formulation, désirs, traces, sont autant de matière de la fabrication du passé.

L'attention est donc portée à ces interstices qui rompent avec les continuités, que Walter Benjamin, dans sa vision anti-progressiste de l'histoire[23] considère comme des moments révolutionnaires. En effet, selon la lecture de Benjamin par Michael Lowy[24], la révolution se loge dans les moments d'interruption du progrès. En porte à faux avec la pensée contemporaine, qui voit dans le progrès un moteur de l'histoire, Benjamin considère que celui-ci mène à la catastrophe. « Il faut couper la mèche qui brûle avant que l'étincelle n'atteigne la dynamite[25] », écrit-il dans un aphorisme prémonitoire de l'entre-deux-guerres. Chez Hegel, le progrès est synonyme de raison et liberté, pour la sociale-démocratie, il est synonyme de démocratie et d'égalité, alors que pour les libéraux il est lié au développement économique et technique. Pour Benjamin, le progrès est irréversible.

C'est ce rapport à l'histoire dans ses ruptures, également interrogé comme objet philosophique par Michel Foucault ou Jacques Derrida, dont s'empare l'historienne Michèle Riot-Sarcey dans «Le réel de l'utopie »[26]. Remettre l'utopie dans la matière de l'histoire est une manière d'approcher l'histoire de la contestation dans la Roumanie au tournant du 20e siècle, dans une perspective encore très peu empruntée par les historiens du sujet.

Les premiers socialistes roumains, ces individus animés par les idéaux émancipateurs et démocratiques, considérant que les libéraux, gardiens de l'État-nation roumain, avaient bafoués leurs promesses de 1848 dans l'expérience de la monarchie constitutionnelle roumaine, ont porté une attention singulière à ces moments de rupture. Ils ont tenté de formuler le socialisme en Roumanie, s'abreuvant des conflits sociaux et des manifestations de colère de leurs espace-temps respectifs, tout en tentant de les canaliser, multipliant les manifestes, les clubs et les associations. Comme les autres organisations socialistes européennes de l'époque, ils ont formé un parti et multiplié les initiatives pour entrer dans l'espace de l'État, mais leurs présence au parlement est restée mineure, et leur participation aux jeux électoraux marginale. Parce que les socialistes roumains n'ont eu que très peu d'influence au parlement roumain durant cette période, parce qu'ils sont restés en marge des architectures constitutionnelles, et des nécessités électorales, ils nourrissent dans une certaine mesure ma démarche, de leurs regard sur l'avenir, de leurs programmes émancipateurs, du décalage qu'il produisent par leurs revendications. Mon intérêt pour ces derniers s'arrête cependant là où la nécessité d'entrer dans l'espace

politique monopolisé par l'État prend le dessus sur l'essence de leurs revendications. En d'autres termes, et pour reprendre une phraséologie marxiste, mon intérêt pour ces derniers s'arrête là où la fin justifie les moyens. C'est l'endroit où « l'homme abstrait –l'adhérent, le militant, le citoyen, l'électeur, l'acteur de l'opinion publique etc.- semble l'emporter (…) sur l'individu concret », là où « le modèle ou le référent se substituent (…) à la réalité mouvante, difficilement saisissable[27] ». Ainsi, ceux qui se revendiquent comme socialistes, maintiennent mon attention dans tous ces moments où ils ne tombent pas dans l'abstraction de la représentation, c'est-à-dire dans leurs individualités, dans leurs trajectoires personnelles, dans leurs réseaux, leurs amitiés, et leurs quotidiens. Si je choisis, par cette méthode de ne pas raconter l'histoire au-delà de cette limite, la ligne de partage demeure cependant un objet délicat, mouvant, variable et difficile à saisir.

En somme, le travail que je propose investit cet espace de recherche en friche dont la matière se trouve au cœur des manifestations d'utopies, les désirs de bouleversement, souvent exprimés à l'occasion de conflits sociaux, dans les clubs, les manifestes, au sein des associations ouvrières, à l'échelle des individus, parfois sans lendemains. Cet espace de recherche est limité par les débats politiques qui tentent de recouvrir cette réalité par des discours universalisant dont l'objectif est d'être prononcés dans les parlements et admis par l'État sous forme de réformes.

La démarche ainsi définie, observer là où le temps se fragmente, n'est pas seulement une préférence méthodologique. Cette démarche participe, dans l'attention portée aux possibles, à l'indéterminé, à une réflexion sur l'écriture du passé, en permanence en proie aux déterminismes historiques.

II.2. 1907, le moment est charnière dans le récit de la contestation…

- …Parce que l'historiographie sur le sujet illustre principalement l'une des versions de l'histoire, celle de la modernité.

La révolte paysanne a été dès 1945 invoquée par l'historiographie communiste[28] afin de montrer non seulement par la description de ses causes, les désastres de l'intrusion du capitalisme en Roumanie à la fin du 19ème siècle, mais aussi sa dimension annonciatrice du socialisme, le paysan étant revêtu *a-posteriori* du langage de la lutte des classes. Il s'agissait également d'identifier la contestation de 1907 à un moment de conscience de la nation en calquant des attributs ethniques aux

événements. La lecture entre les lignes des récits communistes sur la révolte paysanne en dit finalement presque davantage sur ce qui préside à l'écriture de l'histoire après la seconde guerre mondiale que sur la révolte elle-même. On comprend que l'histoire se raconte selon des critères de légitimation du Parti, dans les cadres du matérialisme historique et du nationalisme. Invoquée à l'excès avant 1989, la révolte paysanne est ensuite laissée de côté par l'historiographie d'après 89 qui se penche davantage sur la redécouverte de l'histoire du libéralisme, que les communistes avaient laissée de côté.

En dépit du fait qu'il ait été monté en épingle par l'histoire communiste, le printemps 1907 n'en est pas moins chargé de significations dans la présente démarche méthodologique, en ce sens où au moment de l'événement, les débats sur les causes de la révolte, l'intention des paysans, la responsabilité des leaders, les récupérations politiques, abreuvaient la presse, les discours parlementaires et les programmes des partis. En effet, survenant 43 ans après la réforme de modernisation de l'agriculture (1864), cette révolte a constitué un point de départ d'une réflexion sur le contenu et l'efficacité du régime constitutionnel. Pour le premier ministre de l'époque, Mihail Kogalniceanu la réforme de l'agriculture constituait le fer de lance de la modernisation et de l'industrialisation. Elle avait pour objectif de libérer la paysannerie du servage et d'instaurer un régime de petites propriétés rurales (par la sécularisation des terres des monastères, qui représentaient environ un tiers des terres arables[29]). De multiples analyses[30] ont montré en quoi ces objectifs, plus de quarante ans après la réforme, étaient loin d'être atteints. Le fantasme d'une classe moyenne propriétaire, votant selon les principes démocratiques, et favorisant le progrès prenait des airs de mauvais rêve en 1907.

D'un autre côté, l'historiographie post-communiste a noyé la révolte paysanne dans le discours sur la modernité. Au mieux, quand la révolte y est mentionnée, c'est dans une argumentation qui reproduit, sans l'interroger, les principes de l'époque selon lesquels on aurait une Roumanie rattachée aux derniers wagons de la modernité, et dont les efforts échoueraient sans cesse à en atteindre les lois fondamentales. Ces principes étant, dans ce cas, encrés dans le langage de la démocratie : accès des paysans aux droits démocratiques, constitution d'un parti paysan, représentant les revendications de ceux-ci au parlement, programmes politiques incluant la réforme paysanne, et réformes parlementaires. Quand l'historienne de la Roumanie, Keith Hitchins écrivait « la grande révolte paysanne (…) a mis brusquement fin à cette expérience prometteuse d'organisation

politique de la paysannerie[31] » (elle se référait à l'effort de création d'un parti paysan par les leaders Vasile M. Kogalniceanu, fils du Kogalniceanu sus-mentionné, et Alexandru Valescu, qui ont été emprisonnés suite à la répression), c'est le constat de l'échec de la paysannerie à s'organiser selon un modèle d'accès aux droits par les élections, qu'elle souligne. De même pour Vlad Georgescu, historien de la Roumanie. Il considère que la révolte de 1907 est le signe d'un retard par rapport à un modèle qu'il n'évoque pas nécessairement mais qui est régit par le jeu des partis politiques, des élections, des débats parlementaires et des réformes constitutionnelles :

> La révolte de 1907 (…) a mis en lumière la fragilité de l'équilibre social et la nécessité des restructurations agraires. Sous l'influence de la gauche libérale (…), le parti libéral a inclus dans son programme de 1913, l'idée d'une réforme en faveur de l'expropriation des grandes propriétés. (…) La réforme sera mise en application en 1921[32].

Ainsi, en quelques lignes, la révolte paysanne est intégrée dans le récit d'une continuité historique, dont le fil directeur est l'accès des paysans à leurs droits. La continuité est fabriquée autour de ces deux étapes inspirées du modèle démocratique : d'une part, la mention de la réforme dans le programme d'un des grands partis du jeu politique roumain (1913) et d'autre part, la mise en application de la réforme en 1921. Enfin, Catherine Durandin participe au même type de discours, qualifiant les événements de 1907 de « révolte primitive » :

> Malgré tous les efforts de l'État dans le domaine de l'éducation, la paysannerie pauvre est restée en dehors des cadres du projet d'État-nation. Elle est contrainte de s'exprimer par une violence dépourvue de tout projet politique, susceptible d'être la cible de toutes les manipulations subversives contre l'état bourgeois conservateur[33].

L'évocation de ces exemples montre comment le récit historique a complètement intégré le discours de l'époque sur la modernité, et les principes de l'État-nation, sans en interroger les ressorts.

Ainsi la révolte paysanne constitue le point de départ parce que sa célébrité historiographique en fait un objet de réflexion des plus riches, concernant l'écriture de l'histoire de la contestation en Roumanie. Elle offre la possibilité de formuler de multiples versions de l'histoire, ce qui constitue la matrice même de ma démarche.

- … Parce que 1907 est un moment de sédimentation du discours socialiste en Roumanie.

Les documents de la période offrent à lire un certain nombre de débats sur la responsabilité des socialistes dans l'incitation à la révolte. La presse libérale en a cherché les causes dans les clubs socialistes à la campagne et dans les effets de la propagande. S'il est difficile de mesurer l'influence de la propagande socialiste dans le déclenchement et l'étendue de la révolte, on peut cependant remarquer qu'elle intervient dans un contexte de fermentation des idées socialistes. En effet, elle survient deux ans après la révolution russe de 1905 qui avait eut des échos dans les esprits de ceux qui, en solidarité avec leurs camarades russes, s'installèrent dans le discours socialiste[34]. D'autre part, la création en 1906 d'une Commission Générale des Syndicats roumains avait pour objectif d'offir un cadre organisationnel et centralisé aux expressions de la contestation, façonnant ainsi des espaces légitimes de contestation et par voie de conséquence les espaces illégitimes. Enfin, la création du parti social-démocrate en 1910 finit par donner un cadre officiel à la contestation, la réforme agraire occupant le troisième volet du programme du parti, après le volet « politique », et le volet « économique ».

En ce sens, et parce qu'elle a marqué les esprits, la révolte paysanne est présente, évoquée et revendiquée dans les textes des socialistes que l'on trouve dans les années qui suivent. Elle s'érige en modèle ou en objet de légitimation.

Avant d'élargir cette méthode de recherche sur l'historiographie de la contestation, au-delà de 1907, il me semble important de revenir sur les débats qui animèrent le socialisme international quand celui-ci se constitua sous cette forme. En effet, la sédimentation du socialisme en Roumanie est fortement liée à la sédimentation du socialisme Européen. A la fin du 19e siècle, le socialisme de l'Ouest, par le biais de la sociale-démocratie allemande, fixait une doctrine politique, que les individus allait s'approprier dans sa dimension impersonnelle. En Roumanie, les socialistes étant des voyageurs européens, des exilés, ils invoquèrent sans-cesse les modèles qu'ils admiraient. Pour cette raison, revenir sur les modèles en question me semble être une étape de la déconstruction et donc de la compréhension de la pensée socialiste en Roumanie.

III. Les socialismes et le défit des définitions. S'éloigner des catégories idéologiques

III.1. Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique. Pourquoi définir ?

Le socialisme utopique fut définit de la sorte par Marx et Engels pour désigner toutes les doctrines socialistes qui n'entraient pas dans le cadre du socialisme scientifique. Les textes d'Engels destinés à proposer une définition du socialisme, encrée dans le *matérialisme historique*[35], apparurent dans le contexte de la constitution du Parti des Ouvriers Sociaux-Démocrate en Allemagne (le SDAP fut fondé en août 1869 sur l'initiative d'Auguste Bebel et de Wilhelm Liebknecht). Au début des années 1870, les groupes socialistes allemands étaient divisés sur des questions de pratiques, et en particulier sur la question de la guerre franco-allemande, et leur union en 1875 répondait d'avantage à la nécessité de faire front commun contre les mesures gouvernementales anti-socialistes, qu'à une réelle unité idéologique. Pour Engels il était devenu nécessaire de proposer un cadre théorique solide et universel, afin de figer le discours socialiste dans une unité de programme, mais aussi d'éliminer les opinions divergentes, selon lui, responsables de l'affaiblissement du parti. Ainsi, pour combattre l'anti-marxiste du Docteur Eugen Dühring de l'université de Berlin, dont les théories commençaient à avoir pignon sur rue dans les milieux socialistes allemands, Engels rédigea un certain nombres d'articles, qui allaient être regroupés dans un volume de propagande, sous le titre français « M. Eugène Dühring bouleverse la science[36] ». Cet ouvrage, repris dans toutes les langues européennes, allait devenir la pierre angulaire des leaders socialistes, attachés à fonder une doctrine motivée par la nécessité d'unité. Dans l'introduction à l'édition anglaise de *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique,* Engels écrivait :

> Le Parti socialiste était en train de devenir rapidement en Allemagne une puissance. Mais pour en faire une puissance, la première condition était que l'unité nouvellement conquise ne fut pas menacée. Or le Dr Dühring se mit ouvertement à grouper autour de sa personne une secte, noyau d'un futur parti. Il devenait donc nécessaire de relever le gant qui nous était jeté et, bon gré mal gré, de mener le combat à son terme[37].

Ces textes destinés à la propagande furent traduits, au cours des années 1880, en anglais, en polonais, en français, en italien, en russe,

en danois, en espagnol etc… Ils répondaient à un certain nombre d'objectifs intrinsèquement liés au contexte historique qui les avait vu naître. Il s'agissait de couler le socialisme dans le moule d'un parti et d'en confirmer l'influence au sein de l'Empire Fédéral Allemand, le Deuxième Reich, érigé suite à défaite de la France dans la guerre franco-prusse de 1871. Il s'agissait également de lier le socialisme à la philosophie de l'idéalisme allemand. Et Engels d'écrire dans la préface de la première édition allemande de la même brochure :

> Mais si les maîtres d'école de la bourgeoisie allemande ont noyé les grands philosophes allemands et la dialectique dont ils étaient les représentants, dans le bourbier d'un sinistre éclectisme, au point que nous sommes contraints de faire appel aux sciences modernes de la nature pour témoigner de la confirmation de la dialectique dans la réalité, nous, les socialistes allemands sommes fiers de ne pas descendre seulement de Saint Simon, de Fourier et d'Owen, mais aussi de Kant, de Fichte et de Hegel[38].

Alors que les premiers noms évoqués allaient devenir *a-posteriori*, les pères du socialisme utopique, les seconds seraient les précurseurs du matérialisme historique.

Cette ligne de partage ainsi artificiellement dessinée allait figer pour des générations des catégories idéologiques au service des discours politiques, reléguant indéfiniment la pensée utopique, qualifiée de bourgeoise par ses détracteurs, dans l'ombre du socialisme scientifique, ainsi devenu le seul espace politique légitime du socialisme.

III.2. Les débats au sein de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (AIT), le socialisme européen en gestation

C'est sur ce fond de débats que la Première Internationale, l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, fondée à Londres en 1864, fut dissoute en 1872, suite aux dissensions inconciliables entre ses membres[39]. Au cœur des débats, le conflit entre Marx et Bakounine, reflétait l'encrage de cette ligne de partage évoquée plus haut. Tandis que Marx solidifiait le socialisme scientifique dans le discours de la dictature du prolétariat (c'est-à-dire l'appropriation des moyens de production par la conquête des pouvoirs politiques), Bakounine axait sa pensée sur la redéfinition des forces de production, dépourvue de représentativité politique. Le principal point de discorde entre ces deux formations ne concernait pas les

objectifs à atteindre, pour lesquels le consensus l'emportait, c'est-à-dire la redistribution des moyens de production, mais la méthode pour y parvenir, le débat se cristallisant sur les questions de représentativité et d'autorité. Ce qui est à l'œuvre ici, semble-t-il, c'est la prédominance d'un discours sur un autre. Ce processus d'exclusion d'un mode de pensée, par ailleurs inhérent aux idéologies, répondait davantage à des objectifs de légitimation du socialisme scientifique, abreuvé par le *Manifeste Communiste*, qu'à un conflit fondamental, invoqué par ses partisans. C'est au niveau du discours que la rupture se sédimentait, dans la stigmatisation des adversaires. Tandis que les premiers lançaient des attaques de discrédit à l'égard des seconds, ceux-ci répondaient par la même vindicative, intériorisant et enracinant l'illusion d'un conflit fondamental entre les doctrines[40]. La ligne de fracture s'installait au niveau du discours, les marxistes préconisant la conquête prolétarienne du pouvoir et la centralisation politique, les bakouninistes refusant toute forme de représentativité politique. Mais, dans le bouillonnement des événements, et parce que la sédimentation est un processus, au niveau des individus, cette scission n'opérait effectivement que dans l'intensité des débats, loin des dogmatismes que l'on connut par la suite, permettant aux idées de circuler, d'être récupérées, reprises, décortiquées ou abandonnées selon les nécessités discursives. La rupture évoquée semblait relever de la fiction idéologique. D'autant plus que les deux discours se nourrissaient dans le même terreau politique, celui de l'émancipation.

III.3. Interroger le matérialisme historique. Déconstruire le socialisme

C'est en ce sens que j'interroge la dimension universelle du matérialisme historique dans la doctrine socialiste. Mon propos tente de sortir des catégories crées par Marx et Engels, catégories érigées au service du Parti. L'ambition est de comprendre les motifs d'édification de la pensée marxiste, dont l'essence dialectique repose sur l'élaboration de contradictions fondamentales, afin de s'en distinguer. Il ne s'agit pas de se lancer dans une nouvelle définition du socialisme, qui, compte tenu des remarques préliminaires, est impossible à formuler hors des contextes de son évocation. En effet, une telle définition tomberait inévitablement dans les travers d'une démarche idéologisée. En outre, je propose, par l'observation de ses partisans, en Roumanie, de ces individus séduits par le matérialisme historique[41], par l'analyse de leurs

discours, de leurs inter-relations, du rapport qu'ils entretiennent avec les socialistes européens, de questionner non seulement l'écriture de l'histoire du socialisme en Roumanie, mais également de proposer une autre perspective d'approche de la contestation. Déconstruire ainsi les fondements du discours socialiste décale l'attention sur les manifestations sociales dont ils se nourrissent. Dans ce va-et-vient, entre les mécanismes du discours politique et les irruptions de conflits sociaux, se dessinent les fils directeurs de mon propos. Ces fils sont jalonnés de nœuds temporels qui « s'éveillent à des fonctions utopiques-militantes » dans des contextes particuliers, et qui relèvent bien davantage, selon le sociologue Karl Mannheim, des « profondeurs d'âme, d'ancrage autrement plus vital, plus souterraines » que des idées[42]. Les délimitations idéologiques formulées par les théoriciens de la doctrine semblent ainsi troubler davantage l'exploration du passé qu'elles ne l'éclaircissent. Il s'agit de sortir des catégories idéologiques en les observant, au croisement des histoires oubliées, celles des mouvements sociaux.

Si ces trois chapitres ont eut pour ambition de proposer les fondements de la démarche dans laquelle je me situe pour réfléchir sur l'histoire de la contestation en Roumanie, il convient maintenant de dire un mot sur les sources d'une telle démarche. En effet, l'évocation de ces traces d'espoir, de ces manifestations de colère, reléguées aux marges du récit historique sur la modernité, est intimement liée non seulement à l'endroit des sources mais aussi à la manière de les aborder. Où repérer, dans la masse des sources sur le sujet, ces marques du passé qui véhiculent une vision du monde dans la possibilité de ses versions ? Et comment échapper aux catégories alors même que les sources disponibles sont celles que les historiens du matérialisme historique d'après 1945, ont eux-même *exploitées,* non sans y apporter leur propre version ?

IV. Écrire l'histoire des mouvements sociaux dans un pays post-communiste. Réflexions initiatiques sur les sources et voyage anthropologique dans les archives

Concernant l'historiographie sur le sujet, on peut distinguer trois phases. La première, dans l'entre-deux guerres et le contexte de la formation du parti social-démocrate, l'interprétation des sources s'alignant sur les exigences des lignes politiques du parti. La deuxième, pendant la

période communiste. La systématisation des informations et le fantasme de l'exhaustivité absolue dans la perspective de légitimer le régime en place, confère aux ouvrages historiques de la période communiste un apport considérable en références de première main. Enfin, l'historiographie post-1989 sur les débuts du socialisme en Roumanie répond à un double mécanisme. D'une part le désintérêt des chercheurs pour cette histoire dû au soucis de revenir sur les prémisses de la pensée libérale en Roumanie, négligés par plus de quarante années d'histoire communiste, et d'autre part, la légitimation du parti social-démocrate, qui compte se distinguer du parti communiste. L'historiographie de cette période semble globalement limitée par les impératifs politiques de ses auteurs. Je développerai ici l'historiographie la plus abondante, celle liée à de la période communiste.

IV.1. La première étape, se défaire du fantasme de vérité dans les archives

Une des préférences des historiens en matière de recherche se trouve dans les archives, selon le présupposé que les archives seraient l'autorité infaillible du récit sur les événements. Pourtant le rapport de la recherche aux archives soulève bien des questions non résolues concernant la discipline. C'est pour cette raison que je porte ici une attention particulière au sujet, en premier lieu autour des réflexions de Jacques Derrida[43], qui me semblent d'autant plus pertinentes dans le cas de la recherche en Roumanie, que les Archives Nationales ont fait l'objet d'une attention systématique plus de 40 ans durant, de la part des historiens du Parti.

A mesure que j'explorais les archives roumaines, je réalisais qu'elles n'allaient pas me livrer ce pour quoi je les avais sollicitées. Je trouvais un apport méthodologique essentiel auprès de la philosophie de Jacques Derrida. Je comprenais avec lui qu'il me fallait

> commencer par distinguer l'archive de ce à quoi on la réduit trop souvent, notamment l'expérience de la *mémoire* et le retour à l'*origine*, mais aussi l'*archaïque* et l'*archéologique*, le souvenir ou la fouille, bref la recherche du temps perdu[44].

L'archive, qui selon ses racines étymologiques, *Arkhé*, désigne à la fois le commencement et le commandement, « ne se livre donc jamais au cours d'un acte d'anamnèse intuitive qui ressusciterait, vivante, innocente ou neutre, l'originarité d'un événement »[45]. Cette éclairage étymologique

soulageait la perplexité dans laquelle je me trouvais systématiquement dans les centres d'archives roumains. En effet, même si la plupart des dossiers que je consultais dataient de la période que j'avais retenue, c'est-à-dire le tournant du 20e siècle, ils faisaient partie des inventaires élaborés par les historiens du Parti après 1945. J'observais à chaque fois la double opération d'autorité à l'œuvre sur les documents, la première qui avait consacré le document au statut d'archive, la deuxième, qui avait ré-ordonné le document selon les critères du régime communiste.

Il me fallait donc composer avec ce qu'impliquait de tels constats. Et la pensée post-moderniste de Jacques Derrida allait m'indiquer que l'historien *n'écrit* pas l'histoire, mais *fabrique* le passé.

IV.2. L'effet post-communiste et l'adaptation de la recherche

Ce travail dans les archives a donc révélé une autre réalité omniprésente, celle du passage des communistes. Si ce que l'on nomme les sources, à mesure où elles s'érigent au statut de source, répondent déjà à des dynamiques de légitimation de pouvoir et d'autorité concernant la fabrication du présent, au moment où elles passent entre les mains de régimes autoritaires, elles subissent un deuxième effet de subjectivisation, dont les pratiques classiques se déploient dans la « réorganisation » des dossiers, selon les critères du matérialisme historique. La réorganisation ainsi mentionnée se réfère par ailleurs bien plus à un art de la désorganisation, (camouflé dans la prétention d'établir un *autre* ordre), qui brouille davantage la lecture qu'elle ne l'éclaircit. Ainsi, les critères de la réorganisation apparaissent dans des formes plus ou moins évidentes que je me propose de résumer ici. L'une des opérations récurrentes se trouve dans la légitimation du régime en place par le biais de la mise en valeur de la répression opérée d'antan par l' « État bourgeois » sur le « peuple opprimé ». En d'autres termes, le classement des archives doit démontrer l'efficacité de la lutte des classes. On peut donc observer que les archives des instances de répression mises en place par les autorités bourgeoises et conservatrices sont soigneusement ordonnées, classées, numérotées, dans d'interminables inventaires, démontrant le caractère subversif de leur contenu, établissant des « précurseurs » du communisme. Également signifiant est le nombre de dossiers, la masse faisant preuve. Un autre principe observé qui préside à la réorganisation des dossiers consiste en la suppression assumée d'un certain nombre d'entre eux, jugés inutiles, ou bien à l'assemblage de dossiers venus de différents

fonds d'archives, considérés en toute subjectivité comme participants à un même événement[46]. Un des exemples qui me paraît illustrer le mieux ce constat, c'est la recherche que j'ai pu mener, pour trouver des statuts d'associations, de groupes d'individus qui auraient décidé à un moment donné de formuler un désir commun de changement, ce qui constitue la matière première de ma recherche. Contre toute attente, les traces ne sont pas dans les inventaires des préfectures, mais on les trouve au hasard des inventaires reconstitués sous des titres évocateurs : « mouvement syndical en Transylvanie, 1846-1943 » ou « l'union socialiste et les clubs ouvriers de Roumanie », dans lesquels on peut trouver aussi bien des dossiers personnels sur les individus, des articles de presse, des rapports d'activités économiques, des documents juridiques etc… L'accessibilité au document est donc rendue aléatoire par la ré-organisation, et donne tout son sens au principe de *désorganisation* des archives opérées par les communistes.

Ainsi, ce principe orchestré par le P.C.R, grâce à de multiples ressorts de manipulation, a su fabriquer les événements. Si ce processus préside à toute classification des archives, quelque soit le régime politique en place, l'opération est si radicale et menée dans un tel dogmatisme chez les communistes qu'il est difficile de l'ignorer.

Une grande partie de mon travail dans les archives consiste donc à identifier ce que les Camarades ont voulu signifier, afin de saisir éventuellement ce qui leur a échappé. Je trouve ces endroits de négligence dans les archives des localités, qui semblent avoir subit une systématisation plus mesurée. Ainsi le travail d'organisation/désorganisation des documents ne semble pas relever de la même intensité selon que l'on se trouve dans la capitale ou en province. La même démarche s'impose pour la lecture des récits historiques de l'après 1945. Je cherche dans les milliers de pages de l'histoire des communistes, au service du Parti, en premier lieu ce qu'ils ont voulu dire, pour le déconstruire, puis ce qu'ils disent effectivement, discours invisible logé dans une infinité de petits détails, dont les plus significatifs se trouvent dans la manière d'organiser les informations, dans la répétition des mêmes références, dans la création de figures prédominantes, dans l'édification de lieux de mémoire etc…

IV.3. Les lieux des interstices du passé

J'alimente donc cette histoire des possibles par des documents d'archives qui n'abritent pas les traces de ce qu'il s'est *vraiment* passé, mais plutôt les traces de ce qu'il *aurait pu* se passer. C'est l'expérience

des archives qui d'une certaine manière induit la méthode, ces dernières étant le lieu de toutes les interprétations. Le récit des contingences dans leur dimension indéterminées[47], trouve donc ses sources dans les mêmes archives qui alimentent le récit de la continuité, la variation du point de focale constituant l'acte principal du décalage. Ainsi, en considérant le contingent dans l'une des acceptations qu'en fait Ivan Ermakoff, c'est-à-dire comme « ce qui ressort des conjonctures collectives ouvertes à de multiples scénarios probables »[48], le récit se construit sur la base de ce ce qui lie les individus entre eux, de ce qui fait la matière de leurs interdépendances. Et cette matière se trouve dans les ébauches de programmes, les paroles restées dans le silence, les réunions syndicales, les correspondances personnelles qui expriment les craintes, les requêtes, les doutes. Ces individus, ces acteurs marginaux de l'histoire officielle, ceux-ci qui n'ont pas eu d'influence dans les parlements ou les instances du pouvoir, mais qui façonnent les sociétés humaines par ce qu'ils se disent, s'échangent, se rêvent.

Un autre puits d'informations, de données disparates, ponctuelles, subjectives, qui ouvre le champs aux multiples versions du monde, se trouve également dans la presse partisane de l'époque. La période étant caractérisée par une effusion de publications, chacune se délectant dans la possibilité d'exprimer sa version du monde en toute liberté, et de rêver à la possibilité de son universalisation, ces feuilles de choux abreuvent également le récit que je propose de la contestation.

En guise de conclusion pour ce dernier chapitre, je propose avec une pointe de dérision d'ouvrir une fenêtre anthropologique ouverte sur la recherche dans les archives roumaines, qui n'apporte rien à la démonstration mais qui sera éventuellement utile au lecteur ayant l'ambition de s'aventurer dans les centres d'archives de Roumanie, et à celui qui voudra se délecter d'un témoignage sur les réminiscences d'un passé communiste dans notre monde moderne.

Fenêtre ouverte sur les archives...

… Une fois le centre d'archive repéré, il s'agira donc de s'y rendre équipé d'une patience à toute épreuve, et d'une disponibilité sans limites, … L'entrée dans la salle de lecture ne se fera qu'après le relèvement d'identité par un agent de police, qui depuis sa cabine ou son bureau, situé sur le pas de la porte, meurt souvent d'un ennui dont il faudra le tirer avec la plus grande délicatesse. Puis il faudra procéder à la création d'une carte de lecteur auprès des archivistes, sur justification des thèmes de recherche, ceci dans chaque centre d'archives, les cartes s'accumulant dans les portefeuilles trop étriqués. La carte de lecteur en main, il ne faudra pas oublier de s'identifier, dater et signer dans le registre des lecteurs. Puis il faudra compléter des bulletins de commande sur la base d'une recherche préliminaire dans les inventaires. Ces mêmes inventaires seront délivrés par leurs gardiens, les archivistes, selon les mots clés qu'on aura su leur insuffler. Et alors commencera l'interminable effeuillage des inventaires. Les yeux devront s'habituer à les parcourir rapidement, intégrant le vocabulaire de chaque inventaire et formulant des mots clés adaptés, en fonction de l'esprit qui semblera avoir mené à son organisation. Et il faudra noter, au fur et à mesure les numéros des dossiers, l'année, le nom complet de l'inventaire duquel il sont issus, dater et signer encore. L'opération complète sera répétée quinze fois, selon les limites de commande quotidienne, puis il faudra aussi regrouper cette commande sur un autre bulletin où de nouveau, il faudra mentionner les numéros de dossier, les années, les noms d'inventaire, dater et signer, encore. Chaque case sera minutieusement vérifiée par l'archiviste, le moindre oubli, la moindre erreur signalés et l'opération à refaire. Ces manœuvres abrutissantes participeront, avant même d'avoir ouvert le premier dossier, à l'atmosphère apathique qui règne dans les salles de lecture, où chacun retient un bon nombre de frustrations liées à l'inutilité non confessée de ces gestes systématiques. Une fois cette demande accomplie et selon les centres d'archives, les documents seront délivrés dans un délai pouvant aller de quelques dizaines de minutes à quelques jours. Mais, il ne faudra pas laisser l'excitation liée à l'apparition sur un bureau de ces piles de dossiers souvent manuscrits, de toutes façons jaunis, et dégageant une forte odeur de moisi, prendre

le dessus sur les rituels, et il faudra garder une grande attention aux procédures à respecter tout le long de l'effeuillage de ces dossiers. En premier lieu, il faudra de nouveau se présenter, dater et signer à l'ouverture de chaque dossier sur un document de type communiste, prenant systématiquement la place du premier feuillet, attaché à cet endroit par les archivistes d'un autre temps, et destiné à pister les activités de chacun. Et si jamais le lecteur émet le désir de photographier certains feuillets, afin d'en garder une trace fidèle, il faudra payer une taxe de 7 lei par jour, auprès de la trésorerie des archives. Le lecteur pourra profiter de cette occasion pour prendre l'air, puisque l'argent devant être versé directement sur le compte des archives nationales par mandat postal, celui-ci devra se rendre au bureau de poste le plus proche et effectuer cette transaction. Il aura éventuellement la chance de ne pas tomber le jour du versement des retraites, le cas échéant, il devra prendre la sage décision de reporter au jour suivant ses précieux clichés ou bien subir l'attente interminable qui fait la réputation des bureaux de poste. Si l'aventure lui plaît, et si le cœur lui en dit, il pourra profiter de l'occasion pour participer aux discussions qui naissent dans ces files d'attente et saisir l'état d'angoisse et de désespoir dans lequel les vieux de Roumanie guettent chaque mois le versement de leurs quelques centaines de lei. Puis, si l'apprenti photographe d'archive ne s'est pas trompé de mandat postal, et s'il y a mentionné correctement l'adresse qui figure sur sa carte d'identité, qu'importe que celle-ci n'existe plus depuis des années, il pourra se réjouir d'une pause café ou d'un déjeuner réconfortant, les heures le séparant du dernier repas commençant à s'accumuler. Il devra profiter de ce moment pour fantasmer sur le contenu des dossiers qu'il lui restera à parcourir mais surtout recharger ses batteries physiques et psychiques, parce qu'il ne sera pas au bout de ses défis bureaucratiques.... (à suivre)

Conclusion

Cet article a donc eu pour objet principal de proposer une méthode d'approche du récit de la contestation en Roumanie au tournant du 20e siècle, par le biais de deux éléments clés de la contestation, les mouvements sociaux et le socialisme. Cette méthode ainsi définie est le

résultat d'un processus d'appropriation des sources repérées sur le sujet. Que ce soit dans les archives ou dans les récits historiques sur la période, l'ensemble des sources offre un terrain propice à la déconstruction. En effet, la lignée post-moderniste dans laquelle je me situe n'est pas seulement une préférence théorique, mais semble être l'option méthodologique la plus pertinente pour éclairer un tel sujet. Dans cette perspective, la vérité n'est pas un motif de la recherche, qui laisse donc de côté toute notion de « nature » ou d'« essence » des choses. Au contraire, cette méthode d'approche admet le caractère inévitablement construit de la réalité, étant l'objet d'un enchevêtrement multiple de discours. En ce sens les historiens au service du P.C.R., cherchant à légitimer son autorité par la réappropriation du passé, ont constitué des corpus de documents et d'analyses, accessibles aujourd'hui quasiment dans leur état de création, mines inépuisables de constructions historiques. Le récit de la contestation, en tant que version esquissée d'un monde des possibles, émerge de la déconstruction de ces discours. L'attention portée à la compréhension des mécanismes à l'œuvre dans l'édification du discours sur la modernité, permet de décaler l'attention sur ce qui lui échappe, l'indéterminé. L'emprunt à la sociologie et aux autres sciences humaines d'une grande partie des ressorts discursifs de mon argumentation, les concepts de mouvements sociaux, d'utopie, d'histoire fragmentée et de temporalités événementielles, révèle combien la discipline historique manque de leviers théoriques concernant le sujet. Ainsi, l'intérêt de cette digression méthodologique réside également dans la critique de la discipline dans laquelle elle s'inscrit. D'un autre côté, la dimension pluridisciplinaire que suscite cet état de fait apporte certainement beaucoup à la démarche.

Cette méthode, incluant une réflexion sur les transferts de modèles n'interroge pas seulement les pratiques et les mécanismes du discours socialiste en Roumanie mais pose également la question de la sédimentation du discours socialistes à l'échelle de l'Europe et de sa légitimité.

Pour revenir sur le point de départ de l'analyse, l'étude de la contestation par le prisme de la révolte paysanne de 1907, elle est convoquée justement parce qu'elle présente l'intérêt historiographique de révéler plusieurs versions de l'histoire. Si les versions servant le discours sur la modernité constituent les principales versions visibles, que ce soit celle des libéraux, ou celle des communistes, il reste à écrire une version affranchie d'ambitions idéologiques, une version qui évoquerait la multitude de possibilités suscitées par un tel moment de fracture sociale.

NOTES

1 J'appelle « le tournant du 20e siècle » la période se déroulant entre le traité de Berlin et la Première guerre mondiale.

2 Bien que le centenaire de la révolte ait relativement renouvelé les recherches sur le sujet, notamment par la publication des documents des archives de l'armée, ȘPERLEA, F., DRĂGHICI, L., STĂNESCU, M., *Armata Română și răscoala din 1907*, Editura militară, București, 2007 et autour de corpus d'articles (MAMINA, A., « 1907-o criza a periferiei », in *Academica*, n°60-61, 2007, disponible en ligne http://www.criticatac.ro/14785/1907-criz-periferiei/ ou un dossier sur 1907 dans le journal en ligne *critic atac h*ttp://www.criticatac.ro/15138/impactul-rscoalei-din-1907-arta-modern/, il n'existe pas d'ouvrage de synthèse récent revisitant le sujet.

3 TODOROVA, M., « The trap of Backwardness : Modernity, Temporality, and the study of Eastern European Nationalism », in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 64, n°1 (spring 2005), p. 143 (ma trad.).

4 C'est le postulat de Zigmunt Bauman, dans *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), « L'histoire du temps a commencé avec la modernité » (ma trad.), cité dans TODOROVA, M., *ibid.*, p. 140.

5 *Ibid.*, p.143 (ma trad.).

6 *Ibid.*, p. 142 (ma trad.).

7 *Ibid.*, p.145 (ma trad.).

8 WERNER M., ZIMMERMANN B., « Penser l'histoire croisée : entre empirie et réflexivité », in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, n°1, 2003, p. 7-36.

9 En 2012-2013, « repenser le 19ème siècle », et notamment dans la perspective de leurs réflexions menées depuis 2005 sur le rapport de Walter Benjamin à l'histoire, autour du « livre des passages » et de « Paris, capitale du 19ème siècle », « Actualités de Walter Benjamin, Histoire et politique », 2013-2014.

10 RIOT-SARCEY, M., « Le temps et les historiens », in *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle,* n° 25, 2002.

11 RIOT-SARCEY, M., « Comment relire le XIXe siècle ?, La Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle au milieu du gué », Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle, n°31, 2005, p.12.

12 HAUPT, G., *Le congrès manqué. L'Internationale à la veille de la première guerre mondiale*, Maspero, Paris, 1967, 299 p. Voir aussi l'ouvrage collectif, HAUPT, G., LOWY, M., et WEILL, C., *Les marxistes et la question nationale: 1848-1914*. 1 vol. Bibliothèque socialiste, Maspero, Paris, 1974, 391 p.

13 PIGENET, M., TARTAKOWSKI, D., *Histoire des Mouvements Sociaux en France de 1814 à nos jours*, La découverte, Paris, 2012, p. 9.

14 RIOT-SARCEY, M., *Le réel de l'utopie, essai sur le politique au XIXème siècle*, Albin Michèle, Paris 1998.

15 Jacques Rancière voit dans la politique un conflit, une dichotomie entre d'une part la police comme gouvernement et d'autre part le processus d'émancipation. Voir RANCIERE, J., *Aux bords du politique*, Essai Folio, Gallimard, 1998.

16 RIOT-SARCEY, M., *op.cit*, p.18.

17 Ou plutôt dont personne ne se serait souvenu si les communistes n'est avaient pas fait des héros nationaux, pour certains. Je reviendrai sur ce sujet dans le dernier volet de cette argumentation.

18 De nombreux penseurs, sociologues et philosophes se sont attachés à introduire la notion de discontinuité dans le récit historique, repérable dans les formes de contestation. Le vocabulaire utilisé varie des uns aux autres : Walter Benjamin parle d'« interruptions », Foucault d'histoire « fragmentée» (voir *Les mots et les choses*) ou encore Jacques Rancière et Derrida interrogent les sources de la science historique (voir Derrida, « Mal d'archives » et Rancière, « les noms de l'histoire »). Je tiens aussi à mentionner Armand Gatti, penseur et metteur en scène, qui utilise le théâtre pour se faire rencontrer sur scène les différentes versions de l'histoire (voir *La traversée des langages,* La Parole errante, Montreuil, 2012).

19 *BENJAMIN, W., Paris, capitale du XIXème siècle*, 1939, p. 4, in édition électronique réalisée à partir du texte de Walter Benjamin, « Paris, capitale du XIXe siècle », «exposé» de 1939 – écrit directement en français par W. Benjamin – in *Das Passagen-Werk* (*Le livre des Passages*), Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1982, pages 60 à 77.

20 TILLY, C., *La France conteste de 1600 à nos jours*, Fayard, Paris, 1986, p. 15.

21 RIOT-SARCEY, M., *Le réel de l'utopie, op.cit.*, p. 7.

22 *Idem.*

23 BENJAMIN, W., *Sens Unique*, Lettres Nouvelles, Paris, 1978.

24 LOWY, M., « Progrès et catastrophe. La conception de l'histoire de Walter Benjamin », in *Historein*, *Interventions*, Volume 4, 2003-2004, http://www.nnet.gr/historein/historeinfiles/histvolumes/hist04/hist04cont.htm

25 BENJAMIN, W. *op. cit.*, p. 205-206, in LOWY, M., *idem,* p.201.

26 RIOT-SARCEY, M, *op. cit.*

27 RIOT-SARCEY, M., *op. cit*, p. 14.

28 Le grand historien du stalinisme, Mihail Roller, a publié dès 1945 un recueil de documents en trois volumes sur les révoltes paysannes de la période, 1888, 1899 et 1907, *Răscoala țăranilor,* 3 vol., Editura de stat, 1945.

29 GIORDANO, C., « Réformes agraires et tensions ethniques en Europe centrale et orientale », in *Études rurales*, n°159-160, 2001, p. 217.

30 Entre autres, ROSETTI, R., *De ce s-au răsculat țăranii*, Eminescu, 1987, RAKOVSKI, C., *La Roumanie des Boyards*, V. Giard et E. Brière, Paris, Cercul de Editura socialistă, Bucarest, 1909, CARAGIALE, I. C., *1907 – Din primăvară pînă-n toamnă*, Adevărul, București, 1907, ORNEA, Z., *Viața lui C. Ster*e, Vol. 1, Cartea Romanească, București, 1989.

31 HITCHINS, K., *Romania, 1866-1947*, Humanitas, 2ème édition, 1998, p. 134 (ma trad.).

32 GEORGESCU, V., *Istoria românilor, de la origini până în zilele noastre*, Humanitas, 3ème édition, Bucarest, 1992, p.144 (ma trad.).

33 DURANDIN, C., *Istoria românilor*, Institutul European, Iași, 1998, p. 142. (ma trad.).

34 Christian Rakovski, militant de l'Internationale socialiste, est l'un des agitateurs socialistes les plus visibles de la période, notamment suite à la fondation du journal *România muncitoare* (1905), et des cercles socialistes du même nom dans les provinces roumaines. Il publie de nombreux articles, manifestes, analyses, contribuant à donner de l'épaisseur à la pensée socialiste locale.

35 L'expression est fondée par Engels en 1892 mais découle de la « conception matérialiste de l'histoire » de Karl Marx aux fondements des théories politiques et économiques du marxisme, qu'il développe dans le *Manifeste du Parti Communiste* (1848). Selon le marxologue Maximilien Rubel, la conception matérialiste de l'histoire de réfère à « un instrument de connaissance et d'explication de la réalité sociale et historique » (RUBEL, Maximilien, Karl Marx, *Essai de biographie intellectuelle*, Rivière, Paris, 1957, p. 171), appliquée à la lutte des classes au moyen de la dialectique. Dans cette conception de l'histoire les rapports sociaux des êtres humains et leur mode de vie social, politique et intellectuel sont déterminés par le mode de production qui régit la société.

36 Ses articles furent d'abord publiés dans le *Vörwartz* de Leipzig, organe du Parti Socialiste allemand, puis regroupés ensuite dans un volume sous le titre « M. Eugène Dühring bouleverse la science », publié en 1878 (en ligne http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Engels_friedrich/anti_duhring/anti_duhring.html), contre les théories socialistes anti-marxistes de Dühring et enfin puis sous forme de brochures destinées à la propagande, traduites dans plusieurs langue « socialisme scientifique et socialisme utopique », au début des années 1880.

37 http://www.marxists.org/francais/marx/80-utopi/utopi-0.htm

38 *Ibid.* « Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique ».

39 Sur ce sujet, voir MAITRON, J., *Le mouvement anarchiste en France*, T. 1, « des origines à 1914 », Maspéro, Paris, 1975.

40 Voir par exemple l'ouvrage de Karl Marx paru en 1947, *Misère de la philosophie*, rédigé en français, en réponse au texte de Joseph Proudhon, celui qu'on a appelé le père de l'anarchisme français, *Philosophie de la Misère*, dans lequel il discrédite point par point les arguments de celui-ci.

41 Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, d'origine bessarabienne, après une formation idéologique auprès des nihilistes russes, se fit le fervent défenseur du marxisme en Roumanie et contribua grandement par ses activités à enraciner la pensée socialiste roumaine dans le matérialisme historique.

42 MANNHEIM, Karl, *Idéologie et utopie, édition de la maison des sciences de l'homme*, Paris, 2006, p. 175.

43 DERRIDA, J., *Mal d'archives*, Galilée, Paris, 1995.

44 *Ibid.*

45 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

46 Voir les préfaces des inventaires, rédigés par les archivistes d'alors, et indiquant les méthodes de classification qui ont présidé à l'organisation des dossiers.

47 Voir à ce sujet l'article de ERMAKOFF, I., « Contingence historique et contiguïté des possibles », in *Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines*, n°24, 2013.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

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LES JUIFS DES PRINCIPAUTES DANUBIENNES AU REGARD FRANÇAIS JUSQU'EN 1860. INTRODUCTION A L'ETUDE DES CAMPAGNES POUR L'EMANCIPATION DES JUIFS DES PRINCIPAUTE DANUBIENNES, 1866-1878

Introduction

« À partir de 1866 tout change », écrit Elias Schwarzfeld en 1901 dans une défense remarquée des juifs de Roumanie[1], et c'est encore la date choisie bien plus tard, en 1978, par l'historien Carol Iancu pour borner en amont une étude qui fait toujours référence[2]. C'est donc communément qu'on considère 1866 comme l'année où se fait véritablement jour une « question israélite » dans les Principautés Danubiennes. Indéniablement, le moment est décisif dans l'histoire roumaine : c'est notamment celui où un prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen accepte de venir régner sur la Moldavie et la Valachie réunies depuis peu, et c'est également celui où la future nation, encore sous la surveillance des « Puissances garantes », adopte sa future constitution[3]. D'ailleurs, c'est précisément cette dernière circonstance qui va faire de 1866 une date tout aussi cruciale pour le destin des juifs de Roumanie.

La petite histoire est connue. Alors que les constituants sont à la tâche, Bucarest reçoit la visite du célèbre avocat et homme politique français Adolphe Crémieux, infatigable défenseur des juifs. Engagé dès 1840 auprès de Moses Montefiore pour porter secours à ceux de Damas[4], sa présence à Bucarest vingt-six ans plus tard ne doit rien au hasard. Il s'agit désormais de profiter d'un moment historique pour convaincre l'élite politique roumaine d'émanciper les juifs selon le modèle déjà en vigueur dans la plupart des autres pays d'Europe, c'est-à-dire en leur accordant à tous et sans condition l'égalité civile et politique. D'après son propre témoignage[5], Crémieux commence par trouver chez ses interlocuteurs une oreille bienveillante, si bien que la chose semble d'abord tout près de se faire. Mais c'était sans compter sur les adversaires d'un tel projet qui, après avoir mobilisé une

petite foule, viennent perturber l'assemblée puis s'en vont mettre à sac deux synagogues. Face à la pression de la rue, les constituants cèdent et adoptent finalement un article réservant strictement aux chrétiens l'accès à la naturalisation : c'est le fameux article 7 dont les signataires du traité de Berlin, douze ans plus tard, exigeront l'abrogation comme condition préalable à toute reconnaissance de la souveraineté nationale[6].

Entre temps, on sait que la « question israélite » dans les Principautés Danubiennes aura pris des proportions considérables, devenant non seulement un sujet brûlant en Roumanie même, mais également la source de complications diplomatiques engageant rien moins que l'avenir du pays. Dans un même mouvement, ladite « question » se sera muée en thème familier des grands journaux européens, qui en assurent la médiatisation au gré de nombreuses affaires mettant en scène la persécution des juifs des Principautés – aspect qui n'est peut-être pas aussi anecdotique qu'il y paraît lorsqu'on considère que plusieurs pays d'Europe vont bientôt être le théâtre d'une bruyante agitation « antisémitique ». Quoi qu'il en soit, au regard de ces évolutions, 1866 paraît bel et bien ouvrir une ère nouvelle.

Mais comme c'est souvent le cas des grandes dates inaugurales, le caractère absolu de celle-ci doit être relativisé. Assurément, ni l'aspiration à l'égalité des droits pour les juifs du Bas-Danube ni la dénonciation de leurs persécutions ne se sont faites jour soudainement, fût-ce un beau matin de l'importante année 1866. Au contraire, ces deux motifs – une revendication et un grief que l'on verra dès lors arrimés l'un à l'autre dès qu'il sera question des juifs de ce coin du monde – n'ont acquis que très progressivement la force d'évidence que beaucoup leur prêtent dans la seconde moitié des années 1860, notamment à l'ouest de l'Europe. Aussi est-il nécessaire, si l'on veut comprendre d'où vient cette grille de lecture et comment elle finit par s'imposer, de se pencher sur les années précédant 1866.

L'avant 1866 peut être appréhendé de bien des façons, et il faut dire d'emblée qu'il ne sera ici question ni d'une histoire générale des juifs du Bas-Danube, ni d'une synthèse sur l'attitude traditionnelle des Roumains à leur égard – sujets au demeurant mal connus même s'ils ont déjà fait l'objet de quelques études[7]. Plus modestement, nous nous proposons d'explorer les raisons pour lesquelles certains termes de la « question israélite » s'imposèrent spontanément dès que celle-ci commença à se manifester ouvertement, c'est-à-dire dans les circonstances brièvement rappelées ci-dessus. Parmi ces caractéristiques reconnaissables d'emblée, sa dimension internationale nous semble particulièrement digne

d'attention, car outre qu'elle sera un facteur parmi les plus importants des développements à venir, les événements bucarestois de 1866 montrent qu'elle est déjà totalement présente alors que l'histoire semble tout juste débuter. Quelle origine donner à ce processus d'internationalisation de la « question israélite » dans les Principautés et comment l'appréhender ?

Les facteurs de cette internationalisation sont multiples et eux-aussi peuvent être cernés à différents niveaux, si bien que notre approche n'a aucune prétention à l'exhaustivité : elle consiste à observer la façon dont le sort des juifs de la future Roumanie s'est progressivement mis à signifier quelque chose aux yeux d'observateurs juifs français qui, pourtant, en avait longtemps tout ignoré ou presque. Le choix de la France comme poste d'observation ne tient pas au seul confort linguistique qu'il assure à l'auteur de ces lignes, pas plus qu'il ne s'explique par une curiosité spécifique dont auraient fait preuve les juifs français vis-à-vis de ces lointains coreligionnaires – on verra notamment que les juifs allemands leur accordèrent sans doute une attention à la fois plus précoce et plus soutenue. En fait, ce choix se légitime surtout par le rôle crucial que jouera bientôt l'Alliance israélite universelle, organisation certes internationale mais fondée à Paris et d'une certaine façon typiquement française[8]. C'est également pour cette raison que nous avons privilégié l'étude d'une revue en particulier, les *Archives israélites. Recueil religieux, moral et littéraire*[9] : fondée en 1840 et considérée comme l'organe du judaïsme libéral français, c'est dans ses colonnes que germe et mûrit, à la toute fin des années 1850, le projet de ladite organisation.

L'Alliance israélite universelle est finalement fondée en 1860, et il ne faut dès lors que six petites années pour que son engagement en faveur des juifs moldo-valaques, conjugué à l'implication croissante de certains d'entre eux sous la bannière de la nouvelle organisation, préparent le terrain à la crise de 1866 et à la séquence qui s'ouvre alors. Mais ces six années sont trop riches pour rentrer dans le cadre de la présente étude, raison pour laquelle nous en réservons l'examen à une contribution ultérieure.

Les années 1840

Durant toutes les années 1840, malgré un intérêt d'ores et déjà considérable des *Archives israélites* pour l'actualité étrangère, la région qui correspond à la future Roumanie échappe à peu près complètement

au champ de vision de leurs rédacteurs. Certes, elle n'est certes pas tout à fait ignorée et des informations filtrent même dès le début de la décennie – comme telle affaire de 1843 à propos d'une fillette de Jassy « appartenant à des parents israélites prussiens » et baptisée contre leur gré par un prêtre grec (un conflit déjà dit difficile à régler « à cause du fanatisme populaire »)[10]. On n'ignore pas non plus que ces contrées accueillent une importante population juive puisqu'à la même occasion, en se basant sur les informations d'un autre journal (l'*Orient*), les *Archives* précisent qu'« il y a dans la Moldavie plus de 66 000 juifs, dont plus d'un tiers à Jassy ». D'autres faits divers très localisés sont rapportés les années suivantes, préfigurant d'ailleurs assez bien le traitement de ce type d'informations destinées à jouer un grand rôle dans le futur bras de fer pour l'émancipation : flou total des sources, parti-pris souvent spontané en dépit de la vraisemblable complexité du terrain (et du moins de la complète méconnaissance qu'en ont ceux qui répercutent l'information en France), déduction hâtive quant à la situation plus générale des juifs[11].

Les aperçus moins anecdotiques sont quant à eux rarissimes[12]. Les juifs du Bas-Danube n'apparaissent pas même directement dans les tableaux statistiques dont les *Archives* sont pourtant friandes, et au mieux les devine-t-on former une bonne partie de ceux de la « Turquie d'Europe », estimés en 1846 à 325 000 individus[13]. Mais le plus significatif est sans doute leur absence presque totale des compte-rendus de l'année 1848, alors même que l'actualité européenne, du fait des implications que les soulèvements révolutionnaires ne manquent pas d'avoir pour les juifs des pays concernés, est l'objet d'une attention particulièrement soutenue. Les *Archives* inaugurent même pour l'occasion une rubrique « Revue des journaux israélites étrangers », et c'est dans l'une d'entre elle (septembre) que l'on trouve les deux seules lignes consacrées cette année-là aux juifs de la future Roumanie, ou plus précisément à une partie d'entre eux : « Dans la Moldavie, le prince Bibesco, cédant à la demande des boyards, a émancipé les israélites de ses états »[14].

Ironie du sort, les mêmes *Archives israélites* qui ne manifestent d'abord aucun intérêt pour les tentatives de révolution moldaves et valaques ne manqueront guère une occasion de les rappeler après 1866 : c'est qu'alors ce seront justement d'anciens quarante-huitards valaques, connus pour avoir jadis appelé à l'émancipation des juifs de la région, qui passeront pour les plus farouches opposants à l'égalité des droits civils et politiques[15].

Guerre de Crimée (1)

Le quasi silence de l'année 1848 n'est guère troublé les années suivantes. Toutefois, c'est bien dès la première moitié de la décennie 1850 que le foyer juif moldo-valaque finit par se révéler au regard des juifs français : en 1854 exactement, à l'occasion d'une publication sur laquelle nous allons bientôt nous arrêter. Mais il faut d'abord évoquer brièvement le contexte qui a commencé à orienter la curiosité des *Archives israélites* vers ce qui n'est encore, rappelons-le, qu'une partie de l'empire ottoman.

C'est en 1853 que s'amorce la guerre de Crimée, qui voit la Russie s'affronter à la Turquie, cette dernière soutenue par l'Angleterre, la France et le royaume de Piémont-Sardaigne. Certains des belligérants ayant commencé par draper leurs ambitions de prétextes religieux (c'est la querelle dite « des lieux saints »[16]), les débuts du conflit attirent immanquablement l'attention sur la Palestine alors sous la coupe ottomane. Or, un simple survol de la presse juive française suffit à révéler combien est resté grand le pouvoir évocateur de cette région du globe. Particulièrement puissant est le souvenir de Jérusalem, quand bien même l'antique cité n'est plus guère considérée que comme le théâtre de la « déchéance »[17] des quelques milliers de juifs qui continuent à y vivre.

C'est justement en leur nom qu'une vaste opération de soutien s'organise bientôt, prenant la forme d'une « souscription ouverte dans l'Occident en faveur des israélites de Jérusalem »[18] qui, des mois durant, alimente la discussion entre organes de presse juifs français, anglais et allemands[19]. Certes, les regards étant rivés sur les lieux saints, le contexte ne se prête guère à une prise de conscience vis-à-vis des populations juives du Bas-Danube. Mais une examen attentif montre qu'il s'agit là du fruit d'une évolution, et qu'avant de se contracter en une opération de charité au profit des seuls juifs de la Palestine, la campagne s'était donnée un objectif beaucoup plus général. Ainsi, initiant des démarches dès le mois de mars, le Consistoire central des israélites de France (d'ores et déjà en contact avec la « communauté israélite de Londres »[20]) adresse à Napoléon III une lettre dont l'argument est le suivant : l'empereur s'étant engagé dans le conflit russo-turc en vue d'« assurer l'avenir des populations chrétiennes contre tout retour de fanatisme et de barbarie », ne conviendrait-il pas d'étendre cette oeuvre de protection à la « nombreuse population israélite de la Turquie européenne et asiatique » – population, précise la lettre, qu'« Aucune puissance ne […] protège contre la persécution » et pour laquelle personne ne prend la peine de « revendiquer […] les droits méconnus

ou violés »[21] ? Si dans cette missive consistoriale la question des juifs de Palestine fait l'objet d'un traitement à part qui laisse d'ores et déjà prévoir la future direction de l'oeuvre, une deuxième lettre, postérieure de plusieurs mois à la première, montre que le temps n'a pas fait oublier au Consistoire son premier objectif :

> Nous avions donc à nous occuper de deux questions également importantes : l'une religieuse, qui fixe nos regards sur Jérusalem exclusivement, l'autre philanthropique, qui embrasse toutes les communautés israélites de l'empire turc et dans laquelle Jérusalem ne joue qu'un rôle secondaire[22].

Autrement dit – et en théorie du moins – les juifs de la Moldo-Valachie restaient bien les bénéficiaires potentiels des efforts de leurs coreligionnaires occidentaux.

Précisons toutefois que pour nous en tenir à l'année 1854, et autant que nous sachions, pas la moindre allusion directe n'est faite aux juifs des Principautés dans le cadre de cette campagne de bienfaisance[23]. Mais qu'il s'agisse de l'accent mis sur l'objectif d'émancipation générale, de la concertation entre organisations juives de différents pays (initiée par « la première administration israélite de la France et la première administration israélite d'Angleterre »[24] et à laquelle se joignent bientôt les juifs de nombreux autres pays[25]) ou encore de leurs sollicitations directes du pouvoir politique[26], tous ces éléments anticipent suffisamment sur les futures entreprises à destination des juifs du Bas-Danube pour ne pas en être considérés comme un signe directement précurseur. D'ailleurs, nous verrons par la suite qu'un intérêt plus explicite pour cette question ne tarde pas à se faire jour, avec justement comme arrière-plan le règlement du conflit russo-turc.

Enfin, notons qu'à la différence des années 1848-1850, des informations touchant les juifs de Moldavie figurent plus régulièrement dans les *Archives israélites*. Certaines tendent également à se faire plus précises[27], sans toutefois suffire à occulter ce fait : la plupart des nouvelles de ce genre, au demeurant peu nombreuses, continuent à être laconiques et surtout exemptes de tout élément de contextualisation. Mais le temps n'en est pas moins venu d'une véritable prise de contact avec les juifs de la future Roumanie : c'est ce que montre le début de la publication par les *Archives*, cette même année 1854, d'un texte sur lequel il est important de s'arrêter.

Un texte de Iulius Barasch en 1854

Peut-être a-t-on remarqué que nombre des informations sur les Principautés sont passées par la presse germanophone avant d'être publiées dans les *Archives israélites*[28]. C'est également le cas de l'étude qui commence à y paraître en novembre et qui, à notre connaissance, est la première présentation systématique du foyer juif moldo-valaque adressée à un lectorat français.

Son auteur est Julius (ou Iulius) Barasch, homme de science et *maskil* originaire de Galicie où il est né en 1831, et qui a fini par s'installer durablement à Bucarest après des études en Allemagne (de philosophie à Leipzig puis de médecine à Berlin). Acteur particulièrement important de la vie juive[29] dans les Principautés des années 1840 jusqu'à sa mort en 1863, il a évoqué les juifs de cette région dès les années 1840 dans un récit de voyage adressé à la *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* sous le pseudonyme Raphael Sincerus[30]. D'ailleurs, dans son « Etwas über die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse der Juden in den beiden Donaufürstenthümern (Moldau-Walachei) » qui paraît cette fois en 1854 dans le *Kalender und Jahrbuch für Israeliten* de Vienne[31], Barasch renvoie « pour plus de détails » à cette série de textes, peut-être alors les premiers du genre[32].

C'est l'exposé de 1854 que les *Archives*, après l'avoir présenté comme contenant « des détails curieux sur l'état actuel des juifs dans les deux principautés »[33], se décide à publier par tranches dès la livraison suivante[34]. Tentons d'en indiquer les grandes lignes car, outre sa primeur et le fait qu'il avance pour la première fois certaines distinctions qui auront la vie longue, il contient des informations que les acteurs de l'après 1866 auront tendance à occulter à peu près complètement pour les uns (les défenseurs des juifs), à mettre obsessionnellement au centre du débat pour les autres (les défenseurs du gouvernement roumain).

Pour commencer, Barasch distingue les juifs des Principautés des juifs des autres pays européens – et ici entend-il aussi bien ceux de Pologne et de Turquie que ceux de France et d'Angleterre – pour cette raison qu'ils y sont installés « depuis une date bien plus récente »[35]. Barasch pense ainsi pouvoir affirmer avec quelque certitude qu'« il y a deux à trois siècles ils n'y avait pas encore de communautés juives dans ces contrées »[36] – une affirmation qui sera ardemment contestée par la suite, les défenseurs des juifs s'efforçant au contraire de documenter une présence la plus ancienne possible[37]. Sans considérer ici le fond de la question, prenons la mesure du chemin parcouru entre 1854 et 1879, lorsqu'un certain Canini, dans une

défense des juifs diffusée par l'Alliance israélite universelle aux lendemains du congrès de Berlin, affirmerait que « les Israélites ne sont pas un élément nouveau, étranger en Roumanie : ils y sont plus anciens que les Roumains mêmes »[38]. Quoi qu'il en soit de cette présence qu'il suppose récente, Barasch tire une importante conclusion : c'est l'absence des juifs dans la région durant une bonne partie du moyen-âge qui expliquerait que « les tristes restes des derniers siècles, surtout la haine des juifs, se rencontrent beaucoup moins dans les principautés danubiennes que partout ailleurs »[39].

Peut-être sait-on que même après 1866, malgré la virulence des polémiques et la forte médiatisation des persécutions, ce tableau d'une bienveillance originelle des Roumains vis-à-vis des juifs continuera à être brandie – sans d'ailleurs être l'apanage des officiels roumains ou de leur partisans. Et peut-être sait-on également que cette appréciation est désormais contestée[40], ce qui ne doit pas nous empêcher de prêter attention aux explications dont l'entoure Barasch en 1854. La principale d'entre elles est d'ordre historique et culturelle. Rappelant l'influence « très-puissante et très-profonde » de Constantinople sur les Principautés, Barasch signale que les juifs « l'éprouvaient comme le reste de la société » et que c'est la raison pour laquelle même ceux de la Moldavie, c'est-à-dire « venus originairement de pays polonais », « avaient changé leurs costumes et leurs anciennes habitudes au point de leur donner un caractère tout particulier »[41]. Certes, cet israélite ottomanisé n'était pas dépourvu de traits négatifs : par exemple, ne manifestait-il pas « dans tout son être une certaine apathie intellectuelle, une immobilité que montrent également les peuples orientaux » ? Toutefois, qu'importait cette « infériorité intellectuelle » (et le mépris qu'elle inspirait aux authentiques juifs polonais) au regard de certaines d'autres caractéristiques, qualités non seulement appréciables en elles-mêmes mais surtout riches d'implications du point de vue de sa position dans ces contrées ? Car ce même juif faisait preuve « dans son commerce […] de la solidité, de la facilité et de l'honnêteté qu'on trouve si fréquemment chez les peuples mahométans », ce qui était sans doute mieux fait que l'étude de la langue hébraïque ou la connaissance du Talmud, logiquement délaissées au profit du soucis d'une « vie matérielle solide », pour lui assurer prospérité et bonne cohabitation avec les populations locales. Aussi, et puisque par ailleurs la « domination orientale ne connaissait rien des lois sur les juifs, des conversion juives, et de toutes les choses semblables », les juifs des Principautés et notamment de Moldavie se trouvaient « dans une position matérielle et politique très-favorable »[42]. N'était-ce pas le principal ?

Mais l'idylle devait prendre fin en 1829, date à partir de laquelle la situation se mit à évoluer dans un bien mauvais sens. C'est l'année où est signé le traité d'Andrinople, conclusion d'une autre guerre russo-turque commencée l'année précédente et dont la Russie de Nicolas 1er sort grand vainqueur. Elle y gagne notamment le droit d'établir un protectorat sur les Principautés Danubiennes qui, tout en demeurant officiellement vassales de l'empire ottoman, tombent durablement sous son influence. C'est alors que « les choses changèrent de face » :

> L'action du Nord sur ce pays[43], d'abord modeste, simplement négative, s'étendit de jour en jour et la *protection* devint une *domination exclusive*. Les juifs l'éprouvèrent comme le reste des habitants.[44]

Mais à quel type d'« action » Barasch se réfère-t-il exactement ?

L'idée d'un tournant impulsé par le traité d'Andrinople et érigé en principal facteur explicatif de la dégradation de la situation des juifs de la région, va se révéler tenace. Elle est d'ailleurs toujours de mise aujourd'hui : le « Règlement organique », ratifié dans la foulée et par lequel les principautés sont désormais régies, ne contient-il pas une première disposition réservant aux seuls étrangers de rite chrétien la possibilité de prétendre à l'indigénat ? Aussi, et pour reprendre les termes de l'historien Carol Iancu, c'est bien avec la tutelle russe que s'impose aux Principautés le principe d'intolérance religieuse en vigueur dans l'empire des tsars, les juifs n'étant plus considérés désormais que comme des « étrangers constituant une nation à part, démunie de droits »[45].

Ce n'est pourtant pas à cela que Barasch fait allusion, et c'est même sur un tout autre plan que se situent ses inquiétudes – inquiétudes d'ailleurs limitées car les raisons de rester optimiste ne lui manquent pas. L'année 1829 est pour lui, beaucoup plus qu'une date marquant un tournant brutal, le début approximatif d'une évolution affectant les Principautés de diverses manières. La version française du texte est d'ailleurs trompeuse puisqu'elle omet sans le signaler un long passage du texte original, laissant ainsi croire à l'unique influence de la Russie, et seulement dans un sens régressif. Or, si l'idée d'une « protection » se faisant bientôt « domination exclusive » se trouve bien sous la plume de Barasch, le « Nord » à qui il revient d'avoir exercé l'une puis l'autre semble renvoyer très généralement à un « Occident » devant lequel « l'Orient » se serait vu « jour après jour » forcé de céder le terrain[46]. Quant au « souffle puissant » venu de ce point moins cardinal que civilisationnel, il est loin d'être seulement porteur

de changements négatifs. Au contraire, n'est-ce pas lui qui a introduit le précieux « germe de culture » (*Bildungskeime*) qui permet désormais aux Principautés de se tourner vers la « lumière » occidentale ? N'est-ce pas à ce même souffle que l'on doit la renaissance du roumain comme langue nationale, notamment du fait de sa proximité avec le français ou l'italien ? Et n'est-ce pas enfin sous l'effet de cette influence salutaire que les formidables richesses naturelles des Principautés ont pu être enfin mises à profit ? L'ampleur de ces changements – autant dire de ces progrès – conduit même Barasch à se faire lyrique :

> […] der große Donaustrom wurde zur Lebensader eines activen Handels, die Fürstenthümer traten von Tag zu Tag in innigere Verbindung und Wechselwirkung mit dem gebildeten Auslande, und thätige geistige Kräfte des Occidents wendeten sich von Tag zu Tag mehr jenen hoffnungsvollen Gestaden zu, um da die keimende Staat zur schönen Reise zu bringen.[47]

Mais c'est ici qu'apparaît l'ombre au tableau. En effet, « Que faisaient donc les juifs pendant ce temps-là ? » Les *Archives israélites* n'escamotent pas ce point :

> Ils commencèrent par changer leur costume valaque contre le costume polonais ; cela provenait d'ailleurs du contingent immense que reçut cette contrée de juifs venus de la Russie et de la Pologne[48], qui échangeaient des contrées de plus en plus inhospitalières pour eux contre la grasse Moldavie où à côté du lait et du miel coulaient aussi pour eux l'or et le vin. Cela amena en même temps les préventions au dedans, et l'antipathie, la haine, au dehors ; résultat ordinaire d'une minorité au costume particulier au milieu d'une majorité imposante autrement vêtue.[49]

Cette situation concerne au premier chef la Moldavie, où les juifs sont autrement plus nombreux que dans la Valachie. Dans cette dernière région, le juif est d'ailleurs demeuré un *Evreul* aux yeux des autres habitants, précisément en raison de sa meilleure adaptation au processus de modernisation[50] ; à l'inverse, dans partie moldave, il est désormais le *Jidani*, terme péjoratif voire franchement insultant. Barasch évoque plusieurs manifestations de cette hostilité grandissante : ainsi en va-t-il notamment des rapports ambigus du juif moldave avec le boyard local, auprès duquel il remplit le rôle d'incontournable partenaire commercial ou encore d'intermédiaire avec le paysan, situation dont Barasch note

la proximité avec celle qui prévalait autrefois en Pologne (bien qu'elle n'ait pas à ses yeux un caractère aussi systématique) et qui, mêlant inextricablement dépendance et concurrence, ne peut guère que générer de constantes tensions ; ainsi en va-t-il également de sa relation au paysan, lequel en a une bien mauvaise image puisqu'il le regarde « dans son costume particulier pour le même juif qui, il y a 1800 ans, a crucifié son Sauveur ».

Toutefois, ainsi qu'on l'a déjà suggéré, Barasch trouve de nombreuses raisons de ne pas céder au pessimisme. Par exemple, un tableau détaillé des métiers exercés par les juifs les montre occupés à des tâches très diverses et souvent manuelles, tels ces couvreurs auxquels on confie le toit des maisons et des églises et « qui ne craignent ni les difficultés, ni les dangers souvent étonnants de leur état » : ceci ne dément-il pas aux yeux de tous la conviction selon laquelle « nos coreligionnaires ne choisissent que les états qui présentent peu de peine, de difficultés, de dangers, mais beaucoup d'argent » ? Plus généralement, n'est-il pas « agréable de voir comme dans ces petites villes, les boutiquiers juifs se trouvent paisiblement devant leurs établissements à côté de leurs confrères chrétiens »[51] ? Leur « position pécuniaire » est d'ailleurs « assez satisfaisante », dépourvue certes de « grandes richesses, mais [sans] non plus de profonde misère comme dans la Gallicie, qui est proche »[52]. Quant à l'hostilité dont Barasch fait état, c'est pour s'empresser de préciser qu'elle n'est pas tant le fait d'autochtones que d'autres minorités[53] :

> ce qui est positif, c'est que les éléments malheureux d'intolérance, de fanatisme, de vénalité, d'abus et d'abjection morale, qu'on trouve ça et là dans les Principautés, y ont été importés par ces voisins méridionaux et d'autres venus du Nord. Ces défauts moraux ne son pas innés au peuple rouman [sic.][54].

D'ailleurs, aux yeux de Barasch, les problèmes ne sont pas loin de résulter d'abord « de l'effet d'un costume particulier » et à ce titre on peut être sûr que, pour finir, « le bon sens triomphera en grande partie de l'esprit borné »[55].

Cette seule foi progressiste de Barasch, source d'un optimisme dont on va voir qu'il s'exprime clairement à la toute fin de son enquête, permet d'affirmer que la situation est à ses yeux loin d'être désespérée. Reste néanmoins un constat sur lequel il faut insister, car on ne le retrouvera plus guère par la suite sous la plume les défenseurs des juifs

des Principautés : celui d'un mouvement migratoire s'étant opéré sur plusieurs décennies et qui a introduit dans la région des transformations possiblement inquiétantes. Voici la référence la plus complète qu'y fait Barasch, toujours à propos de la Moldavie où l'on sait que ce phénomène a été le plus important :

> [Les juifs] y sont nombreux : la capitale Jassi peut être appelée ville juive, car le costume polonais, tel qu'on ne le rencontre presque plus dans les grandes villes de la Pologne et de la Russie, se montre beaucoup dans toutes les rues, dans les coins et le carrefours de cette ville curieuse[56]. L'affluence journalière des juifs venant de la Galicie et surtout de la Russie limitrophe fait croître visiblement le contingent de la population juive de Jassi. Cette affluence considérable de nouveaux arrivants depuis 20 à 25 ans par suite des lois draconiennes que la Russie a fulminées coup sur coup contre les juifs, mais surtout la loi sur le recrutement juif à l'égard des adultes et des enfants qui a engagé des familles nombreuses et des hommes soumis au recrutement de se réfugier secrètement du fond de l'empire vers la Moldavie[, a] considérablement modifié le caractère original des juifs de la Moldavie qui se trouvaient auparavant à Jassi sous la domination turque.[57]

Signalons qu'un tel tableau, qui n'a encore rien de cauchemardesque sous la plume de Barasch, finira par apparaître après 1866 et selon les opposants à l'émancipation, comme l'un des aspects les plus problématiques de la « question israélite » en Roumanie, sinon même comme sa source principale. Or la raison d'une telle dramatisation est peut-être que les défenseurs des juifs auront alors tendance à systématiquement occulter cet arrière-plan migratoire, leur silence trahissant une gêne certaine à son endroit. Aussi n'est-il pas anodin de constater qu'en 1854 l'exposé s'en trouve noir sur blanc dans les pages des *Archives israélites.*

À l'inverse, il est tout aussi remarquable que Barasch ne manifeste qu'un intérêt très limité pour la situation légale des juifs des Principautés, sujet qui s'imposera pourtant bientôt comme le coeur de leur défense[58]. Certes, son texte de 1854 évoque « le souffle peu ami venu du Nord qui affecta de plus en plus la législation et l'administration du pays »[59]. Mais si tant est qu'il s'agisse-là d'une référence à la législation concernant particulièrement les juifs, ce qui est loin d'être évident, on remarque que Barasch s'abstient d'en donner le moindre aperçu détaillé, la seule exception consistant en quelques connaissances précises sur le statut des médecins juifs – ce qui s'explique surtout par le fait que Barasch est ici directement concerné[60].

Pour le reste, c'est le plus grand flou qui domine. Ainsi sait-il que des juifs résident dans les campagnes moldaves et qu'ils y tiennent des cabarets, mais avoue être incapable de dire « si cela est permis par la loi ou s'ils sont seulement tolérés ». De même, si les « fonctions judiciaires n'ont point encore été abordées par nos coreligionnaires », c'est que « l'état du pays et de la législation *semble* les réserver aux indigènes »[61] (c'est nous qui soulignons). Lorsque vient la question du statut juridique des juifs de la Moldo-Valachie, Barasch se fait plus disert mais l'apparente précision du propos masque mal ce qu'il a de partiel, puisque le savant s'en tient aux seuls « juifs étrangers qui résident dans les principautés [et] se trouvent, comme les étrangers en général, sous la protection et la juridiction des consuls des puissances dont ils sont les sujets »[62]. Or qu'en est-il des autres, ceux qui précisément ne jouissent d'aucune protection étrangère et dont le sort sera au coeur des discussions après 1866 ? En position de « rajas » par opposition aux « sardits », ils n'apparaissent que dans deux brefs passages, l'un dédié aux droits de propriété auxquels ils sont soumis[63], l'autre explicitement consacré à leurs « droits politiques », cette dernière question étant toutefois expédiée en moins d'une page et se résumant pour l'essentiel à l'organisation interne de leur « communauté »[64].

Tout ceci suggère assez clairement que Barasch, lorsqu'il désigne 1829 comme un tournant pour la condition des juifs moldo-valaques, ne pense que très accessoirement à l'effet du Règlement organique sur leur statut juridique au sein d'une nation qui, au demeurant, n'existe pas encore. Peut-être faut-il y voir le rappel que la revendication d'égalité des droits, à tout grand principe qu'elle se réfère, n'en a pas pour autant une valeur d'évidence, et que ce n'est qu'à la faveur de circonstances spécifiques qu'elle peut être formulée clairement et en terme d'impératif – des circonstances notamment susceptibles de lui offrir quelque perspective d'aboutir. Or, on a vu qu'au moment où paraît le texte Barasch, la Guerre de Crimée commence tout juste à réunir les conditions nécessaires à l'émergence d'une telle préoccupation. Celle-ci est d'ailleurs nettement perceptible dans une longue note adjointe par les *Archives israélites* à la troisième livraison du texte de Barasch, soit en octobre 1855 : appelée par les remarques du savant de Bucarest sur l'interdiction faite aux sardits d'acquérir des biens dans les Principautés, la note en question reproduit ainsi plusieurs passages d'un article du *Sémaphore de Marseille* (lui-même repris entre-temps par le *Constitutionnel*) qui abordent en termes on ne peut plus clairs la question de l'égalité civile et politique[65]. Quant au texte de Barasch lui-même, ce point n'apparaît avec une relative netteté que dans un seul passage, dans les

toutes dernières lignes de l'étude qui sont également les plus tardivement écrites. Ces quelques phrases – où l'on remarquera que « l'Occident » est désormais clairement distingué du « Nord » – soulignent idéalement le rôle de premier plan que joue alors le contexte :

> Je ne saurais terminer cette courte esquisse de la situation actuelle des juifs dans les Principautés danubiennes, sans faire remarquer que la grande crise à laquelle elles sont actuellement soumises ne saurait être stérile en résultats pour les juifs qui les habitent ; car, si réellement, comme on peut le prévoir, ces Principautés éprouvent de plus en plus l'influence de l'Occident et échappent à celle du Nord qui s'en était arrogé le monopole, les israélites n'ont plus à craindre que leur position empire ou que de nouvelles lois d'exclusion soient portées contre eux, comme il serait inévitablement arrivé si l'influence septentrionale eût prévalu. Plus l'état matériel et intellectuel de ces beaux pays se développera, plus s'améliorera la position des juifs ![66]

La question nationale en vue : une prise de position de Rosetti en 1856

Pour en terminer avec ce premier portrait des juifs de la future Roumanie adressé au lectorat français, évoquons-en brièvement un dernier passage, celui où l'auteur nous présente les deux écoles chargées d'assurer l'éducation des enfants juifs de Bucarest : l'École israélite austro-prussienne de garçons et de filles, l'École de garçons pour les rayas israélites.

Barasch, dont l'intérêt et l'enthousiasme pour la question de l'éducation n'ont rien d'étonnant, nous en rappelle l'origine. La genèse de la première fait ainsi apparaître le rôle aussi précoce que déterminant du consul général d'Autriche. Celui-ci s'était inquiété que les juifs sujets autrichiens aient, en dépit des traités, à payer un impôt sur la viande casher dont le produit finissait automatiquement entre les mains de chefs « toujours rajas » de la communauté – autrement-dit, « sans qu'ils pussent en régler eux-mêmes l'emploi, sans même qu'on leur rendît des comptes de l'emploi fait ». Le consul général d'Autriche « désirait donc que l'on séparât les sujets israélites autrichiens du reste de la communauté et qu'on les constituât en une communauté particulière avec une administration sous le contrôle de l'autorité consulaire ». Bientôt rejoint dans ces efforts par le consul général prussien, prenant en main le sort de ses propres « nationaux israélites », ils finirent par obtenir gain de cause et dès lors « les juifs d'Autriche et de Prusse furent distraits de l'ensemble de la communauté

et constitués en communauté particulière d'environ trois cent familles, qui perçoit sa part proportionnelle de l'impôt sur la viande et l'emploie à ses besoins propres »[67]. C'est avec cet argent qu'est financée l'École israélite austro-prussienne, où le français et le valaque peuvent certes être appris, mais où « la langue qui sert à l'enseignement est l'allemand »[68] et où les objets de cet enseignement « sont les mêmes que dans les meilleurs établissements de l'Allemagne »[69].

Quant au second établissement, l'École de garçons pour les rayas israélites, Barasch rappelle qu'il fut fondé peu après le premier à l'initiative du gouvernement valaque, lequel « s'intéresse vivement à cette école » comptant une centaine d'élève (tous masculin) et dont la langue d'enseignement est le valaque. Son administration, est-il précisé, « dépend directement du directeur général des écoles nationales » et le gouvernement « ne dissimule pas son intention d'ouvrir un jour aux élèves israélites qui auront terminé leurs études de gymnase à Bukarest, la carrière des emplois publics aussi largement qu'aux jeunes valaques qui n'y sont eux-mêmes admissibles qu'après avoir fait les mêmes études ». Et le savant de conclure :

> Ces deux écoles se complètent en quelque sorte l'une l'autre, l'une représentant le principe allemand, et l'autre, le principe national.[70]

Or, au regard de la suite des événements, cette vision optimiste apparaît pour le moins hardie. En effet, lorsque Barasch écrit ces mots et plus encore au moment où le mensuel français les publie, l'idée d'une complémentarité harmonieuse de plusieurs principes nationaux est précisément en train de se muer en un grief qui ne cessera plus d'être adressé aux juifs des Principautés. On en trouve d'ailleurs l'écho dans les *Archives israélites* moins d'un an après la livraison du dernier volet de l'étude de Barasch.

En effet, le journal publie en décembre 1856 une contribution d'Armand Lévy[71], un proche de Barasch et bientôt fondateur avec lui d'un journal dédié à l'émancipation des juifs des Principautés, *Israelitul român* (1857). Dans sa tribune intitulée « Les Israélites de Moldavie », Lévy expose une affaire qui vient d'agiter les milieux unionistes moldaves : après qu'un archimandrite s'en soit pris aux juifs de la Moldavie dans le journal *Zimbru*, trente-trois d'entre eux ont adressé une plainte au consul autrichien, non seulement pour regretter des « accusations fausses et menteuses, dont la tendance n'est autre que de soulever la haine dans les coeurs des Moldaves contre la nation juive », mais pour demander

la suppression du journal en question[72]. Par-delà l'indignation soulevée par cette dernière revendication (on parle alors d'un « premier procès de presse »[73]), c'est surtout la dimension « nationale » de l'affaire qui provoque l'ire de la presse unioniste, et ceci jusqu'à certains journaux dont Armand Lévy nous assure pourtant qu'ils ont « toujours défendu les droits des israélites »[74]. Ainsi l'*Étoile du Danube*, organe ardemment unioniste et qui après s'être plaint d'une action initiée « par l'entremise de l'Agence autrichienne, qui est l'ennemi des Roumains », affirme que « si les *colonistes* hébreux veulent être émancipés, [ils] doivent, dès ce moment, se montrer citoyens roumains, et non des ennemis, en réclamant l'intervention étrangère »[75]. À la mi-août, peu avant le procès auquel doit donner lieu cette affaire, le même journal en précise sa lecture :

> L'article [de l'archimandrite] incriminé [par les juifs] a pour titre : les *avantages de l'Union de la Moldavie avec la Valachie*. C'est assez dire, pour expliquer les motifs qui ont poussé les trente trois notabilités juives à demander l'appui des consuls étrangers dans une affaire qui est du ressort de notre tribunal suprême de justice. Les juifs, sujets autrichiens ou autres, forment la majeure partie de la population industrieuse et commerçant d'Jassy ; ils sont plus que tolérés en Moldavie, depuis qu'ils ont pu former ici comme un centre d'activité, favorisés qu'ils sont autant par l'esprit libéral qui anime la génération présente du pays, que par les habitudes de vénalités de nos gouvernants passés, qui ont laissé s'agglomérer ainsi dans la capitale une population étrangère, naturellement hostile à notre développement national. A la faveur de l'instabilité de notre gouvernement, les juifs ont pu s'établir à Jassy, d'une manière plus solide qu'ils n'ont jamais pu le faire en Pologne, ou ailleurs. L'idée de l'Union avec la Valachie, qui gagne toujours plus de terrain dans l'opinion publique du pays, a dû déplaire souverainement aux juifs d'Jassy, propriétaires de la moitié des maisons de cette ville. Et comme en Valachie il n'y a presque point de juifs, et qu'ils ont été systématiquement empêchés d'y affluer et de s'y établir, la perspective de voir, par l'Union, tomber la valeur de leurs immeubles et d'être frustrés dans leurs calculs de dominer sans partage ce pays par leur industrie particulière, les a mis en grand émoi. De là les fureurs de la *nation juive* et l'appui demandé à l'agence d'Autriche. Le *factum* des juifs a été adressé à tous les consulats ; mais la prétention de la part des trente trois banquiers juifs de se poser ici comme *nation juive* a été cause que pas un des consuls, sauf le consul d'Autriche, n'est intervenu en leur faveur auprès du gouvernement local. Cette réserve nous semble assez significative.
>
> Dans peu de jours le tribunal suprême de justice va être saisi de cette affaire, et alors nous verrons bien s'il se trouve des juges assez peu patriotes

> pour épouser la cause de la *nation juive* en Moldavie, avec l'ardeur et la partialité avec lesquelles elle paraît être soutenue par les partisans de la désunion à tout prix.[76]

Cette affaire n'est pas seulement intéressante du fait qu'elle illustre parfaitement un schéma qui sera désormais sans cesse mis en avant par les adversaires des juifs, celui d'une « nation juive » se plaçant systématiquement sous la protection de « nations étrangères » au détriment de la « nation roumaine » – un argument d'autant plus porteur que la question nationale se fera plus sensible les années suivantes et l'implication des Puissances dans la « question juive » roumaine toujours plus pressante. Son intérêt est également d'avoir provoqué la réaction de Constantin Alexandru Rosetti, l'un des hommes politiques roumains les plus importants des vingt années à venir puisqu'il formera avec Ion C. Brătianu le tandem en pointe à la fois de la mouvance dite « libérale » et du processus d'avènement national. Or en 1856 Rosetti se trouve toujours à Paris, où il s'est réfugié après l'échec de la révolution valaque de 1848 dont il a été l'un des principaux animateurs (il attendra 1857 pour rentrer en Roumanie). Adressé directement à l'*Étoile du Danube*, son texte revendique d'ailleurs clairement l'avantage de cette position, et non moins clairement l'objectif de sa prise de parole :

> L'exil étant une montagne d'où l'homme, loin des luttes du jour, peut souvent voir plus clair que ceux qui sont dans la lutte, permettez à un des vos frères exilés de venir empêcher le choc qui vient d'avoir lieu entre les Roumains et les israélites, en interposant son coeur entre les deux partis.[77]

Le principal argument avancé par Rosetti n'est pas particulièrement original, et notamment trouve-t-on le même procédé développé par certains membres de l'émigration polonaise après l'insurrection manquée de 1830. Il s'agit d'établir un parallèle entre le sort d'une vieille nation européenne brimée par l'histoire (ou plus prosaïquement par ses voisins) et celui de la nation juive, condamnée à l'exil depuis la destruction du second Temple. Ainsi Rosetti fait-il des juifs et des Roumains « deux grandes races devant Dieu » – les premiers comme ceux qui furent « élus pour guider les peuples dans la conquête des cieux », et les seconds comme « fils de ceux qui reçurent pour mission de dominer le monde, et l'ont longtemps dominé »[78] – mais aussi, contrepartie d'une telle gloire, deux nations ayant « contracté bien des défauts, bien des vices » à l'occasion de tant

de « siècles de douleur »[79]. Or, quoi de mieux que l'expérience partagée pour servir de socle au rapprochement nécessaire ?

> Enfants de Rome et enfants de Jérusalem, quand chacun peut être fier de son origine, l'alliance est facile. On s'aime et on s'unit plus vite entre égaux. Or, les siècles nous ont fait frères, frères par la mission, frères par la souffrance.[80]

Mais Rosetti quitte bientôt le registre de l'histoire universelle pour donner à son propos un tour plus conjoncturel. Si les juifs ont « beaucoup souffert en Moldavie », n'était-ce pas « dans les temps où les Moldaves souffraient beaucoup aussi »[81] ? D'ailleurs le « sort des israélites, dans les pays soumis à l'Autriche et à la Russie, est peu digne d'envie ; nous n'avons pas à énumérer leurs douleurs, tout israélite les sait ». À l'inverse, lorsqu'en 1848 les Valaques se sont « un instant affranchi de l'étranger », n'en ont-ils pas fait immédiatement profiter les juifs ? Les uns et les autres ont alors « sympathisé » et « ouvert leurs coeurs à l'espérance d'un meilleur avenir pour tous » :

> L'émancipation des israélites et leur admission aux droits communs formaient un des articles du programme de 1848. Qui peut douter qu'elles ne soient assurées par la renaissance de la terre roumaine ?[82]

Mais pour assurer la concorde dans la future Roumanie, Rosetti croit devoir rappeler aux uns et aux autres certains impératifs. Ceux adressés à la partie roumaine ont de quoi surprendre tant ils contrastent avec le schéma français d'émancipation, modèle dont on aurait pu s'attendre à ce qu'il influence fortement Rosetti. Or au contraire, ce dernier considère que ce n'est « pas seulement la liberté comme individus, mais comme corps de nation, qui fait l'objet des désirs de l'israélite »[83] – une exigence que lui-même tient pour hautement respectable :

> Plusieurs disent : Si l'israélite veut jouir des droits de citoyen roumain, qu'il commence par se considérer comme Roumain et par agir comme tel. Mais ceux-là ne font attention que c'est précisément la parole que l'empereur de Russie vient d'adresser aux Polonais : qu'ils aient à se considérer comme Russes et à agir comme tels s'ils veulent jouir de quelques droits.
> Ils pourraient célébrer leur culte en toute liberté : cela ne leur suffit point ? – Mais cela suffit-il aux Polonais soumis à la Russie, de célébrer leur

> culte catholique ? Si cela suffit, pourquoi les Roumains n'ont-ils supporté qu'impatiemment la domination turque, alors même que leur religion était libre ? […]
> L'union fait la force, chacun le répète. C'est vrai pour Israël aussi. S'il n'y a plus dans le monde un corps israélite, tout dispersé qu'il soit, mais des Anglais, des Français, des Allemands israélites, c'est la destruction même d'Israël ; et si Israël acceptait un tel état comme légitime et voulu de lui, il sanctionnerait lui-même son anéantissement. Et les derniers fidèles devraient maudire la liberté moderne, qui les tue, en les embrassant, cent fois plus que la persécution du moyen âge, qui les frappait sans leur arracher la partie du coeur.[84]

Témoignant d'une conception peu commune à l'époque, puisqu'il s'agit du contraire même de ce qui fut proposé aux juifs par la Révolution française, ces phrases de Rosetti méritaient d'être citées un peu longuement. Mais si elles ont le mérite de la clarté, on peut tout de même se demander ce qu'envisage plus concrètement leur auteur. En effet, la future figure de proue d'un parti qui passera pour le plus farouche opposant à l'égalité des droits pour les juifs reste très flou sur les modalités d'une possible coexistence entre les deux nationalismes, fussent-ils « frères ». À l'exception d'une phrase peut-être[85], Rosetti s'en tient à prôner la reconnaissance mutuelle[86] et, sur cette base certes généreuse mais très abstraite, l'entraide dans le processus de libération où les Principautés se trouvent d'ores et déjà engagées. Ce silence est d'autant plus problématique que Rosetti accompagne son appel de conditions imposées aux juifs, et qui compte-tenu du contexte peuvent aussi bien passer pour des menaces :

> […] n'oubliez [pas] qu'afin que nous puissions vous donner la liberté, nous devons d'abord la conquérir nous-mêmes, et que pour cela vous devez nous aider de votre coeur, de votre esprit, de votre bourse et de votre bras, si le besoin l'exige.
> Dans le cas contraire, plusieurs auront le droit de vous soupçonner, et tous nous sommes en droit de dire que ceux qui, Romains ou israélites, ne sacrifient rien pour la conquête de la liberté, n'ont aucun droit de jouir de ses fruits. N'oubliez pas non plus, vous surtout les nouveaux venus, que le jour où par vos actes, ou même par votre inaction, vous deviendrez les instruments de nos ennemis, la justice exige de vous repousser de notre sein, surtout en Moldavie où votre nombre étant presque égal à celui des indigènes, si vous êtes étrangers à la nation par les actes comme par la naissance, vous pouvez devenir un danger pour la nation roumaine.[87]

Cette prise de position de Rosetti en 1856 appelle selon nous deux remarques.

La première porte sur sa publication dans les *Archives israélites*. Si la responsabilité en revient avant tout au correspondant Armand Lévy, et qu'à ce titre on ignore ce qu'en pensèrent eux-mêmes les animateurs de la revue, sa reproduction sans commentaires par Cahen père et fils n'en est pas moins significative[88]. En effet, bien que la conception de l'émancipation développée par Rosetti soit aux antipodes du modèle pourtant hautement revendiqué par l'organe du judaïsme libéral français, il semble qu'en 1856 il n'y ait rien eu de choquant à la recommander aux juifs de la future Roumanie. Or, autant dire que ce n'est pas du tout cet horizon que l'Alliance israélite universelle fera miroiter en appelant quelques années plus tard à l'émancipation complète et sans condition des juifs des Principautés. D'ailleurs, et accessoirement, on notera que la rudesse des avertissements adressés par Rosetti aux éventuels traîtres à la nation ne l'empêche nullement, en 1856, d'être présenté au lecteur français comme l'un des « coeurs nobles et généreux » bouleversés par l'affaire de Jassy.

Quant à la deuxième remarque, elle touche justement aux quasi menaces proférées par le patriote roumain, et plus précisément à la nature du danger qu'elles esquissent. Ce n'est pas la persistance d'une nation juive, vue au contraire comme une aspiration légitime dont les Roumains libérés devraient être prêts à se porter garants, qui inquiète alors Rosetti, mais l'alliance de cette nation juive avec des nations ennemies et qui ferait d'elle, pour user d'un anachronisme, une sorte de « parti de l'étranger ». Or, outre que cela suffit à dédire la belle assurance affichée peu auparavant par Barasch, il nous semble particulièrement significatif que Rosetti n'imagine pas un instant une autre menace, celle de juifs moldo-valaques faisant alliance avec des juifs d'autres pays : c'est pourtant bien ce grief qui finira par s'imposer, fournissant dès la seconde moitié des années 1860 aux adversaires de l'émancipation l'un de leurs principaux arguments.

Si Rosetti est alors incapable d'imaginer un tel scenario, c'est peut-être tout simplement que rien encore ne le laisse entrevoir. Or, on peut considérer que c'est également en 1856 que s'amorce la dynamique qui donnera, à terme, une certaine consistance à cette nouvelle figure de l'adversaire des aspirations roumaines.

Guerre de Crimée (2)

Nous avons évoqué les prémices, sur fond de guerre russo-turque, d'une oeuvre de solidarité dirigée par les milieux juifs d'Europe occidentale à destination des juifs des Principautés Danubiennes. Il a également été annoncé que, d'abord implicite, l'objectif de leur émancipation complète ne tarderait pas à s'afficher plus clairement : c'est en effet ce qui finit par advenir lors des négociations qui suivent la Guerre de Crimée. L'épisode ayant déjà été fort bien traité[89], nous nous contenterons ici d'en rappeler les grandes lignes avant de nous pencher sur son écho dans les *Archives israélites*.

On se souvient de l'émergence, en 1854, d'un concert juif international à propos du statut des juifs de la Turquie – un concert pour l'essentiel anglo-franco-allemand, et avec les Rothschild d'Angleterre et de France dans le rôle d'interlocuteurs auprès de leurs gouvernements respectifs. Les résultats en sont alors à la fois prometteurs et décevants, car si les autorités françaises opposent un parfait silence aux sollicitations consistoriales, les juifs anglais ont en revanche plus de succès et finissent par se voir assurer de la meilleure volonté de la diplomatie anglaise. Quant à la Porte, si elle garantit que les juifs bénéficieront également de l'amélioration du sort des chrétiens de l'empire ottoman, la presse juive européenne a le grand tort d'interpréter cette nouvelle comme une promesse d'émancipation complète. Assurément on n'en est pas encore là en 1854, et en 1855 non plus car après de nouvelles démarches des organisations juives pour tenter d'influencer la rencontre organisée en mars à Vienne (démarches qui entraîne une réaction à peu près similaire des autorités françaises et anglaises), la question du statut des juifs n'y est pas même évoquée : la discussion sur les préalables de la paix entre puissances belligérantes reste ainsi strictement cantonnée au problème de l'émancipation des chrétiens de Turquie[90].

Mais cette occultation n'est déjà plus tout à fait de mise à l'issue des pourparlers entre l'Angleterre, la France, l'Autriche et la Turquie qui se déroulent dans ce dernier pays au début de l'année 1856. Suite à de nouvelles interventions des juifs anglais auprès de leur gouvernement, suivies de nouveau d'une réaction très positive de celui-ci, le firman promulgué le 18 février contient explicitement l'assurance d'une égalité de condition pour l'ensemble des sujets non-musulmans de empire ottoman[91]. Toutefois, rien n'est encore explicitement dit à ce stade du sort des juifs des Principautés, lequel n'est d'ailleurs pas non plus évoqué par les juifs

occidentaux dans leurs suppliques aux gouvernants : est-ce une confirmation qu'à ce stade eux-mêmes n'ont guère conscience qu'il y a là un enjeu ? Les documents de travail que s'échangent les agents diplomatiques contiennent certes diverses dispositions qui suffiraient, tout en n'y contenant aucune allusion directe, à assurer la complète émancipation des juifs. Mais il s'agit justement de documents de travail qui n'ont qu'une valeur consultative[92]. Au reste, les concertations se révéleront n'avoir aucun effet sur la conférence de paix qui se tient à Paris fin février de la même année 1856 : l'organisation interne des Principautés n'y sera pas même envisagée, le débat étant reporté à plus tard et confié à d'autres instances – en l'occurrence aux « divans ad hoc », assemblées exceptionnelles moldave et valaque. En conséquence, à l'exception peut-être d'un article évoquant les chrétiens et eux seuls, rien de ce qui touche à la condition juive ne figurera dans le traité finalement signé le 30 mars 1856.

Malgré un débat devenu conséquent en Roumanie même (que l'on pense à la mobilisation nouvelle de juifs locaux pour demander des droits[93] ou aux prises de positions de diverses figures politiques roumaines), la tenue des divans ad hoc à partir d'octobre 1857 ne sera qu'une nouvelle occasion d'ajourner la question : c'est ce que fait d'emblée le divan valaque, c'est également ce que finit par faire le divan moldave non sans que la question du statut des juifs y ait été soulevée à de nombreuses reprises, mettant en évidence l'hostilité suscitée par le projet d'émancipation chez des députés dont la majorité est pourtant de tendance « libérale »[94]. Quant aux représentants des puissances qui composent la commission chargée du contrôle de ces assemblées, non seulement ils ne s'opposent pas à ce mouvement mais s'y joignent presque inconditionnellement. Ainsi, hormis le représentant anglais Sir Henry Bulwer qui manifeste sa sympathie à la cause des juifs (sans toutefois rien tenter de plus concret), les autres ignorent complètement les sollicitations que leur ont adressés les intéressés et ne soulèvent nulle part la question des droits qui pourraient leur être accordés – un silence qui masque parfois bien mal le fait qu'ils partagent, sinon les réticences roumaines, du moins l'analyse qui les sous-tend[95]. De même, notons à cette époque le complet désintérêt des agents consulaires de Jassy (français et anglais aussi bien qu'autrichien) pour les sollicitations des juifs locaux, dont ils ne disent pas un mot dans les rapports transmis à leurs supérieurs. Feldman note même l'attitude alors « clairement inamicale » des agents français, leurs rapports reprenant la plupart des arguments mis en avant par les Roumains pour s'opposer à l'égalité des droits[96].

La conférence des représentants des Puissances qui se réunit à Paris en 1858 pour décider du statut politique des Principautés a pu apparaître comme le véritable point de départ de l'histoire qui nous occupe. Il faut pourtant plusieurs semaines avant que la « question juive » ne s'invite dans un débat des marges duquel elle ne sortira pas : ainsi, ce que certains voudront bientôt y voir de décisif relève surtout de l'élaboration rétrospective. Alors que les discussions ont débuté le 22 mai, c'est seulement courant juillet que s'élèvent les premières voix juives. Il s'agit de celles de dix-sept personnalités éminentes de Iași dont la pétition est transmise à Walewski, ministre français des affaires étrangères et président de la conférence, par James et Gustave de Rothschild[97]. Le sens de la supplique est clair : après avoir énuméré les discriminations visant les juifs de Moldavie[98], ses rédacteurs font valoir un décret officiel ottoman de 1856, un « Hatt-i hümayun » instaurant l'égalité civile et politique dans tout l'empire et que le congrès de Paris a jadis approuvé ; dès lors, en déduisent les pétitionnaires, ceci s'applique également aux Principautés et il est logique que la conférence y exige l'émancipation complète des juifs. Or, si la réponse plutôt compréhensive de Walewski est connue, on ne sait pas en revanche si la pétition fut discutée à la conférence, ni même si elle lui fut même transmise[99]. Par conséquent, on ignore complètement si elle influença la rédaction de l'article 46 finalement adopté par la convention[100] et qui stipule :

> Tous les Moldaves et les Valaques seront tous égaux devant la loi, devant l'impôt, et également admissibles aux emplois publics dans l'une et l'autre Principauté.
> […]
> Les Moldaves et les Valaques de tous les rits Chrétiens jouiront également des droits politiques. La jouissance de ces droits pourra être étendue aux autres cultes par les dispositions législatives. […][101]

Dans quelle mesure cette formulation intimait-elle aux autorités des Principautés d'accorder des droits à l'ensemble des juifs du territoire ? Feldman résume parfaitement la chose :

> The article does not contain the words "without distinction of origin or of religion". The question is, then, […] were Jews included in the definition "Moldavians" and "Walachians" and therefore incorporated by reference in the article ?[102]

Or, à le suivre, il y a tout lieu d'être sceptique sur ce dernier point[103]. S'il n'y avait rien d'aberrant à voir dans l'article 46 une base solide pour de futures revendications égalitaires[104], c'est en revanche abusivement qu'on affirmerait bientôt – surtout à la fin des années 1860 et au début des années 1870 – que la conférence de Paris avait en quoi que ce soit contraint les autorités moldo-valaque[105]. En l'état de nos connaissances, tout au plus peut-on faire l'hypothèse d'un encouragement implicitement adressé, de la part des Puissances, à des dirigeants auxquels on aurait alors fait confiance pour donner une suite positive à l'affaire[106].

Formellement, la conférence parisienne de 1858 ne s'occupe donc pas plus que celle de 1856 du sort des juifs de la Moldo-Valachie[107], et elle n'eut de fait aucune incidence sur leur statut légal[108]. D'où vient alors la place privilégiée de cet événement dans la mémoire des luttes pour l'émancipation des juifs de Roumanie ? Son importance serait-elle seulement rétrospective, due à l'utilisation stratégique de l'article 46 bien des années plus tard ? Nous l'avons vu, Eliyahu Feldman souligne la faible implication des représentants juifs occidentaux cette année-là. Par ailleurs, s'il n'a guère trouvé de traces d'une réaction des juifs moldo-valaques à l'issue de la conférence[109], ses remarques sur la position de la presse juive anglaise, française et allemande sont plus confuses et ne permettent pas toujours d'établir avec précision leur degré de mobilisation dans ce contexte. Aussi, on tâchera pour finir d'éclairer ce point par un examen du traitement de l'affaire par les *Archives israélites*, journal négligé par Feldman qui lui a préféré l'*Univers israélite* pour illustrer le cas français.

Lente découverte, 1855-1858

En 1855, malgré l'importante surface consacrée par les *Archives israélites* à la guerre de Crimée dans les pages, malgré le nombre des discours enflammés pour tâcher d'en pénétrer la signification profonde, les Principautés demeurent quasiment absentes. Les références s'y comptent ainsi sur les doigts d'une main, même avec les deux livraisons déjà signalées de l'étude de Barasch. Et la seule qui mérite encore d'être mentionnée est pour le moins laconique, quoi qu'elle soit sans doute moins anodine que ne le suggère le ton d'Isidore Cahen :

> Un journal a inséré tout récemment une communication de Jassy (Moldavie), où l'on explique d'une manière assez curieuse et fort naïve

> pourquoi on s'oppose dans ce pays à l'émancipation des israélites : on craint que s'ils étaient libres de s'y établir, ils posséderaient bientôt tout le pays : il paraît que nos coreligionnaires sont des conquérants d'une espèce toute particulière ; leur avidité, selon les uns, leur activité, selon les autres, ne connaît ni bornes, ni obstacles ; en tout cas, un brevet d'ostracisme décerné en ces termes n'a rien d'humiliant pour l'amour-propre de ceux contre lesquels il est décerné.[110]

À notre connaissance il s'agit-là du premier écho donné à ce genre de grief dans les pages du mensuel – et inutile de dire qu'il est promis à un bel avenir.

Fait du hasard, les tous derniers mots imprimés par les *Archives israélites* cette année-là sont justement « israélites des Principautés danubiennes »[111] : ceci augurerait-t-il d'une année 1856 plus faste en la matière ? Nullement, et si l'on écarte la poignée de brèves rapportant de très secondaires nouvelles, les seules réelles plongées dans la « question juive » de la future Roumanie sont la fin de l'étude de Barasch et la contribution déjà signalée d'Armand Lévy. Pourtant, les *Archives* témoignent alors d'un vif intérêt pour les juifs de l'empire ottoman : toujours ceux de Jérusalem, bien sûr, mais également ceux de Constantinople et d'autres villes d'un « l'Orient » dont on souhaite ardemment comprendre l'évolution sous l'effet des événements récents.

À ce propos, et même s'il n'y est nulle part fait explicitement des Principautés, il faut signaler l'accueil très enthousiaste réservé au « Hatt-i hümayun » du 18 février. Notant que « le nom israélite ne fut pas prononcé une fois dans les actes par lesquels les puissances stipulaient en faveur de leurs protégés des garanties de conscience »[112], Isidore Cahen remarque que c'est ainsi « à la bonne volonté de la Porte » que l'on devra finalement d'avoir réussi à « faire admettre les israélites, non sur le pied d'égalité avec les musulmans, mais dans une communauté de droits avec les diverses confessions chrétiennes » – et de voir encore dans ce document, qui « attribue aux israélites tous les droits, privilèges et immunités accordés aux communions chrétiennes », « l'acte mémorable qui assure définitivement à tous les sujets de l'empire, sans distinction de culte, la liberté religieuse et l'égalité civile »[113]. L'optimisme de Cahen n'est cependant pas béat et au contraire comprend-il parfaitement qu'un tel décret n'aura de résultat que si le gouvernement turc parvient à l'imposer. Son père, Samuel Cahen, exprime cette idée plus clairement encore au tout début de l'année suivante :

> le hat-humayum du 18 février 1856, qui émancipe les israélites aussi bien que les chrétiens, aura des résultats […] si toutefois le gouvernement prend les mesures nécessaires pour imposer silence au fanatisme[114].

Appliquée aux Principautés Danubiennes, cette formulation peut bien passer pour une prédiction exacte des difficultés à venir, mais il est encore impossible d'affirmer que c'est bien à elles que pense alors le fondateur des *Archives*.

On se serait attendu à ce que 1857 et 1858 marquent un cap important en terme de prise de conscience vis-à-vis de cette région de l'Europe. Pourtant, ces deux années sont de ce point de vue décevantes. Nouveauté significative, tout de même, l'annonce dans la livraison de mai 1857 de la fondation par Iulius Barasch de l'*Israélite roumain*[115]. Les *Archives* doivent certes en annoncer la disparition prématurée dès décembre[116], mais il semble bien que ce lien direct établi avec Bucarest (le journal est pour partie rédigé en français) ait été l'occasion de diffuser plus de nouvelles de ce pays qu'à l'accoutumée[117]. Quant aux nouvelles en question, quand elles ne témoignent pas du « véritable esprit de progrès [qui] se manifeste aujourd'hui parmi nos coreligionnaires de Valachie » (création d'une école de musique et d'un hôpital[118], adoption de la langue vulgaire par la communauté réformée de Bucarest pour les prières et autres « chants de grâce » au gouvernement[119]), il faut admettre que certaines sont de bien mauvais augure. C'est en effet à ce moment-là qu'est communiqué pour la première fois au lecteur français un récit du genre de ceux qui défraieront bientôt la chronique, tout particulièrement après 1866 : en décembre 1857, et d'après le journal autrichien *Ost-Deutsche-Post*, les *Archives* rapportent les faits « honteux » dont viennent d'être victimes les juifs de Iași, en l'occurrence une attaque conduite par la « populace » et « sous les yeux de la milice et des autorités ». Des événements à propos desquels le rédacteur prend tout de même la peine de préciser :

> Nous ne savons si ce récit est complètement authentique ; et la feuille d'où il émane a pu avoir, pour aggraver les faits, des raisons qui ne sont pas du ressort de cette publication. Mais, ce n'est pas la première fois que le fanatisme des basses classes se manifeste ; et l'*Israélite roumain* […] nous avait relaté des traits du même genre[120].

Toutefois, de telles manifestations[121] sont encore loin de mobiliser l'organe du judaïsme libéral français ainsi qu'elles le feront dans un avenir relativement proche.

En attendant, et par-delà l'optimisme à peu de frais qu'entretiennent les gages plus ou moins significatifs donnés par les pouvoirs publics[122], c'est surtout une forme d'ignorance qui domine, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse plus simplement d'indifférence – ainsi, en juillet 1857, cette simple phrase qui accueille une nouvelle pourtant potentiellement importante : « Dans le programme des unionistes de la Valachie, la liberté religieuse se trouve complètement sauvegardée »[123]. En cette période de rapide mutation, le sort des juifs de la région apparaît en effet très loin d'être fixé. Dans de telles conditions, alors qu'on aurait pu s'attendre à un minimum d'attention de la part des champions de l'émancipation, il semble au contraire que la situation sur place leur échappe largement. C'est ce qu'admet d'ailleurs à demi-mot Isidore Cahen lorsqu'il s'étonne, à propos des violences de Iași, que ce sont les

> mêmes divans, dont l'ouverture avait été saluée ainsi, [qui] viennent de voter, après longue discussion, et malgré l'opposition formelle du clergé, une pleine liberté des cultes. Espérons que le même esprit prévaudra dans l'avenir prochain des Principautés Danubiennes, définitivement réorganisées[124].

Et c'est ce qu'admettent de nouveaux les *Archives* en juillet 1858, en termes cette fois beaucoup plus généraux :

> L'émancipation des juifs dans les Principautés danubiennes n'est pas un fait légalement accompli, et personne ne sait ce qu'ils ont à attendre de la nouvelle organisation. Ils voudraient rester sous l'autorité du sultan qui paraît prendre au sérieux l'acte d'émancipation. Plusieurs israélites occupent des places importantes dans l'armée, dans le civil et dans les nouvelles écoles du gouvernement.[125]

Si telles étaient vraiment les attentes des juifs des Principautés, alors la suite des événements ne pourrait guère qu'apparaître contrariante. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce mois de décembre 1858 aura vu pour la première fois exprimer très clairement la problématique des années à venir.

Le cap de 1859 : l'affaire de Galați

C'est en fait l'année 1859 qui marque le premier véritable tournant dans l'histoire du rapport des juifs français – et sans doute plus largement d'Europe occidentale – à la « question israélite » en Roumanie. Elle pourrait même être qualifiée d'annonce très complète des futures campagnes pour l'émancipation s'il n'y manquait justement un élément qui passera alors pour le principal, à savoir la revendication de l'égalité des droits qui cette année-là se trouve être étonnamment absente des pages des *Archives*. Mais pour le reste, l'affaire de Galați présente un tableau tout à fait conforme aux manifestations antijuives qui feront bientôt régulièrement irruptions dans les colonnes des grands journaux européens.

L'annonce en est faite en mai dans les *Archives*, sur la foi d'une correspondance de Galați datée du 15 avril et adressée au journal hongrois *Pester Lloyd*[126]. D'après ce récit, commerçants et ouvriers grecs auraient ameuté la foule plusieurs jours durant, jusqu'à ce que se répande le bruit de l'arrestation de 17 juifs accusés d'avoir voulu se procurer du sang chrétien pour Pâques. Excités par une mise en scène relativement sophistiquée[127], des marins grecs en nombre auraient alors fondu sur les juifs, entrainant « une émeute dans laquelle plusieurs familles israélites furent massacrées et complètement dépouillées de leurs biens »[128]. Le bilan (quoique ne distinguant nulle part clairement les blessés et les morts) apparaît d'autant plus lourd que seuls une cinquantaine de soldats se trouvaient en ville, le reste de la troupe ayant été transféré depuis peu en Valachie. Outre la destruction de deux synagogues, à certains endroits on a ainsi trouvé dans la rue « jusqu'à dix ou quinze juifs blessés mortellement, et le nombre des victimes en morts et blessés s'élève aujourd'hui à près de cent, dont plusieurs négociants »[129]. Suite à ce premier récit, les événements de Galați seront à nouveaux exposés dans une lettre adressés par des notables de la ville au révérend Jacob Israïl, grand rabbin de Sadagura, en date du 4 juin 1859. Reproduite partiellement et avec cinq mois de retard par les *Archives* d'après le *Jewish Chronicle*, la missive donne un déroulé des faits assez différent du premier exposé – par exemple en faisant démarrer la séquence par l'arrestation d'une quinzaine de juifs sur accusation de tentative d'enlèvement pour meurtre rituel (arrestation qui n'est donc plus un simple « bruit » comme précédemment), en ne mentionnant plus le moindre décès suite aux violences ou encore en ne parlant plus de Grecs mais seulement de « chrétiens ». Par ailleurs, les auteurs de la lettre donnent des nouvelles du procès qui se poursuit

contre les juifs accusés de tentative de meurtre (dont quatre sont encore en prison) et, plus généralement, dressent un tableau peu réjouissant de leur situation à Galați après ces événements :

> Ainsi, nous sommes ici détestés, exposés à de continuelles insultes, et en danger constant de mort. […] Bref, il n'y a pas de sûreté pour nous, si quelque protection étrangère ne nous est accordée[130].

Ce double appel de juifs des Principautés, explicitement à la protection étrangère et implicitement à l'attention de la sphère publique européenne, semble bien être inédit dans les pages des *Archives*. Mais il n'est que le premier d'une longue série de cris d'alarme lancés plus ou moins anonymement et affichant un objectif plus ou moins précis. Il ne tarde d'ailleurs pas à être suivi d'un autre, sobrement intitulé « Au secours ! » et publié en novembre par les *Archives* d'après la *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. Rappelant d'emblée le glorieux souvenir de l'affaire de Damas (1840) et la plaie encore béante de l'affaire Mortara (1858), ce texte montre que ses auteurs, qui qu'ils soient[131], maitrisent parfaitement les références du réseau de solidarité juive internationale qui est justement en train de se mettre en place, et qui avec l'Alliance israélite universelle va bientôt prendre un tour officiel. Quant à leur objectif, il est peu clair tant il va au-delà d'une simple demande d'intervention en faveur des juifs toujours poursuivis par la justice de Galați :

> Quant au but de ces lignes, le voici : De dire à nos frères qui ont le bonheur de vivre dans d'autres pays, et auxquels il est permis de vivre avec des hommes : Pensez au malheur et à l'affliction qui sont le partage de vos coreligionnaires du Danube inférieur ; songez qu'ils appartiennent à la même religion, et qu'il est de votre devoir de ne pas permettre qu'ils soient vilipendés par des barbares, et calomniés par un tissu de mensonges ; pensez à vos frères tués, martyrisés, mutilés, pillés à Galatz ; enfin, pensez aux familles appauvries, et aux douze personnes incarcérées, qui ne pourront plus supporter longtemps leurs tortures. Notre prière, la prière de tout notre peuple est qu'un sauveur de notre croyance apparaisse au milieu de nous. Vous qui avez de l'influence auprès des gouvernements de vos pays respectifs, employez-vous près d'eux pour que ceux-là élèvent leur puissante voix pour le droit et la justice[132].

En dépit du caractère assez flou de ces injonctions, l'affaire de Galați finit effectivement par donner lieu à diverses initiatives de la part des

« frères » situés dans la partie de l'Europe mieux disposée à l'égard des juifs – et c'est un autre aspect qui rapproche cette affaire de celles qui suivront. Sans prétendre être exhaustif, on notera que des moyens sont immédiatement mis en oeuvre pour tenter de mettre fin aux violences. La première des missives que nous avons citées fait ainsi état d'agents consulaires « assiégés de demandes de secours » et de dépêches envoyées « à Vienne, à Paris, à Londres, à Jassy, à Bucharest » par les juifs au « désespoir » ; en retour, elle évoque le chancelier autrichien déployant « la plus grande activité », un « vapeur […] envoyé le même jour à Ibraïla, et [amenant] le soir deux cent cinquante soldats », ou encore un « bâtiment de guerre autrichien stationné à Julina […] appelé immédiatement par le télégraphe »[133]. Quant à la deuxième lettre, le commentaire dont la fait suivre Isidore Cahen signale que l'affaire de Galați, « dont l'écho est déjà arrivé au *Board of Deputies* de Londres », a poussé le *Jewish Chronicle* à demander « que des représentations soient adressées à l'empereur de Russie et au patriarche grec de Constantinople, comme dirigeant du culte grec, au sultan et au prince Couza, enfin à la conférence pour les Principautés, siégeant encore à Paris »[134].

Qui est un peu familier des polémiques des années 1866-1881 reconnaîtra aisément, dans l'articulation de ces diverses dimensions, une physionomie générale du fait de persécution antijuive dans les Principautés Danubiennes. Il faut toutefois signaler une différence de taille entre cette première affaire de Galați et celles qui surviendront plus tard à Iași, Bârlad, Ismail ou de nouveau Galați : en 1859, les hommes qui gouvernent les Principautés sont encore loin d'être l'objet de toutes les suspicions, ainsi qu'ils le seront par la suite et tout particulièrement dans les années 1867-1868. On peut même affirmer que sous le prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, le pouvoir jouit encore d'un *a priori* très favorable, et c'est alors précisément ce qui permet de clore cet épisode douloureux sur une note plus optimiste. Ainsi, dans la livraison de septembre, les *Archives* font savoir que le prince à reçu une députation de juifs de Galați venue le remercier de l'assistance au moment des troubles, et elles notent le bon accueil du prince qui « a dit entre autres : Pour moi tous mes sujets sont des Roumans [sic.] israélites ou chrétiens. Il a donné l'assurance que des mesures efficaces seront prises pour prévenir désormais de pareilles scènes et qu'il fera punir les instigateurs des troubles de Galatz de manière exemplaire. » Les *Archives* relèvent par ailleurs que le ministre de l'intérieur

> a adressé aux communautés israélites une circulaire qui respire un esprit fort libéral. Les communautés sont invitées à établir des écoles primaires et à répandre [surtout] l'enseignement de la langue nationale. La déférence à cette recommandation ne pourra manquer d'avoir d'heureux et prochains résultats pour la position des Israélites[135].

Mais une autre brève, qui suit immédiatement ces lignes encourageantes et à laquelle le mensuel français a décidé de ne pas réagir négativement, illustre parfaitement le caractère précaire de cette concorde et combien est encore élastique la notion de libéralisme :

> Une ordonnance ministérielle lue dans les synagogues et publiée dans les rues au son du tambour, prescrit aux Israélites moldaves de quitter l'habillement polonais et de se vêtir à l'européenne. L'ordonnance ne fait point grâce à la barbe et s'étend même aux longs *peolh*.[136]

Les événements survenus à Galați en 1859 ne laisseront guère de traces dans les mémoires. Alors que, malgré leur ton apocalyptique du moment, les juifs de cette ville les feront bientôt passer dans l'ombre de persécutions plus récentes – ainsi télégraphient-ils en 1868 que des « actes barbares plus qu'en 1859 [viennent d'être] commis envers nos coreligionnaires ; toutes synagogues démolies ; thoras profanés [sic] ; vingt-cinq gravement blessés connus [...] »[137] –, un « Verax » ne les mentionnera dans son ouvrage de 1903 que pour leur dénier tout caractère significatif[138]. Négligé, minimisé ou franchement oublié, l'épisode des troubles de Galați de 1859 n'en demeure pas moins le premier du genre, précurseur et sans doute même annonciateur de ceux qui ponctueront les années suivantes.

L'affaire de Focșani

Pour être complet, il faut signaler une autre affaire, également relayée dans les *Archives israélites* en 1859 bien que les faits eux-mêmes se soient déroulés l'année précédente : nommons-la, comme le fait alors le mensuel, « l'affaire de Fokschani »[139]. Nous n'entrerons pas dans le détail car nous n'avons malheureusement pu consulter qu'une partie des documents la concernant[140] ; mais même une présentation rapide suffira à en saisir l'originalité.

Les faits remontent à l'année 1858, soit plusieurs mois avant que l'écho n'en parvienne en France[141] : le 31 août, un enfant disparaissait dans la ville de Focșani et l'on découvrait le 11 septembre qu'il avait succombé à une mort violente[142] ; or, la « voix publique accusa aussitôt les juifs de cette atrocité, et l'irritation se traduisit par des actes de violence » ; mais, dès la nuit du 12 au 13 septembre, les autorités publiques rétablissaient la « tranquillité » et arrêtaient les « instigateurs de ces scènes déplorables »[143]. La fièvre semblait ainsi être immédiatement retombée, et l'épisode ayant à peine été rapporté par la presse juive française (et fort tardivement dans le cas des *Archives*[144]), il y avait de fortes chances que les troubles de Focșani tombent à jamais dans l'oubli. Mais l'affaire refait bientôt parler d'elle, et c'est le *Bien public*, un journal catholique de Gand, qui la relance dans un article que l'*Univers*, tribune française de l'ultramontanisme, ne tarde pas à relayer à son tour[145]. Or, à en croire la feuille belge, l'affaire de Focșani aurait eu des dimensions formidables : quinze à vingt juifs auraient été tués lors de l'émeute et il aurait fallu « l'intervention de l'autorité pour empêcher les choses d'aller plus loin » ; quant à la police, elle « mit la main sur les juifs les plus fortement soupçonnés », mais leurs coreligionnaires ayant bientôt pris fait et cause pour les accusés, « en quelques jours ils eurent rassemblé une somme de 600,000 fr. destinés à étouffer l'affaire » – avec succès, précise le *Bien public*[146].

Ces révélations ne tardent pas à déclencher une vive polémique entre l'*Univers et le Journal des débats*[147], mais aussi le *Courrier du dimanche* qui dégonfle rapidement le bilan supposé des troubles :

> Une émeute a bien eu lieu ; des pierres furent lancées contre les juifs qui se barricadèrent dans leurs maisons ; mais au lieu d'en tuer quinze, comme l'a prétendu le correspondant du Bien public, l'émeute n'en tua, Dieu merci, aucun ; on n'eut à regretter que quelques blessures[148].

C'est aussi ce que finit par reconnaître la feuille de Veuillot, mais non sans maintenir que la version du *Bien Public* demeure la seule vraie « sur tout le reste », c'est-à-dire sur la réalité du crime rituel et le blanchiment organisé des coupables. Finalement, l'affaire se conclura par la publication *in extenso,* sur une pleine page du *Journal des débats*, d'un document intitulé « Copie du dossier de l'enquête faite à Fokshany par une commission mixte », résultat d'investigations conduites début octobre 1858 par Barban Ganesko (délégué du gouvernement Valaque), Jules Siber (délégué des consulats de Prusse et de Russie) et Jean Gradowicz (délégué

des consulats de France, d'Angleterre et d'Autriche) : un document certes fort bien fait pour transporter l'imagination du lecteur français au coeur d'une cité moldo-valaque, mais assez surprenant dans la mesure où on n'y trouve plus la moindre allusion à la dimension antijuive de l'affaire, pourtant à l'origine de sa médiatisation à l'ouest de l'Europe[149].

Ce sont ces divers développements qui obligent les *Archives israélites* à revenir à plusieurs reprises sur des événements qu'elles avaient d'abord à peine signalés[150]. Et bien entendu, ce sont moins ces faits particuliers qui sont cause d'une telle insistance, que leur utilisation par une presse ultramontaine qui, suite à l'affaire Mortara[151], s'en prend désormais aux juifs en privilégiant un angle d'attaque que le périodique juif français ne tarde pas à identifier :

> Un journal de Paris, que nous n'avons pas besoin de nommer, continue à publier les imputations les plus fausses contre les juifs, tantôt de la Pologne, en disant qu'ils professent la haine contre les chrétiens ; tantôt dans la Moldavie, en inventant l'histoire d'un enfant chrétien mis à mort par les juifs.[152]

Mais la raison avancée par les *Archives israélites* pour expliquer cette nouvelle stratégie (« Ils n'osent plus attaquer nominativement ceux de la France, car la police correctionnelle est là, et les jésuites ne siègent pas au Palais de justice. »[153]) est incomplète. En fait, si la presse catholique commence à manifester tant d'intérêt pour la situation des juifs à l'est de l'Europe, c'est plutôt qu'elle vient de comprendre qu'il s'agit-là d'une arme permettant de faire d'une pierre deux coups. Par exemple, lorsque dès novembre 1858 le même *Univers* avait décidé de reproduire longuement l'une des « Lettres russes » d'abord parue dans le *Constitutionnel*, c'était non seulement pour exploiter l'image déplorable qui y était donnée des juifs, mais aussi et surtout pour pointer les contradictions d'une presse libérale prétendant être leur plus dévouée protectrice[154]. Ce type d'attaques – et le commentaire des *Archives* reproduit ci-dessus signale que les juifs de Pologne en ont également été la cible – devait d'autant plus logiquement finir par s'étendre à ceux de la future Roumanie qu'un personnel politique se proclamant lui-même « libéral » s'opposerait bientôt farouchement à l'émancipation, en insistant justement sur l'origine polono-russe des juifs de Moldavie et donc sur leur caractère supposément inassimilable[155].

L'affaire de Focșani n'est donc pas moins importante que celle de Galați. À quelques années seulement d'une intense médiatisation dont

les événements de Galați semblent la parfaite préfiguration, ceux de Focșani nous invitent à mettre en question ce qui sera l'un des principaux présupposés des avocats de l'émancipation, à savoir que la dénonciation publique des faits de persécution, de préférence aussi graves que possible, plaide forcément en faveur des victimes. Or, le traitement réservé à l'affaire de Focșani par une certaine presse catholique, qui la fait connaître à l'ouest de Europe et n'hésite pas à lui prêter un bilan considérablement exagéré, indique que certains voient alors les choses d'une façon toute différente et comptent sur une réception dont les effets seraient inverses. Cela suffit-il à conclure qu'une fraction au moins de l'« opinion publique » – entité insaisissable mais dont les futures campagnes de défense des juifs de Roumanie feront leur principal destinataire – entendra éventuellement le contraire de ce qu'on voudra lui dire en criant haro sur les persécuteurs ?

Conclusion : ce qui change en 1860

Cela dit, insistons bien pour finir sur la fonction de préfiguration – justement – que nous conférons à ces deux affaires : si elle en fait rétrospectivement l'intérêt, elle indique également la limite d'une telle interprétation. En effet, on est encore très loin de la configuration qui caractérisera l'après 1866 et son long chapelet de persécutions dûment décriées par l'Europe « civilisée ». L'année 1860 telle que la reflètent les *Archives israélites* est là pour nous le rappeler : alors que strictement rien au sommaire ne se rapporte aux Principautés Danubiennes, il faut fouiller les pages du périodique pour en rencontrer deux évocations seulement, et uniquement dans la rubrique un peu fourre-tout des « nouvelles diverses ». Elles n'en sont pas moins intéressantes, tant elles témoignent de l'indétermination de la situation sur place et donc de l'avenir encore ouvert qui s'offre à la « question israélite ».

La première mention, en juin, insiste ainsi plutôt sur le caractère insatisfaisant de la condition juive. Les *Archives* rappellent ainsi « la situation exceptionnelle des israélites dans la Valachie » dont un article du journal *La Presse* vient de rappeler que

> le culte est laissé, par la Constitution, en dehors de ceux que la loi reconnaît ; leurs droits civils ne sont pas assurés. Cet état de choses ne peut se défendre aux yeux des principes et du libéralisme de nos tendances actuelles [...].

Pourtant, poursuit la *Presse*, « nos hommes d'État les plus éclairés reconnaissent l'impossibilité de mettre, quant au présent, les faits en accord avec la théorie. Il y a contre les juifs une haine si générale, que la population se soulèverait contre toute tentative prématurée de les placer sous l'empire du droit commun. ». Et les *Archives* de commenter :

> S'il en est ainsi, pourquoi ne pas appliquer, sinon en une fois, du moins graduellement, le seul remède efficace : la liberté qui seule moralise ? Est-ce une raison d'éterniser l'injustice ? Supprimer la cause, et les effets disparaîtront en même temps. On est un peu trop facile sur les abus de l'intolérance, souvent même dans le camp du libéralisme[156].

Quant à la seconde évocation, en décembre, elle présente un tableau plus optimiste pour peu que l'on ne s'arrête pas aux ambiguïtés d'un réformisme dont nous avons déjà rencontré l'expression. « Le progrès ne se ralentit point en Moldavie », proclament les *Archives israélites* avant de rapporter des nouvelles qui lui viennent cette fois de la *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, en l'occurrence une école primaire qui vient d'ouvrir ses portes à destination de la « congrégation » de Iași – et ceci malgré « une longue et vive résistance de la part du parti orthodoxe ». Or l'inauguration de l'établissement s'est faite en présence du ministre de l'instruction publique qui alors n'est autre que Mihail Kogalniceanu, le même qui sera ministre des affaires étrangères lors du congrès de Berlin. Voici en substance ce que dit celui qui, moins de vingt ans plus tard, aura donc pour devoir d'éviter à la Roumanie la naturalisation des juifs exigée par les Puissances :

> [il engagea] l'assemblée à marcher avec l'époque, à soigner l'éducation de la jeunesse et à faire en sorte que les enfants fraternisent avec ceux des autres cultes sur les bancs de l'école et les rangs de l'armée, et à déposer le costume particulier qu'ils portent. Il rappela à l'assemblée que ceux qui se trouvent aujourd'hui à la tête du gouvernement sont les mêmes qui, en 1848, ont voté pour l'émancipation des israélites. Il termina en les exhortant à choisir pour rabbins des hommes doués d'une bonne éducation. Puis le ministre donna lecture d'une communication du prince Couza à la commission centrale siégeant maintenant à Fokshani, à laquelle sa Hautesse demande de lui soumettre un projet de nature à amener l'émancipation des israélites[157].

Il apparaît donc qu'en 1860 l'avenir des juifs de la future Roumanie est incertain mais non absolument bouché.

Mais surtout, il est flagrant que cette question ne présente toujours qu'un intérêt fort limité aux yeux de leurs coreligionnaires français : ceux-ci, pour peu qu'il se passe quelque chose de plus intéressant ailleurs, détournent immédiatement leur regard de cette partie du monde. Or, au rang des sujets qui occupent leur attention en cette année 1860, une place de choix revient à l'organisation d'un type tout nouveau dont la création a été précipitée par l'affaire Mortara : l'Alliance israélite universelle. Ses animateurs, tout comme les commentateurs (enthousiastes ou plus critiques) de l'initiative, ne prêtent d'abord aucune attention aux Principautés Danubiennes. Les textes programmatiques de l'Alliance n'y font nulle part directement allusion, et il faudra attendre juin 1861 pour que son bulletin, qui commence à paraître en janvier 1860, les évoque d'une façon un tant soit peu conséquente. Quant aux *Archives israélites*, qui avaient pourtant esquissé un lien dès 1859 entre l'affaire de Galați et la nécessité de « constituer enfin, pour prévenir le retour de telles iniquités, une société de défense israélite, comme nous l'avons si souvent proposé »[158], aucun des nombreux textes qu'elles consacrent cette année-là à la nouvelle organisation ne se réfère explicitement à la future Roumanie.

Pourtant, si personne n'y songe encore, c'est bien la création de l'Alliance israélite universelle qui bouleversera bientôt les termes de la « question israélite » dans les Principautés. Il ne se passe en effet qu'une poignée d'années avant que celles-ci deviennent l'un des plus brûlants dossiers de la nouvelle organisation, qui dès 1866 est forte désormais d'une trentaine de comités sur place. Après la visite malheureuse de Crémieux à Bucarest, voilà alors l'Alliance qui s'engage dans un bras de fer où il n'est plus guère question ni d'émanciper les juifs « graduellement », ni de compter sur les bonnes grâces des autorités. Rétrospectivement, là réside le grand paradoxe de l'année 1860 : même si personne n'en a encore conscience, c'est un tout nouveau chapitre qui vient de s'ouvrir dans l'histoire des juifs de Roumanie.

NOTES

1 Edmond Sincerus [pseud. Elias Schwarzfeld], *Les Juifs en Roumanie depuis le traité de Berlin (1878) jusqu'à nos jours. Les lois et leurs conséquences*, Macmillan and Co., Londres, 1901, p. viii.

2 Carol Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie (1866-1919). De l'exclusion à l'émancipation*, Éditions de l'Université de Provence, 1978.

3 Paul E. Michelson, *Romanian Politics 1859-1871. From Prince Cuza to Prince Carol*, The Center for Romanian Studies, Iași/Oxford/Portland, 1998, pp. 153 et suiv. ; Silvia Marton, *La construction politique de la nation. La nation dans les débats du Parlement de la Roumanie (1866-1871)*, Institutul European Iași, 2009 ; plus ancien mais utile : Frédéric Damé, *Histoire de la Roumanie contemporaine. Depuis l'avénement des princes indigènes jusqu'à nos jours (1822-1900)*, Félix Alcan, Paris, 1900, pp. 161 et suiv.

4 Sur l'affaire de Damas, voir Jonathan Frankel, *The Damascus Affair, « Ritual Murder, » Politics, and the Jews in 1840*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York/Melbourne, 1997.

5 Voir les lettres qu'il adresse à ce propos au journal *Le Siècle*, publiée les 28 juillet et 7 août 1866.

6 Pour le détail des discussions concernant les juifs lors de la constituante, voir Silvia Marton, *La construction politique de la nation...*, op. *cit.,* notamment pp. 112 et suiv., 298 et suiv. ; le congrès de Berlin et ses conséquences sur le sort des juifs de Roumanie ont fait l'objet de nombreuses évocations, parmi lesquelles William O. Oldson, *A Providential Anti-Semitism. Nationalism and Polity in Nineteenth Century Romania*, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1991 ; Fritz Stern, *L'or et le fer. Bismarck et son banquier Bleichröder*, Fayard, Paris, pp. 415-463. Carol Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie...*, op. cit, et *Bleichröder et Crémieux. Le combat pour l'émancipation des Juifs de Roumanie devant le Congrès de Berlin. Correspondance inédite (1878-1880)*, Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes juives et hébraïques, Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier, 1987.

7 Pour un aperçu général, voir Dan Berindei, « Les juifs dans les Principautés Unies (1859-1865), dans Liviu Rotman (éd.), *Jewish Problems in the USSR and Eastern Europe*, *Shvut* (16), Diaspora research institute / The Goldstein-Goren Center for the History of the Jews in Romania (The School of Jewish Studies, Tel Aviv University), Tel Aviv, 1993, pp. 133-149 ; Lloyd A. Cohen, « The Jewish Question During the Period of the Romanian National Renaissance and the Unification of the Two Principalities of Moldovia and Wallachia, 1848-1866 », dans Stephen Fischer-Galati, Radu R. Florescu, George R. Ursul (dir.), *Romania Between East and West. Historical Essays in Memory of Constantin C. Giurescu*, East European Monographs (n° CIII), Boulder, Columbia University Press, New York, 1982, pp. 295-216 ; Eliyahu Feldman, « The Question of Jewish Emancipation in the Ottoman Empire and

the Danubian Principalities after the Crimean War », *Jewish Social Studies*, volume 41, n° 1 (hiver 1979), pp. 41-74. Selon une toute autre perspective, voir également Andrei Oișteanu, *Inventing the Jew. Antisemitic Stereotypes in Romanian and Other Central-East European Cultures*, University of Nebraska Press (for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Lincoln/London, 2009.

8 Michael Graetz, *Les juifs en France au XIXe siècle, De la Révolution française à l'Alliance israélite universelle*, Le Seuil, coll. « L'Univers Historique », 1989 (traduit de l'hébreux par Salomon Malka, publication originale par le Bialik Institute, Jérusalem, 1982).

9 Notons que nous n'avons pu consulter le volume de l'année 1842, ce qui toutefois ne devrait pas altérer la valeur de nos remarques.

10 *Archives Israélites* (*AI* dans la suite des notes), 1843, p. 761.

11 Typique est à cet égard l'histoire rapportée dans *AI*, 1844 (décembre), pp. 871-872.

12 À notre connaissance, le seul élément allant dans ce sens est une note de la *Vossische Zeitung* reproduite par les *AI* en 1844 et qui décrit assez en détail diverses mesures venant d'être prises « contre l'augmentation du nombre des israélites » en Moldavie – *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

13 *AI*, 1846, p. 39.

14 *AI*, 1848, p. 474.

15 Nous pensons tout particulièrement à Ion Brătianu, véritable bête noire des défenseurs des juifs dans les années 1867-1868. Pour un bref aperçu de 1848 relativement aux juifs des Principautés, voir notamment Carol Iancu, « Adolphe Crémieux, L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et les Juifs de Roumanie au début du règne de Carol Hohenzollern Sigmaringen », *Revue des Etudes juives*, CXXXIII (3-4), pp. 482-485.

16 Cette querelle opposait depuis plusieurs années déjà les moines catholiques traditionnellement en charge de la protection de Jérusalem, et les orthodoxes qui, toujours plus nombreux, contestaient cette prérogative (et à l'occasion la disputèrent violemment aux catholiques). D'un point de vue diplomatique, alors que la France posait depuis plusieurs siècles en protectrice des premiers, la Russie prit prétexte des seconds pour appuyer ses revendications sur la Porte.

17 *AI*, 1854, pp. 316 ; 402.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 400.

19 Sans entrer dans le détail de cette opération, signalons son intérêt du point de vue de la préhistoire du sionisme : en effet, l'élan de charité ne tarde pas à se doubler d'une réflexion inquiète sur ce que devrait être Jérusalem pour le judaïsme moderne – un débat que résume fort bien un texte d'Isidore Cahen intitulé « De l'avenir israélite de Jérusalem », *AI*, 1854, pp. 546-555.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 230. Il s'agit selon tout vraisemblance du *Board of Deputies* : voir par exemple *Ibid.*, p. 316.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 229 (lettre datée du 24 mars).

22 *Ibid.*, p. 45 (lettre non datée mais postérieure au 6 juin).

23 ...quant aux allusions indirectes, la seule que nous ayons trouvée se trouve dans un texte de S. Cahen où il nous apprend que les « israélites de l'Orient » sont « méprisés à la fois par les Turcs, les Grecs, les Arméniens, les Coptes et les Latins » – *Ibid.*, p. 316.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 448.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 400, I. Cahen évoque la Hollande, les États-Unis et même la Pologne. Dans sa chronique du mois suivant, le même signale des dons de la colonie Saint-Thomas, aux Antilles, à hauteur de 3000 francs – *Ibid.*, p. 524.

26 Tandis que, comme on l'a vu, le Consistoire central en appelle à Napoléon, le *Board of Deputies* obtient de son côté les assurances du comte de Clarendon, ministre des affaires étrangères anglais auquel il s'est adressé dans une lettre reproduite dans *Ibid.*, p. 447 – réponse du MAE dans *Ibid.*, p. 448.

27 Voir notamment *Ibid.*, p. 542.

28 Signalons à ce propos qu'un simple survol des sommaires de la *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* au début des années 1840 montre qu'on y trouvent déjà régulièrement des nouvelles venues de la Moldo-Valachie.

29 ...entre autre, car il joue également un rôle de premier plan dans la vie savante du pays, par exemple en y faisant paraître les premiers ouvrages de vulgarisation scientifique. Pour plus d'indications concernant Julius Barasch, voir les notices de la Yivo Encyclopedia (http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Barasch_Iuliu) et de la Jewish Encyclopedia (http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/2502-barasch-julius) [consulté en juillet 2014].

30 Ces textes peuvent être lus dans les numéros suivants de la *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* : n^{os} 44, 45, 46 et 51 de l'année 1844 ; n^{os} 7, 8, 12, 29 et 31 de l'année 1845. Ils forment la dernière partie du récit de voyage plus long, qui a conduit l'auteur à Cracovie, dans la Galicie puis dans la Bucovine avant la Moldavie et la Valachie.

31 *Kalender und Jahrbuch für Israeliten für das Jahr 5615 (1854-1855)*, pp. 245-280. Le *Kalender und Jahrbuch für Israeliten* est alors dirigé par Joseph Wertheimer.

32 C'est ce que suggère la Jewish Encyclopedia dans la notice susmentionnée. Signalons toutefois que, dès 1842, les lecteurs anglophones de l'ouvrage *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland* (William Whyte & Co, Edimbourg, 1842), ou peu après ceux de sa traduction en français (*Les Juifs d'Europe et de Palestine. Voyage de MM. Keith, Black, Bonar et Mac Cheyne, envoyés par l'Eglise d'Écosse*, traduit de l'anglais par XXX, L.-R. Delay, Paris, 1844), avaient également eu accès à de substantielles indications concernant les juifs des Principautés (pp. 337-380 de l'édition française).

33 *AI*, 1854, p. 595.

34 Les quatre parties du texte se trouvent dans *AI*, 1854 (novembre), pp. 621-626 ; *AI*, 1855 (juillet), pp. 386-389 ; *AI*, 1855 (octobre), pp. 560-566 ; *AI*, 1856 (février), pp. 91-99. Pour y faire référence par la suite, nous les signalerons respectivement comme Barasch 1/4, Barasch 2/4, Barasch 3/4, Barasch 4/4, suivi du numéro de page. Signalons par ailleurs (mais nous y reviendrons) qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une reproduction complète du texte allemand mais, d'après les *AI*, d'une sélection selon « ce qui peut intéresser nos lecteurs » – Barasch 1/4, p. 621.

35 Barasch 1/4, p. 621.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Voir par exemple le chapitre « Ancienneté des Juifs en Roumanie. Un peu d'histoire » dans Sincerus [pseud. Elias Schwarzfeld], *op. cit.* pp. 208-212.

38 Marco Antonio Canini, *La vérité sur la question israélite de Roumanie*, traduction française par l'auteur, Typographie Ch. Maréchal, Paris, 1879, p. 5.

39 Barasch 1/4, p. 622.

40 C'est notamment à cette tâche de démystification que se livre Andrei Oișteanu en introduction de son *Inventing the Jew...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-25 (« Romanian tolerance: between myth and reality »).

41 Barasch 1/4, p. 622.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 623.

43 Précisons qu'il est ici plus spécifiquement question de la Moldavie.

44 *Ibid.*

45 Carol Iancu, « Adolphe Crémieux, L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et les Juifs de Roumanie au début du règne de Carol Hohenzollern Sigmaringen », *art. cit.*, p. 482.

46 *Kalender...*, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

48 ...« surtout russe », précise la version allemande – *Ibid.*, p. 251.

49 Barasch 1/4, p. 623. Telle est bien l'idée contenue dans l'original allemand, toutefois légèrement résumée et à l'occasion adoucie par le texte français. Car Barasch manifeste une franche exaspération lorsqu'il évoque le changement de costume chez les juifs de la Moldavie, laissant bien entendre que le choix du costume polonais (selon lui un « déguisement ») s'est fait à contre-courant de l'évolution générale, autrement-dit du progrès – *Kalender...*, op. cit., p. 251.

50 Barasch 1/4, p. 624.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 625.

52 Barasch 3/4, p. 562.

53 ...en particulier des Grecs – *Ibid.*, pp. 562-563.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 563.

55 Barasch 1/4, p. 624.

56 ...le texte allemand utilise plutôt ici le mot « unästhetisch » – *Kalender...*, op. cit., p. 248.

57 Barasch 1/4, p. 622.

58 Au reste Barasch sera lui-même bientôt l'auteur d'un plaidoyer véhément en faveur de l'égalité civile et politique, ce qui met d'autant mieux en évidence son caractère initialement secondaire à ses yeux – Anonyme : [Ilius Barasch], *L'émancipation israélite en Roumanie*, Dentu, Paris, 1861 (notons au passage que ce texte ne fait plus la moindre allusion à l'évolution de la démographie juive dans les Principautés).

59 Barasch 1/4, p. 624.

60 En effet, si les médecins juifs ne peuvent être fonctionnaires de l'État en Moldavie (« comme en Russie » précise-t-il), la chose est désormais possible en Valachie, ce qu'il ne peut ignorer et pour cause : « Lorsque, il y a quelques années, le gouvernement eut à pourvoir des emplois de médecins publics, il nomma deux israélites (le signataire de cet article et le docteur Drey, actuellement à Odessa), comme médecins, l'un, de la quarantaine, l'autre, de district. » – Barasch 1/4, p. 625 ; Barasch 4/4, p. 97.

61 Barasch 4/4, p. 97.

62 Barasch 2/4, pp. 388-389.

63 Barasch 3/4, p. 560. On y apprend seulement qu'ils ne peuvent acquérir de biens ruraux.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 561-562.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 560-561.

66 Barasch 4/4, p. 99. La version française allège ici quelque peu la version originale, mais l'esprit n'en est pas trahi – voir *Kalender...*, op. cit., pp. 279-280.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

71 *AI*, 1856, pp. 696-701.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 696.

73 *Ibid.*, citation non datée de l'*Étoile du Danube* – mais voir également le « Bulletin de la semaine » en date du 16 août 1856 dans l'édition française de ce même journal (article visiblement différent de celui que cite Levy).

74 *Ibid.*, p. 696.

75 *Ibid.*, pp. 696-697 (citation non datée de l'*Étoile du Danube*).

76 *L'Étoile du Danube* (édition française), 16 août 1856, « Bulletin de la semaine ».

77 *Ibid.*, p. 697. Toutes les citations proviennent du texte tel que reproduit par Armand Lévy.

78 *Ibid.* ; référence est bien sûr faite ici à la Rome antique.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 698.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 697 ; voir également p. 699.

81 ...« c'est le résultat inévitable de l'invasion étrangère », précise Rosetti.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 698.

83 *Ibid.*, pp. 698-699.

84 *Ibid.*, pp. 699-700.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 701 : « […] frères, restez fidèles à votre nation comme à votre Dieu. Que notre nation vous aide de sa fortune et de ses bras. Ceux qui voudront devenir Roumains, nous leur ouvrirons les bras ; ceux qui voudront persister dans l'attente de Jérusalem, nous leur donnerons l'hospitalité, et un jour nous les aiderons de notre pouvoir. »

86 *Ibid.*, p. 700 : « Demeurez fidèles à votre nationalité ; recevez de nous l'hospitalité, la liberté et tout ce que nous désirons, nous aussi, trouver sur la terre étrangère où nous sommes en ce moment. Que nos droits soient les vôtres aussi, autant que l'exige la justice […] ».

87 *Ibid.*, p. 701.

88 Précisons qu'il n'est pas rare que de tels commentaires, exprimant une prise de distance voire un franc désaccord de la part de la rédaction, accompagnent les contributions de tiers.

89 Nous nous basons essentiellement sur l'article déjà cité d'Eliyahu Feldman, « The Question of Jewish Emancipation in the Ottoman Empire and the Danubian Principalities after the Crimean War », *op. cit.*

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45. Notons tout de même que, toujours selon Feldman, il n'y a aucun signe d'initiatives prises dans ce sens par le gouvernement français, non plus d'ailleurs que de pression exercée sur lui par les juifs français.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.

93 Feldman précise toutefois : « It schould be borne in mind, however, that these fellings were then shared only by a tiny minority of the Jewish population in the principalities, which was anxious to receive political rights and strove to attain them ; the masses stood aloof. » – *Ibid.*, note 74 p. 69. Notons par ailleurs que, pour cette séquence, Feldman n'évoque aucune initiative des juifs étrangers.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 52-53. En revanche l'assemblée moldave adopte alors une résolution réaffirmant l'entière liberté de culte, y compris pour les juifs.

95 Voir l'exemple donné par Fedman du baron Charles de Talleyrand Périgord, représentant français au sein de la commission et qui, inquiet de l'influence autrichienne dans la région, s'oppose farouchement au droit à la propriété du sol pour les sujets étrangers : même s'il n'en dit rien, cette position était selon Feldman « clairement opposée aux intérêts d'une large partie de la population juive dans les principautés. » – *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55 (p. 55 pour la citation).

96 *Ibid.*, p. 53-54.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 57. Les juifs de Iași les ont directement sollicités. Il semble par ailleurs que le Consistoire central et les juifs anglais n'aient alors rien tenté de leur côté.

98 ...« some of them exaggerated or actually non-existent », précise Feldman – *Ibid.*

99 *Ibid.*, p. 57-58.

100 Sur le flou qui entoure la rédaction de l'article 46, et par conséquent les motivations des rédacteurs, voir notamment *Ibid.*, note 128 p. 73.

101 Nous citons d'après Lucien Wolf, *Notes on the Diplomatic History of the Jewish Question, with Texts of Protocols, Treaty Stipulations and Other Public Acts and Official Documents*, Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co LTD, Londres, 1919, p. 23.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

103 Pour le détail des explications : *Ibid.*, p. 61.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

105 Feldman donne de nombreux exemples d'une telle interprétation, qu'ils les ait trouvés chez les partisans juifs ou non de l'émancipation ou dans des documents officiels, puisque les diplomaties occidentales adopteraient rapidement cette interprétation sous l'influence des organisations juives – *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61. Feldman signale toutefois que les mêmes gouvernements (à commencer par les plus favorables à la cause juive) cessent d'user de cet argument après 1873 – *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

109 « We have no evidence regarding the reaction of the Jews in the principalities to the resolutions of the Conference. » – *Ibid.*, p. 62.

110 *AI*, 1855, pp. 528-529.

111 Il s'agit de l'annonce pour le mois suivant du dernier volet de l'étude de Barasch (« Nous reprendrons, dans le prochain numéro, notre travail sur les israélites des Principautés danubiennes ») – *Ibid.*, pp. 719.

112 ...c'est bien entendu à la conférence de paix de Paris que Cahen fait ici référence.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 287.

114 *AI*, 1857, p. 87.

115 *Ibid.*, pp. 302-303. Le titre roumain est Israelitul român.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 698.

117 *Ibid.*, 1857, pp. 344-345.

118 *Ibid.*, pp. 301-303.

119 *AI*, 1858, p. 420.

120 *AI*, 1857, pp. 697-698.

121 Voir également *AI*, 1858, p. 749 (il s'agit cette fois de Berlad).
122 Voir notamment *AI*, 1857, pp. 303 ; 345 et *AI*, 1858, p.749.
123 *AI*, 1857, p. 422.
124 *Ibid.*, p. 698.
125 *AI*, 1858, p. 420.
126 À noter que la même correspondance fut publiée sans commentaire dans le *Journal des Débats* du 25-26 avril 1859.
127 *AI*, 1859, pp. 292-293.
128 *Ibid.*, p. 293.
129 *Ibid.* ; plus loin, les pertes matérielles sont estimées à 50 000 ducats.
130 *Ibid.*, pp. 590-593.
131 L'appel tel qu'il figure dans les *Archives* est anonyme, et ceux qui le publient ne se posent nulle part la question de l'identité des rédacteurs – *Ibid.*, pp. 641-646.
132 *Ibid.*, p. 644.
133 *Ibid.*, p. 293.
134 *Ibid.*, p. 593. Voir aussi *Ibid.*, p. 646.
135 *Ibid.*, p. 562.
136 *Ibid.*
137 Télégramme du « Comité Galatz » du 7 octobre 1868, cité d'après *Correspondence Respecting the Condition and Treatment of the Jews in Servia and Roumania : 1867-76*, Harrison and Sons, London, 1877, p. 128.
138 Verax [pseud. Radu Rosetti], *La Roumanie et les juifs*, I. V. Socecu, Bucarest, 1903, p. 122.
139 *AI*, 1859, p. 79.
140 Ainsi nous manque-t-il l'ensemble du traitement de l'affaire par la presse catholique, que ne connaissons que par ce que nous en disent leurs adversaires, soit essentiellement les *Archives israélites* et le *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*.
141 La première évocation par les *Archives israélites*, laconique, date de janvier 1859 et se présente comme une dépêche de Bucarest datée elle-même du 14 septembre 1858 – *AI*, 1859, pp. 72-73.
142 Ces précisions se trouvent dans la « chronique du mois » de mars, *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181 ; la première dépêche, *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73, parle d'un enfant retrouvé dans un fossé avec une jambe sciée.
143 *Ibid.*
144 L'*Univers israélite* l'évoqua quant à lui dès octobre 1858, mais non moins brièvement et en insistant également sur sa conclusion rapide – *Univers israélite. Journal des principes conservateurs du judaïsme*, 1859-1860, pp. 106-107.

145 Sur les liens informels qui existent alors entre l'*Univers* et le *Bien public*, voir G. Braive, « Les groupes de presse belges en 1858 », *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, tome 45, fasc. 2, 1967, p. 429.

146 Voir le *Journal des débats* du 24 janvier 1859, qui lui-même reproduit les extraits du *Bien public* que nous citons.

147 Voir le *Journal des débats* des 24, 27, 28 et 30 janvier 1859 ; 1er et 2 févier 1859. Encore une fois, nous n'avons pas encore pu prendre directement connaissance du traitement de l'affaire par l'*Univers*.

148 Cité par le *Journal des débats*, 30 janvier 1859.

149 *Journal des débats*, 10 mars 1859.

150 *AI*, 1859, pp. 180-181 (« Chronique du mois » de mars) ; pp. 229-230 (« Chronique du mois » d'avril).

151 Sur l'affaire Mortara, voir David I. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Egardo Mortara*, Alfred A. Knopf, New-York, 1997.

152 *AI*, 1859, pp. 79-80.

153 *Ibid.*

154 Voir l'article de l'*Univers* daté du 21 novembre 1858 et reproduit sous le titre « Les juifs natifs de Russie » dans Louis Veuillot, *Mélanges religieux, historiques, politiques et littéraires* (2ème série, tome cinquième), Gaume frères et J. Duprey éditeurs, Paris, 1860, pp. 157-164 ; l'article original, intitulé « Lettres russes. III. » et signé par A. Grandguillot, se trouve quant à lui dans le *Constitutionnel* du 20 novembre 1858.

155 Un parfait exemple en est le chapitre entièrement consacré aux juifs de Roumanie par le chevalier Gougenot des Mousseaux dans *Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens*, Plon, Paris, 1869, pp. 414-457.

156 *AI*, 1860, pp. 363-364.

157 *Ibid.*, pp. 722-723.

158 *AI*, 1859, p. 599.

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THE SELIMIYE MOSQUE, THE APOCALYPSE AND THE WAR OF CYPRUS (1570-71): THE CREATION OF SELIM II'S SULTANIC IMAGE

Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-74) ascended the throne of the Ottoman Empire on 24 September 1566, following the death of his illustrious father, Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-66), at Szigetvár.[1] At the age of forty-two, by which age both his grandfather Selim I and his father had conquered vast masses of land, he could not boast any outstanding achievements. During his princedom Venetian ambassadors reported consistently that he was lustful,[2] and while his namesake grandfather earned the cognomen 'the Stern' (*yavuz*), he was simply referred to as 'Selim the Drunkard' (*sarı*). Even his accession ceremony turned out to be a failure: Under the influence of his uninformed advisers Selim omitted the customary oath of allegiance ceremony, which would grant him army support throughout his reign,[3] and violated other age-old protocols.[4] Partly because of these, the janissaries returning from the late Süleyman's Hungarian campaign revolted and humiliated the new sultan by not letting him into the Topkapı Palace until he paid them their gratuity (*cülus*).[5] Ottoman historians of the late-sixteenth century would refer to his outstanding grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha as the 'virtual sultan',[6] in whose shadow Selim would become the Ottoman Empire's first sedentary ruler never to leave Istanbul except for his hunting grounds at Edirne. As the empire's new ruler of so many disadvantages, Selim needed a sultanic image as overwhelming as possible.

In this article I explore Selim II's sultanic image-making through two of his major enterprises, the construction of the Selimiye mosque in Edirne and the occupation of Cyprus (1571), as well as his exploiting the upsurge of apocalyptic and millenarianist fervour symptomatic of imperial

contestation between western polities and the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century. By studying symbolically charged imageries created around these, I propose that the major deeds of Selim's reign were not conceptually separate instances as is suggested in modern scholarship but that they were meant to constitute a new sultanic narrative elevating Selim to the position of a Roman emperor living at the 'End of Time'.

Until recently there had been little scholarly interest in the public figure of Selim II in Ottoman studies. The mere eight years of his sultanate appeared uneventful compared with his father's forty-six-year-long reign, which marks the pinnacle of what is commonly referred to as the Ottoman Empire's classical period. The only exception is the frequently researched and much overstated battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571. In the literature, the cultural, diplomatic and military aspects of the Holy League's victory at Lepanto overshadow mostly everything associable with Selim's short sovereignty. It is perhaps because of this scholarly myopia that studies on the Selimiye Mosque (built 1568-74) and the War of Cyprus (1570-71) keep repeating western misunderstandings stemming from the late sixteenth century and miss to see the larger cultural-historical context in which they constitute an imperial programme.

One of these misunderstandings sees a conceptual link between the Selimiye mosque in Edirne and the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus where there is none. The western *topos* that Selim's sultanic mosque was built from the spoils of the War of Cyprus and that its revenues were assigned to its endowment have been in circulation for almost five centuries. Perhaps the most authoritative occurrence of this *topos* is in Paolo Paruta's *Storia della Guerra di Cipro* (1599), where the Venetian *provveditore della Camera* gives an account of a *divan* meeting in Edirne in November 1569. It is this meeting where, according to Paruta, Piyale Mehmed Pasha, Head Admiral of the Navy, and Lala Mustafa Pasha, Sixth Vizier, managed to win the sultan for the cause of an Ottoman offensive against Cyprus by putting forth their argument that

> […] as this war was of itself holy, so it might be made the more meritorious by applying the rich revenues of this new acquisition to the use of the magnificent Temple, which *Selino* caused to be built in *Adrenopolis*.[7]

Decades before the publishing of Paruta's book the assumption of a financial relationship between Selim's mosque and the War of Cyprus had already been a subject of memoirs and travel accounts by western visitors

to Edirne. One of them, the young Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrovitz, who was entrusted by his relatives to an embassy of Rudolph II to Sultan Murad III in 1591 in order to "gain experience and see eastern countries",[8] arrived in Edirne with his companions on 16 November. The next day Wratislaw visited the Selimiye, and in the midst of praising its splendour, he wrote in his memoire that

> Sultan Selim had this new church thus ornamentally built at the time when he wrested the kingdom of Cyprus from the Venetians. He assigned to it large revenues from the resources of that kingdom, which he transmitted every year to Adrianople.[9]

Salomon Schweigger, who joined the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II's embassy of 1578 to Sultan Murad III as an embassy chaplain, taking over the position of the famous Stephan Gerlach, accounted on the mosque and its revenues derived from Cyprus in his *Ein newe Reiss Beschreibung* (1608) in the same fashion.[10] And so did Reinhold Lubenau, the apothecary of the Austrian Habsburg mission on its way to Murad III's court, who visited the *Selimiye* on 22 March, 1588.[11]

Clearly, one aspect of the mosque frequently reported on by westerners was that it was built from the war booty of and revenues extracted from Cyprus following the island's Ottoman occupation. It is also suggested that the income generated from the empire's new territory was assigned to the mosque for the complex's maintenance. In other words, for the western spectator the mosque represented a direct reference to the occupation of Cyprus and, consequently, seemed to be charged with an imperial ideology which resonated with the military events of the recent past. The same assumed financial and conceptual linkage between the War of Cyprus and the Selimiye survives to our days. For instance, Gülgu Necipoğlu, in her seminal work on Ottoman architecture, *The Age of Sinan* (2005), gives voice to this contention by pointing to "European and Ottoman writers [who] concur that the mosque was financed with the sultan's legal share of the booty from Cyprus, revenues of which were assigned to its *waḳf*".[12] However, in the corresponding note she only refers to the aforementioned Lubenau and Wratislaw,[13] leaving out the most decisive document for this argument, the Selimiye's *vakfiye*.

The epigraph of the mosque's deed of foundation (*vakfiye*) emphasises the same extraordinary features of the building that Schweigger, Lubenau, Wratislaw and Paruta were so enchanted by one, two and three decades

later.[14] However, as one reads on, the suspicion arises that perhaps these unique architectonic and aesthetic features were not meant to celebrate Selim's 1570-71 victory—or at least not the way it was suggested by westerners. In fact, the mosque's deed of foundation makes no mention of Cypriot estates being assigned to the complex. According to the *vakfiye*, the successor of Selim II, Murad III (r. 1574-95) confirms the holdings of the foundation, the details of which constitute the rest of the charter. To the witness of the document, the estates subjected to the foundation were all located in Thrace, primarily in the districts of Yenice, Vize, Lüleburgaz, Çorlu and Malkara. Furthermore, the document leaves no space for speculations whether in one way or another revenues from Cyprus were re-allocated to the mosque's income. The *vakfiye* rules that

> the *vakıf* income derived from the households [*müsakkafat*] of the mentioned villages and the collective of other buildings and all of the farmlands [...] by the justice of the *Sharia* are *vakıf*. No commoner or dignitary should violate the law about their expenditure.[15]

Although the Selimiye's revenues did not come from the empire's new province, Cyprus, this would not necessarily render it impossible that the costs of its construction were covered from the spoils of the war. However, the sequence of events taking place during the construction does not support this assumption. The construction of a 150-strong fleet to be deployed at Cyprus began in August 1568,[16] while a regular payment for the Selimiye from the Topkapı Palace's 'inner private treasury' (*iç hazine*) to the 'outer public treasury' (*taşra hazine*), that is, to building supervisor Halil Çelebi, who was later replaced by ex-finance minister Hasan Çelebi, started on 13 April 1568.[17] Selim covered parts of the expenses from his private budget, which accumulated from the tribute from Egypt and a regular stipend from the produce of the imperial gardens.[18] However, a large bulk of the costs, 21,930,000 *aspers*, was needed to be covered from other sources.[19] Although this sum would be paid as a total of smaller payments by the end of the construction in 1574, excluding the outer courtyard and commercial structures, whose construction was financed posthumously from the surplus of the endowment, the vast expenses of the following years required extra income that would allow for costly military preparations (1568-70) and operations (1570-71) as well as the building of the Selimiye (1568-74) simultaneously, not counting the costs of a campaign to subdue the insurgency in the Yemen, which

also lay ahead. However, the treasury could not bear the financial extra demand posed by such costly projects. As we learn from Feridun Beğ, in a *divan* meeting in the autumn of 1566, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Grand Vizier, dissuaded the new sultan from continuing the war in Hungary and suggested peace with Maximilian II as Süleyman's recent campaign had diminished the empire's stock of gunpowder and, more importantly, the treasury was empty.[20] Although the war in Hungary was abandoned, on 14 November 1568, Selim issued a *firman* ordering the confiscation and re-selling of church estates in the *Vilayet-i Rumeli*, the European part of the empire. The legal basis of the decree, according to *Sharia* law, was clear: Even though the lands of Rumeli were under state ownership, *zimmi*s bequeathing land to their churches had become a general practice. The illegal assignment of 'state lands' as well as "vineyards, mills, gardens, houses and shops on state land, as well as cattle and their entire property in full legal possession (*mülk*) to the church" was "by no means, valid".[21] Therefore church *vakıf*s were ordered to be inventoried, confiscated, and given back to the churches or others who requested them in exchange for tithe of the produced grain as well as for *salariye* collected for the state. Church property was affected in the *sancak*s of Thessaloniki, Trikkala, Skopje, Kustendil (Sofia), Alaca Hisar, Herzegovina, Dukagin, Srem, and in the *eyalet*s of Buda, Temesvár, and Csanád.[22]

After the confiscation of church properties in November 1568, with sufficient funding at hand, the foundation ceremony of the Selimiye was held on 12 April, 1569.[23] On 30 April Marcantonio Barbaro, the Venetian *bailo* resident in Pera, reported back to Venice in an intelligence dispatch that "his Majesty has sent [men] to diverse parts of the Levant in order to look for antique edifices, to make use of their columns and marble panels for the construction that he will make in Adrianople".[24] However, in spite of the re-allocation of revenues from the confiscated estates in Rumeli to the Porte, there were major hiccups in financing the construction on site. Shortages of wagons were reported from Edirne, and the city's *kadi* complained "that this region is lately much consumed, [and] […] by going there, his Majesty would destroy it completely with a big bankruptcy, and [would] damage the whole Porte".[25] This was not sheer exaggeration. Tax registers show that while the Porte terminated the 1566-67 fiscal year with a large surplus of approximately 119,509,235 *asper*s, due to a 141,736,000 *asper* roll-over from the previous year, the 1567-68 fiscal year, which lacked any major military enterprises, ended with an almost negligible surplus of 7,502,493 *asper*s.[26] Dwindling resources would carry on until

the last phase of the building project. Toward the end of the construction, Selim already had to refrain from attending the Selimiye's inauguration ceremony in spite of looking forward to the finishing of the mosque so suspensefully. In response to a report on severe provision shortages from the *kadi* of Edirne, a sultanic decree issued on 15 October 1574 ordered that the inauguration ceremony should take place in Selim's absence "so that supplications are made for the continuation of my reign, and the stability of my glory and sustenance".[27]

Evidently, the Cyprus expedition cannot have yielded financial support for the construction works of Selim's new mosque. On the contrary, by the time the construction officially began in 1569, war preparations had been in progress for at least eight months, which caused shortages of assets rather than a surplus of revenues. Even if one disregards reports on lacking financial means from as late as 1574, the mere chronology of the events indicates that covering the costs of Selim's building project from the spoils of the War of Cyprus would need to wait at least until the fall of Nicosia on 9 September 1570, where eventually, the sixteenth-century Ottoman historian Mustafa Selaniki claims with exaggeration, "the soldiers of Islam acquired so much booty […] that any similar case is unheard of in history".[28]

The construction of the Selimiye was the first and most ambitious project the new sultan undertook by 1569, and so it was likely that Selim would oversee the construction on location.[29] However, regardless the project's personal significance for the sultan, such a construction was not without conditions. In his 1581 book of advice dedicated to Murad III, the *Nüshatü's-Selatin* (*Counsel for Sultans*), Mustafa 'Ali declares that sultans should only finance charitable socio-religious monuments with the spoils of holy war, because the *Sharia* neither permitted the public treasury to be used for that purpose, nor did it allow the foundation of unnecessary mosques or *medrese*s:[30] Without military conquests, Ottoman rulers were not allowed to build a sultanic mosque, and if they did, which had never occurred before Selim II, it was considered by the *ulema* unnecessary extravagance at the expense of the empire's treasury. This is why Selim's grandson on the throne, Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) never built one,[31] and when the famous Sultan Ahmed mosque was built (1609-16) without the backing of new conquests, Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) was heavily criticised by the Ottoman intelligentsia and the religious elite.[32] Selim was likewise blamed for violating the custom,[33] which, essentially, seems to be the reason for the Selimiye having been built outside the imperial capital, by

which it stands alone among sultanic mosques. (For comparison, unlike the Selimiye's *vakfiye*, the Süleymaniye's makes mention of Süleyman's victories on the battlefield, which was meant to legitimize the mosque's costly construction and its location in the imperial capital.)[34] Thus, while the War of Cyprus had been on the agenda since Selim's princely years,[35] when the time arrived for Selim to build his imperial mosque, the War of Cyprus was a necessity without which the construction would have been unjustified.

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While seeing a statement about the War of Cyprus in the Selimiye, namely that the earlier provided the financial means for the latter, is a tradition brought to life by western visitors to Edirne in the late sixteenth century, a seventeeth-century Ottoman author shared their viewpoint. The Ottoman navy sailed out of Beşiktaş to head for Cyprus on 26 April 1570, a year after the foundation ceremony of the Selimiye.[36] Yet, the often quoted Evliya Çelebi in his *Seyahatname* (*Book of Travels*, c. 1530) saw a financial correspondence between war and mosque in presenting a reverse order of the events of 1568 to 1574. Çelebi argues that it was the prophet Mohammed, who ordered Selim to build the Selimiye *after* the occupation of the island. According to the *Seyahatname*, Selim one day saw a dream in Fenebahçe, where the Prophet appeared to him and said:

> Ah, Selim, you have made an agreement with God. You said that "If I become the conqueror of the island of Cyprus, from the *gaza* booty I will build a mosque". The Creator granted you 170 castles in Cyprus' width of 770 miles. Why do not you keep to yout promise and spend the rest of your life on the way of goodness? Request the booty taken from the castle of Magosa [i.e. Famagusta] in mountainous Cyprus from the prudent and efficient vizier Kara Mustafa Paşa, and build a mosque in Edirne.[37]

As for what accounts for Evliya Çelebi's inventing a course of events that obviously contradict the fact that the construction of the mosque began before the campaign was launched, the traveller gives a clue to the reader whereby his reputable ancestry plays a key motivation. A semi-fictitious father figure, Mehmed Zilli, who allegedly died at the age of 117, serves as a link in Evliya Çelebi's work between the War of Cyprus and the Selimiye mosque. From the *Seyahatname* we learn that Çelebi's father fought in

the War of Cyprus and sang the first *ezan* on the walls of Famagusta after the city's Ottoman capture. In return for his bravery the sultan appointed Zilli as the first muezzin of his new mosque, the Selimiye.[38] Çelebi thus establishes a conceptual linkage between the war and the Selimiye by the personal motivation of giving word to the honour that befell him to be associated with the most magnificent Ottoman imperial mosque and its royal commissioner through his father. However, while the fact that the Ottoman traveller individually arrives at the conclusion where western commentators did a few decades earlier, the real significance of this section of the *Book of Travels* is Selim's alleged encounter with the Prophet and this story's conspicuous resemblance to Byzantine and Ottoman foundation myths about the Hagia Sophia of Constantinople. This similitude is not a mere coincidence. Although Evliya Çelebi is known to have invented parts of the *Book of Travels*,[39] he seems to have been well aware of the original ideology which was meant to show up the Selimiye as a paraphrase and rival of the Hagia Sophia from the earliest stages of its planning.

To understand the semantic link between the Selimiye and the Hagia Sophia underlying this imperial objective, we need to go back more than another hundred years in time. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and it becoming the Ottoman capital, Ottoman authors pronouncing different attitudes to the conquest and its aftermath produced a body of literature observing the city's past and monuments. One of the Byzantine sources most frequently used by fifteenth and sixteenth-century Ottoman authors was the *Patria*, a collection of Greek texts on the history and monuments of Constantinople, which was translated, upon Mehmed II's (r. 1451-81) commission, into Persian and Ottoman soon after the fall of Constantinople.[40] The Ottoman translation of 1480 by dervish Şemsüddin Karamani entitled *Tevarih-i Bina-i Cami-i Şerif-i Ayasofya* (*The History of the Building of the Great Hagia Sophia*) was made to meet the commissioner's intention to downplay the pagan and eschatological associations apparent in the foundation legends of Constantinople and the Hagia Sophia, Şemsüddin in his translation of the text omits references to the first two churches on site of the Hagia Sophia built by Constantine and Theodosius, and focuses entirely on the founder of the current structure, Justinian I (r. 527-65). The text claims that the emperor was ordered by no other than God to build the Hagia Sophia:

> Justinian once saw a dream, in which he [God] told him: "If you want to be above all the Christian denominations of the world, build a church for the whole world to strengthen the faith of Jesus".[41]

Mehmed II's programme was clear: By emphasising the church's foundation upon divine order, the conversion of the Hagia Sophia into a mosque received an ideological meaning, which demonstrated that just as Islam had taken the place of Christianity in this imperial space, Mehmed took the position of Justinian as a new Roman emperor, who ruled with God's support.

Ottoman translations and paraphrases of the *Patria* commissioned by Mehmed II and their un-commissioned spin-offs became popular and inspired Ottoman authors to collapse early legends of the Hagia Sophia's foundation into stories about the construction of the Selimiye. The aforementioned Evliya Çelebi claims that, just like the the Hagia Sophia was built upon God's order and its plan revealed to Justinian by Jesus' messenger, the Selimiye was built upon Mohammed's request and the mosque's plan was also marked out by the prophet:

> In 972 he went with all of the soldiers of Islam to Edirne, and they made a place to station there for the winter. Then Selim II saw the Prophet of This and the Other World again in his reality: "Build the mosque on that Kavak square." The Holy Pride of Prophethood himself marked out the mosque's foundation and the place of the *qiblah*, there is no finer *mihrab* than that of the Selim Han mosque in the heart of the city of Edirne and there is no straighter direction to Mecca (*kiblegah*) than that of the Eski *Camii*.[42]

Likewise, the eighteenth-century Dayezade, in his *Edirne Sultan Selim Camii Risalesi* (1751), claims that the Prophet Mohammed marked out the construction site of the Selimiye to the sultan in a dream, and that a rock equal in its dimensions to those of the mosque appeared when the digging of its foundations began.[43] Such legends about the divinely ordained and assisted founding of the Selimiye find their justification in the *Tevarih-i Bina-i Cami-i Şerif-i Ayasofya*, according to which the plan of the Hagia Sophia was revealed to Justinian by one of the angels of Jesus in his dream.[44] However, seeing the parallelism between the Selimiye and the Hagia Sophia was not merely the product of some Ottoman authors' artistic intuition. It is evident from the Selimiye's architect the Imperial Chief Architect Sinan's autobiographies that the Selimiye was

meant to rival Hagia Sophia in response to an international competition voiced by the critique of European architects. Sinan's preoccupation with his global reputation is reflected in one of his autobiographies, the *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan*, which mentions the "so-called architects of the infidels" who had upset him by claiming that the Hagia Sophia's peerless dome could not possibly be equalled in size by Muslim architects.[45] However, rivalling the Hagia Sophia by the Selimiye mosque complex is only one side of the coin. Sinan's personal objectives, to which his autobiographies give voice, were paired by an ideology mastered at the court. Selim's goal was to draw parallels between the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye not only in their extraordinary physical dimensions but also through the re-enactment of the foundation legends which were available to the Ottoman elite in translation about the Hagia Sophia during the Selimiye's construction.

The *Patria* treats Justinian's effort to collect pillars, slabs and revetments from the East and the West, and explicitly names some of the places from where the Hagia Sophia's building material came from,[46] besides the material which was 'recycled' from local sites in Constantinople.[47] One of the sources was the island of Aydıncık (Cyzicus), where, according to legend, Solomon's palace, once built for the Queen of Sheba, used to stand.[48] Oruç Beğ, in his history entitled *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman* (*The History of the House of Osman*, post-1501), while discussing the founding of the Hagia Sophia by Constantine the Great, also claims that some of the marbles used for the building of the Hagia Sophia came from Aydıncık.[49] As opposed to *spolia* collected from Solomon's palace, the principal source for freshly cut marbles to be used in the Hagia Sophia was the island of Procopius (Marmara). Even though most of the Procopian marbles had been stripped off the Hagia Sophia before the Ottoman conquest (many of which were re-used for the building of St. Mark's cathedral in Venice, and thus only one such slab remains in its original place on the Hagia Sophia's western façade),[50] the freshly cut marbles of the Selimiye also came from the same island.[51] However, Justinian did not only rely on his empire's source of marble. According to legend, Justinian received *spolia* from every part of the world.[52] The Süleymaniye Mosque Library's manuscript *Ayasofya Tarihi* (*The History of the Hagia Sophia*, c. 1600), which belongs to the same literary tradition in Ottoman writing as the *Tevarih-i Bina-i Cami-i Şerif-i Ayasofya*, even quotes the imaginary letter of Justinian to the princes of the world:

> Oh, princes of the seven climates, let it be known to you, that I, İstu Yanoș [i.e. Justinian] talk to you from Konstantiniyye: Upon the order of Jesus, I have to build a peculiar and sublime church. If you have any kind of marble materials in your *vilayet*s […] cut them from those sublime temples, and by any means that is convenient, send them to my *imaret*. They will be, all of them, a gift in the *imaret* [and] this will greatly strengthen our affectionate friendship.[53]

Later, *Ayasofya Tarihi* tells of entire buildings being dismantled and shipped to Constantinople from diverse parts of the world from the Balkans to Hindustan.[54] So it is little surprise that *spolia* for the Selimiye's construction were also collected from various parts of the Mediterranean and special attention was given to pillars collected in Aydıncık. Evliya Çelebi claims that "on its [i.e. the Selimiye's] four sides there are twenty-six various pillars, most of which came from the place called Temașalık",[55] the antique ruin on Aydıncık thought to have been Solomon's palace,[56] where a sultanic decree in 1568 forbade collecting marbles during the Selimiye's construction.[57]

The re-enactment of Justinian's imperial act of collecting *spolia* from various parts of his empire, including Aydıncık, and using them for the building of the Hagia Sophia had been an important part of the Süleymaniye Mosque's construction less than two decades earlier as well.[58] In fact, reusing marble of earlier edifices had been a common practice to legitimize power since Antiquity.[59] However, for Selim this symbolic act was not simply to weigh his imperial mosque against the Hagia Sophia. The Selimiye Mosque was built to be the new Hagia Sophia. To make the semantic tie between the Selimiye and the Hagia Sophia even stronger, Selim ordered the renovation of the latter during the construction of his imperial mosque in Edirne, and articulated the sultanic status of the Hagia Sophia mosque in Istanbul by increasing its minarets from two to four, thereby emphasising the iconographic link between the two architectonic masterpieces.[60] But above all the main feat of the Selimiye was going to be its dome, unrivalled in size, and as there had not even been an attempt to build a dome larger than that of the Hagia Sophia before, Selim's endeavour to establish an obvious semantic parallel between his and Justinian's imperial temple depended only on whether the dome could be built. Thus it is only obvious that Selim waited until it was certain that his mosque's dome would stand before he went on to adjusting the Hagia Sophia to the outlook of the Selimiye. The construction reached dome

level in April 1573, and later the same year the sultan's order to begin the renovation of Justinian's temple was issued.[61] With the two domes almost of equal size as well as four minarets each at the two buildings' four corners (in contrast, the only other mosque equipped with four minarets at the time, the Süleymaniye, had its minarets at the four corners of its courtyard), the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye were subject to a semantic cross-fertilization to draw parallels between the two buildings. This identification of one mosque with the other required confirmation in the two building's surroundings too. Now that the Selimiye stood freely on an open square, the shops and houses attached to the Hagia Sophia's walls needed demolition. Two *fetva*s on the matter of the expropriation and compensation of the owners and hirers affected by the clearing of the Hagia Sophia's surroundings were issued,[62] and the buildings were removed.[63] Eventually, the two buildings' functions were switched. The chronicler Mustafa Selaniki writes in his *Tarih-i Selaniki* (1563-95) that Selim II was accompanied by viziers, grandees, and religious scholars during his inspection of Hagia Sophia in 1573 when the sultan

> personally commissioned Koca Mimar Sinan Agha with his blessed words: Build strong buttresses in necessary places and clear the surroundings for the purpose of consolidation; it is my wish to renovate the noble Friday mosque as my own imperial monument.[64]

In fact, Selim was buried at the Hagia Sophia, which, according to Ottoman custom, was the ultimate purpose of an imperial mosque. The renovated monument thus became Selim's sultanic funeral mosque, while the Selimiye seems to have been stripped of its imperial functions. This is also suggested by the absence of a foundation inscription on the Selimiye, which makes it the only Ottoman sultanic mosque without one. The sculpted *muqarnas*-hooded gate of the Selimiye features three empty panels suggesting that it is *not* Selim's imperial monument,[65] or that it is not a sultanic mosque at all. Although at first glance Selaniki's words may seem a contradiction at a time when it was clear that the building of the Selimiye had cost Selim too much both financially (although it cost less than the Süleymaniye complex,[66] the Selimiye was built at a time of financial scarcity) and in battle (the Cyprus campaign resulted in the Holy League's sweeping victory at Lepanto two years earlier), they in fact make perfect sense inasmuch as Selim aimed at building a new Hagia Sophia in Edirne by surpassing its dimensions and leaving it behind when he had

demonstrated his qualities equalling those of Justinian. And indeed it was a strong symbolic act which was picked up on by western visitors to the empire as well: Genoese sources claim that the Hagia Sophia, during its renovation was renamed to 'Selimiye *Camii*'.[67]

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While the Selimiye has no foundation inscription, it has plenty of inscriptions on the interior, a puzzlingly large number of which are references to the Last Judgement. While the Süleymaniye mosque's inscriptions, which are references to orthodox religious duties none of which are engaged with eschatological themes, the Selimiye's epigraphic programme seems to be focused entirely on the Last Judgement.[68] Borrowing from the Koran and the *hadith*, these calligraphies address the mosque's commissioner and the congregation, which Necipoğlu attributes to the Ottoman populace's penitence invoked by the navy's defeat at Lepanto (1571) only a year prior to their making.[69] The eschatological ideological programme apparent in the mosque's interior inscriptions is supported by the muezzin's tribune, which, unusually for Sinan's *ouvre*, stands in the centre underneath the dome. This novelty together with the octagonal domed baldachin that surrounds it is likened by Sinan's biographer Sai Mustafa Çelebi to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, where God's throne was believed to descend at the Last Judgement.[70]

Unlike Necipoğlu, I see little likelihood of the Selimiye being the carrier of a pensive imperial mood over the Ottoman defeat at Lepanto. Rather, I suggest that the Ottoman attack of Cyprus, the intended cross-referencing between the Selimiye and the Hagia Sophia as well as the eschatological references encoded into Selim's mosque constitute an imperial narrative, can be fully comprehended only when 'read' against the early modern cultural historical backdrop of apocalyptic lore.

To examine Selim's imperial programme in the context of early modern Mediterranean apocalypticism, a medieval tradition which defined western thinking about Islam since the seventh century needs to be discussed. The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople happened at a time when the fall of the city in Byzantine, Jewish and Islamic apocalyptical thinking had come to foreshadow the End of Time/Last Hour. Some elements of the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition associable with the fall of Constantinople dated to the earliest centuries of the empire, and featured the city's monuments laden with apocalyptic fears,[71] while

others were more recently developed locally or borrowed from Near Eastern apocalypses. One of the most influential of the latter,[72] which would have a decisive and long-lasting effect on Christian views of Islam, was the *Revelation of Methodius*, whose Syriac original was falsely attributed in the Middle Ages to the fourth-century martyred Bishop of Patara in Lycia.[73] The *Pseudo-Methodius*, the "crown of Eastern Christian apocalyptic literature",[74] was written during the Arab conquest of northern Mesopotamia in the seventh century by an anonymous author,[75] hence the title *Pseudo-Methodius*. The text presents a salvation history of mankind, whereby Muslims and a certain Last Emperor would play important roles at the times immediately preceding the Last Judgement. Like most apocalypses, the *Pseudo-Methodius* was written at a time of crisis, and thus this anti-Muslim manifesto not only called for Christian resistance against the invaders but also provided hope for its readers. The author envisions an emperor who would defeat the 'Ishmaelites' (i.e. Muslims), the enemies of Christ and "…great peace and quiet over the earth",[76] which will be followed by the release of the "nations which Alexander enclosed" (i.e. the peoples of Gog and Magog).[77] Subsequently "the Lord God will send out one of the commanders of his army and he will smite them"[78] before the Last Emperor moves to Jerusalem, where he will stay for ten and a half years until the Son of Perdition (i.e. the Antichrist) appears causing the emperor to send his crown up to heaven from Golgotha and give out his soul before the Son of Perdition is denounced and the Second Coming ushers in the Last Judgement.[79] Although the *Pseudo-Methodius* is the first existing record of the legend of the Last Emperor, the trope was the continuation of an earlier tradition preserved in the Sibylline Oracles. This body of literature attributed to inspired prophetesses of Antiquity was in fact an eschatological genre consisting of Hellenistic Jewish and Christian oracles, which also drew on (even) earlier apocalyptic traditions.[80] After the Roman Empire's adoption of Christianity, Christian Sibyllines began to see Constantine the Great as a messianic king, and the eschatological significance of the Roman Emperor did not cease after Constantine's death either. The first Christian Sibylline was the so-called *Tiburtina* (fourth century CE), which prophesies the events leading up to the Apocalypse in a way that makes its influence on the original Syriac *Pseudo-Methodius* inevitable.[81] The 'Last Emperor', arguably the most powerful prophetic *topoi* informing Christian eschatological interpretation of the role of Islam in human history, reached western Christianity by way of the *Pseudo-Methodius*, which was translated into Greek—thus

becoming available for the Byzantine clergy—and Latin early, and later printed and widely read in numerous European vernaculars.[82]

The dialogue between Muslim and Near Eastern apocalypses was unchecked since as early as the writing of the *Pseudo-Methodius*, in effect of which Islamic apocalypticism borrowed greatly from the Byzantine tradition,[83] and by the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople absorbed two apocalyptic tropes which showed extraordinary relevance in the Ottoman cultural historical context. One of these was the apocalyptic associations of Constantinople itself, which were available to the Ottomans among other sources by way of the aforementioned *Patria*,[84] and the other—the occurrence of the 'Blond People' or the 'Blond Race', a central trope in the Byzantine Daniel apocalypses.[85] In the Byzantine synthesis of apocalyptic traditions the conquest of Constantinople would be followed by the occurrence of the Last (Roman) Emperor, who, with the help of the Blond People would wage a decisive defeat on the 'Ishmaelites'. The 'blond people' was widely a recognizable *topos* within the Ottoman tradition whereby in different historical periods they were identified with different peoples and polities of the Christian faith from the Byzantines to the Habsburgs varyingly.[86] The Ottoman elite's familiarity with Constantinople's apocalyptic lore and their identification of the Blond People with Christian polities which would execute a devastating counter-attack on the Ottomans seem to have been among the main reasons that prompted some to strongly oppose to Mehmed II's decision to turn Constantinople into his polity's first imperial capital, thus, with the help of careful selection and interpretation of *hadith* the apocalyptic role of both the city and the prophesied people needed to be downplayed (even though the Prophet's sayings also include references to Constantinople's apocalyptic significance).[87] However, Ottoman authors uninvolved in Mehmed II's image making allowed themselves to handle the apocalyptic literature available to them with more sincerity. Perhaps the most influential of such authors working during Mehmed's reign was Ahmed Bican Yazıcıoğlu (died c. 1466), whose cosmography entitled *Dürr-i Meknun* was written shortly after the Ottoman occupation of Constantinople,[88] and contains two chapters dedicated to the "signs of the (last) hour" (*eşrat-ı saat*).[89] Ahmed Bican was inevitably familiar with the Byzantine tradition (including translations of the *Pseudo-Methodius* and elements of the Daniel apocalyptic literature),[90] which he merged with Islamic apocalyptic prognostications[91] thus arriving at the conclusion that the end was not immediate but the tribulations preceding the advent of the

Last Hour would begin to take place in 1494-95 (900 A.H.) and that the Last Hour itself may be scheduled for 1590-91 (1000 A.H.).[92] According to Ahmed Bican, both Byzantine and Islamic prognostications (derived mostly but not exclusively from the *hadith* and *cifr*) pointed to the Ottoman occupation of Constantinople being the first sign that the apocalypse was near. The Blond People (i.e. the Christians) would collect their forces and re-conquer the city, which would be followed by another but failed Ottoman military attempt, and the ultimate Muslim conquest would only occur when the Mahdi (Messiah) defeats the Blond People and enters the city.[93] In another apocalyptic, the *Münteha* (*Epilogue*), Bican claims that the main objective of Mehmed should be to conquer Rome and all the lands of the Blond People too, whose attack from the West before the Last Judgement is certain.[94] The *Dürr-i Meknun*, especially its two chapters engaged with the Last Hour and its portents, soon became an influential work in Ottoman apocalypticism. By the end of the sixteenth century these chapters had begun to live their own lives through adaptations and emulations and were copied separately from the original work.[95] The advent of the Islamic millennium and the geopolitical environment in which the Ottoman Empire operated in the sixteenth century, especially its continuous conflicts with European polities which could be interpreted as the 'Blond People', allowed for Ottoman interpretations that saw Selim II's conquest of Cyprus in an episode of the *Dürr-i Meknun* where in the Last Hour a certain Selim would wage naval battles and conquer the 'Western Island' (*cezire-i garb*).[96]

In the Christian West by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries theories abounded about an approaching Great Year that would see the universal triumph of a single religion often linked to prognostications based on the *Old Testament*'s 'Book of Daniel', and on the ongoing Joachimist tradition of prophecy pointing to the imminence of a Last Emperor.[97] These eschatological expectations found their outlet of expression in the 'New Jerusalem' of the Florence of Savonarola (1452-98), which saw Charles VIII of France as the Last Emperor, in the claims of the proponents of French universal monarchy, especially Guillaume Postel, and of the Habsburg revival of the ideal of a universal Holy Roman Empire under Charles V (r. 1519-1556).[98] Meanwhile in the Ottoman Empire, the approach of the millennium in the *Hijra* calendar in the sixteenth century and the empire's contest with both Christian powers and the Safavi state the situation was ideal for rumours about the arrival of a messianic leader. Selim I, as the first Ottoman caliph after the conquest of Eastern Anatolia, Syria and Egypt

was described as "*sahib-kıran*" (Master of the Conjunction) or World Emperor.[99] According to Lutfi Paşa's *Tevarih-i Al-i 'Osman* (*The Histories of the House of Osman*, c. 1550) Selim was addressed in congratulatory letters after the Battle of Çaldıran (1514) as the Mahdi of the Last Age and the Alexander-like World Conqueror, whose coming at the end of the Islamic era had been foretold by apocalypses (*melheme* or *mülhime*) dating from the time of the Prophet.[100]

However, as Selim I died without conquering the world or seeing the Apocalypse, the Ottoman eschatological programme allowed for continuing. Lutfi Paşa claims that "Selim hewed a garden from a disorderly world; it was left to his heir Sultan Süleyman to enjoy its fruits".[101] Accordingly, Süleyman the Magnificent and his entourage (most notably Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa and personal favourite Alvise Gritti) created a public image of the sultan being the Mahdi and *sahib-kiran*, which was to be understood both literally and symbolically: In the rivalry of Chalres V and Süleyman both emperors claimed universal sovereignty. Mevlana İsa, an Ottoman *kadi* who lived through at least half of Süleyman's reign, composed three recensions of Ottoman history in verse entitled *Camiü'l-Meknünat* (*The Compendium of Hidden Things*, 1529-1543). In the recension of 1543 the *kadi* takes on an extraordinary dramatic vision: The approach of the year 1000 A.H. (1552-53) would see the terrestrial triumph of the true religion as the expected result of the rivalry between Süleyman with Charles V for recognition as the *sahib-kıran*. On this basis, the author states that Süleyman is either the Mahdi or his conquering forerunner.[102]

As Süleyman died in 1566 and the Apocalypse still had not occurred, Mevlana İsa's second scenario, that Süleyman's heir would fulfil the time's eschatological expectations, could finally be implemented. While in the Ottoman Empire Ahmed Bican's *Dürr-i Meknun* allowed for an interpretation to identify Cyprus with the eschatological 'Western Island' and its conqueror as Selim II,[103] western authors, deriving their theories from apocalyptic prognostications and calculations came to the conclusion that Selim II would in fact be the last Ottoman sultan. Heinrich Müller in his *Türkische Historien* (1563) claims that all prophecies about the Ottomans show there would be no more than twelve emperors, and, according to his calculations, Süleyman was the eleventh.[104] Although the eleventh in the row of Ottoman sultans was Selim II, the number of rulers was often miscalculated in the West, and Selim was often thought to be the one in whom the Ottoman dynasty would meet its fate. For instance,

Michel Jove in his *Vray Discours de la bataille des armes Christienne & Turquesque* (1571) reproduces an imaginary conversation taking place between Sülyeman and a "famous astrologian of Armenica" (here I quote the 1579 English translation):

> And it might wel be applied which the Hebrewes or Iewes doe affirme of the Monarchie of Turkes, the which (say they) ought to take end at the fifteenth Lord the which is Selim, reigning at this present.
>
> A famous Astrologian of Armenica, saide unto Soliman, that the raigne of the house of the Ottoman should ende in his personne, to the which he answeared: Not in me, but in my successour, of the which the Turkes are in great doubt, according to a prophesie which thay haue saying, Our Empire shall come, a kingdome shall take it, figured by a red apple.[105]

Likewise, the *Oracles of Leo the Wise* foretells a similar scheme for the apocalypse. Erroneously attributed to Byzantine Emperor Leo IV (r. 886-912), the majority of these oracles were in fact produced in the sixteenth century (however, some of the shorter ones concerned with the fate of the empire and especially that of Constantinople were in existence in the twelfth century) and survive in several manuscripts and printed volumes.[106] The Bodleian Library's Greek manuscript, the Baroccianus M.S. 145 (1573), commissioned by Venetian humanist Francesco Barozzi, tells the story in the following manner:

> five kings descended from Hagar will, by the dispensation of God, our Master and Lord, rule this city – I mean Constantinople – and dominate it with great might. […] And of the fifth he says that he will forthwith come to an end, and a Christian emperor will once more rule this city…[107]

Selim being the fifth Ottoman sultan to have reigned in Constantinople, the Greek text obviously refers to him. Yet, as a *vaticina ex eventu*, the oracle strangely refers to the War of Cyprus as the defining event of Selim's reign, instead of the Battle of Lepanto, which would have validated the prophecy of Leo the Wise.[108]

In the "Book of Daniel" (11:30) it is prophesized that at the end of days two kings (the King of the North and the King of the South) will wage war on each other: "For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy

covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant." The name Chittim stands for Cyprus, and apparently refers to the "ships of the Romans", which will wreck the King of the North, whose heart "is against the Holy Convenant" (Daniel 11:28). These words later inspired an apocryphal "Vision of Daniel" apocalyptic to emerge called *The Vision of Daniel on the Isle of Cyprus*, which survives in at least nine manuscript copies to our days.[109] Drawing on this tradition Gregorias Klontzas, in the 1590s composed his illuminated universal history in Venetian Crete, whereby he attributed the same apocalyptic portent to the War of Cyprus. Klontzas was only one of the authors writing *vaticina ex eventu* about the War of Cyprus. Although later authors would see the island's Ottoman occupation as a forerunner to the Ottoman navy's defeat at Lepanto, we find various treatises like the Venetian Francesco Sansovino's *Lettera, o vero discorso sopra le predittioni le quali pronosticano la nostra futura felicità per la guerra del Turco l'anno 1570* and Giovanni Battista Nazari's *Discorso della future et sperata vittoria contra il Turco* which saw the coming of the Antichrist in the Ottoman victory at Cyprus.

While both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Christian West age-old traditions pointed to Cyprus and Selim II's reign as of apocalyptic importance, which the Ottoman court began to exploit in building up the sultanic image of the newly inaugurated Selim, the image of Selim being a Roman emperor living at the End of Time came full circle only after his death. The translation of Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami's (c. 1380-1455) *Miftah-ı Cifrü'l-Cami* (*Key to Esoteric Knowledge*) was commissioned by Mehmed III in c. 1600, which, rather than relating a chronological history to the Ottoman dynasty that links them with a series of historical prophets and caliphs, projects the dynasty's portrait onto an eschatological account of the end of the world. In the *Miftah-ı Cifrü'l-Cami*'s visual and textual programme the figure of the Mahdi is no longer used to be associated with a single sultan. Although in the scripts belonging to the images depicting the Mahdi he is referred to as "*İmam Mehmed Mahdi*", which is an obvious allusion to a wished-for eschatological image of Mehmed III,[110] the *Miftah* bears witness to the new ideological program, which was to depict the entire House of Osman as the last ruling dynasty of the world, and thus the military events of the late sixteenth century taking place between Muslims and non-believers or the Tatars were identified with and shown as the widely known prognosticated events of the 'End of Time'.[111] Thus where the image depicting the apocalyptic *topos* of the

Muslim army slaying the fleeing Christian army on the 'Western Island' (*cezire al-rum*, literally Roman Island), the Ottoman army's victory in Cyprus takes the scene.[112]

***

From the beginning of his reign, Selim II followed a scheme necessary to create an overwhelming sultanic image of himself as had been done by his predecessors. In this image-making there was no element which had not been used before separately by Mehmed II, Selim I and Süleyman the Magnificent, yet they have received little scholarly attention so far. The Selimiye mosque and its semantic affiliation with the Hagia Sophia served to fashion Selim as the new Justinian; the War of Cyprus created a justification for him to build the Selimiye and at the same time allude to Christian and Islamic eschatological traditions expecting the Last Emperor and a major battle taking place on a 'Western Island' immediately before the Apocalypse. Selim's sultanic image as a Roman emperor living at the End of Time is thus the ideological mortar that holds the deeds of his reign together and lends a meaning to them in an overarching imperial narrative.

NOTES

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TWELVER SHĪʿĪ COMPONENTS IN CONTEMPORARY BEKTĀŠI VISUAL PIETY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS?: A NOTE ON BEKTĀŠI VISUAL CULTURE*[1]

Abstract

This paper sets out to engage in aspects of a Shīʿīte tendency in the visual and representational art of the Bektāšiyya, one of the congregational orders of Islam, and their association with the Imāmī "Twelver" tradition of Iran. It thereby focuses on Albanian Bektāši religious imagery and symbolism and their relationship to devotional practices, ritual and sacred space within the context of the contemporary conventions of this religious order in the western Balkans. In spite of an obvious incorporation of elements of a Twelve-Imām Shīʿite provenance, the visual and devotional piety and practice of the Bektāši *ṭarīqa* however deviates greatly from the ceremonies and rules propagated by official Shīʿa Islam. The study postulates that Bektāšiism as a religion has incorporated many autochthonous Albanian traits and that its visual conceptualisation also developed aspects of an independent Albanian character.

Keywords: Visual piety, Bektāšiyya, Ṣūfī, Albania, Twelve-Imām Shīʿīsm, Imām ʿAlī, Shīʿī Imāms, ʿĀshūrāʾ, Karbalāʾ, Nawrūz.

This paper sets out to engage in aspects of a Shīʿīte tendency in the visual and representational art of the post-communist Bektāšiyya, one of the most important of the mystical (Ṣūfī) brotherhoods of Islam in the western Balkans and their association with the Imāmī "Twelver" tradition (*Ithnāʿasharī Shīʿa*) of Iran. It thereby focuses on central Bektāši dogmas that inform the varied expressions of visual popular belief and piety in

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communal ritual spaces such as Bektāši *teqe*s (Ṣūfī gathering places, convents), *tyrbe*s (mausolea with graves of (Bektāši) saints) and *maydān*s (*mejdan*s, congregational chambers or communal meeting places) in these regions.[2]

Bektāšiism in the western sector of the Balkan peninsula is today mainly confined to Albanian-speaking communities in Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia,[3] where it began to take root among the Muslim population beginning in the sixteenth century.[4] Over the years, this monastic order (Ar. *ṭarīqa,* (spiritual) path or way to God*)* of *dervish*es or Ṣūfīs developed in the local context of Albanian regional traditions, survived many crises such as its proscription by the Ottomans in 1241/1826[5] and played a dominant role in the Albanian national awakening (*Rilindja*) developed after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, in a period extending from the second half of the nineteenth century to the Declaration of Independence in 1912.[6] Following the official abolition of all Ṣūfī orders in the newly founded Turkish Republic in 1925, the Albanian Bektāšis decided in 1929 to transfer the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Congregation from the town of Hacıbektaṣ in the central Anatolian region of Turkey to Tirana in Albania.[7] This facilitated the very significant expansion of the order in southern and central Albanian territories, which came to an end with the communist takeover of Albania at the end of the Second World War when the Bektāšis became a target of Enver Hoxha's government (1944–1991). The anti-religious policy in Albania culminated in 1967 when religion was categorically outlawed and any open expression of pious sentiment became a criminal offence.[8]

With the collapse of the atheistic communist regime in 1991, religious freedom was restored to Albania. However, two decades of imposed atheism meant that *teqe*s had to be reclaimed and renovated, *tyrbe*s restored, and a new generation of *bābā*s (spiritual guides or masters) and *dervish*es instructed in doctrine and ritual.[9] Due to destruction and dispersal of much of its traditional architectural and artistic heritage, very little of the visual culture of Albanian Bektāši institutions survived that pre-dates the 1990s.

Likewise in Yugoslav-period Kosovo and Macedonia or, more recently, during the 1998–99 conflict in Kosovo, Bektāši institutions suffered serious damage. The important *teqe* complex in Đakovica (Gjakovë) in Kosovo, the Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, was deliberately targeted and razed to the ground during the last war. Parts of the historic Arabati Bābā Teqe (established in 945/1538; the present

complex was built after 1214/1799) in Tetovë (Turk. Kalkandelen) in Macedonia, the largest *teqe* complex in the Balkans and Turkey, were burnt down as recently as 2002. Hence, much of the visual and representational aesthetic expressions, artefacts and material culture in Bektāši *teqe*s in Albania, Macedonia and Kosovo are necessarily of a recent date.

Bektāšiism as a religion is deeply indebted to Shīʿī Islam. Bektāši adherents stress the pre-eminence of ʿAlī ibn Abi Talib, young cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, father of the Prophet's beloved grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and the fourth caliph (16/656–40/661) of the Muslim *umma* (community of believers), as the legitimate heir of the Prophet. They thereby follow the common Shīʿīte belief that ʿAlī (whom the Prophet had adopted as a boy even before his first marriage and the first male to accept Islam) was the rightful Caliph, the first infallible leader of the faith or Imām designated as the foundation of the Imāmate, the very heart of Shīʿīsm, and that his designated successors, are the true Imāms, the only valid, albeit rejected and persecuted, leaders of all Muslims.[10]

Most of all, they consider ʿAlī as the manifestation of the divine on earth. ʿAlī is acknowledged as the *ṣaḥib-i risala*, the repository of the Prophet's knowledge, he is the revealer of the "esoteric" Qurʾān, the sole gate to the spiritual exegesis (*taʾwīl*) of the Holy Book,[11] a conviction upheld by Shīʿī theologians until today, while the Prophet Muḥammad is considered the *natiq-i risala*, the mouthpiece of the Qurʾān. In other words, the Prophet is seen as the vehicle by which the *zāhir* (that is the "external" or literal) Qurʾān became manifest to humanity, whereas ʿAlī personifies a certain *bāṭin* (the inner or esoteric levels of correct interpretation of the verses of the Qurʾān) the allegorical or hidden aspect of the divine. In mystical exegesis the terms are employed to differentiate between the esoteric and exoteric aspects of religious knowledge conveyed through the sayings and deeds of ʿAlī. The *bāṭin* aspect is accessed via spiritual hermeneutics, *taʾwīl*, an interpretive process that also applies allegory and symbolism to the scriptural text. According to *ḥadīth* reports (traditions attributed to Muḥammad and his followers), the Prophet said: "I am the City of Knowledge and ʿAlī is its Gate; one cannot enter a city without passing through the gate."[12]

In this way "Muḥammad and ʿAlī" are seen as special manifestations of the same divine reality, reflected by the fact that in everyday parlance the names of Muḥammad and ʿAlī are never separated but articulated as one syntactic unit and one name: Muḥammad-ʿAlī.[13] While Muḥammad personifies manifest law (Ar. *sharīʿa*), ʿAlī is regarded as the *ṭarīqa* that in Muslim mysticism denotes the way which guides the *dervish* from the

sharīʿa to the divine reality (Ar. *ḥaqīqa*), that is to Allāh Himself (*al-Ḥaqq*). In Bektāši visual culture the trinity Allāh-Muḥammad-ʿAlī is of singular importance, forming a unified reality manifesting one and the same truth (*ḥaqīqa*). The potential for truth and perfection is present in every human being since Allāh (that is Muḥammad-ʿAlī) is present in all beings, in every animate and inanimate object.[14]

Veneration of ʿAlī

Aspects of this belief are represented in a coloured print which miraculously survived the socialist regime and the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina between Serbian and Croatian nationalists and Muslim Bosnians. The calligraphy, which represents the Bektāši creed and images from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's life,[15] is now housed in the oldest and most important Naqshbandī *tekke* (Alb. *teqe*, *dervish* gathering place) of Bosnia-Herzegovina and perhaps southeastern Europe, located Živčići/ Vukeljići near Fojnica in central Bosnia (Fig. 1). Owing to its remote location the *tekke* has not been destroyed during the war.

A Bektāši expression of piety *par excellence*, the calligraphic form allows for a deeper reflection of ʿAlī's true qualities and his intimate relationship with the divine. It consists of epigraphic and figurative elements in mirror-image halves, a symbolic reference to both the *zāhir* and the *bāṭin* aspects of being. The name of ʿAlī is written at the centre in bold letters in the so-called "doubled"-style, alluding to the central credo of Bektāšiism: ʿAlī is Allāh.[16] The divine presence in the human face is evidenced by the shape of the letter *ʿayn* which follows the contours of the human eye whereas the eyes represent ʿAlī's two sons through Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, Ḥasan, the second Shīʿī Imām (the right eye) and Ḥusayn, the third Shīʿī Imām and Karbalā martyr (the left eye).[17] At the centre of the image is a depiction of a large symbolic stone, often fashioned of nephrite, carved with twelve flutings, which is presented to the *dervish* at the end of his discipleship and which he subsequently wears around the neck suspended on a fine cord. The prominent position underlines the pre-eminent place this symbol holds in Bektāši iconographic language. Known as "the stone of surrender" (*teslīm tāš*),[18] it symbolises the union of human individuality with the eternal truth and of the abandonment of human individuality in the eternal truth that is the unity of Allāh, Muḥammad and ʿAlī.[19]

The visual discourse presents two well-known occurrences in ʿAlī's life also rendered in mirror-image composition (that is reflected across a vertical axis). The first incident in the upper section features a veiled figure leading a camel with a coffin. It illustrates the well-known Shīʿīte legend according to which ʿAlī not only predicted his own death but is visually presented as carrying his own corpse in a coffin mounted on a camel to the place of his tomb.[20] According to Bektāši tradition, ʿAlī told his two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, that when he died a veiled man would come to their house, would load his coffin on a camel and lead it away for burial. Under no circumstances were his sons to follow the veiled man or question him. When ʿAlī's predictions came indeed true, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn could not refrain from asking about the man's identity. The stranger lifted his veil and revealed his face: it was their father ʿAlī, miraculously carrying his own body to its grave.[21] The story not only confirms ʿAlī's divinely-inspired, miraculous powers but also shows him as the ultimate "seer," who foretells and enacts his own death for his sons.

The second depiction featured in the lower section relates to his metamorphosis into a lion (*al-ḥaydar*), or more precisely the victorious lion of God (*al-asad Allāh al-ghālib*), also known as "the impetuous lion" (*al-ḥaydar al-karrār*).[22] The bilaterally symmetrical arrangement in mirror image shows a lion *couchant* (representing ʿAlī) wrestling with a serpent, alluding to the transformation of the mythical warrior into a spiritual warrior (*fātā*). The combat which takes place on an external mythical ground – symbolised by the lion's fight with the serpent – can on another level be considered an individual and a collective moral and spiritual struggle (*jihād*) against one's lower self or temptation, a process which was deemed to be more meritorious than physical struggle.[23]

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's legendary double-bladed or double-pointed sword Dhuʾl-faqār, a symbol of his unparalleled valour on the battlefield, carried next to the coffin on the back of the camel also became an integral element of the calligraphy. Its shape is repeated in the Arabic letter *alif* and *yāʾ*. The *lām-alif*, considered a single letter, is often compared to the sword of ʿAlī.[24] In this depiction it is vertically flanked by the bifurcating Dhuʾl-faqār while the letter *yāʾ* is horizontally extended to form the Dhuʾl-faqār below, which surmounts the lions *couchant* with serpents. According to some sources, ʿAlī's most recognisable symbol, his "miraculous sword," Dhuʾl-faqār, was obtained by Muḥammad as booty of the critical Battle of Badr (2/623-4) and presented to ʿAlī at the Battle of Uḥud (3/625). As will be shown in what follows, in Bektāši contemporary visual vocabulary the

sword is still understood as the symbolic representation of ʿAlī's supreme power. The tips of the *alif*s frame a *taxh* (Ar. *tāj*, lit. crown), the headgear of *dervishes*, *bābā*s and *dede*s, from which the twelve-fluted *teslīm tāš* is suspended on a fine chain.

Shīʿa components of Bektāšiism also manifests itself in the birthday celebration of ʿAlī on the occasion of the New Year celebration Nawrūz (Sultan Nevruz), the Iranian spring equinox (following the Persian solar calendar),[25] which for the Bektāši takes place annually on 22 March. For the order it is a festivity of central importance. The ceremony is now conducted by the present head or *dedebābā* (lit. "great-grandfather," Kryegjysh) of the Bektāšiyya, Ḥajji Bābā Edmond Brahimaj (Alb. Haxhi Bābā Edmond Brahimaj, popularly known as Bābā Mondi) supported by the leading figures of *dede*s or "grandfathers" (*gjysh*), known as his deputies (Alb. *halife*, Ar. *khalīfa*), and *bābā*s at the World Headquarters (Kryegjyshata Botërore) of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, the Mother Teqe of the Bektāši Ṣūfī Order (*asitāne-i madhe*).

The singular importance of the figure of the first Shīʿīte Imām ʿAlī is reflected in his imaginary single portrait crowning the entrance of the Bektāši Kryegjyshata Botërore (Fig. 2).[26] Whereas in the above-discussed nineteenth-century print, ʿAlī is rendered as a completely veiled figure, his unveiled face is here shown on a towering billboard – the monumental size underlining not only his exalted status but also the belief in the representational power of the Imām's portrait.[27] Its outline in the form of a *teslīm tāš* once again emphasises its centrality in the Bektāši creed.

The building itself is crowned by a large architectural construction in the shape of a *taxh* or clerical headdress, which makes a monumental appearance on most Bektāši *teqe*s. Much symbolic significance is attached to this headdress. Known as Ḥusaynī Taxh[28] in remembrance of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abi Talib, grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad and third Shīʿīte Imām, the *taxh* made of white felt, is divided into four parts by four folds, symbolising the four spiritual stations of the mystical path (*sharīʿa*, manifest law of Islam; *ṭarīqa* (pl. *ṭuruq*), inner way, path, method; *maʿrifa*, mystical intuitive knowledge of spiritual truth; and *ḥaqīqa*, divine reality); these are subdivided by three grooves into twelve gores (*terks*), each commemorating one of the twelve Shīʿī Imāms, starting with ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib to Mahdī who went into occultation in 260/874. The central knob on top is in remembrance of the divine reality[29] and the green cloth wrapped around the base distinguishes the *taxh* as that of a spiritual guide or master (*murshid*). In like manner, the dodecagonal *teslīm tāš* is carved

with twelve points representing the twelve Imāms who provide religious guidance for the community. The shape of both the *taxh* and the *teslīm tāš* thus emphasises the close connection with the number twelve and the Twelver Imāms.[30] The act of wearing these potent symbols of identification thus communicates a complex set of doctrinal, ritual, devotional and ethical values.

Bālim Sulṭān (878/1473–925/1519), born at Dimetoka near Edirne in Thrace, to a Christian mother, known to Bektāšī tradition as *pīr thānī*, the "second founder" of the Bektāšiyya is credited with reforming Bektāši ritual practices and organisational changes in the nature of the order's bicephalous hierarchy. To him are ascribed the first use of the twelve candles and associated paraphernalia in various rituals and ceremonies, the introduction of the *teslīm tāš*, and, most importantly, the establishing of a hierarchy of ranks of the elect (*të mbërrimët*) and truly initiated at the head of which stood that of the celibate or *myxheret dervish*, who is distinguished by a special pierced earring, the *mengjush*, worn on the right ear.[31] As evidenced by the present Bektāši leadership, celibate *bābā*s and *dede*s continue to be prominent especially among the Albanian-speaking communities.

As has been shown, ʿAlī is at the very centre of the Bektāši worldview. His likeness is paramount to convert the sacred presence into an iconographically-related experience. It expresses and transmits remembered emotions transforming the beholder through dealienation, namely through the recognition that he/she participates in a larger social and spiritual context. At the World Headquarters (Kryegjyshata Botërore) of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, an oil painting on canvas prominently displays a contemporary single portrait of ʿAlī as an enthroned ruler. The tall arch-shaped backrest of the monumental golden throne halo-like frames his head like a diadem resembling the rising sun. ʿAlī is seen as the light given to the believers by God (Qurʾān 57:28) and he is the universal light after the death of the Prophet, which makes him his only legitimate successor.[32] He is portrayed with a full long black beard holding a *tasbiḥ*, or rosary, in his right hand[33] and is clad in a red garment in commemoration of his sacrifice and martyrdom at the hands of the Khārijite ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam al-Murādī while praying at the Great Mosque in Kufāh on the 19 Ramaḍān 40/25–26 January 661 providing a prologue to the central martyrdom of his son Ḥusayn (Fig. 3). His green shoes and headdress signify his family relation with the Prophet and underline his authority as a representative of Islam.[34] Bejewelled regalia on the white *taxh* mark his

rulership. The portrait is framed by epigraphic inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, once again underlining his pivotal position:

Right side (upper cartouche, with the first part of the Qurʾānic "verse of sincerety," *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ,* 112:3 (underlined), followed by Persian, then the second part of *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ,* 112:3 (underlined), and again Persian)

لم يلد از مادر كيسي ولم يولد چو سو
lam yalid az mader kesī wa lam yūld chu sū
He neither begets nor has been born by a mother

(lower cartouche, in Arabic, followed by a quote from *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ,* 112:4 (underlined))

لم يكن بعدي نبي مثلت له كفوا احد
lam yakun baʿdī nabi mathult lahu kufuwan aḥad
There is no profit after me as nor is there to Him any equivalent

Left side (lower cartouche, in Arabic, Persian and *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ,* 112:1 (underlined))

يا علي است ثبوت قل هو الله أحد
ya ʿalī ast thubūt qul huwa allahu aḥad
Calling unto ʿAlī is the confirmation of say, "He is Allāh, [who is] One,

(upper cartouche, in Persian, followed by Arabic and an *āyat al-Ikhlāṣ,* 112:2, (underlined))

نام تو نقش نكين أمر الله الصمد
nam to naqshe nigīn amr allāhu al-ṣamad
Your name is the inscription on the stone by the order of Allāh, the Eternal Refuge

Inscription at the bottom (in Arabic)

قال الله تبارك وتعالى عز وجل ولاية علي بن ابيطالب [sic] حصني فمن دخل حصني أمن من عذابي
qala alluhu tabarak wa taʿālā ʿazza wa jall wilāyatu ʿAlī ibn abī Talb [sic] ḥisnī faman dakhala ḥisnī amina ʿadhabī
Allāh said revered and almighty, glorified and sublime be He, ʿAlī ibn Abi Talb [sic] is my fortress, he who enters my fortress is safe of my wrath.

The regional *gjyshatë* celebrate the ceremonies of the birthday of ʿAlī on the occasion of Nawrūz on the days following the main ceremony at the Kryegjyshata Botërore in Tirana. The focal point of the ceremonial arrangement is again a closely related large-scale imaginary portrait of the Imām, smiling gently, presented with rays of light around his head marking him as a sanctified figure (Fig. 4).[35]

Another variation on the same theme is the portrayal of ʿAlī as paragon of virtue with leading figures of the Bektāšiyya. To commemorate the first-year death anniversary of the late leader (Kryegjysh) of the Bektāši *ṭarīqa* and the Muslim Community of Albania (Komuniteti Musliman i Shqipërisë, KMSh), paired billboards were shown throughout Albania featuring the bust of Bābā Ḥajji Dede Reshat Bardhi (Alb. Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi; 4 March 1935–2 April 2011) on the one side and the conventional portrait of ʿAlī on other side (Fig. 5) suggesting his allegiance to the Imām. It is particularly noteworthy that according to local sources, Bābā Reshat is the first Bektāši who posthumously is named a lion like ʿAlī,[36] a eulogy inscribed on his cenotaph in the *tyrbe* at the Bektāši Kryegjyshata Botërore.

Portraits of ʿAlī in three-quarter-profile and with a persistent gaze oriented to the left are found in most Bektāši *tyrbe*s exemplified by a woven tapestry featuring an oval medallion with a single-portrait depiction of ʿAlī's bust and surmounting a cross-over of a pair of confronted Dhuʾl-faqārs displayed in the Melçan Tyrbe of Bābā Avdullah Melçan near Korça in southeastern Albania (Fig. 6).

Comparable visual representations of ʿAlī flank, once again, the central portrait of the late Kryegjshi at the *teqe* (*dervish* complex) situated above the cave of the heterodox hero and mystic saint, Ṣarī Ṣaltūq (Alb. Sari Salltëk), who is credited with the propagation of Islam in the Balkan peninsula, located at the top of a mountain named after the holy man, Mount Sari Salltëk, in Krujë. To the right, ʿAlī is accompanied by his symbolic effigy, the lion *couchant*.[37] In the same *teqe* are further portraits of ʿAlī (Fig. 7),[38] one of which shows him in a standing position holding his two-pointed Dhuʾl-faqār in front of him with two hands, which in miniature form appears also to the left of his head with radiant rays of light emanating from it. Inscribed to the right of his head is the Prophet's well-known maxim about ʿAlī as "the perfect exemplar of chivalry,… the greatest warrior of Islamic history, and patron saint of the guides,"[39] which also appears on the forked shape of the sword with a Turkish transliteration below:

Lā fatā illā ʿAlī wa / Lā Saif illā Dhuʾl-faqār
لا فتى إلا علي لا سيف إلا ذو الفقار
There is no hero but ʿAlī and there is no sword but Zulfikar [Dhuʾl-faqār, ʿAlī's sword]

According to Islamic tradition, a voice is said to have recited the formula when the Prophet Muḥammad gave the sword to ʿAlī.[40] The fact that the heroism of ʿAlī is cited first (*Lā fatā illā ʿAlī wa*; rather than the second part of the formula, *Lā Saif illā Dhuʾl-faqār*) is indicative of the Shīʿīte tradition.[41]

We have already had occasion to discuss the ever-present religious veneration of the Imām, once again highlighted at a much revered *maqām* (a memorial place commemorating the saint's visit) with the footprint of the right foot of Ṣarī Ṣaltūq (Fig. 8a):[42] the only visual representation at this *maqām* is another woven portrait of ʿAlī's bust from which radiate rays of brilliant light (Fig. 8b). Like most Bektāši structures the construction covering the "blessed object," located in a small forest between Fushë Krujë and Krujë, was destroyed during communism and rebuilt in the early 1990s.

This particular adoration of ʿAlī in the Bektāši context is of course not necessarily indicative of a Shīʿīte tendency. Indeed, the majority of Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa*s reach Muḥammad via his son-in-law and cousin ʿAlī who is the spiritual authority *par excellence* after the Prophet. The reverence in which the Imām is held by Shīʿītes and Ṣūfīs alike rather demonstrates the intimate connection between Shīʿīsm and Ṣūfīsm (*taṣawwuf*), the "mystical" practice of Islam, characterised by an internalised "esoteric" piety.[43] This devotion to the divinity of ʿAlī occupies, as we have seen, a predominant position in Bektāši spirituality; indeed Bektāšis partake in an active ʿAlīd charisma.

Bektāši rhetoric of display is further informed by portraits of Ḥājī Bektāš, the eponymous reputed founder and patron saint or "first Pīr" of the Bektāšiyya, and Bālim Sulṭān, the "second Pīr" of the the order, flanking the portrait of ʿAlī at the *teqe* complex of Melan (built c. 1800) located on a mountaintop above the village of Libohovë in the district of Gjirokastër in southern Albania (Fig. 9). Ḥājī Bektāš, a Khurasani Ṣūfī with ecstatic tendencies, is said to have settled and died in central Anatolia in 738/1337, the *Hijrī* date coincides with the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the word Bektāšiyya (2+20+400+1+300+10+5).[44] He is shown to embrace both a bovid, perhaps a gazelle, with his right

arm and a lion with his left arm. According to the principal hagiographical work concerning the saint, the *Wilāyat-nāma*, written in Turkish prose between 886/1481 and 907/1501, Bektāš is presented as a holy man who in the latter part of his life could keep together in peace the lion and the lamb in his "lap,"[45] because he was close to Allāh.[46] Representing Bektāši iconography *par excellence*, the depiction seeks to emphasise the saint's peacebuilding character and his overcoming as well as reconciling all opposites symbolised by his keeping both a ferocious predatory animal and its potential prey in perfect harmony in his arms. It thus implies the dream of eschatological peace involving the idea of a universe of harmony akin to the Christian notion of "the lion [that] will lie down with the lamb" (Isa. 11.6–9). At the same time, it signifies Ḥājī Bektāš's protection over the Bektāši community.

Veneration of ʿAlī and the Twelve Shīʿite Imāms

Outside of devotion to ʿAlī, other Shīʿite inspirations within the Bektāši doctrine include, of course, the veneration of the twelve Shīʿite Imāms whose role as mediators and intercessors are manifest in Bektāši images and decorative programmes. The special reverence of the latter as spiritual leaders possessing authority and intimacy with God (*walāya*) again reflects Bektāši Twelve Shīʿite orientation.[47] The Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë in Kosovo preserves a colour poster, which in the upper section features two medallions, one with ʿAlī, the other with Ḥājī Bektāš – symbolically and spiritually connecting the Imām with the Bektāši founder and patron saint (Figs. 10 a and b).[48] The medallions, once again, surmount ʿAlī's Dhuʾl-faqār and the twelve Imāms shown in kneeling position their legs folded under them on animal skin seats (Pers. *pūst* or Turk. *post*, lit. "*pellis*, skin")[49] in a V-shaped arrangement. ʿAlī is featured in the central position, across his lap is placed his sword in its sheath which he clasps with both hands. As in the above-discussed example (Fig. 7), the illustration of the monumental Dhuʾl-faqār suspended above the twelve Imāms again heralds the same blessed formula with the Turkish transliteration below:

Lā fatā illā ʿAlī wa / Lā Saif illā Dhuʾl-faqār

The caption has been considered appropriate to be inscribed on works of art at least since the Islamic medieval period. The potency of the inscription is underlined by the luminous rays that emanate from under the dark clouds symbolising the divine blessing bestowed upon the twelve Imāms and exerting a dramatic effect. This is further emphasised by the ephemeral-looking winged angel, whose head and body are rendered in three-quarter view, facing left, and who extends the right hand towards the central figure, ʿAlī, in a gesture of blessing. Clad in a long white robe, the angel bears a large fluttering red shawl while the head is covered with a brown headscarf (in contrast to the Imāms who are represented with green headscarves) (Figs. 10 a and b). Some early Shīʿītes believed that the Dhu'l-Faqār was brought down from heaven by the archangel Gabriel who bestowed it, together with other sacred relics of the Prophet Muḥammad, as a sign to the Imāms.[50] Amongst portraits of ʿAlī and Ḥājī Bektāš at the *tyrbe* of Bābā Ballen in Krujë in northcentral Albania is yet another depiction of the twelve Imāms (Figs. 11 a and b). With the appearance of ʿAlī's sword, the Dhuʾl-faqār, its subliminal aspect is underlined by prominent sunbeams which appear from the dark clouds; the Dhuʾl-faqār itself thereby replaces the figure of the angel of the above-mentioned example (Fig. 11 b).

A major source of information on Albanian Bektāši beliefs is the nineteenth-century Bektāši poet Naim Frashëri (25 May 1846–20 October 1900), the great national writer of Albania and activist of the nineteenth-century Albanian nationalist movement whose writings are still widely read by Albanian-speaking Bektāšis today. In his prose he mobilises the anti-Sunnī and openly Shīʿite orientation of the Bektāši to express opposition to Ottoman domination and to promote a separate (Muslim) Albanian identity thereby trying to transform Bektāši religious doctrine into a vehicle of national aspirations.[51] His aim was to develop an Albanian Bektāši community and to sever ties from the mother *teqe* in Turkey. He thereby hoped that Bektāšiism would develop into the national religion of Albania bridging the differences between the Christian and the Muslim faith (Bektāši *teqe*s still serve as places of worship for both Muslims and Christians).[52]

In his *Fletore e Bektashinjet*, or Bektāši Notebook, published in Bucharest in 1896, he opens with an introductory profession of the Bektāši faith and practice, which includes a statement of the belief in Allāh, in Muḥammad-Ali, the dual form of the ʿAlīd cult, then Khadīja bint Khuwaylid, the Prophet's first wife, Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad and Khadīja, and the Prophet's only male descendants, the sons of ʿAlī and

Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The *teqe* complex named after late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi in Sarandë in southern Albania preserves a coloured print with a triple portrait featuring ʿAlī flanked by his two sons, who are both highly venerated as martyrs (Fig. 12).

Next is a proclamation of the belief in the Twelver Imāms. ʿAlī is conceived of as their father and Fāṭima (ca. 12 before *hijrah*/605–11/633) as their mother. Christian prophets such as Moses, Mary and Jesus and their disciples are also acknowledged. The sixth Imām, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (80/699–700 or 83/702 – 148/765), and Ḥājī Bektāš are the elders in the spiritual "chain" of transmission (Ar. *silsila*) shared by all those initiated into the Bektāši *ṭarīqa* and guaranteeing for the adherents the authenticity of their initiatory filiation:

> "All these have said: 'Do good and abstain from evil.'"
>
> And again:
>
> "Without knowledge and truth and without brotherhood, no man can become a true Bektāši. For the Bektāši, the universe is God himself."[53]

Veneration of the *ahl al-bayt*

The pre-eminence of the veneration of the earliest "people of the House [of the Prophet Muḥammad]," *ahl al-bayt* (Alb. *ehl-i beyt*), namely the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima, her husband ʿAlī, and their two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, from whom God "removed all impurity" (Qurʾān 33:33),[54] in the setting of a Bektāši *teqe* is reflected in a contemporary painting at the World Headquarters (Kryegjyshata Botërore) of the Bektāši Community in Tirana (Fig. 13). Popularly often called *aṣḥāb al-kisāʾ* ("people of the cloak") in remembrance of the occasion when Muḥammad enveloped his immediate family with his mantle and recited in 33:33, the belief of the supermundane qualities of the *ehl-i beyt* and the Imāms descended from them forms a core of Bektāši devotion. The close association with the creed is marked by the fact that the holy five are depicted below a small Ḥusaynī Taxh with suspended *teslīm tāš* directly above Fāṭima who is depicted in the centre. As a sign of his martyrdom and triumph, ʿAlī is again clad in a red robe. It is striking that the heads of ʿAlī and Muḥammad are surrounded by disk haloes of green light whereas the heads of young Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, who flank their grandfather and father, are

furnished with tall cusped green haloes. The circular halo ceased to be an attribute of holiness in "official" Islamic visual representations where it was replaced by the flame-halo.[55] The preference for the round halo in popular iconography might be traced back to the Christian substratum.[56] ʿAlī and Muḥammad both hold a *tasbiḥ* in their right hand consisting of ninety-nine beads, the number of the "Beautiful names of Allāh." The two brothers kneel, resting on their lower legs, with their arms folded across their breasts, their hands pointing towards their shoulders in a posture signifying abject humility. Ten small angels carrying wreaths float in the interstices between the family members. The ideal locus of authority and salvation in worldly and spiritual matters, the *ehli beyt* are seen as perfect leaders of the community. The special reverence in which the holy five are held by the Bektāši is reflected in a closely comparable painting of the latter depicted next to portraits of ʿAlī and Ḥājī Bektāš again cradling a small bovid and a lion at the Shemimi Bābā Teqe and the *tyrbe* of Bābā Selim Kaliçani from Kosovo in Fushë Krujë (rebuilt in 1991) (Fig. 14). The male members are, once more, represented with closely comparable haloes (the round haloes around the heads of ʿAlī and Muḥammad are yellow-coloured) and flanked by eight small angels carrying wreaths that hover in the interstitial areas between the shoulders of the family members, two of which frame the twelve-gore *taxh* above the head of Fāṭima at the centre distinguishing it as a powerful visual symbol.[57]

The main visual reference in the *maydān* (*meydan*), the congregational chamber reserved for the performance of the primary devotional ritual of the *ayin-i xhem*, the "essence of union," is yet another monumental colour poster of the *ehli beyt* at the Bektāši *teqe* in Kičevo in Macedonia, headed by Ejup Bābā. We have already had occasion to observe that in Bektāšiism the reverence for the divinely ordained, infallible twelve Imāms (who stem from the Prophet's family, starting with ʿAlī, the first in a series of twelve) takes on many symbolic forms. The material manifestation of their sacred presence is also reflected in the "throne of Muḥammad" or *takht-i Muḥammad*, a three-step wooden structure, on which twelve candles symbolising the twelve Imāms are arranged in groups of four. A further candle with three wicks is placed either on the first step or on the ground in front of it. Known as *birlik çirag*, "the candle of Unity," or *kanun çirag*, "the candle of the Law," it is likewise an important element in the *çirag ayini* or "ceremonies of light," in which verse 35 of Sūrat al-Nūr (Qurʾān 24) plays an essential role.[58] Also placed in front of this display of devotional piety is a twelve-fluted *teslīm tāš* (see Figs. 1 and 2).

Centrality of the Karbalā Narrative Expressions

Notably, next to the poster of the *ehli beyt* surmounting the *takht-i Muḥammad* is an emblematic depiction of a final scene of the seventh-century Karbalā tragedy, the Qerbelaja, one of the founding myths of Shīʿism, which in retrospect was to become one of the greatest battles in the history of mankind. The representation mnemonically evokes the combat during which Ḥusayn's heavily outnumbered and underequipped forces comprising his family and seventy-two men were placed under siege in the desert of Karbalā close to Kūfah in southern Iraq and were denied access to water (to the Euphrates River, their only aqueous source) – an inversion of Ḥasan's murder which occurred ten years earlier by poisoned water. All but two of Ḥusayn's men were slain mercilessly in defence of the true Islam on the battlefield at noon on Friday on the tenth of Muḥarram (ʿĀshurāʾ) 61/31 May 680 by the Sunnī oppressors. The Imām was decapitated and the women were taken prisoner.

Albanian Bektāšis put particular emphasis on keeping alive the memory of Ḥusayn's noble battle, sacrifice and violent death and that of the other Karbalā fighters through a plethora of dramatic visual depictions and mnemonic devices to visually empathise with the agony of scorching heat, thirst and hunger experienced by the wounded martyrs, imagine, re-enact and thereby ritually commemorate the epic tradition.

Naim Frashëri's long poem *Qerbelaja*,[59] which contains twenty-five sections, remains one of the most recited and chanted poems in Albania today. Importantly, he tries to transform this Shīʿite theme of suffering and redemption into a national Albanian theme:[60]

O vëllezrë shqiptarë!
Pa qasuni duke qarë,
Dhe mbani zi këtë ditë,
T'u xbresë nga Zoti dritë.
Pa kujtoni Qerbelanë!

O brother Albanians!
Come closer while crying
And mourn this death
So the light from the Lord comes [up]on you.
Remember Karbalā!

The *Qerbelaja* recounts in great detail Ḥusayn's rebellion, the divinely pre-ordained nature of his final death and ultimate triumph being understood as an epic struggle between good and evil. An equestrian portrait, well-known from an Iranian as well as Turkish context, features a single episodic design with the archetypal martyr, son of ʿAlī and grandson of the Prophet, in full armour holding a spear in his right hand mounted on his white stallion, Dhuʾl-janāḥ, overlooking the battle scene during the last hours of ʿĀshurāʾ in the desert of Karbalā (Fig. 15).[61]

Another *maydān* in the same *teqe* – also reserved for liturgical meetings – has a similar *takht-i Muḥammad* at the far end of the hall. It is topped by yet another painting of the twelve Imāms rendered in a near-identical configuration and crested by two circular medallions in the upper corner, once again, enclosing portraits of ʿAlī and Ḥājī Bektāš (Figs. 16 a and b). The former are surmounted by another angel descended from heaven (closely comparable to the one that hovered above the twelve Imāms in the poster discussed earlier, Figs. 10 a and b) who with his right hand gestures towards ʿAlī's monumental two-bladed sword, the Dhuʾl-faqār. The composition surmounts again the same potent Arabic inscription on the sword with its Turkish transliteration below.

Considered to be the most sacred place of the Bektāši Community reserved only for the initiated, the *maydān* at the Kryegjyshata Botërore in Tirana has a similar *takht-i Muḥammad* with the twelve candles (Fig. 17). A closely related arrangement is found in the *maydān* of the Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë featuring a central *takht-i Muḥammad* again with the lights alluding to the twelver Imāms (Fig. 18).

As mentioned above, the Gjakovë *teqe* complex – that had been established in 1204/1790 and was known for its substantial library – was allegedly deliberately targeted and completely destroyed by Serb extremists in the spring of 1999. This necessarily presents a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the liturgical objects and the pictorial programme at the *teqe*. The main entrance of the *teqe* is dominated by a dramatic large-scale contemporary visual narration commemorating the physical suffering and painful death of Ḥusayn and the other heroes at the historical Battle of Karbalā, the Qerbelaja, symbolising his heroic struggle against religious tyranny and corruption (Fig. 19). The battle scene shows the pre-eminent infallible Imām on his white horse, Dhuʾl-janāḥ, attacking a mounted enemy soldier with his spear. The walls of the assembly hall of the same *teqe* once again show posters of the repertoire of other well-known episodes of this overarching and paradigmatic story of existential tragedy,

the most common pictorial representation in contemporary Bektāšī visual culture, creating a visual cognitive-emotional framework for the spiritual experience of the devotees. The most important season in the Bektāšī calendar are the first ten days of Muḥarram, the first month of the Islamic calendar, during which an annual period of fasting and abstinence, the *matem* (Ar. *maʾtam*; the memorial services in honour of Ḥusayn's tragic martyrdom at Karbalā at the beginning of the Muḥarram month; lit. "bereavement") is observed in rituals of remembrance and celebration. For the Bektāšī this replaces the obligatory annual fasting during the month of Ramaḍān observed by Muslims worldwide, regarded as one of the Five Pillars of Islam.

During the *matem* the *bābā*s, *dervish*es and devotees fast and meditate as they memorialise accounts of Ḥusayn's martyrdom and the thirst he suffered in the desert of Karbalā by drinking no pure water (only water mixed with drops of tea or coffee) and by eating no meat or food which contains animal fat. They visually celebrate and continue to re-enact Ḥusayn's *passio* – a formalised communal ritual which, as in much of the Shīʿite world, is pietistic and didactic in character. Visual signs as pictorial representation of the latter are called forth during the devotional practice, deploying a rhetoric of immediacy, longing and fervour which solicits an empathetic response that allows for a communal identification with the Imām's patient suffering, persecution and martyrdom and a concomitant emulation of some of his virtues. In like manner as in the dramatic Iranian *taʿzīya* performances (the ritual of mourning for Ḥusayn), the task is to transform and articulate his pathos and agony into a sensation of both lamentation and compassion – a suffering with – merging with that of the devotees' and thereby removing or mitigating it. In so doing the material and spiritual realms overlap and form a single continuum. By thereby tapping into the "collective memory" and salvation history of the Bektāšī community, the idea of martyrdom and the "redemptive nature" of suffering creates community among the devout believers.[62] The ten- or twelve-day period culminates in special mourning observances on the tenth day of the ritual commemoration of ʿĀshurāʾ (the date of Ḥusayn's death)[63] marked with a special ʿĀshurāʾ (pudding) made of cracked wheat, sugar, dried fruit, crushed nuts and cinnamon.

In the *tyrbe* of the *teqe* this affection is expressed by portraits of ʿAlī, Ḥusayn and Ḥājī Bektāš surmounting yet further depictions of the Qerbelaja with Dhuʾl-janāḥ, Ḥusayn's wounded horse, returning on its own to the tents of Ḥusayn's mourning female family members after the Imām's

martyrdom (Fig. 20).[64] The same scene is prominently displayed in the Kryegjyshata Botërore in Tirana. A powerful iconography for his martyred master, the white stallion carrying an empty saddle, blood flowing from its wounds, stands in profile with its head bent down towards a kneeling woman with a cloth pulled over her head in a sign of mourning, her hands stretched towards the horse's hooves. This iconic scene of the aftermath of the battle is set against a row of white tents with wailing women covered with white face scarves, clad in long garments, and their children.[65]

Veneration of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib

In this connection, it is worthwhile to consider a representation with the heroic triple portraiture of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (Fig. 21).[66] The same poster is kept both at the Arabati Bābā Teqe in Tetovë in Macedonia and the *teqe* complex of the late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi in Sarandë in southern Albania. The figure of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (Alb. Abaz ʿAlīu), Imām Ḥusayn's half-brother and standard-bearer of his army at the Battle of Karbalā, coagulates into a particularly symbolic figure and is of great spiritual importance to the Bektāši. Regarded as Ḥusayn's most faithful supporter and friend, he is one of the most popular Shīʿī intercessors (Fig. 22). The idealised portrait of the armoured warrior whose hands were cut off during the Battle of Karbalā at the order of the Umayyad commander and who was finally slain when he tried to procure water from the Euphrates, represents another variation on the theme of redemptive suffering. The green cloth wrapped around his helmet topped by two feathers characterises him as a member of the Prophet's family and the rays of light around his head indicate his sanctity. The bleeding wound on his forehead, his tearful eyes and his chapped lips foreshadow his impeding martyrdom. In an act of visual piety, his image transfigures into a solemn corporeal gaze eliciting a powerful visceral response in the beholder. The poster is, again, well-known from a Twelver Shīʿa context and is widely dispersed in Iran.[67]

In a depiction from a leaflet distributed at the Kryegjyshata Botërore in Tirana, the *asitāne-i madhe*, dated 22 August 2010, we see Abbaz ʿAlīu set against a large portrait of his half-brother ʿAlī (Fig. 23). In another depiction of Abbaz ʿAlīu, his face is concealed by a luminous light reflecting his radiating luminous essence (Fig. 24).[68]

His *maqām*, said to have been constructed in 1029/1620, is located on the southern summit of Mount Tomor.[69] One of the highest peaks in southern Albania and the most sacred mountain of the Bektāši community, the locality is in itself an intrinsic symbol of Bektāši identity. The ritual commemoration of the martyrdom of Abbaz ʿAlīu, which takes place each year from 20 to 25 August, brings together many thousands of faithful members of the community from all parts of Albania and beyond. They make the pilgrimage to Abbaz ʿAlīu's *maqām* with accompanying feast and *kurban* (Ar. *qurbān*, propitiatory animal sacrifice) to commemorate his martyrdom.

According to Bektāši tradition, the latter once came to Albania on his white horse to save the country from the barbarians, whence he is said to have spent those five days in August on Mount Tomor.[70] His annual return to the sacred mountain during this period bestows additional blessings upon the pilgrimage. An inscription on the outer walls of Abbaz ʿAlīu's octagonal commemorative tomb quotes Naim Frashëri's poem *Luletë e Verësë* (Flowers of the Summer, published in Bucharest in 1890) transmitting and memorialising the Bektāši cultural myth:[71]

Abbaz Aliu zu Tomorë /
Erdhi afër nesh /
Shqipërija s'mbet e gjorë /
Se Zoti desh.

Abbas ʿAlī took over Tomor /
He came to live with us /
Albania was no longer afflicted /
For God came to love it.

Another Bektāši legend records that when Ḥājī Bektāš saw Christian pilgrims make their annual climb on 15 August, the Assumption Day of the Virgin Mary, to the peak of Mount Tomor, he journeyed to Karbalā to exhume an arm bone from the grave of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī and hurled it up to the peak of Mount Tomor in order to consecrate the mountain as ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī's second grave.[72]

The Christian tradition of a pilgrimage to the peak of Mount Tomor is another example of a sacred place having multiple dedications and, most likely, is a vestige of pre-Christian cults. Importantly, Abbaz ʿAlīu is identified with the Christian Saint Elias who is considered immortal. Like

other points in the sacred calendar, the saint's feast day is much older than its name would suggest and associates the prophet with pre-Christian lightning gods. He is also known as "Elias the Thunderer" and, according to legend, is held responsible for summer storms, hail, rain, thunder and dew. At the same time, he is associated with mountaintops.[73]

***

This example paradigmatically illustrates, once again, that collective beliefs, ritual practices, ceremonies and representations are often considered to be part of the official religion – Christianity or Islam – of a given local community or social network in Albania. Significantly, these are not only categorised collectively but are appropriated as an "ancestral legacy of traditions and customs."[74] At the same time, post-communist Bektāši visual representations have an inner dynamics, generated by their need for a politico-religious positioning and for local legitimisation. The decisive national character of the order was fostered in the course of the early 20th century when next to Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Sunnī Islam, Bektāšiism became officially recognised by the Albanian state as fourth legal denominational congregation of the country. During the Ottoman period all Muslims lived under the authority of the Sunnī clergy, and all Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa*s were expected to comply with this reality. But, as noted earlier, in 1920 the Albanian government officially acknowledged the Bektāši Islamic community as being distinct from the larger Sunnī one with the same status as that of the Sunnī Muslims. In a 2012 meeting with Bābā Mondi, he professed a Shīʿī position and clearly associated the Bektāši with the Shīʿī-oriented Alevī community defining the Bektāši as Shīʿīte.

Post-communist Bektāšiism in Albania also continues to forge close links with the Islamic Republic of Iran. And although the Bektāšis are not orthodox Shīʿītes, Iran is very active in supporting them (Fig. 25). Amongst other things, a number of Albanian Bektāšis reportedly receive grants to undergo Shīʿīte theological and religious training in Iran, especially at the Theological Faculty of the Holy City of Qum.[75] It may be hypothesised that upon their return, they might actively support a rapprochement with the mystical and intellectual forms of orthodox Iranian Twelver Shīʿīsm.

References common in much Bektāši thought to Shīʿīte phenomena facilitate the influx of Iranian Twelver Shīʿīte-inspired repertoire of well-known and long-established visual signs, in particular with reference to the wider family of the Prophet and the Qerbelaja tragedy, is quite

prevalent in post-communist Bektāši iconographic language. Especially since the early 1990s, the diffusion of new iconographic types and poster art emanating in particular from Iran and Turkey contributes to a "synchronistic pictorial tradition" understood as congruent and continuous with the valued past, continually reused and adapted and enjoys particular popularity.[76] In the matrix of Bektāši commemorative ritual practice the immense force of this popular visual piety is mirrored in narrative as well as "condensed" symbolic representations propounding mysteries of another world to aspire to and to live in. And in spite of the rapid change that the Albanian Bektāšiyya has been undergoing in the past two decades, they thus clearly value and safeguard their contemporary visual culture and aesthetic practices as rooted in and continuous with their traditional iconography. For the moment, then, we can conclude that this visual corpus not only reflects the *Zeitgeist* but also actively helps to engender a sense of belonging and identity turning the adherents of the Albanian Bektāšiyya into a larger collective.[77]

PLATES

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Fig. 3

Fig. 4

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Fig. 6

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Fig. 8a

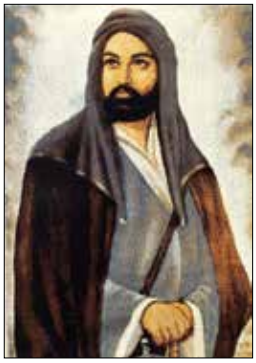

Fig. 8b

Fig. 9

Fig. 10a

Fig. 10b

Fig. 11a

Fig. 11b

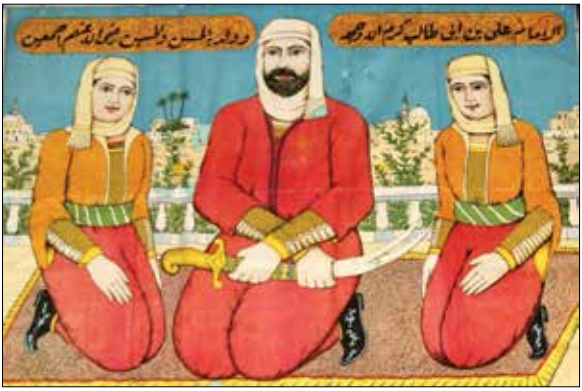

Fig. 12

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Fig. 20

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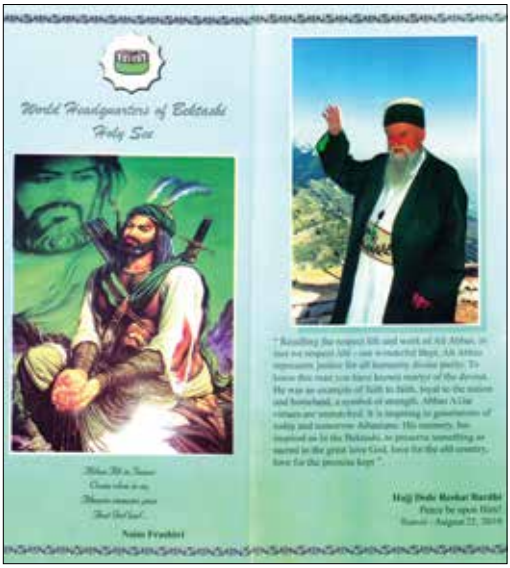
Fig. 22



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Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

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Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

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Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

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Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

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Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

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Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

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b. Woven portrait of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.
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Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 9
Portraits of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (centre), Ḥājī Bektāš Walī, the "first Pīr" of the Bektāšiyya, Bālim Sulṭān (878/1473 to 925/1519), the "second Pīr" of the Bektāšiyya (left), below the Albanian national flag and seated underneath Dervish Myrteza Shehu at the *teqe* complex of Melan (built c. 1800) on a mountaintop above the village of Libohovë in the district of Gjirokastër, southern Albania.
Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Figs. 10 a and b
Poster with portraits of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ḥājī Bektāš Walī, surmounting ʿAlī's legendary two-pointed sword, the Dhuʾl-faqār, and the devotional formula
lā fatā ʾillā ʿalī wa lā saīf ʾillā dhuʾl-faqār
with the twelve Imāms seated below.
Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, Đakovica (Gjakovë), Kosovo.
Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Figs. 11 a and b
a. Portraits of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ḥājī Bektāš Walī and the twelve Imāms.
b. surmounted by ʿAlī's legendary two-pointed sword, the Dhuʾl-faqār, and the devotional formula
lā fatā ʾillā ʿalī wa lā saīf ʾillā dhuʾl-faqār
at the *tyrbe* of Bābā Ballen in Krujë, northcentral Albania.
Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 12
Coloured print with ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib flanked by his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn at the *teqe* complex of the late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi, Sarandë, southern Albania.
Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 13
Contemporary painting of the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn identified by inscriptions at the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, Albania.
Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 14
Rendering of the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, at the Shemimi Bābā Teqe and the Tyrbe of Bābā Selim Kaliçani from Kosovo located in Fushkrujë; rebuilt in 1991.
Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 15
Poster with a scene of the Karbalā tragedy (the Qerbelaja) showing Imām Ḥusayn mounted on his white horse, Dhuʾl-janāḥ, overlooking the battle scene during the last hours of ʿĀshurāʾ in the desert of Karbalā, at the *teqe*'s *maydān*, the ceremonial chamber reserved for the performance of the *ayın-i cem* ("congregational ceremony") in Kičevo, Macedonia, which has ties to the Turkish Bektāši community under Haydar Ercan Dede rather than Tirana; the *teqe* is headed by Ejup Bābā.
Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Figs. 16 a–b
Poster with portraits of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ḥājī Bektāš Walī, surmounting ʿAlī's legendary two-pointed sword, the Dhuʾl-faqār, and the devotional formula
lā fatā ʾillā ʿalī wa lā saīf ʾillā dhuʾl-faqār
with the twelve Imāms seated below; at the *teqe*'s second *maydān*, Kičevo, Macedonia.
Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 17
The *maydān* with the *takht-i Muḥammad* with twelve candles referring to the twelve Imāms at the World Headquarters of the Bektāš Community in Tirana, the Mother Teqe of the Bektāši Ṣūfī Order (*asitāne-i madhe*).
Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2012.

Fig. 18
The *maydān* with the *takht-i Muḥammad* with twelve candles of the Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, Đakovica (Gjakovë), Kosovo; the complex was completely destroyed during the 1998–99 war and has since been rebuilt.
Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 19
Contemporary painting commemorating the martyrdom Imām Husayn, Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, Đakovica (Gjakovë), Kosovo.
Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 20
Poster with scenes of the Karbalā tragedy with Dhuʾl-janāḥ, Imām Ḥusayn's horse, returning to the tents of the family of Ḥusayn after the Imām's martyrdom, Komuniteti Bektashian Gjyshata e Kosovës Teqeja Gjakovë, Đakovica (Gjakovë), Kosovo.
Photographs Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 21
Poster with the portraits of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Imām Ḥusayn. The same poster is displayed in the Arabati Bābā Teqe in Tetovë, Macedonia, and in the *teqe* complex of the late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi, Sarandë, southern Albania.
Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 22
Poster with the portrait of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Imām Ḥusayn's half-brother and standard-bearer of his army, Arabati Bābā Teqe in Tetovë, Macedonia.
Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2011.

Fig. 23
Leaflet with the portrait of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib set against a large portrait of his half-brother ʿAlī, and that of the late Kryegjshi Bābā Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi, dated 22 August, 2010, distributed at the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana.

Fig. 24
Portrait of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, his face is concealed by a luminous light reflecting his radiating luminous essence; World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana.

Fig. 25
Ḥajji Bābā Edmond Brahimaj (Bābā Mondi) with the Iranian ambassador in Tirana, Mr Ali Amouei at the World Headquarters of the Bektāši Community in Tirana, the Mother Teqe of the Bektāši Ṣūfī Order (*asitāne-i madhe*).
Photograph Sara Kuehn, 2012.

NOTES

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1 The term was coined by Morgan's 1998 study of popular devotional images in contemporary American lives and communities.

2 The Shīʿīte component of post-Ottoman Alevīs and Bektāšis in the Balkans has recently been addressed by Stoyanov 2012, 170–209, and *idem* 2013, 163–187, and of the Alevīs in Turkey by Shankland 2012, 210–228. For an investigation of parallels between the Bektāšiyya and *Ithnāʿasharī Shīʿa*, see Norton 2001, 168–200; also Vorhoff 1998, 23–50. In this context it is of special interest to follow the on-going discourse, brought forward by Yuri Stoyanov (2012, 192 and n. 76), about Ismāʿīlī (Sevener Shīʿīte) aspects in Bektāši and other Anatolian heterodox groups (Kizilbaš) beliefs and sacred architecture in the eastern Balkans. On the historical bipartite development of Bektāši and Kizilbaš, see Mélikoff 1998, 1–7.

3 The Albanian Bektāšiyya is divided into six *gjyshatë* or administrations with centres in Fushë Krujë (covering Krujë), as well as Vlorë, Gjirokastër, Berat, Elbasan, Korçë, while the seventh is in Macedonia's Tetovë. The *teqes* in Shkodër, Durrës, Kukës, Pejë, Gjakovë and Bulqizë are self-administered.

4 Birge 1937, 56–58.

5 The Islamic calendar, dating from Muḥammad's *hijrah* or emigration, of AD 622, is a lunar one which every year is about eleven days shorter than the Julian and Gregorian solar year. In this study, when two dates are given, the first is the Islamic, or *Hijrī*, year, and the second the Western, Christian (or Common Era, CE), year.

6 Hasluck, M. 1925; Kressing 2002, 77–78, 83; Birge 1937, 15; Elsie 2001, 27.

7 Bartl 1993, 595; Lakshman-Lepain 2002, 39–41.

8 For a discussion of the post-Ottoman period, see Clayer 1990 and *eadem* 1996.

9 Albania's Bektāši disciples follow the four-level initiation structure as set up by Bālim Sulṭān in the sixteenth century comprising the *muhib* (Ar. *muḥibb*, believer, also meaning "lover"), the *dervish*, the *bābā* (father) and the *dede* or *gjysh* (grandfather), while at the top of the Bektāši community stands the Kryegjyshi. Each of the four levels requires a preparatory period of at least three years followed by an initiation ceremony. *Dervishes* are expected to leave their family and professional life and live in the *teqe*.

10 Cf. Ayub 1978, 53–68.

11 See, for instance, issues in the Iranian journal *Message of Thaqalayn,* edited by the *Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly* in Tehran, 1423/2003, vol. 7,

no. 4; ʿAlī Akbar Rostami, "Exegesis of the Qurʾān – the Heritage of the Ahl al-Bayt," 57–9; Ahmad Turābī, "Imam ʿAlī, the Source of Authentic Qurʾānic Knowledge," 89–91, or Muhammad Bāqir Hujjatī, "Imam ʿAlī, the First Compiler of the Holy Qurʾān," 105–7; cited after Brunner 2005, 346 and n. 143.

12 Birge 1937, 173–174.

13 For Bektāši amulets composed from the written names of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, see Schimmel 1984, 110. Cf. Birge 1937, 132–134; de Jong 1989, 8; Trix 1996, 205.

14 This is further confirmed by essential traditions, in particular that of the Prophet Muḥammad attending the Banquet of the Forty which took place during his Night Journey (Ar. Lailat al-Miʿrāj). He is received to that Banquet by Imām ʿAlī whom he does not recognise at first because he is the divine ʿAlī. Muḥammad drinks of the juice of the grapes brought by the spiritual presence of Salman al-Pārisī/Salmān-i Pāk, the aid and companion of ʿAlī, and joins the sacred dance of the community. Through the presence of the Prophet at that ceremony, the Bektāšiyya maintains a connection with part of the Islamic world. For an exploration of this see tradition, see De Jong 1989, 9–10; Melikoff 2001, 97–120.

15 For a comparable print, see de Jong 1989, 24, pl. 8; *idem* 1992, 230, fig. 11.1; Shani 2012, 135, fig. 56.

16 Cf. *idem* 1989, 12; Trix 1996, 205. On mirror-image calligraphy in Turkish art, see Avci 1977, 20–33.

17 Cf. de Jong 1989, 12; Trix 1996, 205–206. For the historical background on Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and their role in Shīʿī piety, see Ayub 1978, esp. 37–140.

18 The word for (spiritual) surrender or submission (*teslīm*) is built on the Arabic root "s-l-m" that underlies the Arabic term *islām*, literally, submission (to God), and associates it also with one of the most famous Ṣūfī *ḥadīth*s, "Die before you die," implying a metaphorical death to the concerns of the material world through the reigning in of the concupiscent desires of the self before the physical death; to achieve "death before dying" was to attain spiritual union with the divine. See also Karamustafa 1994, 21, 41. In the same vein, the button on the Bektāši cap symbolises a "human head," since the Bektāšis are often glossed as "the beheaded dead people," cf. Karamustafa 1993, 124. For a discussion of the motif of the beheaded saint, see Ocak 1989, 75–80.

19 Brown 1868, 180–181.

20 Muslims hold different views on the use of figurative representations, especially in the context of religious practice. Adherents to the Shīʿī, in particular, look back at a long history of producing figurative imagery with themes from the Shīʿa hagiography to be used in a religious context. See Flaskerud 2010, 2; Khosronejad 2012, 1–24, esp. 9, 12.

21 Ergun 1944, vol. 3, 35, cited after *idem*, 8. Cf. Ocak 2005, 272.

22 Cf. Schimmel 1994, 23; Shani 2012, 122–158; Suleman 2012, 215–232; Zarcone 2012, 104–121.

23 Emphasis on freedom from temptations though control of one's sexual instincts is a prescription of Bektāši (and Alevī, a religious group within Twelver Shīʿī Islam characterised by elements of the Bektāšiyya) ethics as stated in the *adab* or precept, "Be in control of your hand, your tongue and your loins," that is adherence to truth, honesty and chastity.

24 Schimmel 1975, 419; Aksel, 1967, 49, 61, 124–125.

25 Cf. Birge 1937, 219–231.

26 Cf. a contemporary portrait of Imām ʿAlī depicted at the mausoleum of the Imāmzāde Šāh-i Zaid in Kirmān, Iran, Newid 2006, 186, fig. C8 and a contemporary poster, Puin 2008, vol. 3, 866, fig. H-2, and 879, fig. H-11.

27 As has been conclusively shown by Ingvild Flaskerud (2010, 21–31), prototypical models of imaginary portraiture have been coined in nineteenth-century Iran.

28 The Ḥusaynī Taxh of the Bektāši *dervish*es is thought to have been inspired by the hat of the Turkish Janissaries, both featuring twelve gores. See Birge 1937, 37, 46, 50–1, 232–3, and ills. on 28, 236.

29 Trix 1996, 196–197.

30 For the importance of the number twelve in Bektāšiism, see Müller 1967, 40–41, 43, 45.

31 In contradistinction to Islamic tradition which discourages the practice of celibacy, Bālim Sulṭān is considered to have institutionalised the Mucerrid branch into the order that advocates the permanent status of celibacy (Alb. *beqaria*, Turk. *mücerritlik*) for the highest adepts of the Bektāšiyya, which has its roots in the antinomian piety of the later medieval period. Karamustafa 1993, 121–129; Algar, "Bektāšīya," *EIr*. Cf. Hasluck, F. 1929, vol. 1, 152–164; de Jong 1989, 7–8; Bashir 2007, 133–150, esp. 134, 143–144.

32 Rubin 1975, 41, 67. For a discussion of Ṣūfī concepts of "light" in medieval Islam, see the important monograph of Rosenthal 1970, 157–9.

33 For its use by the Bektāšis, see Birge 1937, 235 and plate 10. There is evidence for the *tasbiḥ* having been used at first in Ṣūfī circles, see Goldziher 1890, 295–300, esp. 296. Cf. Venzlaff 1985.

34 According to Shīʿīte tradition, the primordial essence of the *ahl al-bayt* as the first creation is sometimes described as dwelling within shadows of a green colour; the Prophet and his family are, moreover, said to have been created as green shadows from the light of God; Rubin 1975, 101. See also Flaskerud 2010, 45.

35 For closely related depictions, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 881, H-13, and 896, H-27b.

36 Personal communication.

37 For a comparable depiction of ʿAlī holding his Dhuʾl-faqār with a recumbent lion at his feet, Iran, twentieth century, see Suleman 2012, 219, fig. 84.

38 For a near-identical depiction, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 877, H-9.

39 Murata 2001, 267. Literature on classical Islamic *futuwwa* or *fatā* (Pers. *javānmardī*) ideals, whose aim was to promote a code of chivalry or young-manliness, which was quite widespread in Islamic societies (especially during the late medieval period), underlines the tradition about ʿAlī as the ideal chevalier (*fatā*) (see Yildirim 2013, 53–70, esp. 55, 58), but does not link it with the devotional formula (*idem*, 66).

40 Ṭabarī, I, 3, 1359, 1402, cited by Calmard, "Ḏu'l-Faqār," *EIr*.

41 Balʿamī, ed. Rowshan, III, 169, cited by Calmard, "Ḏu'l-Faqār," *EIr*.

42 See Hasluck, F. 1912/1913, 207, 212; *idem* 1914/1915–1915/1916, 66–67; *idem* 1929, vol. 2, 435. For a general discussion of the phenomenon, see Schimmel 1994, 2–3, 182–183. For discourse on the footprints of the Prophet Muḥammad (*qadam al-rasūl* or *qadam al-sharīf*), see Hasluck, F. 1929, vol. 1, 185–187, vol. 2, 609. For further expositions of the footprints of the Prophet – perhaps the most important one being sheltered by the Dome of the Rock (constructed by ʿAbd al-Mālik (r. 685–705) in 691) on Mount Moriah in Jerusalem, see Hasan 1993, 335–343 and Gruber 2013, 297–307. On the Prophet's footprint in the Indian subcontinent, see Hasan, "Kadam Rasul," *Banglapedia*, and Welch 1993, 166–178. Footprints of other prophets such as Adam, Abraham, Moses and Aaron were linked to the religious practice of pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*) and shrine visitation or "minor" pilgrimages (*ziyārāt*). The legend of Adam's footprint is first mentioned in the in the geographical literature of the Islamic medieval period, the anonymous *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-l-Hind*, ed. J. Sauvaget, 1948, 5, and Masʿūdī, *Kitāb murūj al-dhahab*, ed. C.B. de Meynard, P. de Courteille 1861, 60. The place on earth on which Adam was cast down after the Fall is said to be marked by his seventy-cubit wide footprint on top of a mountain called "al-Ruhūn" (a name of Sanskrit origin, also called Samanoḷa rock) on the island of Ceylon or Sarandīb (in present-day south central Sri Lanka, also referred to as Samantakūṭa or Sri Pāda), which is still visible; see Skeen 1870, esp. 58; Strong 2004, 89–90, 92–97; an extraordinary tradition links Adam's famous footprint with that of the Buddha, who is said to have stood with one foot on Adam's Peak and with the other in Mecca, where according to tradition, a great stūpa enshrined the relic (the Makkama Mahāvihāra), accordingly the Buddha was referred to as the "sage of Mecca" (Makkama Muni), see Obeyesekere 1984, 135–36; 307. For Abraham's footprint in Anatolia, see, for instance, van Berchem and Herzfeld 1954, 178–179.

43 For a discussion of the historical connection between Shīʿīsm and Ṣūfīsm, see Nasr 1970, 215–233.

44 Just like the dates of his birth and death that are unknown but have been computed on the basis of chronograms respectively as 646/1248 and 738/1337, most of the available information on him is legendary and

hagiographical. Cf. Browne 1907, 535; Birge 1937, 34–35; Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich 1960, 294.

45 For a related imaginary portrait of Ḥājī Bektāš, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 921, L-1; Zarcone 2013, 151, pl. 5.

46 Gölpınarlı 1958.

47 For the Shīʿī, the twelve Imāms are regarded as the exclusive representatives of the divine light on earth; Rubin 1975, 65. The multivalent concept of *walāya*, the offering of spiritual guidance, has at the same time a Ṣūfī connotation. Cf. Schimmel 1975, 199.

48 For a comparable poster, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 870, fig. H-3d.

49 In most Ṣūfī fraternities this seat assumes a special significance. It constitutes the spiritual master's seat representing his controlled animal self.

50 Birge 1937, 138; Donaldson 1938, 82–83. According to some traditions, after the Battle of Uḥud, when ʿAlī, the epitome of courage, demonstrated his strength, bravery and chivalry, an angel was heard calling out the well-known saying; Murata 2001, 267.

51 Duijzings 2002, 64.

52 Hasluck, M. 1925, 388–398, esp. 391; Duijzings 2002, 66.

53 For a further discussion of Naim Frashëri's *Fletore e Bektashinjet*, see Hasluck, M. 1925, 388–398. For a complete English translation of the *Notebook*, see Hasluck, F. 1929, vol. 2, 554–562; Birge 1937, 79, 171; Elsie 2001, 25–33; the first part of the Notebook was published in German by Jokl 1926, 226–256.

54 De Jong 1998, 9. On the centrality of the Prophet and the *ahl al-bayt* for Shīʿīte piety, see Ayub 1978, 37–147; for a general discussion, see also Fontana 1994.

55 Arnold 1965, 95–97; Milstein 1986, 537–539.

56 Fodor 2005, 192.

57 Just like the Shīʿī interpretations the Bektāši also identify the *ehl-i beyt* as people of the light. Likewise the various references of light mentioned in the Qurʾānic "verse of light," *āyat al-nūr,* 24:35, are seen as allegoric symbols of ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and the rest of the Imāms. Cf. Rubin 1975, 65–67, 98–102.

58 De Jong 1998, 11, see also 21, pl. 4. For a detailed description of the ceremonies, see Haas 1988, 143–146.

59 Bucharest 1898; translated from the Albanian by Robert Elsie, and first published in English in *History of Albanian Literature*, New York 1995, vol. 1, 238. For a summary of Naim Frashëri's *Qerbelaja*, see Norris 1993, 182–185. Cf. Izeti 2001, 139–161.

60 Frashëri, *Qerbelaja*, 18; cited after Duijzings 2000, 173. To this may be added earlier Karbalā epics written by his uncles, Dalip and Shahin Frashëri,

Albanian masterpieces respectively titled the *Hadikaja* ("The Garden") and the *Myhtarnameja* or *Mukhtār-nāma* ("Tale of Myhtar"); Norris 1973, 180.

61 Cf. Puin 2008, vol. 3, 857, fig. G-13; Flaskerud 2010, 143.

62 Cf. Ayub 1978, 141–179. The term "collective memory" was introduced by Maurice Halbwachs in 1925. For a recent review of the term, see Assmann 2010, 34–50.

63 Cf. Birge 1937, 172, 173, 213.

64 A closely related depiction is published in Puin 2008, vol. 3, 859, fig. G-15.

65 Cf. Flaskerud 2010, 149, fig. 49.

66 Cf. a comparable representation of Imām ʿAlī with his sons ʿAbbās and Ḥusayn in Nurābād, Iran, Newid 2006, 203, fig. D11.

67 For a near-identical contemporary representation of ʿAbbās from Iran, see Puin 2008, vol. 3, 846, fig. G-2. Another closely related example from Kirmān, Iran is depicted in Newid 2006, 233, fig. G16.

68 Significantly, this suggests the survival of the Sasanian idea that the ruler's face was so luminous that in order not to be burned mortals had to hide their faces. See Milstein 1986, 539.

69 Elsie 2001, 3; *idem* 2002, 3.

70 *Idem*.

71 *Idem*.

72 *Idem*.

73 Hasluck, F. 1929, vol. 1, 165, n. 2 and 548, n. 2. Norris 1993, 98. Elsie 2002, 3, 65. The prophet spent forty days in a cave on Mount Horeb (1 Kings 19:8). In a similar vein, Slavic mythology is full of references to Perun, the supreme god of climatological phenomena such as storms, thunder and lightning bolts, who was amalgamated with Saint Elias after the arrival of Christianity. The prophet Ilyās (Elias) is also known in the Qurʾān (37:123–32).

74 Among the customs and taboos the Bektāšis "inherited" from their Illyrian and Christian past is, for instance, an abstention from the flesh of hares. Cf. Norris 2004, 326.

75 Personal communication with members of the Bektāšiyya in March and April 2012. Cf. Kressing 2000, personal communication with Lakshman-Lepain in 1996. Doja 2006, 500. Norris 2006, 112. To this may be added the publications by the Iranian foundation Saadi Shirazi that were still generously provided in 2012. Cf. also Clayer 2012, 202.

76 *Eadem* 202–203.

77 Cf. Norris 1993, 171–174; Doja 2013, 120.

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ANGLO-ROMANIAN RELATIONS AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1939-40: THE BRITISH GUARANTEE & TRANSYLVANIAN CRISIS

Abstract

This article examines the problems that existed for British policy makers in their attempts to build a consistent and coherent long term policy towards the Soviet Union while balancing competing objectives such as maintaining an anti-revisionist stance against aggressor states. It argues, first, that the 1939 guarantee to Romania was an instrument of declaratory politics for Britain that represented a statement against changes by force, but not revision writ large and, second, that it undermined British efforts to provoke Romanian resistance in 1940. In both cases, this was largely because Germany and Romania correctly perceived that there was no genuine Anglo-Soviet understanding to underpin it.

Keywords: Declaratory politics, British Foreign Office, Transylvanian Crisis, anti-revisionism, irredentism, Anglo-Soviet relations

Introduction

The territorial and national disputes in South-Eastern Europe provided major dilemmas for Britain as it tried to build some sort of coalition against Hitler and Mussolini before the outbreak of the Second World War. The unilateral British guarantee to defend Poland against German aggression, made by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain in the House of Commons on March 31, 1939 and subsequently extended to Romania and agreed to by the French in April, represented a stand against treaty and frontier revision by force, but not against revision as such. In addition, the guarantee excluded the Soviet Union, despite Romanian concerns about Soviet revisionist intentions. The British Government still considered some revision of Romania's borders, in particular the region of Dobruja shared

between Bulgaria and Romania, to be reasonable even though it could not publicly voice such views. In the end, Britain went to war in September 1939 in the guise of an anti-revisionist power, despite its inner reservations.

Romanian diplomacy was never truly independent and always sought outside support. In June 1940, with the Soviet Union, Hungary and Bulgaria harboring historical and persistent irredentist ambitions, Romania lost France, her only real ally among the Great Powers in favor of preserving the territorial *status quo*. The Soviet Union was the first to annex Romanian territory in a move that my research suggests was privately welcomed in the Foreign Office where there were hopes of further Soviet demands that might embroil Germany and the Soviet Union. The Soviet ultimatum to Romania sparked off the inevitable Hungarian demand for Transylvania and British diplomacy worked hard to exploit possibilities it believed inherent in the Transylvanian problem. By encouraging Romanian resistance to the cession of Transylvania to Hungary, Britain hoped to topple the pro-German government of Romania's King Carol II, replacing it with a more pro-western government. At the very least, Britain believed it could cause trouble for the Germans in an economically important and sensitive area. Its efforts failed from the outset because it was unable, but above all unwilling, to either reach an understanding with the Soviet Union to recognize its annexations or guarantee Romania's territorial integrity against further Soviet aggression. The British Government understood that Britain's fate lay in maintaining some kind of successful collaboration with the Soviet Union and there was no question of accepting any Romanian veto on Anglo-Soviet dialogue.

The inter-war period

Despite Britain's generally critical attitude towards Romania at the 1919 Peace Conference, the British Government never officially supported Hungarian revisionism during the war years. British leaders were the friendliest toward the Romanian cause in Bessarabia during the Peace Conference and the first years thereafter because British policy at this time was focused on improving Anglo-Romanian relations while trying to weaken Russia. Britain was the Great Power which insisted the most on signing the Bessarabian Treaty between Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, on one hand, and Romania on the other officially recognising the unification of Bessarabia with Romania at Russia's expense. Although

Britain was the first of the five signatory countries to ratify it in 1922,[1] attitudes underwent several changes and the Allies soon left the region in a virtual power vacuum. London left it to Paris to organize the area politically through the Little Entente between anti-revisionist Yugoslavia, Romania and Czechoslovakia. By 1934, Britain would only give her "benevolent approval" to France's project to reorganize her system of alliances in Eastern Europe and include the Soviet Union.[2]

Throughout the inter-war period, Romania viewed alliances as a vital part of its security system. Having achieved its territorial objectives after the First World War, the Romanian Government strove to protect its new frontiers and maintain the *status quo*. This involved preventing any revision of the peace treaties, especially the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary. Romania grew increasingly fearful that Britain would revise its initial friendly policy during the 1930s as London avoided involvement in the French alliance system in Eastern Europe and steadily refused to be drawn into guaranteeing these states. Alarmingly for Bucharest, various British governments showed a willingness to discuss revision of the Treaty of Versailles; a revision of that treaty could open the possibility of a revision of the Trianon Treaty.[3]

France's system of alliances collapsed following Hitler's march into Austria in 1938. After the Anschluss, or union, of Austria with Germany, the British and French largely left it to Germany to exploit the region economically. They showed little eagerness to engage economically with potential allies such as Bucharest to try to bolster the Romanian economy. In November 1938, Chamberlain and Foreign Secretary Edward Halifax were evasive and noncommittal when meeting Romania's King Carol II. The British Prime Minister stated that he had not assigned Central and South-Eastern Europe to Hitler as a sphere of interest, but "that natural forces seemed…to make it inevitable that Germany should enjoy a preponderant position in the economic field".[4] One of the main difficulties was the wide difference between Romania's internal prices and those on world markets, particularly for wheat and oil.[5] Paul Hehn argues that this refrain gradually became official British policy from this point on.[6] However, I would argue that a more hands-off attitude began to prevail earlier during Chamberlain's appeasement period, when Halifax made it dangerously clear to Hitler that all that worried England was that any frontier alterations should come about peacefully without "far-reaching disturbance".[7] Meanwhile, ex-enemy countries such as Bulgaria and potentially pro-Axis countries such as Hungary could expect even less

sympathy.[8] Apart from Turkey – an important area of strategic interest and a bulwark against German, Italian or even Soviet ambitions – Britain preferred to stay well out of the region.

Britain's guarantee

Britain was unwillingly drawn into South-Eastern Europe following Germany's occupation of the rest of Czechoslovakia by bluff and political intrigue in March 1939. Hitler's actions abrogated the agreements reached with Great Britain and France at Munich in September 1938. London was focused on the German threat to Poland which might destroy the European balance of power and the Italian threat in the Mediterranean against the sea route to the Middle East and India. South-Eastern Europe, Romania and Transylvania in particular, were somewhere in no-man's land in between.[9]

Hitler's march into Prague marked the end of the British policy of Appeasement and a new policy of British and French unilateral guarantees in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. However, the British guarantee represented a political reaction rather than the formation of close ties with Poland or Romania. As Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office Alexander Cadogan recorded in his diary on March 20, "as long as Hitler could pretend he was incorporating Germans in the Reich, we could pretend that he had a case. If he proceeded to gobble up other nationalities, that would be the time to call "Halt!"".[10] According to Halifax, the British public now feared that Hitler's real goal was to conquer Europe - and Romania appeared to be the next victim.[11] Parliament and public opinion demanded action, and an appeal from Virgil Tilea, the Romanian Minister in London, three days later appeared to offer the perfect opportunity. Tilea told Halifax that Germany had demanded a monopoly of Romania's exports and the restriction of Romanian industry in Germany's favor in return for which Germany would guarantee the Romanian frontiers. This, the Romanian minister reported, appeared to his government to be "something very much like an ultimatum".[12]

As Anna Cienciala points out, Tilea's *démarche* in London should also be seen in light of Romania's fear of Hungary. When Hungarian troops advanced into Subcarpathian Ruthenia on March 15, Bucharest feared that the Hungarians might also try to reclaim some of the territories lost to Romania in 1919. They reacted to this situation by proclaiming a partial

mobilization and seeking support in the West by spreading rumors of a German ultimatum.[13] Tilea, a young and passionate Anglophile who had only arrived in London in February, had little previous diplomatic experience.[14] Although he was exaggerating, Halifax was sufficiently alarmed. My research shows that the Foreign Office proceeded with devising a plan to guarantee Romania even after the British minister in Bucharest, Reginald Hoare, reported that the Romanian Foreign Minister told him that the Germans had never threatened them with an ultimatum and that economic negotiations were in fact proceeding normally.[15] Two days later Hoare met King Carol II who also stated that there had been no ultimatum. The King added, however, that "Roumania would resist German pressure but could not do so indefinitely without support".[16] While these statements perhaps reduced the urgency of assisting Romania, Britain's policy remained the same. On March 18, the British Chiefs of Staff advocated taking a stand against German dominance of Romania as it would threaten British interests in Greece, Turkey and the Mediterranean. However, they strongly advised against Britain taking a stance alone or supporting Romania unilaterally.[17]

The Soviet factor

Since Romanian-Soviet and Polish-Soviet relations were as bad as, if not worse than, between any of these states and Germany, Britain was presented with a dilemma. Bucharest and Moscow did not re-establish diplomatic relations until June 1934 and Moscow never recognized the loss of Bessarabia. At the outset of the 1939 discussions with Britain and France, the Romanian minister in Paris raised no objection to an approach being made by the French Government to Moscow, but begged that the French Government would not involve the Romanian Government. He explained that the Soviet Union was not popular in Romania, particularly among the upper classes, some of whom preferred Hitler to Stalin.[18] Despite British attempts to draw in the Soviet Union into efforts to defend countries threatened by Germany, it soon appeared clear that London and Paris had a choice between working with the Soviet Union *or* with countries in immediate danger of succumbing to German influence.

British officials believed that to side with Moscow risked driving Romania and Poland into Germany's arms or at a very least make it more difficult for Bucharest and Warsaw to make independent foreign

policy decisions. Siding conclusively with Romania and Poland, British officials seemed to think, would only run the risk of driving the Soviet Union into isolation, from which it was assumed she would emerge in her own good time and in her own interest, in opposition to Germany. The British Government never seriously considered that the Soviet Union might emerge as a fellow conspirator with Germany against the ruling international system, as she did in August 1939 with the Nazi-Soviet Pact. The Soviet problem remained the continuing theme of British diplomacy in the months before the outbreak of war and returned throughout the Transylvanian crisis.

My own perspective is that British officials hoped that even if Soviet-Polish arrangements were unpractical, Poland and Romania might be brought together through the lever of the British guarantees. However, this was soon dismissed by the two countries. Polish Foreign Minister Colonel Joseph Beck believed that any Polish promise of aid to Romania would be viewed by Budapest as Polish recognition of Romanian claims in the territorial dispute between the two countries and would drive Hungary towards an alliance with Berlin. In the end, the Poles gave no undertaking to come to Romania's help if attacked; they merely agreed to pursue this question in direct talks with the Hungarian and Romanian Governments.[19] On the other hand, the Romanians did not want to wait for any discussions with Poland since they believed a unilateral British guarantee was urgently needed to strengthen their position with Hitler. France agreed. Thus, by April 13, the British Government had decided in deference to Paris to give Romania the guarantee she asked for without awaiting the outcome of the proposed Polish-Romanian talks and, once more, without consulting the Soviet Union. Britain had switched from a "free hand" policy to a policy of unilateral commitments which ensured that if she was involved in war in Europe it would be with the support of weak rather than strong states.[20]

Although Britain was ostensibly joining France in resisting German revisionist threats to Poland and Romania, Britain was not declaring itself to be an anti-revisionist power in my view. The guarantees represented a British and French undertaking to give these two countries "all the support in their power" in the event of a clear threat to their independence which they themselves "considered it vital to resist with their national forces".[21] When Tilea asked whether the proposed guarantee would apply against all countries, i.e., against the Soviet Union, as well as against Germany, Cadogan pointed out to him

> that the whole basis of the arrangement which he had proposed was that of resistance to the threat of German domination in Europe and that all that we were trying to do was devised with that object. We had never considered the question of guaranteeing either Poland or Roumania against the Soviet [Union].[22]

Although King Carol II would have preferred a treaty specifically guaranteeing Romania's frontiers, he was relieved to have a British and French promise to support Romania against an attack by Germany or Hungary.[23]

Hoare understood that if Britain did not help King Carol II to meet the Soviet threat Romania would inevitably turn to Germany. He therefore suggested extending the guarantee to cover attack by the Soviet Union in December 1939, at a time when Red Army reverses in Finland produced an atmosphere of anti-Soviet euphoria among British diplomats and others in South-Eastern Europe.[24] The Soviet invasion attracted strong public support for Finland in Britain, causing great embarrassment to the British Government. Hoare's suggestion received a skeptical reaction in the Foreign Office. Fitzroy Maclean, the principal official responsible for the Soviet Union, who had just spent three years there, commented that "it is not at present our intention to declare war on the Soviet Union, for we have nothing to gain by so doing".[25] Moreover, Laurence Collier, his superior, also rejected Hoare's proposals, writing that: "I suppose it is natural for diplomats in countries adjacent to the Soviet Union…to regard Stalin as a greater menace than Hitler, but I am convinced that it is *not* true."[26] Collier was the head of the Northern Department (which dealt with the Soviet Union) since 1933. He was an experienced diplomat in Russia during the First World War and a strong advocate of making common cause with the Soviet Union in the lead up to the outbreak of war, "despite the fact that he had no illusions about Soviet sincerity and did not believe in the long–term compatibility of British and Soviet interests".[27]

From the outset, Britain and France undertook commitments without the resources to fulfil them. From Chamberlain's perspective, the guarantees were a diplomatic deterrent that would bring Hitler to his senses, and also a limited undertaking of a provisional nature whose extent and application would be decided by the British Cabinet, rather than a commitment to an irreversible policy.[28] The Cabinet was clear that neither Britain nor France could give direct help to Romania. Their assistance would have to take the form of pressure on Germany's western front.[29] In military terms it was

about as hard for the Western allies to help an isolated Romania as to help an isolated Poland. This was reaffirmed in a July 18, 1939 memorandum by the Chiefs of Staff:

> As a general point, we would emphasize that the fate of Poland will depend upon the ultimate outcome of the war, and that in turn, will depend upon our ability to bring about the eventual defeat of Germany and not on our ability to relieve pressure on Poland at the outset. This must therefore be the overriding consideration which governs our choice of action.[30]

Britain understood that its guarantee to Romania was unconvincing if Poland was reluctant to reinforce it. Therefore, it immediately asked Turkey to guarantee Romania; in return, Britain would guarantee Turkey.[31] However, the Turkish Government remained skeptical. Although an interim agreement was signed on May 12 to co-operate in the Mediterranean area, Anglo-French talks with Turkey were still unresolved by the outbreak of Second World War.[32] Meanwhile, British and French efforts to reach political or military agreement with the Soviet Union failed, largely because the Romanians and Poles feared the Soviet Union as much as Germany. Bucharest, Warsaw and the Baltic States worried about provoking Germany and, furthermore, did not want to give Moscow any excuse to send troops into their territory.

Despite the guarantee, Anglo-Romanian relations became briefly strained at this time as the Foreign Office mishandled pressure from Budapest and Bucharest. The British guarantee to Romania had angered the Hungarians who had recovered territory in Slovakia and Ruthenia thanks to Hitler and were now eager to reclaim Transylvania from Romania. The guarantee represented a new barrier to this aim. Gyorgy Barcza, Hungarian minister in London and a committed Anglophile and Germanophobe, was keen to draw attention to the "important territorial problems existing between Hungary and Rumania in consequence of the unjust conditions of the Treaty of Trianon".[33] In a sign of British anxiety over Hungarian neutrality, the Foreign Office hastily suggested to the Romanians that the British Government might reply to the Hungarians that they had "no wish to close their minds to the existence of this issue", but were "convinced that territorial questions cannot in the present strained atmosphere be profitably discussed".[34] Bucharest reacted with such hostility that the British quickly withdrew their suggestion and promised that no reply would *ever* be sent to Hungary without previous consultation with Romania.[35] In my assessment,

Foreign Office officials were cautious during the Transylvanian crisis a year later as a result of this fiasco prompting Halifax to step in decisively to steer policy in support of Romania.

The Soviet annexations

Ultimately, the Soviet Union, and not Hungary, was the first of Romania's revisionist neighbors to demand Romanian territory. The initial reaction in the Foreign Office to the Soviet ultimatum on June 26, 1940 and rapid subsequent annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina was resigned and passive. Officials were doubtlessly more preoccupied with the fall of France just days before, but their initial impression was that Moscow had acted *without* consulting Germany and Italy, though it seemed probable that the Germans at least were informed a few hours before the ultimatum to Romania was delivered.[36] In Bucharest, Hoare surmised that the annexation was almost certainly part of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. However, if the Germans were accomplices to the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia, they were thought not to be accomplices to the precise timing. Hoare pointed to efforts by the Germans to remove the German minority from the area in the preceding months whereas the timing of the annexation resulted in a significant loss of agricultural investment for the Germans.[37]

My examination of relevant documents strongly demonstrates that the Soviet occupation of Bessarabia was broadly welcomed by British officials since it might forestall Germany. From Bucharest, Hoare pointed to the strategic importance of the region; he argued that Bessarabia would have been an excellent point of attack into Ukraine for the Germans and the best protection for the Soviet Union against such a maneuver would be to acquire the line of the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube Delta. This might indicate further Soviet demands; the minister highlighted that the occupation of Bessarabia was carried out at a speed and manner calculated to impress the Romanian army and people with the complete futility of further resistance.[38] He considered the situation following the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina on July 1 to be very fluid and that a further Soviet advance into Romania could not be ruled out.[39] In London, the annexation of Bessarabia was understood on historical grounds, but Stalin's desire to annex northern Bukovina left officials wondering if he had further designs on Romania.[40] There was

disappointment in the Foreign Office that the rumors of a further Soviet ultimatum were without foundation since this would have brought a German-Soviet clash closer.[41]

Reflecting in February 1941, Hoare speculated that if war between Romania and the Soviet Union had begun in 1940, the Romanians would doubtlessly have been quickly pushed out of Bessarabia. The war might not have ended on the River Pruth border between Bessarabia and Romania, and Germany clearly could not have allowed the Red Army to approach the valuable Ploiești oil-fields.[42] During the crisis, there was some speculation that King Carol II's request for an interview with Hitler in July 1940 was connected to a further Soviet move against Romania. But it was believed that in that event it was unlikely that Germany would help defend Romania.[43] Foreign Office officials rejected Romanian attempts to persuade the British Government that Stalin had further designs against Romania.[44] Ian le Rougetel at British Legation reported that the "Soviet bogey" was been used by Germany to deter both Hungarians and Romanians from resorting to hostilities.[45] All speculation about Soviet intentions was prohibited in BBC broadcasts.[46]

In line with this BBC approach, British Ambassador Stafford Cripps was instructed to avoid discussing Soviet claims on Bessarabia and the recent annexation of the Baltic States when he met Stalin.[47] If the Baltic States was raised, the newly appointed ambassador was instructed to "affect to believe that the Soviet Government's recent action was dictated by the imminence and magnitude of the German danger threatening Russia".[48] The British Government first sought better relations with the Soviet Union, and possibly an understanding over South-Eastern Europe, before the fall of France in mid-June when London was trying to back its ally in search of help in the most unlikely quarters. As the situation grew more critical, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill sent a personal message to Stalin through Cripps proposing Anglo-Soviet consultation in face of the prospect of German hegemony over the Continent. Above all, Cripps was instructed not to give Stalin "the impression that we are running after him".[49] Cripps concluded from his meetings that the Soviet Union intended to maintain its position of "benevolent neutrality" towards Germany, but might change its policy later on. Therefore he "urged that it would be unwise to make difficulties over our attitude towards the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States".[50]

Cripps had long held a benign view of Soviet policy and documents reviewed by this author include his frank and imprudent admission to

Stalin that he personally did not believe that the old equilibrium could be restored.[51] The ambassador informed London that he believed that if *de facto* recognition of at least some Soviet territorial gains was not granted by the British Government all hope should be abandoned of any improvement of Anglo–Soviet relations and a "considerable degree of worsening" should be anticipated. Whilst the US could "still no doubt afford to antagonize the Soviet Government by adopting a moral attitude" the British Government, on the other hand, could not incur "a risk of driving the Soviet Government into closer relations with Germany".[52] The British Cabinet was not prepared to go as far as Cripps wished; it sought to preserve its flexibility toward the Soviet Union and wait on events, a passive hostility Martin Folly has aptly termed a "policy of reserve".[53] Strategy was designed to preserve room for maneuver, at a difficult time for Anglo-Soviet relations when Moscow was viewed as fundamentally uninterested in productive dialogue through normal diplomacy.

Above all, Stalin perceived Britain as a defender of the *status quo* against Hitler. He told Cripps that during the pre-war negotiations with Britain and France the Soviet Union had wanted to change the old equilibrium in Europe, for which the two countries stood, but Britain and France had wanted to preserve it. Germany, on the other hand, had also wanted to change the equilibrium, and "this common desire" had "created a basis for the rapprochement with Germany".[54] Molotov made it clear to Cripps twelve days before the Soviet ultimatum to Bucharest that the Soviet Union had a special interest in Romania.[55] My research shows that following the annexation, Stalin was quick to deny any further Soviet interest in Romania to the British ambassador.[56] He later reiterated that Soviet demands were clear and public in the notes which had passed and that the Soviet Union "had henceforth no designs whatever on that country".[57] Cripps reported to Halifax that he was certain that Stalin had no intention of going further into Romania or indeed the Balkans.[58] In light of this, Halifax spoke to Soviet Ambassador Ivan Maisky, although without raising the matter directly. At the end of a nondescript conversation, it was Maisky who suggested that "he did not anticipate that his Government had any further desires to satisfy in the Balkans".[59] My interpretation suggests that the Foreign Secretary and officials in the Foreign Office accepted these voluntary assurances at face value.[60] Nevertheless, Halifax warned his Cabinet colleagues that they should "bear in mind the difficulty of assessing M. Stalin's sincerity".[61]

The 1940 Transylvanian crisis

The Soviet ultimatum to Romanian sparked off the inevitable Hungarian demand for Transylvania. The Soviet Government privately supported Hungarian claims because of its own dispute with Romania over Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Perhaps Moscow was also seeking to counterbalance Germany's aid to Romania in its dispute with Hungary.[62] The British Government was well aware of the Soviet position through Royall Tyler, an American and adviser to the League of Nations' Financial Committee at the Hungarian National Bank, who wrote memoranda about Hungary for the Foreign Office. Tyler was a Hungarophile in whom Prime Minster (since February 1939) Pál Teleki and Admiral Miklós Horthy had implicit trust, even to the extent of letting him in on certain confidential decisions and secret plans.[63] In Budapest, Teleki informed him that the Soviet Government was willing to support Hungary's revisionist demands in Transylvania. Tyler underlined this by emphasizing Hungary's anti-German position in his reports.[64] Teleki was not exaggerating. Molotov summoned the Hungarian minister to Moscow, Jozsef Kristoffy on July 4, 1940, to tell him that the Soviet Government regarded the Hungarian claims on Transylvania as reasonable and would support them at the peace conference.[65] When the Hungarians enquired if Budapest could count on the friendly attitude of the Soviet Union in case the crisis would require an armed solution, Molotov reaffirmed Soviet support and added that the Soviet Union never acknowledged the Paris Peace Treaties and the Treaty of Trianon because these treaties created a Romania which was "equally harmful and unjust" to the interests of Hungary, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria alike.[66] Once again, on the same day that Red Army troops entered Bessarabia, the director of the South-Eastern European Division of the Soviet foreign ministry, Dekanozov, summoned Kristoffy to tell him that "the Hungarian position on Transylvania was identical in many ways with the Soviet position towards Rumania on the Bessarabian question".[67]

The Soviet Union obligingly increased tensions on the Moldavian frontier when the Romanian delegates were pressurized by Germany prior to the Second Vienna Award. A German guarantee of Romania's frontiers upon acceptance of German arbitration was then offered as an additional inducement – this had been King Carol II's objective for the previous two months. The Germans also led the Romanians to understand that they would favor Romania over Hungary in the future. Therefore, the Romanian Government accepted arbitration, comforting itself with the optimistic

belief that it was unlikely to lose too much territory since the Germans had hitherto supported the Romanian arguments in favor of an exchange of population rather than the Hungarian proposition of transfer of territory. The Romanian Government was genuinely surprised and dismayed when Germany and Italy awarded two-thirds of Transylvania to the Hungarians on August 30. In addition, the Romanian Minister of Propaganda told le Rougetel that Bucharest was informed that if Romania did not accept Axis arbitration by 3.00 a.m. on September 1, Romania would be invaded by Hungary and the Soviet Union simultaneously.[68] The fact that the threat of Soviet invasion was used at the Vienna talks was sufficient proof in the Foreign Office of Soviet collusion in the scheme.[69]

My research suggests that there was much regret in the Foreign Office that there appeared to be no chance of further Soviet aggression on Romania because of the German and Italian guarantee of Romania's frontiers. A Soviet advance would mean

> either that Germany would have to go to the assistance of Romania, i.e., a war between Germany and the Soviet Union or the worthlessness of the German guarantee would be broadcast to the world, much to our advantage.[70]

Both scenarios were considered improbable in London since all available evidence seemed to show that the Soviet Union was afraid of Germany and anxious to placate her.[71] The volatile situation on the Bessarabian frontier had appeared to create ample pretexts for further Soviet intervention whenever it pleased. Although the Soviet Union had allowed the situation on its Romanian frontier to deteriorate, Halifax thought it improbable that it intended to take advantage of incidents to make further demands on Romania after the German guarantee of Romania's borders at the Second Vienna Award, whatever its previous intentions may have been.[72] The Soviet communique on September 13 to remind Germany that the latter's guarantee to Romania must not be interpreted as denying the Soviet Union its say in Balkan and Danubian questions and that Moscow was prepared if necessary to exploit the nuisance value of "frontier incidents," was dismissed as a face-saving exercise by Cripps and officials in London.[73]

"Maniu or nothing"

My research leads me to conclude that Tilea's intervention appears to have been a catalyst for British policy during the Transylvanian Crisis of 1940. He advised the British to encourage resistance in Transylvania, in particular by Romanian opposition leader Iuliu Maniu and his political party, to any concessions by Romania to Hungary. The Romanian minister was optimistic that strong Romanian opposition to any concessions to Hungary at Germany's bidding might even force Hitler to back down from supporting Hungary's claims since his over-riding desire was to prevent any conflict in the Balkans.[74] Philip Nichols, the Head of the Southern Department (whose responsibilities included Romania), bluntly told Tilea that he doubted the effectiveness of Romanian resistance.[75] In private Foreign Office discussions, Nichols sought a flexible response where Britain remained open to modifications obtained by peaceful negotiations between the interested parties while at the same time encouraging the Romanians to "resist all excessive demands".[76] Meanwhile, Orme Sargent, the deputy undersecretary of state who supervised the Southern Department's work, found Tilea much more persuasive. Sargent, who was never very pro-Hungarian,[77] disliked Nichols' suggestions and did not wish to start a long debate on what constituted "excessive" territorial demands or to sit on the side-lines.[78]

Ultimately, Halifax also found Tilea compelling[79] although the Romanian's impact was possibly not as significant as his role in the crisis leading up to the British Guarantee a year earlier since his views already reflected those of the British Legation in Bucharest[80] and Halifax was already psychologically predisposed to siding with Romania. Halifax instructed Sargent to tell Hoare a few days later on August 6 that Hungary was a lost cause, whereas encouraging Romania to resist might lead Germany to resort to forcible intervention with a chance of embroiling herself with the Soviet Union.[81] Instructions along these lines were sent to Hoare later that same day.[82] The Foreign Secretary thereby finally dismissed assertions made the previous month by Owen O'Malley, the British minister in Hungary, that this was the time for "the complete reversal" of the British attitude over Transylvania in a pro-Hungarian direction in order to bring Germany and the Soviet Union into conflict. Halifax argued that to incite the Hungarians against the Romanians might not bring German-Soviet conflict closer since the Soviet Union was not considered ready to fight Germany yet. In any case, Hitler was

judged to be firmly against any war between Hungary and Romania that could jeopardize his oil supplies from Romania.[83] Meanwhile, the British Government deliberately kept its hands free in public. On September 5, Halifax emphasized in the House of Lords that Britain had never supported a policy based on a rigid adherence to the *status quo*. He rejected the Second Vienna Award in the House of Lords as "a dictation by the Axis Powers, imposed on Roumania under duress".[84] Churchill made a similar statement in the House of Commons, but added some remarks favorable to Hungary; stating that: "Personally…I have never been too happy about the way Hungary was treated after the last war."[85]

The Foreign Office hoped to topple King Carol II's pro-German government and replace it with a more pro-western government by encouraging Romanian resistance to the cession of Transylvania to Hungary. At the very least, Britain believed it could cause trouble for the Germans in an economically important and sensitive area. British officials believed that Maniu and his mass peasant party appeared to provide a useful way to influence developments in Romania, certainly compared to neighboring Hungary. Maniu was arguably the most respected politician in the country and leader of the party which commanded the loyalty of most peasants and the majority of Transylvanians. He was from Transylvania and had done much to unite it with Romania after the First World War.[86] Maniu did not support Romania's shift to support the Axis Powers and proposed a "Government of National Concentration", representing all the political forces of the nation, after the Soviet annexations. This idea had some merit in British eyes as a desperate alternative to King Carol II's government[87] but the king rejected the idea.[88]

Ultimately, British efforts to instigate Romanian resistance failed because it was unable, but above all unwilling, to reach any understanding with the Soviet Union to either recognize its annexations as Moscow wished or to guarantee Romania's territorial integrity against further Soviet aggression as Romanians wished. Maniu explicitly sought an Anglo-Soviet understanding to assure Romania that the Soviet Union would not attack and dismember it if Romanians resisted the Hungarians in Transylvania as Britain wished. He feared that Stalin would exploit the weakness of the Romanian Government by declaring that the Romanian Government cannot keep order, and march further.[89] This was not a far-fetched scenario; there was even some speculation in the Foreign Office that the Soviet Union would move southwards into Moldavia the moment Hungary took over Transylvania.[90] Maniu was all too aware that Moscow

had exploited the chaos of the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 to claim that Poland had "ceased to exist" as a pretext for the Red Army's invasion to protect its "Slavic brothers" in eastern Poland.[91] The Soviet ultimatum to Romania stated that it never accepted the seizure of Bessarabia in 1918 and demanded the cession of the northern part of Bukovina to the Soviet Union as "a means of compensation for the great loss which has been caused to the Soviet Government and the population of Bessarabia by the twenty-two years of Roumanian domination".[92] This appeared to suggest that Stalin might harbor further designs on Romania.

Maniu thus exposed the declaratory and limited nature of Britain's guarantee. The British Government never seriously considered extending the guarantee to Romania to cover attack by the Soviet Union as discussed above. Rather, they wished to encourage Romanian resistance – even a futile struggle against the Red Army – since it might help embroil Germany and the Soviet Union. Earlier in January 1940 when the Romanian foreign minister expressed his belief that Turkey would be prepared to move in conjunction with Britain and France in the event of an attack on Bessarabia, the Foreign Office believed it was not in the British interest to make the Romanians realize that they were over optimistic, since to do so might shake their apparent resolve to resist an attack on Bessarabia.[93] Maintaining the illusion of British assistance was still important two months before the Soviet annexation. When the Chiefs of Staff sought a slight tone down in the wording of the guarantee, since they correctly pointed out that assistance would only be feasible if Italy was neutral and Turkey gave her consent, Sargent considered it unnecessary to modify the original version because it gave the Romanians "the impression that we should <u>like</u> to help them and that if we were able to help them we would do so effectively".[94] Cadogan and Halifax promptly agreed.[95] At the time of the Soviet annexation, there was little consolation for Tilea. R.A. Butler, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, speaking on Halifax's behalf, simply stated that "no occupation of territory of a friendly government could be a matter of indifference to H.M.G".[96] Tilea understood that the circumstances did not involve Britain in any implementation of its guarantee, but he shared Maniu's concerns that Romania would share the fate of Poland, except that in this case the Germans would follow the Soviets, thus making sure that the British guarantee would not be implemented.[97]

Despite Britain's weak and somewhat contradictory position, my research reveals that for British policy makers, Maniu's ineptitude and hesitant nature explained in large part the failure of their efforts to instigate

resistance. Officials faulted the rigid, principled stance taken by Maniu in relation to Romania's territorial integrity, highlighting what they perceived as his cautious nature, historical nostalgia, naivety, and blind stubbornness. Maniu was clear when explaining Romania's position to Hugh Seton Watson, then attached to the British Legation: he opposed a pro-German policy for obvious reasons, a pro-British policy was "impossible because of geographical reasons", and a pro-Soviet policy was "impossible because of the general atmosphere of bitterness and hatred against Russia".[98] Seton Watson, widely considered sympathetic to Romania,[99] was scathing in his criticism following his interview, surmising that Maniu had "returned to his customary attitude, that of waiting and doing nothing, refusing to compromise himself, but never taking any initiative". He concluded pessimistically that Maniu's National Peasant party "for the moment has more or less ceased to exist."[100]

There was little sympathy or understanding for Maniu's position in the British Government. Hoare considered Maniu too negative and denounced him for setting impossibly high terms for entering the General Ion Antonescu government that replaced King Carol II.[101] Officials were frustrated that any prospect of resistance disappeared "when Maniu threw in his hand".[102] Britain's direct support for Maniu even appeared in danger as a result of the "feeble part which he has played throughout the Transylvanian crisis".[103] Moreover, the poor impression lingered. In February 1941, Hankey, one of the few who had initially appeared to have some hope in Maniu, reported that:

> My general impression of the conversation was that though Maniu's intentions are the very best, he is sadly lacking in inspiration and is in fact, as I have often observed, terribly negative. However, there is nobody else in view who could heed a patriotic movement, and so at present it is Maniu or nothing.[104]

My analysis suggests that this negative appraisal was part of a wider perception of Balkan leaders. In the words of historian and former wartime Foreign Office official Elisabeth Barker, the Balkans was always politically unstable from the British perspective; its leaders clamored for British help but refused British advice.[105] Maniu had certainly refused British advice, but he had not simply "clamored for help" without trying to act. Three weeks before the Second Vienna Award, Hankey reported without comment or further detail that Maniu was in indirect touch with the Soviet

Legation.[106] Furthermore, Maniu was "pragmatic" in British eyes, at least to some degree, since he was prepared to accept the loss of Dobrudja to Bulgaria. Despite this, the British were concerned in early 1941 that he "has a strange idea that the circumstances of the peace conference may be such that Great Britain's diplomatic support of Roumanian claims would quite probably induce the Russians to retire gracefully".[107] This gives an indication why Maniu decided to stay in Romania when he had appeared close to deciding to leave the country to establish a government-in-exile with British support. One plausible explanation is that Maniu expected a German-Soviet clash which would raise the question, for Romania, of recovering Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Such a clash had been rumored in Bucharest for months and Maniu would have a political role to play in this which would hardly be approved by the British. He may also have wished to be with his people during a time of great danger and stress. The alternative theory advocated by his critics is that he was simply unable to make up his mind.[108]

Maniu may have over-estimated Britain's strength and power, and indeed British empathy for Romania's concerns. However, London also over-estimated Maniu's willingness to run big risks for the sake of vague British promises. It is unlikely that Maniu would have compromised himself by taking office just after the biggest debacle in Romania's history – a debacle, moreover, that affected the districts where his supporters were in the largest majority – even if King Carol II had been willing to capitulate to him. Furthermore, Maniu stood for freedom of speech and democratic methods of government, which the Germans would not have allowed, and he disagreed profoundly with King Carol II's latest policy of subservience to Germany.[109] In September 1940 General Antonescu came to power in Romania in partnership, at least at first, with the fascist-style Iron Guard, some of whom were under German control. As British freedom of action in Romania was drastically curtailed, General Antonescu agreed officially to recognize the National Peasants Party under Maniu and the Liberal Party under George Bratianu as legal political parties – a status that they had been deprived in 1938 by King Carol II's authoritarian rule. Maniu obtained this concession by telling General Antonescu that opposition elements would turn communist if not allowed to operate openly. He argued that it was better to have legal parties controlled by a responsible leader.[110] Foreign Office officials noted that this was a "novelty in a totalitarian state".[111] From late 1942 both General Antonescu and the democratic Romanian opposition saw the Soviet Union as main threat to

an independent Romania. They saw territorial guarantees and guarantees of independence from the West as only hope of avoiding a post-war catastrophe. However, Maniu again failed to secure a British and US guarantee of Romania's territorial integrity in exchange for extricating Romania from the war. Once again, there was no question of accepting any Romanian veto on dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Conclusion

From 1939-41, Britain was a reluctant anti-revisionist competing against two totalitarian states working together to redraw the borders of South-Eastern Europe. Stalin exploited the situation to expand the Soviet Union's western borders; however, it was Hitler who derived the most benefit from revising the Versailles territorial settlements. Germany used the redrawing of borders in favor of its allies, or promises to do so, as a powerful tool for maintaining allies or gaining new alliances throughout the Second World War. Romania definitively joined the German camp after the loss of Bessarabia – in accordance with the August 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact – and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union. It then aligned itself with Germany despite the loss of northern Transylvania and Southern Dobrudja to Germany's allies Hungary and Bulgaria. In 1941, the Romanian-Hungarian dispute was used by Germany as a lever to push both countries into the war against the Soviet Union. The Transylvanian issue was still being used as an instrument of German diplomacy in 1944, when there were increasing tendencies in both Romania and Hungary to drop out of the war and leave the German camp.

The 1939 guarantee to Poland and Romania was an instrument of declaratory politics for Britain in its efforts to discourage Germany and build an anti-German coalition in the region. It represented a statement against changes by force which failed to dissuade Hitler in 1939, but also was a significant factor in the failure of British efforts to persuade or cajole Maniu into meaningful action during the Transylvanian crisis. In both cases, this was largely because Hitler and Maniu correctly perceived that there was no Anglo-Soviet understanding to underpin British policy. This article argues that Britain ultimately failed in 1940 because it was caught between competing aims. On the one hand, it sought to influence developments in Romania through Maniu and his mass peasant party, perhaps with Maniu participating in the Romanian Government. However,

it also wished to embroil Germany and the Soviet Union, possibly in Romania, although officials conceded that this was still unlikely for a range of reasons. Above all, the British felt that they had a perfect right to explore any possible way to create friction between the two totalitarian powers and there was no question of accepting any Romanian veto on dialogue with the Soviet Union. This ruled out the Anglo-Soviet understanding Maniu sought as a prerequisite for action.

NOTES

1 "The signing of the Treaty was a great success for Romania; because of this *de jure* recognition of the union, Bessarabia was to be considered Romanian territory, not a territory under the military occupation of Romania." Marcel Mitrasca, *Moldova: A Romanian Province Under Russian Rule : Diplomatic History from the Archives of the Great Powers,* New York, Algora Publishing, 2002, p. 12, p. 167.

2 Paul D. Quinlan, *Clash over Romania: British and American Policies toward Romania, 1938-1947*, Oakland, California, American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1977, p. 17.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

4 *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939* (DBFP) Third Series, vol. 3, London, H.M.S.O, 1950, p. 232.

5 Ivor Porter, *Operation Autonomous: With S.O.E. in Wartime Romania*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1989, p. 33.

6 Paul N. Hehn, *A Low, Dishonest Decade: The Great Powers, Eastern Europe, and the Economic Origins of World War II, 1930-1941*, London, Bloomsbury, 2002, p. 242.

7 Elisabeth Barker, *British Policy in South-East Europe in the Second World War*, London, Macmillan, 1976, p. 7.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 6-7.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

10 David Dilks, ed., *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan O.M. 1938-1945*, London, William Clowes & Sons, 1971, p. 161.

11 Edward Halifax, *Fullness of Days,* New York, Dodd Mead, 1957, p. 208-209; F. S. Northedge, *The Troubled Giant: Britain Among the Great Powers; 1916-1939*, London, London School of Economics and Political Science, 1966, p. 568.

12 DBFP Third Series, vol. 4, London: H.M.S.O, 1951, p. 366-367.

13 Anna Cienciala, *Poland and the Western Powers, 1938-1939*, London, Routledge, 1968, p. 211-12.

14 See Sidney Aster, *1939: The Making of the Second World War*, London, London History Book Club, 1973, chapter three.

15 This was the same day as Tilea's meeting with Halifax. DBFP Third Series, vol. 4, London: H.M.S.O, 1951, p. 369-370.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 398.

17 Simon Newman, *March 1939: The British Guarantee to Poland, A Study in the Continuity of British Foreign Policy*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976, pp. 118-19.

18 Halifax memorandum to Cabinet on Anglo-French conversations, March 21, 1939, CAB/24/284.

19 DBFP Third Series, vol. 5, London, H.M.S.O, 1952, pp. 1-19, 30-6, 47-9.

[20] Northedge, *The Troubled Giant*, p. 575.
[21] Hansard, *House of Commons Debates* Apr. 13, 1939 vol 346 cc13.
[22] Brown minute, Jan. 27, 1940, FO371/24968/R1425.
[23] DBFP Third Series, vol. 5, London, H.M.S.O, 1952, p. 66.
[24] Hoare letter to Foreign Office, Dec. 8, 1939, FO371/24884/R421.
[25] Maclean minute, Dec. 24, 1939, FO371/24884/R421.
[26] Collier minute, Dec. 26, 1939, FO371/24884/R421.
[27] Keith Neilson, *Britain, Soviet Russia and the Collapse of the Versailles Order, 1919–1939* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 33.
[28] Cienciala, *Poland and the Western Powers*, p. 224.
[29] Halifax memorandum to Cabinet on Anglo-French conversations, March 22, 1939, CAB/24/284.
[30] Anita Prazmowska, *Britain and Poland, 1939-1943: the betrayed ally*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 167.
[31] DBFP Third Series, vol. 5, London: H.M.S.O, 1952, p. 207.
[32] Llewellyn Woodward, *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War* Vol. 1, London, H.M.S.O., 1970, pp. 23-27.
[33] Barker, *British Policy*, pp. 7-8.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.* Emphasis in the original.
[36] Cripps to Foreign Office, June 29, 1940; Sargent minute, June 30, 1940; Nichols minute, July 1, 1940, FO371/24968/R6648.
[37] Hoare to Halifax, Aug. 8, 1940, FO371/24968/R6751.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] Hoare to Foreign Office, July 1, 1940, FO371/24984/R6667.
[40] Dixon minute, July 27, 1940, FO371/24968/R6751.
[41] Broad and Maclean minutes, July 11, 1940, FO371/24968/R6648.
[42] Hoare to Eden, Feb. 21, 1941, FO371/29975/R4962.
[43] Rose minute, July 22, 1940, FO371/24968/R6751.
[44] Broad, Nichols, Sargent and Cadogan minutes, July 10 and 11, 1940, FO371/24968/R6648.
[45] Le Rougetel to Foreign Office, Aug. 19, 1940 FO371/24992/R7352.
[46] Stuart minute, July 12, 1940, FO371/24968/R6751.
[47] Woodward, *British Foreign Policy*, p. 463.
[48] Foreign Office to Cripps, June 24, 1940, FO371/24844 N5853.
[49] Barker, *British Policy*, p. 25.
[50] War Cabinet Conclusions, Aug. 13, 1940, CAB/65/8/37.
[51] Cripps to Collier, July 16, 1940 FO371/24845 N6526.
[52] Gabriel Gorodetsky, *Stafford Cripps' Mission to Moscow, 1940-42*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 65.
[53] Martin Folly, *Churchill, Whitehall and the Soviet Union*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000, p. 17.

54 Cripps to Collier, July 16, 1940 FO371/24845 N6526.
55 Woodward, *British Foreign Policy*, p. 463.
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GRINDING MANKIND'S HOPES AND FEARS FOR FREE: AN ATTEMPT TO REPOSITION SCIENCE FICTION AS A CULTURAL VOCATION

Abstract

The purpose of this article is twofold. After presenting the plausible reasons why science fiction is still a heavily bastardized field, I shall attempt to coin a manner in which it can be used – as an apparatus, for a change, and not as a category – to make our understanding of history and culture itself more operative. The following text is the first phase (the synthetic one) of a project – or rather of a manifesto – pleading for a rethinking of SF as a universally human futurological vector.

Keywords: science fiction, cultural vocation, repositioning, operatization.

> "Historical writing mirrors literary writing in many ways, sharing the strong reliance on narrative for meaning, therefore ruling out the possibility for objective or truly scientific history."[1]
>
> "History is most successful when it embraces this 'narrativity', since it is what allows history to be meaningful."[2]
>
> Hayden White

The spark of this preliminary investigation is closely linked to a certain type of personal intellectual discontent, which seems to become more frequent by the years. For example, what prompted – and subsequently generated – my Ph.D. thesis was the fact that, among other things, I was dissatisfied with the *status quo* of film, as a much-too-derivative medium, and, as such, proceeded to a series of situational experiments hopefully

leading to its individuation and autonomy from other tributary means of ideation (such as literature, photography, etc.). In this particular case, I saw a genre (and not a medium) that seemed stuck in a commonly accepted limbo.

We are always either *dismissing* or *writing off* things as "being science fiction". There is even an expression that goes like that. What is the explanation behind such attitudes? Can't (and won't) anyone at least try to pull SF back from a somewhat fatigued basket of genre literature and into a perhaps well-earned spotlight within our collective consciousness?

It seems appropriate, at this point, to describe (and decry) the situation we are faced with, as science fiction scholars.

This intellectual climate is perchance best outlined by a quotation from British medievalist and SF scholar Tom Shippey's 2002 article *Literary Gatekeepers and the Fabril Tradition*,[3] describing the relationship of the field with the American academic community:

A further way of putting this is to say that during my "science fiction" lifetime (from 1958 until now), being a science fiction reader has been rather like being gay… In both cases, one could say, drawing out the similarities:

- *There was definite pressure, especially during the 1950's and the 60's, not to admit the fact.*
- *There were social penalties if you did.*
- *You got used to hiding the fact.*
- *But there were places where you could meet others of the same persuasion.*
- *And there was very strong "networking" among the concealed in-group.*
- *In both cases, too, discrimination was illegal, was frowned upon theoretically, and people would deny they were doing it, but they did it just the same.*
- *Finally, it was possible to "come out" and get away with it, but only when you reached a certain level of seniority.*

It is true, we must admit that the social climate actually *has* changed, mainly because modern academia is fascinated by novelty, but not to a sensible degree. There still exists a certain form of cultural oppression (evidently, it would be compulsory to identify its power actors, if any),

and I wonder if there is still, nowadays, a certain hegemonic normative culture filter… But these matters will have to be included in a future paper.

Consequently, at first I endeavored to identify the most important factors that led to this bastardization of the genre: its perception at a cultural level and the undercurrents that put together this psycho-social response: the various prominent actors that relentlessly contribute to an enforced marginalization, and the causes of high-hat tendencies in high-profile literary criticism and theory.

Also, the internal machineries of sabotage need to be outlined and exposed, as well. Here we are referring, most obviously, to the distinctions between sub-genres, distinctions that produce standalone categories easily used and abused to synecdochically describe SF: for instance, we needed to deconstruct a certain space-operatic imperative/ineluctability prescribed by pop culture, a phenomenon that constantly injects volume into the very definition of science-fiction in order to monopolize meaning by numbers alone.[4] Its constant heterogenization never helped.

Secondly, I believe an inventory of those vectors able to exert a comprehensive rehabilitation and undoubted legitimation of the genre – that which I call the process of *de-bastardization* – needs to be put together.

The ominous feeling of segregation that we mentioned earlier was, in fact, expressed by Jonathan Lethem in an essay published in the Village Voice entitled "Close Encounters: The Squandered Promise of Science Fiction".[5] Lethem advocates that the point in 1973 when Thomas Pynchon's *Gravity's Rainbow* was nominated for the Nebula Award, and subsequently disregarded in favor of Arthur C. Clarke's *Rendezvous with Rama*, stands as "a hidden tombstone marking the death of the hope that SF was about to merge with the mainstream".

Nevertheless, detractors of this viewpoint aren't scarce; moreover, they end up acting as such in surprising manners. One of the responses to Lethem's take came from the editor of the Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction, who asked: "When is it [the SF genre] ever going to realize it can't win the game of trying to impress the mainstream?".[6]

Therefore, we can easily notice a fierce battle between standpoints taking place, but, as an objective observer of this conflict, I find that neither approach can contribute to better understanding the essence of science fiction; neither will rightly harness its beneficial properties, nor help in fairly, deservedly repositioning the genre in the vast landscape of the human spirit.

As I see it, it is – at its core – a struggle between two incorrect attitudes: insular *fanboy*-ism from the inside and snobbish snubbing from the outside.

Commenting on this very aspect, journalist and author David Barnett states the following:

> The ongoing, endless war between "literary" fiction and "genre" fiction has well-defined lines in the sand. Genre's foot soldiers think that literary fiction is a collection of meaningless but prettily drawn pictures of the human condition. The literary guard consider genre fiction to be crass, commercial, whizz-bang potboilers. Or so it goes.[7]

Moreover, Barnett, in an earlier essay, had also pointed to a slightly more pragmatic effect of this malignant peripheralization:

> What do novels about a journey across post-apocalyptic America, a clone waitress rebelling against a future society, a world-girdling pipe of special gas keeping mutant creatures at bay, a plan to rid a colonizable new world of dinosaurs, and genetic engineering in a collapsed civilization have in common?
> They are all most definitely not science fiction.[8]

Literary bibliophiles will probably recognize *The Road* by Cormac McCarthy, one of the sections of *Cloud Atlas* by David Mitchell, *The Gone-Away World* by Nick Harkaway, *The Stone Gods* by Jeanette Winterson, and *Oryx and Crake* by Margaret Atwood from their descriptions above.

To shed light on the matter, all of these novels use the tropes and topoi of what the largest portion of the audience regards as science fiction, but their authors and/or publishers have made substantial efforts to ensure that they are not pigeonholed as such.

And yet, writers continue to write, the genre lives on, thrives commercially, and is appreciated by an increasing number of people. So, at least in the eyes of this particular researcher, it appears that we are stuck. It is my opinion that, between those two conflicting visions, bridges need to be built, not haphazardly burnt or sometimes even denied existence. Questions must be asked, mechanisms explained, and compatibilities laid out.

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Furthermore, in order to draw more outlines of the chaos governing the field, let us take a look at all these definitions of SF by renowned authors and scholars:

- The definition that defeats its own purpose (Everett K. Bleiler):

> Science fiction is not a unitary genre or form, hence cannot be encompassed in a single definition. It is an assemblage of genres and subgenres that are not intrinsically closely related, but are generally accepted as an area of publication by a marketplace.[9]

- The much too universal definition (David Brin):

> Many people have tried to define science fiction. I like to call it the literature of exploration and change. While other genres obsess upon so-called eternal verities, SF deals with the possibility that our children may have different problems. They may, indeed, be different than we have been.[10]

- The "SF *is* philosophy" definition (Ray Bradbury):

> I define science fiction as the art of the possible. Fantasy is the art of the impossible. Science fiction, again, is the history of ideas, and they're always ideas that work themselves out and become real and happen in the world.[11]

- The happily vague definition (Larry Niven):

> The brightest minds in our field have been trying to find a definition of science fiction for these past seventy years. The short answer is, science fiction stories are given as possible, not necessarily here and now, but somewhere, sometime.[12]

- The kinky definition (Arthur C. Clarke):

> Attempting to define science fiction is an undertaking almost as difficult, though not so popular, as trying to define pornography… In both pornography and SF, the problem lies in knowing exactly where to draw the line.[13]

- The perplexing trinity (Farah Mendelsohn, Damon Knight, and respectively John W. Campbell):

Science Fiction is an argument with the universe.[14]
Science fiction is what we point to when we say it.[15]
Science fiction is what I say it is.[16]

As a result, after reading these extremely dissimilar attempts at locating science fiction, it becomes quite tempting to plunge into a definition of the very process of *defining*, but that nudges us out of cultural studies and into pure philosophy. I believe proceeding along the lines of such a strategy is not the best option, since taking a simple, traversing look at the history of literary and cultural production will bring us closer to the issue at hand, as it shall become apparent in the following paragraphs.

*

Ever since we created the first work of art, I believe our most vicious enemy has been temporal myopia.

Of course, to proceed, we need to envision how this *future of Man* has been imagined during the entire course of history, so I started looking at the history of world literature and found some very stimulating examples. I'm going to ask you to bear with me throughout this voyage.

What I intend to do is bypass the 20th century entirely, the main reason being that it has famously been at the center of an overwhelming number of disputes concerning SF and – as my upcoming undertakings throughout the present study shall soon reveal – one of my chief interests is, in fact, the possibility of a world predominantly immune to the prevalence of the scientific/technical approach. Therefore, I will focus primarily on analyzing what the 19th century has to offer. (*Fig. 1*)

It is a less known fact that Jack London authored a number of science fiction stories, three of which I will mention here by name: *The Red One* (a tale about aliens), *The Iron Heel* (a story taking place in the future, as Jack London imagined it would be), and *The Unparalleled Invasion* (a narrative including biological warfare and ethnic purging in a dystopian future). Jack London also authored a tale about invisibility and one focusing on the creation of an uncontrollable energy device. It was these stories that initiated a certain shaping of the genre's very structure.

In his turn, Mark Twain explored science-related subjects in his novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. By way of such processes

as the "transmigration of souls" and the "transposition of epochs – and bodies", the Yankee in Twain's novel gets to travel back in time, taking all the information he has on 19th century technology with him. *A Connecticut Yankee*, which was written in 1889, appears to anticipate World War I, which crushed Europe's past notions of gallantry in conflict, replacing them with different, more destructive weaponry, as well as much less elegant battlefield maneuvers.

The runner-up on the U.S. best-selling novel list in the 19th century and also one of the most successful literary works in the history of early American science fiction is the novel *Looking Backward* (1888) by Edward Bellamy, a book whose influence extends much further than the field of fiction itself. Observing the society of the present, *Looking Backward* infers and then generates at a literary level a possible model of the future.

However, even earlier than 1888 – in 1835, that is –, writer Edgar Allan Poe published a short story titled "The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall", which describes in minute detail the manner in which a balloon flight to the Moon takes place. The tale includes every step of the process in the report, from the actual launch to the method used for the cabin's manufacturing, also describing strata and several other science-based elements and techniques.

Therefore, it becomes quite obvious that Jules Verne and H.G. Wells were not the only authors populating the literary history of early science fiction. It is well known that several short stories and short novels whose topics entered the realm of imaginary, not-yet-possible endeavors were printed in periodicals at the end of the 19th century. What is noteworthy is that a significant number of these literary works made use of scientific concepts as a catalyst for the works of the imagination. (*Fig. 2*)

It was in 1836 that author Alexander Veltman published *Predki Kalimerosa: Aleksandr Filippovich Makedonskii* – in translation: *The forebears of Kalimeros: Alexander, son of Philip of Macedon* –, which is known as the very first original science fiction novel written in Russian and also the first novel ever to bring forth the topic of time travel. The story goes like this: the storyteller rides to ancient Greece, where he gets to meet Aristotle; afterwards, prior to returning to the 19th century, he goes on an expedition with none other than Alexander the Great.

Moving on to the situation in France, one must mention *Napoleon et la Conquête du Monde*, written in 1836 by Louis Geoffroy. The novel writes an alternate history in which Napoleon has conquered the world. Two other titles worth mentioning are *Le Roman de l'Avenir* (1834) by

Félix Bodin and *Le Monde Tel Qu'il Sera* (1846) by Emile Souvestre, both attempts at predicting what the following century might look like.

In *The Legend of the Centuries* (1859), Victor Hugo – undoubtedly influenced by the scientific principles of the 19th century and, most of all, by the notion of mankind's advancement – wrote an extensive two-part poem called *20th century*. Being easily interpreted as a dystopian/utopian fiction, it first renders the image of a colossal shipwreck: the devastated body of a ship, once the utmost creation of an arrogant and reckless mankind that named it Leviathan, drifting through a forsaken world – winds blowing and the fury of Nature in distress unleashed; humanity, at last unified and at peace, has taken a starship and left Earth to live somewhere on a faraway star, hoping to find freedom in the infinite lights of the Cosmos.

But let us continue our imaginary journey taking a leap even further back into literary history. Thus we shall discover that there are splendid instances of proto-science fiction to be found in the Enlightenment Era and the Age of Reason, as well: *La Découverte Australe par un Homme Volant* (1781) by Nicolas-Edmé Restif de la Bretonne includes a series of significantly visionary creations.

L'An 2440 (1771) by Louis-Sébastien Mercier provides its readers with an intensely prophetic interpretation of existence in the 25th century as foreseen by the novel's author.

Memoirs of the Twentieth Century (1733) by Samuel Madden tells the tale of a storyteller from 1728 who is provided by his guardian angel with several state documents from the year 1997–1998, a narrative stratagem similar to later time travel novels. The story, nonetheless, does not include any details on the actual manner in which the angel managed to obtain the forms in question.

This was a historical period during which a significant number of novels including the *Hollow Earth* plot mechanism (one was authored by none other than Casanova himself) came to be extremely popular with the general public. Numerous other literary creations focused on fictional expeditions to the Moon. The first ones to tackle this topic were the cosmological novel *Somnium* (*The Dream*), written by Johannes Kepler in 1634, and *The Man in the Moone* (1638) by Francis Godwin – which is deemed to be the very first work of science fiction written in the English language. (*Fig. 3*)

For another convincing argument as to the enthusiasm that the genre generated even at that particular point in history, one should remember that Francis Bacon himself wrote such a novel, namely *New Atlantis*.

However, it is of the utmost importance for the success of this experiment that we travel even *further* back in time – in the good sci-fi tradition –, in order to gain better perspective by detecting all the ancient, as well as early modern pioneers of the genre.

Although it may sound utterly astonishing, the use of science fiction elements in fiction goes as far back as the 8th to 10th century AD, as it is encountered in more than a few stories of the *One Thousand and One Nights* (chiefly known in English as the *Arabian Nights*) classic. One such instance is cited in Robert Irwin's 2003 book *The Arabian Nights: A Companion*, specifically "The Adventures of Bulukiya". According to the story, the protagonist (Bulukiya) goes on a quest, searching for an herb to grant him immortality. Throughout his journey, he ends up travelling the oceans of the world, reaches the Garden of Eden, as well as Jahannam, and explores the cosmos. Therefore, he gets to explore diverse realms considerably larger than his own, foreshadowing elements of galactic science fiction in the process, as he comes across civilizations of mermaids, jinns, talking trees, and talking serpents, as well as other forms of life.

Moreover, in "Abdullah the Fisherman and Abdullah the Merman", the main character is endowed with the extraordinary ability to breathe underwater, whilst discovering a submarine society. This alternate society is basically depicted as a reversed mirror image of our own earthly civilization; hence, the underwater social order functions according to rules mimicking some sort of primeval form of communism, where notions such as money or clothing have been simply abolished. Other tales pertaining to the *Arabian Nights* classic dwell on long-gone ancient technologies, progressive antique societies gone astray, and calamities which overcame them.

The 1992 book *Story-Telling Techniques in the Arabian Nights* by David Pinault includes an account of the story "The Ebony Horse", which features a robot built in the shape of a key-controlled mechanical horse that can fly into deep space, in the direction of the Sun. Other instances of proto-science fiction in early Arabic texts include works such as *Opinions of the residents of a splendid city* by Al-Farabi, which tells the story of an ideal society, as well as the futuristic account of Awaj bin Anfaq by author Al-Qazwini, which describes the voyage of a man who reached Earth after a long journey from a faraway planet.

Furthermore, in the opinion of present-day researcher Abu Shadi Al-Roubi, the Arabic dogmatic novel Fādil ibn Nātiq – written by Arabian polymath author Ibn al-Nafis around the year 1270 and otherwise known as *Theologus Autodidactus* – contains two closing chapters which could be easily labeled as science fiction. The doctrinal novel under discussion features numerous elements characteristic of the science fiction genre – namely futurology, spontaneous generation, eschatology, apocalyptic leitmotifs, resurrection, and the afterlife.

However – and this is perhaps the most thought-provoking part of it all –, instead of offering paranormal or allegorical justifications for such happenings, Ibn al-Nafis struggles to elucidate these uncanny elements in the story by making use of his own wide-ranging scientific knowledge in the field of biology, anatomy, physiology, geology, astronomy, and cosmology. For instance, it was this novel which helped Ibn al-Nafis present his scientific concept of metabolism[17]. In addition, he strives to elucidate – in a scientifically sound manner – strange occurrences such as the physical revival of a corpse by referencing his own discoveries (in this case, pulmonary circulation).

In the same way, researcher Christopher Yorke published "Malchronia: Cryonics and Bionics as Primitive Weapons in the War on Time" in 2006, an article which examines "Urashima Tarō" – an early Japanese tale also dealing with time travel into a distant future. The story was first mentioned in the Nihongi (the second most ancient book of classical Japanese history, from around the year 720[18]). The plot goes like this: young fisherman Urashima Taro visits an underwater citadel, where he spends three whole days. Upon his return home, back to his own village, he discovers that he had traveled three hundred years into the future: no one remembers anything about him or his earthly existence, his house has turned to dust, and his family has been dead for centuries.

Similarly, *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* (a 10th century Japanese narrative) may very well be regarded as an example of proto-science fiction. Kaguya-hime, the protagonist, is a princess having descended onto Earth right from the Moon, sent here in order to be put out of harm's way for the duration of a galactic conflict. She is found by a bamboo grower in Japan, who decides to bring her up as his own daughter; she is later on taken back to the Moon by her actual alien family. A manuscript drawing portrays a circular airborne machine resembling a flying saucer. (*Fig. 4*) The present illustration appeared originally in Matthew Richardson's 2001 book *The Halstead Treasury of Ancient Science Fiction*.

Moreover, one recurrently quoted text is *True History*, a 2nd-century satire by Assyrian-Greek writer Lucian of Samosata, which employs the tropes of a journey to outer space, as well as talks with alien organisms – meant to critique the practice of hyperbole within debates and travel literature. Here, as S.C. Fredericks has shown in his 1976 article "Lucian's True History as SF",[19] emblematic SF leitmotifs and topoi comprise the following: encounters with alien beings (including the experience of a first contact event), voyages to outer space, cosmic warfare and planetary colonialism, the theme of giganticism, creatures manufactured by human technology, biospheres functioning according to a series of alternative physical rules, and an outspoken yearning of the hero for exploration and escapades. After witnessing an interplanetary skirmish between the People of the Sun and the People of the Moon for the right to lay claim to and colonize the Morning Star, Lucian depicts colossal space arachnids who were "appointed to spin a web in the air between the Moon and the Morning Star, which was done in an instant, and made a plain campaign upon which the foot forces were planted…"[20] (*Fig. 5*) L. Sprague de Camp, together with several other authors, claim this to be one of the first – perhaps the very earliest – case of science fiction or what it known as proto-science fiction.[21]

Likewise, fragments of the Bible's "Revelation" comprise language which is very similar to that related to science fantasy and science fiction in general:

> There was a great earthquake. The sun turned black like sackcloth made of goat hair, the whole moon turned blood red, and the stars in the sky fell to earth, as figs drop from a fig tree when shaken by a strong wind. The heavens receded like a scroll being rolled up, and every mountain and island was removed from its place.[22]

In British writer and critic Adam Roberts' 2000 book *Science Fiction: the New Critical Idiom*, the author states the following:

> We are not in the habit, perhaps, of thinking of the Bible as science fiction; but in so far as it does provide us with the myths with which our culture encounters Otherness, the label has a certain appropriateness.[23]

Similarly, early Indian poetry – the Hindu epic *Ramayana*, for instance, which was written between the 5th and the 4th century BC – includes

Vimana airborne machines capable of traveling under water or even into space, as well as obliterate an entire metropolis by means of highly advanced weaponry. (*Fig. 6*)

The *Rigveda* collection of Sanskrit hymns – written somewhere between 1700 and 1100 BC – contains in its first book an account of "mechanical birds" that can be observed "jumping into space speedily with a craft using fire and water… containing twelve stamghas (pillars), one wheel, three machines, 300 pivots, and 60 instruments".[24] Moreover, the *Mahabharatha* – the traditional Hindu mythical epic written between the 8th and 9th century BC – features the tale of King Revaita, who embarks on a journey to heaven in order to meet the creator himself (Brahma) and, upon returning to Earth, is astonished once he finds out that countless eons had passed since his departure – thus envisioning the notion of faster-than-light time travel.[25]

What must also be emphasized is that scholars interested in studying the early predecessors of the genre need not look any further than the ancient Mesopotamian Epic of Gilgamesh – definitely one of the earliest and most frequently quoted texts –, which is the very first work of chronicled literature known to man, its first versions having been pinpointed to around 2000 BC. One of the most vocal advocates of considering Gilgamesh a definite point of origin for the genre is American science fiction novelist Lester Del Rey, who argues in his 1980 book *The World of Science Fiction, 1926-1976: the History of a Subculture* that "science fiction is precisely as old as the first recorded fiction. That is the Epic of Gilgamesh". In his turn, French science fiction author Pierre Versins also deems[26] Gilgamesh the original piece of science fiction literature, chiefly because of the manner in which it treats human reason and because it dwells on the pursuit of immortality. Furthermore, Gilgamesh includes a flood scene that, in some respects, bears a certain resemblance to apocalyptic science fiction.

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Following this far-reaching, albeit preliminary scan, I asked myself the following question: what if focus wasn't on text, but on specific storytelling intentionality?

For are not all religious promises, in the end, some form of ritualized escapism as well? And isn't science-fiction, in its turn, all but such escapism, anchored only by verisimilitude?

An initial tactic could be remarketing the concept, constructing a certain pattern according to which one could define literature pertaining to a revised, hard definition of SF (not to be mistaken with hard sci-fi!),

by eliminating parasitic work-types as well as searching for and adding several works that commonly and previously were seen as non-SF.

How could we do this? Also, are eschatological, futurological mechanisms of SF and its teleological reflexes enough to make it a cultural vocation?

I propose to begin by articulating a strong SF definition that would go a bit like this: Any narrative work, considered – at any given historical moment – thematically and predominantly about certain aspects or the whole of the future of humankind, be it near or far, utopian or dystopian, that inherently and plausibly challenges the need for a reflex suspension of disbelief.

Or: Repository of scientific hypotheses with limited temporal immunity to falsifiability.

Or simply: Fiction of epistemological risk.

Why? As you may have noticed, only recently, following the industrial revolution and advent of the relativistic paradigm, has SF become *scientific* eschatology. Empirical inductivism has long been decoupled from the scientific method.

But what we can observe, throughout the ages, is that this type of works has always had its fundament on what was conventionally, paradigmatically established and perceived as the known physical world.

My purpose would thus be to establish the dynamics by means of which the process of unraveling eschatological and futurological thinking as a standalone cultural structure can be the key that individuates it as a universal human vocation. Hence we are discussing here the aforementioned *strong* SF – which is not to be confused with *hard* SF which does not necessarily entail realistic speculation about a future world, though its bias is indisputably realistic. On a side note, the latter is the sort of SF that most appeals to scientists themselves—and is often written by them. The typical 'hard' SF writer is "always looking for new and unfamiliar scientific theories and discoveries which could provide the occasion for a story, and, at its more didactic extreme, the story is only a framework for introducing the scientific concept to the reader".[27]

For instance, one way of debastardizing the genre could be by stripping down the definition of SF of its artificially attached subgenres that are typically bloating it, pushing it rather towards an extended, speculative kind of fiction, in order to obtain a more operable vector, and thus changing focus from genre theory (which is swampy, as demonstrated earlier) to structuralist diachronism.

Strictly speaking, this would translate as acknowledging SF as the Deleuzian structure that differs from both concrete reality and abstract ideas – a "third order" that mediates between the two.[28]

Here we must be willing to commit the blasphemous act of imagining and accepting the idea of a diachronic structuralism, because – simply put – the syntagm is an exact mirror, impeccably describing the situation. Identical or similar synchronicities create a chain that forms a diachronic structure.

In other words, I'm pleading for perceiving SF as a kind of Auerbachian mimesis "of things to come".

For example, reader-response theory values the practice of defining readers in terms of the text (understood here, evidently, as a result of artistic creation), *i.e.*, viewing texts as testimonials of specific mental expectations, varying from one text to the other; thus, meaning is created within the relationship between the text and the reader. A basic acceptance of the meaning of a specific text tends to occur when a group of readers have a shared cultural background and interpret the text in similar ways. In essence, at this point, I feel as though I am undertaking cultural anthropology-related work without even being an anthropologist.

My only hope would be to verify if, in this manner, we could shift the research from "finding extrinsic patterns in SF" to "reading works in an eschatological key", *i.e.*, pivot from SF as matter towards SF as tool.

This process of shifting the debate enables us to overcome the tension of what Umberto Eco would call an aberrant decoding: we may think past ideas or imagological artifacts are completely fantastical, but, when considering any given paradigm (at any precise moment in history) of objective reality (in other words, an empirical instantiation of a certain worldview consensus) as basis for ideation, these works become science fictional.

For now, along the lines of an article by John Rieder,[29] the only things we can yet say about the entire spectrum of science fiction today are summed up by these points: 1) Science fiction is fluctuating and historical; 2) Science fiction has no single coalescing specificity and no point of incipit; 3) Science fiction is not a category of texts, but rather a manner of using texts and of finding and systemizing connections between them; 4) ascription of the label (and consequently the identity) of science fiction to a work represents an active interference and mediation in and of its reception and circulation.

Actually, the very binomial dynamics of the two terms "science" and "fiction" tells us a great deal about its functioning in relationship to our psyche. Trembling when faced with a grim version of the future, we resort to granting the "fiction" component additional power; however, when our hopes for that same possible future are high, we relish in the unflinching reliability of the "science" label.

Nevertheless, in outlining a fashion in eschatological or futurological works and in using it as an anthropological tool, we could extrapolate a certain psycho-history of human dreads and aspirations, in the hope that SF production and consumption won't remain a *ballet figé* of narrative therapy.

*

Other, lingering research paths:

Could we quantify a relationship between science-fictional works and technological advances? Could then a study of imagological SF throughout its heyday years be appropriate? Would a mythopoeic / mythogonic / mythocritique-driven approach be compatible – if not complementary – with this enterprise?

All things considered, what I expect to have accomplished at the end of my research is pinpointing – or rather constructing altogether – a certain genre-transcending, psychosocial *function* of science-fiction, one that consequently establishes this otherwise ostracized cultural phenomenon as a genealogically-recognizable form of art in its own right.

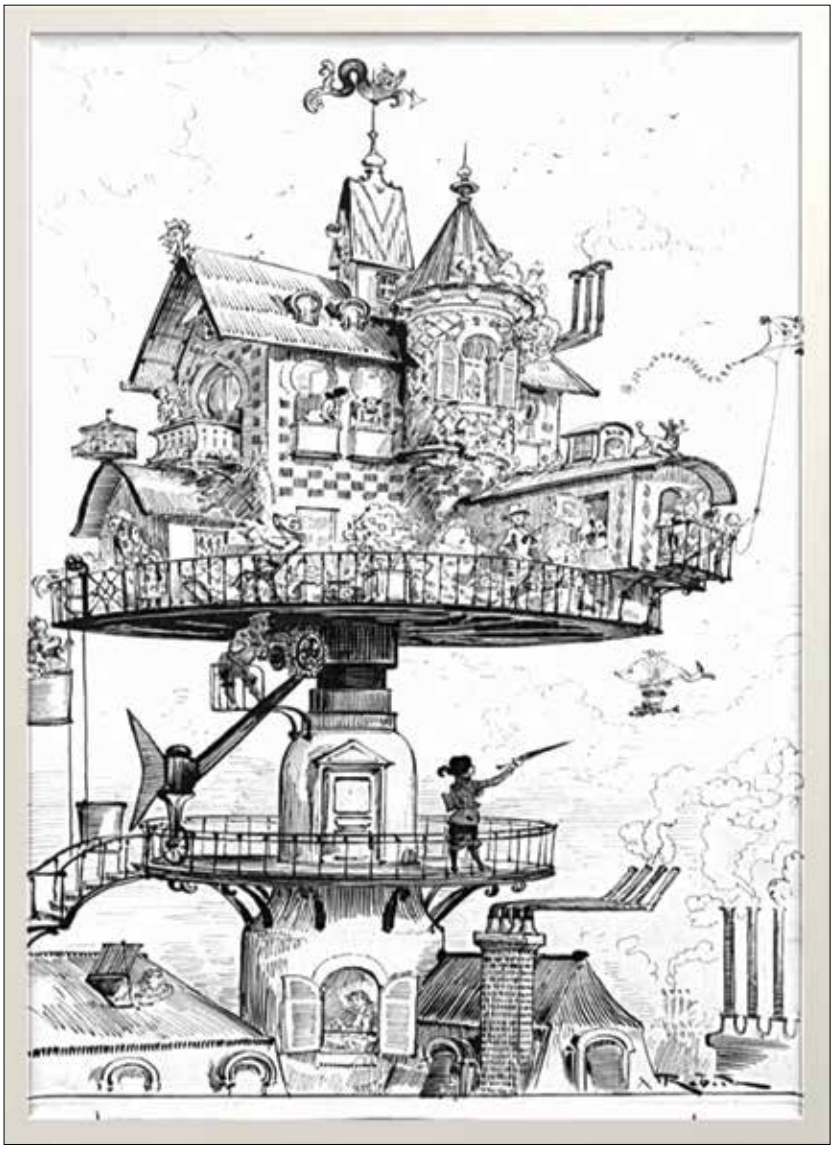

Fig. 1: "Maison tournante aérienne" (aerial rotating house). Illustration by French science fiction writer Albert Robida for his volume *Le Vingtième Siècle,* a 19th century idea of life in the 20th century. Portrays a residence that can rotate on a pillar with an airship in the distance (1883).

Fig. 2: “Leaving the opera in the year 2000”, hand-colored lithograph by Albert Robida (late 19th century)

Fig. 3: Illustration of the German translation of Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* (1659).

Fig. 4: Kaguya-hime returning to the Moon in *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter,* Tosa Horomichi (circa 1650).

Fig. 5: Aubrey Beardsley illustration of Lucian's interplanetary giant spider battle from *True History* (1898).

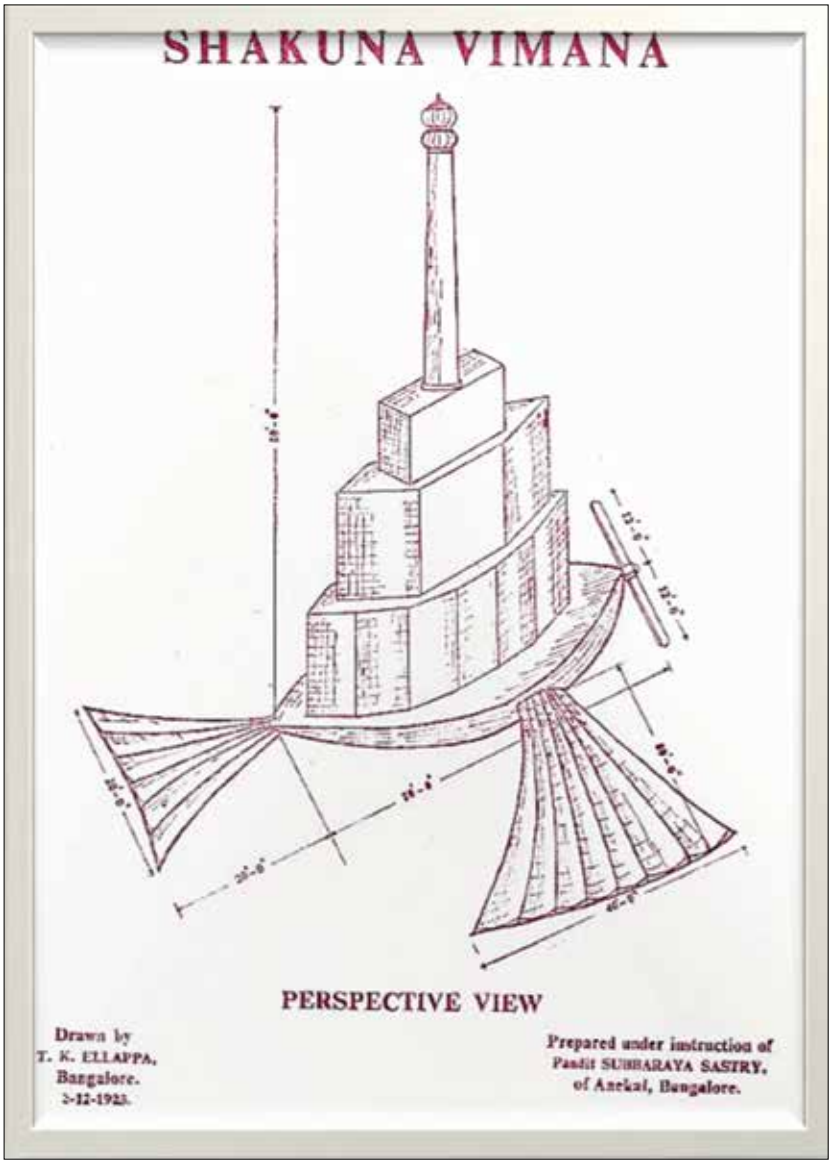

Fig. 6: Depiction of the Shakuna Vahana (1923).

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THE POLITICS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ASSISTANCE IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Abstract

This paper discusses the nature and purpose of foreign assistance in the Western Balkans through an examination of donor strategies and practices for supporting civil society. It draws on a series of interviews with donor representatives across the region to challenge the current conceptualisations of foreign assistance as a tool for promoting democracy and building good governance. I argue that donor intervention in the region should be understood as a short-term support to the region's integration in the EU, rather than a long-term developmental project. As a result, donor practices have contributed to the emergence of a project-based, donor-driven NGO scene that is detached from the local communities.

Keywords: foreign assistance, development cooperation, civil society, democratisation, Western Balkans

Introduction

Over the past twenty years, international donor organisations and implementing agencies have been the driving force behind the development of civil society in the Western Balkans (WB).[1] International intervention has spurred the creation of a myriad of civil society organisations (CSOs) whose activities essentially consisted in implementing foreign-funded projects in areas spanning from democracy promotion and human rights protection to social care, environment and culture. The dependency of these organisations on foreign funding has made their subsistence contingent upon donor presence in the region, which has been increasingly questioned in the last few years.

The 2008 financial crisis has indeed set off a significant debate on foreign aid within and between developed countries. The austerity measures introduced by many Western governments have led some

politicians in these countries to call for the reallocation of resources from development cooperation to domestic spending. These pressures for the reduction of foreign aid have not been inconsequential. For the first time since the mid-1990s, the OECD registered a decrease in overall Official Development Assistance (ODA) for two successive years in 2011 and 2012.[2] A number of donor countries, such as the UK and the Netherlands, have decided to cut down their programmes in middle-income countries such as India and South-Africa which are now considered as emerging economies. Furthermore, the OECD is currently considering reviewing the way ODA is counted in order to include private sector investment in the computation. This move has been criticised as an attempt to stretch the definition of ODA in order to allow some countries to reach the UN target of spending 0,7% of their GNI on aid without increasing the allocation of aid.[3]

These developments are a source of concern for the NGO community in the Western Balkans. The region is one of the biggest beneficiaries of EU aid, Europe being the most important donor in the world (EU-managed and member-state aid combined). A significant share of EU programmes in the Balkans are either implemented through CSOs or aimed at the development of civil society. While the EU will continue to provide assistance in the medium- to long-term, this is not the case of bilateral and multilateral donors who have also been a significant source of support for civil society. Many bilateral and multilateral donors have indeed phased out or reduced their activities in some WB countries, which has caused anxiety about the sustainability of civil society in the region.

In spring 2013, I was commissioned to carry out research on donor strategies and practices for supporting civil society in the WB on behalf of the Balkans Civil Society Development Network.[4] The objective of this research was to explore the motives and intentions of foreign intervention through an analysis of official thinking and policy-making on civil society assistance among donor representatives in the region. As part of this study, I have conducted 70 face-to-face interviews with representatives of multilateral, bilateral and private donors and implementing agencies in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. This paper draws on this research in order to explore the politics of donor assistance to civil society in the WB. It begins with an overview of the different conceptualisations of donor intervention in the Balkans before delving into the modalities used by donors to plan their activities and channel their assistance to civil society. The conclusion highlights the

tensions and contradictions between donors' purported goals and their practices on the ground.

1. Conceptualising Donor Intervention in the Western Balkans

International donors and implementing agencies came to the Balkans in the 1990s in response to the humanitarian crisis generated by the wars of Yugoslav succession. The magnitude of this intervention was colossal: the post-conflict reconstruction effort deployed by the international community in Bosnia and Kosovo was more important than any other international state-building project since WWII.[5] According to Ivana Howard, the international aid outpaced the Marshall Plan in terms of dollar per capita amounts of aid 7 times in Bosnia-Herzegovina and 4 times in Kosovo.[6] Between 1996 and 2007, $14 billion in international aid was poured into reconstruction efforts in Bosnia alone. This post-conflict reconstruction effort was coupled with post-socialist democratisation and marketisation policies that were in place throughout the region. As a result, the existing literature has essentially approached the study of donor practices in the Balkans through the lens of "democracy promotion".

A. Civil Society Assistance as a Form of Democracy Promotion

Democracy promotion can be broadly defined as "the assistance that is primarily and directly designed to inculcate or enhance liberal democratic values, institutions and practices".[7] This concept incorporates a variety of practices and objectives associated with donor intervention. Thomas Carothers has drawn a distinction between political and developmental approaches to democracy promotion.[8] The political approach refers to a narrow conception of democracy focused on elections and liberties, and involving direct support for pro-democratic political actors and civil society groups challenging authoritarian governments. The developmental approach involves a long-term intervention which incorporates socio-economic concerns in the concept of democracy and seeks to promote socio-economic development as a way of supporting democracy. While these two approaches are substantially different, they are nonetheless compatible and most donors use both approaches to democracy promotion.[9]

During the 1990s, donors largely resorted to the political approach in their attempts to promote democracy in the WB. This was particularly the case in Serbia, and to a certain extent, Croatia, where foreign assistance was channelled to pro-democratic groups that were acting in opposition to the nationalist authoritarian regimes of Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tudjman. Following the Kosovo conflict, regime change in Serbia became a priority for Western governments. Through an exceptional democracy promotion effort, the American and West European public and private foundations substantially contributed to the 'electoral revolution' that led to the downfall of Milošević in October 2000. The strategy deployed by Western donors consisted in bolstering the credibility of the elections through parallel vote counts and monitoring, strengthening opposition political parties, fostering public belief in the desirability and possibility of change, and supporting a massive Get-Out-the-Vote campaign.[10] While the opposition parties were the principal recipients of assistance, a substantial proportion of the aid was channelled to civil society and independent media which played a key role both in advocating political change, promoting voter turn-out and monitoring the elections. This model was later emulated in the 'colour revolutions' that took place in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan where Serbian activists were directly involved in training and supporting local organisations.

It is interesting to note that the political approach to democracy promotion was not entirely phased out following the overthrow of Milošević. Marlene Spoerri's research shows how this type of assistance was reintroduced in 2004 in response to the electoral success of the nationalist parties which were deemed to be anti-democratic.[11] The American and German political foundations were at the forefront of this renewed effort at bolstering the performance of the pro-democratic parties. According to Spoerri, donors sponsored the creation of a database with the location, voting habits, and socio-economic profiles of voters across Serbia which allowed for targeted Go-Out-To-Vote campaigns to increase turnout of those voters supporting 'democratic parties'.[12] While this effectively amounted to overt political involvement, donors sought to avoid accusations of political interference by channelling their assistance to ostensibly non-partisan CSOs. Spoerri argues that these practices were in fact counter-productive as they increased political polarisation, eroded public confidence in recipient parties, and created a dependency on donors among recipients instead of developing their capacities.[13]

Nevertheless, the bulk of foreign assistance in the 2000s fitted in the "developmental approach" to democracy promotion. In the early 2000s, donors' priorities shifted from "top down" restructuring and democratization to efforts to develop participation, active cooperation, deliberation and reciprocal trust.[14] In this context, civil society development became a key tool for promoting citizen participation and widening the representation of interests. This essentially consisted in the multiplication of civil society organisations, the building of their administrative capacities, and the promotion of civic engagement at the local level. USAID, which was the most important donor in the region at the time, implemented several major programmes that sought to encourage civic engagement and create a demand for democracy from the "ground up".[15] The idea was to foster democracy by engaging citizens in the design and implementation of development projects at the local level. These programmes were theoretically underpinned by the notion of social capital popularised by Robert Putnam in the 1990s.[16] The concept of social capital, which emphasised the role of civic engagement in institutional performance and socio-economic development, became extremely popular among policy-makers and practitioners as it provided them with practical tools for measuring the impact of their programmes.[17]

USAID's Community Revitalization through Democratic Action (CRDA) programme was emblematic of this approach. This programme consisted in creating community boards that deliberated and contributed to decision making on the design and implementation of local development projects in municipalities across Serbia. CRDA thus coupled socio-economic development with democracy-building, with a strong emphasis on the latter. The programme did not envisage the completion of projects as an end goal nor did it pay much attention to sustainability – the main thrust was on civic mobilization and ethnic tolerance.[18] At the time, this was one of the largest US investments in post-conflict democracy promotion: CRDA was a $200 million program working in 325 communities throughout Serbia over 5 years. The programme was subsequently replicated in Iraq and Central Asia.[19]

As one of the most important democracy assistance programmes in the Western Balkans, CRDA was subject to substantial analysis and criticism from practitioners and academics. The programme was indeed heavily criticised for attempting to circumvent local governmental and non-governmental structures. Instead of engaging with local CSOs, the programme was entirely implemented by American organisations which

relied heavily on international staff and had limited knowledge of the local context.[20] As a result, local stakeholders had little ownership over the design and implementation of the program. Even those American implementing agencies that embraced partnerships with local organisations and devolved ownership to local stakeholders were excluded from participating in the programme.[21] CRDA was also criticised for failing to accommodate local constructions of power by attempting to circumvent established political structures (such as the *Mesne Zajednice*), which proved counter-productive for the implementation of the programme activities.[22] This reflects a broader tendency among donors at the time to look at civil society building in isolation from political and institutional developments, a policy which was subsequently reversed as discussed below.

B. The 'Good Governance' Agenda

As the WB countries engaged in the process of EU integration, the EU became the most important and influential donor in the region in the second half of the 2000s. The process of EU integration provided a framework for the overall development of these countries as well as for the agenda of the remaining bilateral and multilateral donors in the region. In this context, the focus of international assistance has shifted from democracy-promotion to building 'good governance' in which CSOs play a key role by contributing to policy-making, monitoring the activities of the state and pressuring the government to carry out reforms.

Good governance can be broadly defined as the governing mechanisms which do not exclusively rest on the authority of the government.[23] In practice, this involves a de-centralised form of decision-making in which policies are developed and implemented by the government in cooperation with the private sector and civil society. The concept of good governance evolved from the field of public policy which sought to de-politicize the management of public affairs in the 1970s. These developments were closely related to the increasing prominence of neo-liberal policies which sought to isolate some aspects of economic policy-making from the political sphere. The rationale behind this thinking was that politics constitutes a source of inefficiency in the management of public affairs and that some spheres of decision-making should be left in the hands of experts/technocrats. This led to the devolution of certain areas of policy-making to independent institutions that are isolated from the electoral process.

The notion of good governance became increasingly popular among academics and policy-makers in the late 1990s and early 2000s. It was underpinned by the idea that democracy cannot rely exclusively on electoral cycles in between which decision-making is simply left in the hands of policy-makers that are too remote from their constituents in order to be able to bring decisions on their own. Instead, policy-making should draw on a variety of public and private actors including the private sector and civil society. Echoing the call of social capital, proponents of good governance argue that civic engagement is key for articulating different interests in society and feeding into the policy-making process. In practice, good governance involved the opening of the policy-making process to private interests embodied in business and civic associations which effectively produced a shift in the balance of power in society from governments and the public sector to private individuals and groups.[24]

Civil society assistance plays three key functions in the good governance project as envisioned by international donors and implementing agencies. First of all, it acts as a constraint on the power of the state. Civil society assistance is thus envisaged as a mechanism for developing a system of checks and balances and a means to counter-balance the power of elected politicians. This is reflected by the fact that a significant share of civil society assistance is devoted to watchdog CSOs whose work essentially consists in monitoring the activities of the state. Donors also provide substantial support for CSOs that contribute to the advancement of liberal principles in society (i.e. minority rights, non-discrimination, etc...) which is seen as a key element for addressing the imperfections of democracy and reducing the possibility of authoritarian resurgence.

Second, international donors support civil society to provide services in lieu of the state and the market, to facilitate citizen action, and to improve the content and implementation of policy. The latter function is particularly prominent in the building of good governance, which involves cooperation between government and civil society in policy-making processes. In this context, professional CSOs and think tanks with policy knowledge and expertise play an important "behind the scenes" role in the formulation of new policies. According to Fagan, the EU intervention in the WB is essentially geared towards creating an epistemic community of compliant experts willing and able to assist in EU policy development.[25] Instead of being a means to promote democracy, Fagan argues that civil society assistance is a mechanism for building the political and institutional

capacity of states through the creation of sustainable partnerships between CSOs and government.

Finally, some authors argue that civil society assistance is a means for transforming associational life by cultivating certain attitudes and virtues that are important for liberal social life.[26] Accordingly, aid is structured in such a way as to support a particular kind of associations which are bound by common interests and which have the skills necessary to function in the market economy and engage with the formal structures of the state. Illiberal organisations and traditional forms of associations are generally excluded from donor programmes, although donors sometimes engage with them in order to reform them. According to Sampson, much of the Western development projects in the WB seek to replace interpersonal ties of loyalty based on kinship, family relations, social circles, etc. with a Western model of loyalty to an institution and its principles.[27] Similarly, Vetta argues that the reform of the welfare-state system in Serbia involves changing the mentalities, attitudes and behaviour of people through a shift from a "communist" work ethos to a "market-oriented mentality".[28] In light of this, the international intervention in the WB has been referred to as a form of "benevolent colonialism" which seeks to provide a climate of security and stability in the Balkans through the remoulding of local institutions and practices.[29]

The shift in donor approach from democracy promotion to building good governance has had important implications for civil society in the Western Balkans. While civil society development was a priority in the context of democracy promotion, this is no longer the case. Within the good governance framework, civil society assistance is first and foremost instrumental in delivering policy development and implementation. In this context, donor intervention has been criticised for having generated the NGO-isation of civil society in the WB. NGO-isation refers to the shift from social movements based on activism to technocratic and professionalised organisations as the dominant form of collective action.[30] Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are highly bureaucratized organisations with developed administrative capacities fitted for implementing projects financed by international donors. They are deemed to be donor-dependent and donor-driven insofar as their work largely depends on the agenda of the donors. As a result, NGOs have been criticised for being detached from grass-root activism which undermines their legitimacy and diminishes their capacity to address the needs of the local communities.[31] Donor intervention in the WB has been further

criticised for having led to the creation of hierarchies within civil society. According to Stubbs, the last years saw the emergence of a dichotomy between the professionalised "meta-NGOs" that "exhibit a superiority and end up 'governing' other NGOs and smaller community-based initiatives".[32] In this context, civil society assistance has been criticised for benefiting a small core of professional organisations characterised by a transnational "elite culture" that engender change only rarely and at a superficial level. Furthermore, critics have suggested that donor intervention has failed to create a "third sector" with formal types of organisations that would be distinct of the state and politics as envisaged by the principles of good governance. In practice, research shows that the boundaries between government and civil society are porous as a result of the migration of personnel between CSOs and state administration.[33] Civil society effectively serves as an incubator for political leadership which undermines the principles of formalised political change and the legitimacy of CSOs. Vetta thus argues that, in Serbia, the empowerment of NGOs has enlarged the landscape of political life instead of leading to the emergence of a third sector.[34]

2. Donor Strategies and Practices in Civil Society Assistance

Nowadays, foreign assistance in the WB is primarily geared at supporting the region's integration in the EU. This applies both to EU and non-EU donors. Although the WB is no longer considered to be a crisis zone, many donors have maintained presence in the region in order to assist these countries on their path to EU accession, which they see as a powerful tool for development. Jonathan Francis thus suggested that the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) has chosen to stay in the region because they feel that

> a big push now and in the next few years can make a big difference and create a big return on investment in terms of these countries becoming EU members, strengthening the EU more generally, and stabilising the region.[35]

As a result, donor presence in the region is tied with the EU integration agenda and the more a country is perceived to be closer to EU accession, the less donors there are. Donors have thus almost entirely withdrawn from Montenegro and they have substantially scaled back their activities

in Macedonia because they expected Macedonia to start the accession negotiations in 2008. On the other hand, there is still a considerable donor presence in Serbia, and especially in Bosnia and Kosovo which are still perceived as potential crisis zones by some donors.

A. Aid Planning and Delivery

The fact that foreign assistance in the Balkans is primarily driven by a political agenda (EU integration) has important implications on how aid is planned and delivered. In most developing countries, Western countries deliver their aid through their development agencies. However, in the Western Balkans, foreign assistance is often administered by local embassies or representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the donor states. According to Jonathan Francis from SIDA, donor strategies in the region are more driven by a foreign policy agenda than a development perspective:

> Globally there's a whole bunch of sort of aid effectiveness principles. Like best practice. And those principles and that aid effectiveness idea doesn't really exist here in this region that much because there are not many donors here. And the countries that are active here are often not represented by their donors. Like the British, DFID is no longer here, so the people who represent the UK here are people from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who don't necessarily know about aid effectiveness and best practice. That's quite common, a lot of the embassies have kind of small project funds, but they don't know about donor aid effectiveness and donors. (...) Their funding is sort of more guided by foreign policy thinking people rather than development experts.[36]

The aid effectiveness principles mentioned here refer to the Paris Declaration which stipulates that donors should align behind the objectives identified by recipient countries and that they should coordinate their activities on the ground. In principle, donors in the region concur with the idea that recipients should play the main role in the planning and implementation of aid. Stefano Calabretta from the EU Delegation in Albania thus argues that, ideally, the EU intervention should be limited to budgetary support: the recipient governments would identify the priorities and implement the projects themselves.[37] However, while the EU is able to channel its aid through budgetary support in some developing countries,

this is not the case in the WB as it is considered that there is too much corruption and not enough capacities for managing aid.

In practice, the modalities of aid planning vary considerably between donors in terms of levels of input from headquarters and local offices, consultation with local stakeholders (government and CSOs) and consultation with other donors. Some donor programmes are entirely defined by the headquarters as part of global or regional programmes. On the other hand, some donors have strong local offices which identify priorities and develop strategies that are then sent for approval to the headquarters. In most cases, however, aid planning is a process of negotiation between donor headquarters and local offices and between donors and local stakeholders. While multilateral and bilateral donors generally consult with recipient governments when planning their assistance, consultations with civil society are usually limited, informal and unsystematic. Donors usually have their 'pool' of partner or beneficiary CSOs whom they ask for feedback on an ad hoc basis. As a result, civil society representatives have very little say in the planning of aid.

The same applies for the coordination of aid. In principle, donor coordination should be organised by the government of the recipient country who would set the agenda of foreign assistance and steer the activities of the donors. In practice, governments in the region have achieved limited degrees of success in terms of coordinating donors as they lack capacity for planning and coordinating aid. Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that there is an inherent tension between the increasing desire of governments to have ownership over aid planning and donor wanting to pursue their own agendas.[38] As a result, most of the coordination takes place in informal meetings among donors. These meetings are organised on thematic issues and they generally do not involve local stakeholders. So instead of donors planning and aligning activities with the government and with each others, this essentially consists in donors exchanging information in order to avoid duplication.

B. The Role of Civil Society

Most of the aid allocated to the region is dedicated to state-building, which here refers to building the capacity of the administration, agencies, ministries and municipalities to be able to comply with the EU Acquis, directives and regulations. According to Torgny Svenungsson, the Head of Swedish Development Cooperation in Serbia, SIDA's intervention is about

"building up an administration that is actually capable of taking on the EU membership in the future".[39] As a result, civil society assistance is seen by most donors as complementary to the broader government assistance programmes. While in the early 2000s, donors pursued civil society development as an end in itself, this is no longer the case. Nowadays, most donors see CSOs as partners in the implementation of their projects or the pursuit of specific goals.

In this context, the role of civil society in donor programmes amply varies from case to case. Overall, the bulk of civil society assistance goes to watchdog and advocacy organisations which play a key role in monitoring and pressuring the government. For instance, over the past years, many donors have focused their assistance on watchdog organisations tackling corruption and holding the government accountable for their actions. A significant share of funding is also going to rights-based advocacy groups promoting liberal change in society and representing the interests of minorities and vulnerable groups. As part of the "good governance" agenda, donors dedicate significant resources to building partnerships between government and civil society, notably by assisting think tanks and organisations with expertise in specific fields to take part in policy-making and law-making processes. In some countries, such as Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, supporting democratic processes through CSOs is still high on the donors' agenda. Finally, although service provision is no longer a priority of civil society assistance, some donors still resort to CSOs to provide services when the state does not have the capacity to provide these services.[40]

C. Modalities of Civil Society Assistance

The relationship between donors and civil society is very much informed by how assistance is channelled to CSOs. The way in which civil society assistance is delivered determines the level of ownership that local actors have in the development and implementation of projects, and the modus operandi of most CSOs. This section provides an overview of the two most common types of civil society assistance in the WB and an analysis of donors' reasons for prioritising one modality over the other.

Project grant-making:

Project grant-making is the most widespread modality of assistance to civil society. It consists in donors issuing grants to CSOs for short to medium-term projects (usually up to 2 years). These grants are generally issued through Calls for Proposals (CfP): donors identify priorities and objectives they want to see achieved and CSOs apply with projects that seek to attain these objectives. The methods of granting vary considerably between donors in terms of procedure and in terms of the level of CSO ownership in the development of projects.

The level of cooperation between donors and CSOs in the development of projects varies from case to case. Some donors issue "blind calls" for which the priorities and criteria are entirely defined by the donors. In this case, CSOs apply with fully developed projects that fit into these pre-defined priorities. Others cooperate with, or provide assistance to, CSOs in the development of projects. This usually takes place either through informal communication between donors and CSOs before a formal application for funding has been made or through donor assistance in the development of those projects which have been shortlisted. In some cases, donors send a request for application from a closed list of CSOs. For example, the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS) usually makes restricted calls for proposals.[41] It first invites a selection of CSOs to participate in workshops on specific issues. During these workshops, CSO representatives from the region are invited to present examples of successful projects. KFOS then hires coaches to help CSOs develop their projects before opening a formal CfP. The Dutch embassy in Albania also resorts to this procedure because their capacities are not high and they prefer to work with stable CSOs.[42]

Donors have a preference for project grant-making because this allows them to provide funding to a broad range of CSOs. This is seen as having a bigger impact than providing long-term funding to a limited number of CSOs. This rationale is advanced by Svetlana Djukić, the Civil Society Task Manager at the EUD in Belgrade, in the following terms:

> We now have projects for up to 18 months. Our resources are limited to 100,000 euros. I do not see the point of an extension of the period of implementation of the projects to 48 months if you have limited resources. So, we have €2m per year for the whole of Serbia. Which means that, on average, 20 organizations can get funding. Another method would be to help five organizations, and no one else, so that they have their operating

> costs and institutional costs covered for, let's say, the next 4 years. And this is now a question of strategic choice – what is better? So we have opted for this mechanism of giving up to 18 months for specific project activities within the scope of the resources that are available to us. We do not provide €300-400,000 grants so that they could have long term [support]. And I do not know what would be the benefit of giving long-term [assistance]. (...) I essentially do not see what this would make better for civil society. I mean, I would love to hear it because I often hear it.[43]

Another reason for the popularity of project grant-making is that this mode of assistance gives donors a lot of flexibility in terms of defining priorities and substantial control in the implementation of projects. There is a perception among donors that it is much easier to carry out monitoring and evaluation for projects than to assess to what extent CSOs have fulfilled their annual plans (see below). Besides, project grant-making allows donors to fund short-term initiatives tackling specific issues. Many donors consider that this is a key dimension of CSO activities, which is why even those donors that prioritise other modalities of assistance often include a project grant-making dimension in their programmes.

Nevertheless, many donors would concede that this form of assistance has led to the development of "donor-driven" civil society. Since most of the time CSOs have little ownership in the definition of priorities, they end up as implementing agencies pursuing donors' agendas. As a result, CSOs are devoid of their substance and they are cut off from their constituents. For these reasons, some donors have resorted to institutional support for CSOs.

Institutional grant-making:

Institutional grants consist in providing CSOs with multi-year budget support for the implementation of their long-term strategic plans and objectives. Instead of applying for funding with projects that seek to meet priorities set by donors, CSOs get financial assistance on the basis of their annual plans. In principle, donors select beneficiaries on the basis of whether they support an organisation's vision and mission. CSOs thus have full ownership in the identification of priorities and the implementation of projects.

Very few donors provide this type of assistance in the WB. This is exclusively done by the Swiss Cooperation Offices (SCO) in Macedonia

and Kosovo, SIDA in Kosovo, and the Norwegian Embassy in Belgrade which covers Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. The SCO office in Macedonia highlighted institutional support as their main approach to civil society assistance. In the first phase of the project Civica Mobilitas, which is one of the biggest civil society programmes in Macedonia, two-thirds of the grants disbursed by the SCO were institutional grants and one-third were project grants. The institutional grants cover 50 per cent of the recipient CSO's annual budget for a three-year perspective. The renewal of the support each year is conditioned upon the CSO implementing its annual programme.[44]

It is important to emphasise that those donors who provide institutional grants also provide project grants because some CSO activities are time-limited and specific to a certain context. Luan Shllaku from KFOS argues that it is unprofessional to pre-define the amount of institutional vs. project funding.[45] In his view, the point is to use both instruments to reach some goals. Visare Gorani Gashi from the SIDA office in Kosovo also considers that donors should resort to both project- and institutional grants because these two instruments serve different purposes. In her view, while institutional grants allow CSOs to get some liberty and stability, project grants are necessary for supporting ad hoc, goal-oriented initiatives.[46]

The main rationale for supporting CSOs with institutional grants is that this allows organisations to develop and implement their own ideas and projects instead of being donor-driven. For Jonathan Francis from SIDA in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the main argument for core funding is that "it allows an organisation to be true to its own mission and mandate".[47] Supposedly, this type of assistance allows CSOs address the needs of their communities and establish strong links with their constituencies. This is one of the main reasons why the SCO in Macedonia opted for this type of support:

> We would like to see civil society, all NGOs, working for their constituencies; that [CSOs] have a basis rooted in Macedonia and work for the citizens – to work for the citizens and not mainly work for the donors. This is the ideal.[48]

Besides giving ownership to CSOs, institutional grants also give them more long-term security, which allows organisations to have more creativity in their work. The Norwegian embassy in Belgrade opted for this type of support because it allows CSOs to work on long-term goals. According to Roger Jorgensen, "the energy of reaching those goals can

be reduced by overly focusing on project activities in a short term".[49] The SCO in Macedonia also opted for institutional support in order to stimulate more creativity and give organisations a bit of security. They are aware that with project funding, CSOs spend most of their time applying for projects and reporting, which leaves them with little space for quality work. Institutional funding is thus deemed to reduce transaction costs, it gives CSOs much more time so that they could effectively use the grants.[50]

There is, nonetheless, a lot of reluctance to giving institutional funding among donors in the WB. The typical argument against this type of assistance is that it leads to inertia, inefficiency and waste of funds. This conviction is based on the view that institutional funding allocated by the state authorities has led to the emergence and maintenance of organisations that are completely inactive or inefficient. According to Džemal Hodžić from the EUD in Sarajevo, organisations should not be funded just to exist. In his view, it is much more efficient to fund targeted projects that will deliver tangible results:

> Here's a trivial example: there are often wartime associations in each municipality, and not one but five. They all receive grants from the municipal budget. It is mostly for offices, phone, personal assistants, etc... There are no project activities and, if there are any, these are some celebrations, some commemorations, and that's it. However, if the money was redirected to provide professional training for war disabled or demobilised, unemployed, former soldiers, this would create the conditions for their employment. For example, you have a hundred demobilized combatants, all of whom are unemployed. Out of this money, you take 10 of them and provide them with training and perhaps even some equipment that they need, for example, for greenhouse vegetable production. Those 10 [veterans] generate their own income, they cease to be unemployed, they are no longer a problem. You have this problem of 100 reduced by 10. This is an efficient use of resources. But to give them operating grants only to exist, that is not very efficient nor, let's say, desirable at the present time when there is not enough money.[51]

Some donors consider that the time of institutional funding has passed. This view was prevalent among Open Society Foundation representatives who consider that institutional grants essentially serve for the creation and broadening of CSOs. Luan Shllaku thus argues that there is no point in giving grants for the mushrooming of CSOs in 2014.[52] Instead, he considers that it is now time to identify what needs to be changed in society and

support those organisations which can do the job. Many donors also consider that institutional grants make CSOs even more donor-dependent than project-grants and that this type of assistance would make it very difficult for them to monitor and evaluate the work of CSOs.

D. Donor Views on Civil Society in the WB

While donor views on civil society vary considerably between countries and among donors, there are nonetheless common issues raised by donors across the region. Unsurprisingly, these issues are in line with the criticisms associated with the NGO-isation of civil society discussed above: donor-dependency and lack of legitimacy.

The most common criticism donors across the region direct at civil society is that many CSOs are donor-driven. Accordingly, many organisations in the region are "empty shells" in the sense that they do not have their own agendas but that they are exclusively implementing donors' programmes. In the view of many donors, these organisations do not constitute genuine civil society because they are not oriented towards tackling societal problems and addressing the needs of their communities. These are institutionalised organisations which "pay a lot of attention to management, administration and reporting instead of doing something concrete".[53] Allegedly, many of these organisations are opportunistically formed to implement specific foreign-funded projects and they often cease to exist once the projects end.

Paradoxically, donors are generally aware that their practices have contributed to generating donor-driven civil society. Jadranka Jelinčić from the Fund for an Open Society in Serbia thus argues that there is an inherent tension between the changing priorities of the donors and the need of CSOs to specialise in a specific field and address the needs of the community:

> The extent to which a donor can resort to institutional funding depends on the ability of civil society to project their own development and plan their activities in a period of time. Because if you have someone who absolutely does not know what his priorities are, then why give him money if you do not know what he wants to achieve in a certain period of time. So it is very important that civil society organizations have a projection of their own activities, their goals, their engagement, but I also know that this is very difficult to do because you also depend on the priorities of the donors, and

> not all donors tend to adapt their strategies to what civil society claims to be a priority. So this is a tough positional battle for civil society and this is undoubtedly a significant obstacle for the sustainability of civil society.[54]

Civil society actors are thus caught in a vice. Since they have little influence on donor priorities which are frequently changing, CSOs cannot plan their long-term development and grow into independent actors in society. Instead, many organisations often change their fields of activity in function of the needs of the donors. Selma Sijerčić from USAID in BiH argues that donors have made CSOs donor-dependent by making them work on one-year projects in different fields, which inhibited the long-term strategic development of CSOs and the building of contacts between CSOs and local constituencies:

> You have a project for a year, you complete it and you are over, you took the money and you are done. You did not work on the long-term and on cooperation. It is essential to think strategically. If an organization works on public procurement, do not put it in charge of projects for the protection of human rights. [...] They then do everything and nothing because they have no money, [they] have no other options. They have not oriented themselves towards local sources of funding. They forgot the citizens, [they forgot] to include the citizens. We now have a problem with civil society.[55]

The detachment of civil society organisations from the local population is a major source of concern for donors who generally recognise that their intervention has led to the emergence of a "two track" civil society in the region. On the one hand, there are the established and professionalised organisations that are somewhere in between activism and the state and that are the main beneficiaries of foreign assistance. On the other, there are the grass-root organisations that are deemed to be the healthier part of civil society because they are genuinely oriented towards their communities. The latter ones generally do not have access to donor funding because they do not have the capacity to apply for and manage donor grants.

The perceived lack of legitimacy among their beneficiaries is a major source of concern for donors. Civil society's disengagement from local communities is seen as a consequence of the professionalization and institutionalization of many organizations, and them being more oriented towards donors than towards the needs of the citizenry. Vladan Avramović from the UK embassy in Belgrade thus argues that CSOs have become

> professional in relation to donors and in terms of fundraising and unprofessional in terms of identifying the needs of the citizens, mobilising their support and transforming their hardships in political messages addressed to the authorities.[56]

The issue of legitimacy is all the more sensitive as politicians in the WB often attack CSOs by questioning whose interest they represent. When they criticise governments or politicians, civil society activists are often discredited for being "foreign henchmen". Donors are sensitive to this as they believe that their beneficiaries should be rooted in local society. Selma Sijerčić thus suggested that CSOs have to be accountable to someone if they want to represent the public interest:

> We do not get membership NGOs. If you represent the public interest, then you have to be accountable to someone. Who are you to think that something is in the public interest? Whom did you ask? I always say, if you were to go out to the streets, how many people would stand behind you? How much support do you have in the population? They have to start working on it, and as the donor budgets have started to decrease, they must consolidate and professionalize themselves.[57]

While this statement echoes a common criticism of civil society, the idea that civil society organisations need to be representative is not a matter of consensus among donors and civil society activists. For CSO activists, civil society is not there to represent the population, but to advocate on specific issues. One activist from Bosnia summed up this view in the following terms:

> If I have haemorrhoids and three other people have haemorrhoids, I have the right to create an organization and advocate the solving of this issue, the provision of medicines, healthcare, etc. My legitimacy derives from how many people I can gather and what I advocate. Do I now have to wait until I bring together 100,000 people in order to start treating my haemorrhoids?[58]

According to this view, CSOs derive their legitimacy from the issues they advocate rather than the number of people they represent. Civil society is thus about the articulation and advancement of specific interests, views and needs associated with particular social groups regardless of their size. However, the capacity of different groups to articulate their

needs and advocate for their interests differs substantially in function of their social background and their position in society. Social groups do not have the same resources, capacities and opportunities to push for their interests. By its nature, the foreign assistance has benefited a small group of elite, urban, liberally-oriented organisations which have thus acquired a disproportionate influence in society. Whether or not this has been beneficial to advancing the objectives purported by international donors is open to question.

This has notably been questioned in relation to the LGBT issue. The advancement of LGBT rights has been at the top of the donor agenda over the past years. This is a key issue for Western donors because it embodies the protection and advancement of individual rights that are at the centre of the European system of values. Every year, LGBT organisations in the region intend to organise gay prides which provokes a fierce reaction among conservative circles and right-wing groups that would do anything they can to prevent the parades from taking place. Usually, the gay prides in the region are either cancelled because of security concerns or they result in riots orchestrated by right-wing organisations and football hooligans. The extent to which foreign assistance has benefited the advancement of LGBT rights in the region is highly questionable, as suggested by a high-level donor representative who chose to remain anonymous:

> OK this is getting a bit intellectual right but on the LGBT issue in Montenegro there are three groups of people, right? There are the fanatical conservative rights who are definitely clear that they hate the LGBT population. There are then the urban liberal groupings of human rights actors and others who are primarily orientating themselves in a way that gets them resources from the international community. In between these two groups you have the majority of people who probably don't feel that strongly about LGBT. A lot of them would say "you know I don't mind these people but why do they have to have parades" and these type of arguments. Some would be more to the right, some more to the left but the only way you can transform the LGBT agenda in Montenegro is if that liberal group can communicate strategically with that mass in a language that they can understand. But they can't do that because the liberal group are as alien as the extremist hooligan right group. The reason for that is the whole structure of the LGBT discussion in Montenegro is now shaped by outsiders who are as alien to ordinary people as are the blood-stained fascistic far right, you know? The only way that social change happens, if you look at Martin Luther King or if you look at LGBT in my society or in other ways, is if it is organic within that community. So you may say how

> else will they get money but my question then is but does it then have an impact? If it doesn't have an impact it doesn't matter whether they have money or not. (…) I think we need to reverse the whole conversation on its head because civil society needs to be grafted upon local culture and local ways of doing things if it is going to really progress.[59]

This quote embodies the deep contradiction between donor intervention and the development of a rooted, community-oriented and sustainable civil society. Western donors implemented in the WB are intending to instil a system of norms and values that developed organically over decades in their own societies. While these norms and values are shared by segments of the highly-educated, urban, population in the WB, they are new and, in some cases, alien to most ordinary people. In this context, civil society assistance is an instrument for promoting the adoption of "European" norms, attitudes and modes of governance on the ground. Through this intervention, donors attempt to influence and steer social and political developments in WB states. As implementers of donors' agendas, foreign funded CSOs are necessarily more oriented to their funders than the needs of their constituents.[60] The fact that most of these organisations are donor-driven and detached from the local communities is therefore simply the consequence of their position as intermediaries between international donors and local communities.

Conclusion

Foreign assistance in the Western Balkans has mostly been conceptualised as a tool for promoting democracy and building good governance. This analysis of civil society assistance, which is an important component of foreign aid in the region, puts into question the existing interpretation of the nature and purpose of donor intervention.

The analysis presented above suggests that there is a discrepancy between the purported objective of building good governance and donor practices on the ground. While they seek to build "good governance" in which CSOs would have an active role in policy-making, in practice, donors mainly use CSOs as local intermediaries for the implementation of their own agendas. Local CSOs are generally not involved in the planning of foreign aid and they have little ownership in the design of projects that they implement on behalf of donors. The fact that most of the assistance is

delivered through short-term project grants rather than institutional funding suggests that donors have little interest in civil society development in terms of developing the long-term capacities of CSOs to plan and pursue their activities independently.

These findings corroborate the view put forward by some donor representatives that most donors in the WB do not have a developmental perspective. Their objectives in the region are essentially defined in terms of assisting the WB states on their path to EU accession. This involves enacting, steering and accelerating social developments in order to promote the adoption of liberal or "European" norms, attitudes and modes of governance in the Balkans. While these norms and values developed over decades in Western countries, they need to be hastily enacted in the WB in order to allow for the region's integration in the EU. For this purpose, donors resort to liberally-minded CSOs which can contribute to the advancement of their agendas on the ground. From the donors' perspective, a project-based civil society that can rapidly respond to their ever-changing needs is an ideal instrument for pursuing their mission. The donor approach to civil society assistance has thus substantially contributed, if not generated, the emergence of a donor-driven NGO scene detached from the local communities. As one donor representative put it: 'many CSOs are still wandering, but we could not have done our work without them.[61]

NOTES

1 In the remainder of the paper, I use "donor" to refer to both donor organizations that provide grants for civil society and implementing agencies (such as the UNDP and OSCE) that are not donors per se but engage with civil society in financial and non-financial ways.

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THE LIMITS OF DIRECT ATTENTION

Abstract

I argue that direct attention has a limited disclosive capacity. First, I argue that there are certain phenomena that direct attention is fundamentally incapable of disclosing, since there exists a fundamental tension between the nature of these phenomena on the one hand and direct attention on the other. Second, I show that situations in which we aim to access our own higher-order thought processes constitute a further category of cases in which direct attention is limited. Third, I argue, drawing on Heidegger, that direct attention is not only limited when we aim to gain knowledge of ourselves and our own minds, but also with respect to knowledge of our existence and the world around us.

Keywords: attention, self-knowledge, method, Heidegger, phenomenology

I. Introduction

In the short essayistic story "Über das Marionettentheater", Heinrich von Kleist presents a vignette that contains a powerful message about the conditions required for certain qualities to flourish. He has his protagonist tell a brief anecdote:

> Ich badete mich, erzählte ich, vor etwa drei Jahren, mit einem jungen Mann, über dessen Bildung damals eine wunderbare Anmut verbreitet war. Er mochte ohngefähr in seinem sechszehnten Jahre stehn, und nur ganz von fern ließen sich, von der Gunst der Frauen herbeigerufen, die ersten Spuren von Eitelkeit erblicken. Es traf sich, daß wir grade kurz zuvor in Paris den Jüngling gesehen hatten, der sich einen Splitter aus dem Fuße zieht; der Abguß der Statue ist bekannt und befindet sich in den meisten deutschen Sammlungen. Ein Blick, den er in dem Augenblick, da er den Fuß auf den Schemel setzte, um ihn abzutrocknen, in einen großen Spiegel warf, erinnerte ihn daran; er lächelte und sagte mir, welch eine Entdeckung er gemacht habe. In der Tat hatte ich, in eben diesem Augenblick, dieselbe

> gemacht; doch sei es, um die Sicherheit der Grazie, die ihm beiwohnte, zu prüfen, sei es, um seiner Eitelkeit ein wenig heilsam zu begegnen: ich lachte und erwiderte – er sähe wohl Geister! Er errötete, und hob den Fuß zum zweitenmal, um es mir zu zeigen; doch der Versuch, wie sich leicht hätte voraussehen lassen, mißglückte. Er hob verwirrt den Fuß zum dritten und vierten, er hob ihn wohl noch zehnmal: umsonst! er war außerstand dieselbe Bewegung wieder hervorzubringen – was sag ich? die Bewegungen, die er machte, hatten ein so komisches Element, daß ich Mühe hatte, das Gelächter zurückzuhalten:
> Von diesem Tage, gleichsam von diesem Augenblick an, ging eine unbegreifliche Veränderung mit dem jungen Menschen vor. Er fing an, tagelang vor dem Spiegel zu stehen; und immer ein Reiz nach dem anderen verließ ihn. Eine unsichtbare und unbegreifliche Gewalt schien sich, wie ein eisernes Netz, um das freie Spiel seiner Gebärden zu legen, und als ein Jahr verflossen war, war keine Spur mehr von der Lieblichkeit in ihm zu entdecken, die die Augen der Menschen sonst, die ihn umringten, ergötzt hatte.[1]

What Kleist (or at least his protagonist) seems to be suggesting by this anecdote is that grace is not something that can be achieved intentionally. It has to come spontaneously, not as the product of any reflection. When it comes to grace, reflection and intention inevitably disrupt the very thing we aim to achieve through them. The anecdote very clearly illustrates something that is central to my concern in the current paper. For in broad terms, the relation between object and approach – the fact that certain types of subject matter simply do not tolerate certain methods for disclosing them or bringing them about – is exactly what this paper will deal with.

More specifically, my concern in the current paper shall be with one particular method: direct attention. We naturally assume that in order to come to know something, we need to focus our attention directly on that thing itself. Training our attention on some object or phenomenon is generally assumed to be helpful – even necessary – in developing a grasp of it. While I do not intend to dispute the usefulness of direct attention as an approach in general, I shall argue that direct attention nevertheless has a limited disclosive capacity. My basic assertion is that there exist phenomena that cannot at all be disclosed – described, captured – by means of direct attention, and that, moreover, there is a wider category of phenomena that do not show themselves most truly or fully if they are directly and intentionally focused on. My aim here is to indicate three distinct ways in which direct attention is limited. Considering the

available space, these discussions will have to leave much unsaid, and indeed unargued for. Nevertheless, I hope they will contribute towards our understanding of the impossibility of and, more broadly, the limitations on describing certain phenomena by means of direct attention, and open up some avenues for more detailed explorations of this issue.

The problem with direct attention is part of a broader philosophical issue, which concerns the relation between subject matter and method. My conviction is that the right philosophical approach in every situation depends on the subject matter at issue. This insight, I believe, is often underestimated in philosophy. It can be tempting to assume that there are philosophical methods that can be used no matter what our topic is. This assumption strikes me as mistaken. There are methods that may in many cases be perfectly useful, but that are still not appropriate in every situation, and the point of the current paper is to work out one case for which this is true. My general point then, would be that we always have to review the appropriateness of a certain method with respect to the subject matter we aim to disclose or understand. What I am, indirectly but ultimately, trying to advance here, then, is our understanding of the way in which the subject matter of a philosophical endeavour and the method used to disclose this subject matter ought to be attuned.

II. Fundamental incompatibility

The phenomenon I am principally concerned with here is the fact that direct attention sometimes radically fails to capture the subject matter we aim to disclose. Let me give a brief example to illustrate one rather profound way in which it fails. Imagine that I have noticed I have a tendency to get distracted from my work if there is music playing, and I want to get a better grasp of the process of this distraction. Imagine further that I plan to do this by means of focusing directly on my distraction, catching it in the act, so to speak. It is not hard to see what would happen: as my mind starts to wander, I quickly focus on this wandering, but as I do so, making the wandering the direct object of my attention, I inevitably alter the action my mind is engaged in. Instead of slipping into thoughtlessly listening to the music, or indeed into a series of spontaneous thoughts somehow triggered by what I hear, I am now focused and alert, but the intended object of my focus has disappeared. In other words: in focusing on my distraction, I disrupt the very process I aimed to capture.

In this example, I take it, it is quite clear *that* direct attention fails. But it is much trickier than it may initially seem to identify exactly *how* and *why* it does. In order to gain some initial clarity about this, I shall discuss a series of contrasting pairs of cases – in each case one in which direct attention appears to be unproblematic, and one in which it is problematic. These exemplars will aid in constructing and analysing a series of hypotheses aimed at capturing the pertinent difference between the problematic and unproblematic scenarios, with the intention of gradually sharpening our understanding of the incompatibility under discussion.

First, however, I should note that my target in this paper is not "direct attention" in the maximally inclusive meaning of that term. What I am concerned with here are forms of direct attention in which we identify or isolate an object in order to focus on it (presumably on the assumption that this will aid our ability to grasp it). So when I discuss a case in which I attend directly to my distraction, I will assume that this means that I intentionally focus on the distraction as such – that, in other words, the subject matter is identified as a step in the process of training my attention on it directly. I do not intend to imply that such an element of isolation-and-focus must be part of every possible construal of the idea of direct attention; indeed, there certainly are approaches that would reasonably count as direct attention that do not involve this. However, I do think that this element is quite typical and widespread in the use of direct attention as an approach, and therefore, this form of direct attention strikes me as a valuable target.

Now if I want to describe the cup of water that sits in front of me on my desk, this task allows for, and in fact seems to require, direct attention. In order to determine the colour, size, shape and visual details of the cup, I have to look at it – or at least looking at it helps. And I can do so, because my looking at the cup does not interfere with my task of describing it; the phenomenon is left intact. In contrast, as I have argued above, if I try to capture the process of getting distracted or lost in my own thoughts, direct attention does not help at all in doing so – it disrupts the very phenomenon I aim to get clearer about. Direct attention is incapable of revealing the process of distraction. Or to be precise: it seems impossible for me to study *my own* distraction, from a first-person standpoint, by means of direct attention. It is important that the limit on direct attention made evident by this example seems to be *absolute*. The fact that, in the situation sketched, my distraction is unavailable to me, is not an accident. The process of getting distracted and the action of paying attention are

intrinsically at odds; it is *fundamentally* impossible for direct attention to reveal my own distraction to me.

What accounts for this discrepancy? What are the salient differences between these phenomena? One difference that immediately stands out is the fact that the former phenomenon – the cup of water – is (for all intents and purposes) a static thing, while the latter – my mind wandering – is a process. In other words, my mind wandering is a phenomenon with a significant temporal component, whereas the cup is not. However, this difference cannot be salient, for not every process or temporal phenomenon suffers from the same problem. In other words, there are cases that share the characteristic of temporality that are nevertheless unproblematic in terms of description through direct attention. If I want to describe the flight of a sparrow outside my window, the dynamic and temporal character of that phenomenon does not inhibit my ability to describe it. (The sparrow may, of course, fly too fast for me to follow it, or disappear from my field of vision, but the temporal nature of its flight does not *in principle* present a fundamental difficulty.)

Another explanation might be that in the case of the cup of water, the object I want to describe seems to be quite independent from my observing it – I can observe it from a distance, as it were, without interacting with it or influencing it –, whereas in the case of my distracted thoughts, my act of observation necessarily interacts with the phenomenon at issue. The hypothesis, then, would be that the problem with the description of my wandering thoughts is that this endeavour suffers from a sort of fundamental *observer effect*: that the act of observation – or, in this case, the act of attending directly to something – *necessarily and irrevocably* changes the phenomenon at issue.

But to ask very generally whether interaction with the phenomenon is what is problematic about the case of distraction is, in a way, to beg the question. Because even the most bare description of the problem I am using as a basis contains this very idea: directing attention to what my mind is doing *disrupts the phenomenon I aim to capture*. If the general formulation of the problem is that direct attention disrupts the intended phenomenon, then it is part of the very formulation of the problem that interaction is at the heart of it, because disruption is simply a specific form of interaction. So rather than to ask *whether* interaction is problematic, we will have to ask *what kind* of interaction is. In other words, my task now is to sharpen this distinction between the idea of "observing from a distance" and "interacting with".

In order to get clearer on the appropriate extension of "distance" in these kinds of cases, it might be helpful to consider some cases more closely related to distraction, in the hope of making a boundary emerge. First of all, it is significant that distraction is not unique in its incompatibility with direct attention. A similar interaction between matter and method takes place in the case of a phenomenon like absorption. I cannot get clearer about what it is like – from a first-person perspective – to be absorbed in a book or a daydream, by attending directly to my absorption, because as soon as I turn my attention to my state of mind, making it an object of consideration, I break the absorption. The act of attending to my absorption inevitably disrupts the very phenomenon I aim to capture.

One explanation that is attractive at first sight – something that distraction and absorption have in common, but in which they differ from the description of the cup – is that this discordance is due to the fact that I try to attend to something that *my mind* is engaged in. Nevertheless, this conclusion would be mistaken. It is, for instance, altogether possible to attend to a deep sadness I am experiencing without thus disrupting the experience of sadness. The same goes for joy or happiness. In a way, this is quite remarkable, because it would seem that sadness and joy – or at least certain kinds of sadness and joy – can be very immediate, unreflective experiences. (Of course it is possible to be sad or joyful *about* something, but there seem to be many types of sadness, or joy – or perhaps melancholia is an even better example – that are *just present* without having an intentional structure at all – they are not *about* something; they simply are there.) The problem, then, cannot lie in the combination of direct attention together with any other act of mind *simpliciter*. It is not that all acts of mind as such are incompatible with the particular act of mind that is direct attention; rather, the incompatibility arises only between direct attention and *certain* other acts of mind. And if sadness and joy are compatible with direct attention, then even experiences that seem very immediate and unreflective in character are not necessarily disrupted by being made into objects of reflection or direct attention. So what defines those acts of mind that *are* incompatible with direct attention, if not just an element of immediacy?

Before I try to tackle this question further, it seems important to consider the other side of the relationship in a bit more detail. Because the case of absorption makes it clear that it is important to be a bit more precise not just about the nature of the object or phenomenon, but about the extension of the idea of direct attention as an approach. For what

absorption makes clear, I think, is that it is not direct attention *as such*, so to say, not every element of this approach that is problematic. First, a brief note on the relation between attention and awareness is in order. For the purposes of this paper, I shall assume that I can be conscious/aware of something without attending to it, but that attending to something (in the sense I have in mind here) will make me aware of it. So awareness does not imply attention, but attention does imply awareness. Now in the case of absorption, it would be a mistake to say that it is a *lack of attention* (or a lack of awareness[2]) that is required for the phenomenon to remain intact, or, conversely, that it is *awareness simpliciter* that would disrupt the phenomenon. For when I am absorbed in a book or a daydream, I am of course very much aware of the object of my absorption – the melody and the timbre of the music I am listening to, the mood of the protagonist – and I may even directly attend to these features. What I do *not* seem to be able to be aware of, at the same time as being absorbed in something, is my absorption *as* absorption – it does not seem possible to both be absorbed in a book and at the same time to be directly aware of, or to be focused on, the fact that I am so absorbed. So – on the supposition that attention creates awareness – I cannot attend directly to my absorption qua absorption without disrupting my state of mind of being absorbed. Something very similar holds for distraction. If this is true, then it is not the mere presence of attention or awareness that is disruptive of phenomena such as distraction or absorption. It is not the case that as soon as I am aware of something, or as soon as I attend to or am focused on something, I can no longer be distracted, or absorbed. It is only when my attention is directed specifically to my absorption *qua* absorption, or my distraction *as such*, that I am no longer in the process of getting distracted or being absorbed. So it is not any kind of attention, or even direct attention, that is incompatible with phenomena such as these. Rather, it must be some kind of second-order or meta-attention – attention that is directed at my attention and its objects; attention that is concerned with establishing what I am focused on – that is disruptive of phenomena such as distraction or absorption.

Nevertheless, to reiterate, second-order attention is not *necessarily* incompatible with other acts or states of mind. It is not *all* acts of mind that are disrupted by second-order direct attention (which, for the sake of simplicity, I shall now refer to as "direct attention" again). As I pointed out, even acts of mind that seem characterised by a kind of immediacy or lack of intentionality, such as melancholia, can be made into objects

of direct attention without being disrupted. So again, what defines those acts of mind, like absorption and distraction, that *are* incompatible with direct attention?

A simple analogy might help us sharpen the question at this point. What I do when I try to capture through direct attention phenomena such as distraction and attention is like trying to observe myself as I am when I am not observed. (If Kleist is right, and I think he is, then this difference will be profound!) Analogously, what I try to accomplish in approaching phenomena such as distraction or absorption through direct attention is precisely to capture these phenomena as they are uninterrupted. However, the answer to the question why, in certain cases, this is not possible – or under what conditions this is not possible, or given what kind of combination of subject matter and approach this is not possible –, cannot simply be that in order to "have" a phenomenon uninterrupted I simply have to leave it be, whereas any directing attention to it will disturb its "natural" occurrence. Because some phenomena can be the object of direct attention *without* losing their "essential characteristics" – again, melancholia, sadness or joy would qualify here. So the question is: *what makes that direct attention disrupts phenomena such as distraction or absorption, but not phenomena like melancholia, sadness or joy?*

First of all, there is one significant difference between wanting to observe myself as I am unobserved and the case of observing the process of me getting distracted in a direct way. In the former case, what I want more precisely is to see what I look like when I am *not aware* that I am being looked at. For it is not the case that being looked at itself changes the way I appear; it is my awareness of being observed. So in such a case, I could ask a friend to take a picture or make a video when I do not realise anyone is around. But such a solution – capturing the intended phenomenon via external means – is unavailable in the case of distraction, because phenomena such as distraction or absorption can only be experienced from a first-person standpoint. You can of course watch me being distracted and record my behaviour, but you cannot *experience* my distraction and somehow transfer the experience back to me, nor can I experience yours. So one characteristic of the "problematic" phenomena – I mean, those phenomena that cannot be captured by means of direct attention – seems to be that they are somehow essentially first-person experiences.

Still, as I hope to have established by now, not *all* first-person experiences suffer from an incompatibility with direct attention. So exactly what kinds of phenomena do? The best answer I am able to give

at this point unavoidably has an element of *ad hoc*-ness to it. Absorption and distraction, of the kind I have discussed, are characterised by a lack of awareness – not a general lack of awareness, but a specific lack of awareness of the mental processes to which I am subject. But the kind of direct attention that would disclose the process of distraction or the nature of my absorption is attention to precisely those kinds of mental processes, creating awareness of precisely those processes. (This is why it is very important that the precise approach at issue is not attention or awareness in general, but second-order direct attention or meta-attention.) So the kind of direct attention that would be able to do the job of disclosing the processes I am interested in is incompatible with phenomena such as distraction or absorption, because the very nature of such phenomena is determined by a lack of awareness of such processes. And there is no way around this incompatibility, in these cases, because these are fundamentally phenomena that can only be experienced from a first-person standpoint.

This, then, is a firm, indeed fundamental, limit to direct attention as a disclosive instrument. In the next section, I shall argue that we can extend the idea of a limit to direct attention yet further from another angle.

III. Higher-order thought processes

In section II, I have described a set of phenomena that do not admit of being made into objects of second-order attention without being disrupted or even destroyed – cases that are fundamentally incompatible with direct attention, because direct attention simply cannot keep those phenomena intact. In this section, I shall very briefly argue for another category of cases that, while not suffering from a fundamental incompatibility with direct attention, nevertheless suggest a different kind of firm limit to it.

It is well established that we tend to be very poor at identifying the higher-order cognitive processes underlying our actions and decisions. As Nisbett and Wilson show in their seminal paper on verbal reports about mental processes, we are often unaware of the causes of our actions (or in the language of experimental psychology: of the stimulus that produced a certain response), unaware that we are responding to something that happens around us, or, while aware of both the stimulus and the response, unaware that they are connected in any way[3] – but in all of these cases likely to feel strongly that we do know why we are acting. All kinds of things we do, from trivial movements of the body to profound decisions,

can serve as examples of this. I might avoid a certain food simply because I associate it with a person I strongly dislike, while being fully convinced that it is the mere preferences of my taste buds that lead me to dislike it. I might run my hand through my hair because out of the corner of my eye I just saw a friend in the back of the room doing the same thing, although if you asked me why I did, I would answer it is because it's so very hot in here. Similarly, it is well documented that we can easily be led to believe that we were entirely passive when in fact we acted, and conversely, that we were exercising control over a situation when we weren't, and that we generally overestimate the degree of control we have over our environment.[4] It has been established that we often do not really know what we believe, despite feeling very strongly that we do,[5] and that we have all sorts of tendencies and attitudes of which we are entirely unaware.[6] For instance, an implicit bias test or implicit relational assessment procedure will, probably for each and every person reading this paper, show that they have, and operate on the basis of, some sexist and racist attitudes, even if we might all feel that we certainly are not subject to anything of the sort.[7] So we cannot generally get reliable answers to questions such as why we are moving in a certain way, what beliefs and convictions we have, even why we took a certain job over another or why we are with a certain partner, by attending directly to the relevant beliefs, processes and decision-making procedures, because these beliefs and processes are simply unavailable to us.

These cases, of course, are quite different from the ones described earlier, in that direct attention here does not *disrupt* the relevant processes; it merely is impotent, because we are incapable of accessing these processes in such a way. Moreover, it should be noted that the limit they indicate applies solely to direct attention *through introspection*. For instance, it is not a given that we could not call something like an implicit bias test a direct measure[8] in any sense of the word. Significantly, though, the limit to direct attention through introspection that these cases show there to be might still be a matter of a fundamental incompatibility. We can of course learn to recognise certain signals, and this may give us a slightly better chance of getting things right when we ask ourselves why we are doing certain things or how we feel about something. For instance, without knowing about the social dimension of yawning, we might attribute our uncontrollable urge to yawn in the middle of the seminar to a bad night, or to the tedious nature of the paper being presented. But since we all do know that seeing people yawn stimulates yawning, we

will probably notice a link between the person next to us opening their mouth just a bit too wide and our own inability to keep from taking an extra long and deep breath. As Nisbett and Wilson point out, though, this improvement in explanation would still not amount to an improvement in access to our higher-order thought processes. Rather, we would owe our getting it right to the correct application of an a priori theory, not to direct introspective access to a chain of stimuli and responses.[9] If Nisbett and Wilson, and others such as Wegner, are right, our access to our own higher-order thought processes may well be fundamentally limited, even if in, say, the case of access to our own beliefs and desires it is merely less reliable than we generally assume without being absolutely precluded.

IV. A phenomenological perspective

Thus far, the situations in which I have shown direct attention to be limited have all concerned knowledge about ourselves and our minds. In order to gain a thorough sense of the limits of direct attention, one question that ought to be settled is whether *all* phenomena that cannot be disclosed through direct attention, or that are not best disclosed through direct attention, are types of self-knowledge. In other words: is the area in which direct attention is limited merely the area of knowledge about ourselves and our minds, or is it broader? In this section, I shall discuss some of the phenomenological work of Martin Heidegger, which suggests that, indeed, there are phenomena that are not instances of self-knowledge, but with regard to which direct attention nevertheless comes up short. While I do not have the space here to critically assess Heidegger's claims and descriptions, the following section is intended simply to provide an initial exploration of some potentially powerful avenues in thinking about the limits of direct attention.

In his early lectures and in *Sein und Zeit*, Heidegger develops several critiques of traditional conceptions of the way in which certain phenomena are disclosed to us. In the course of these, he repeatedly emphasises that there are certain phenomena, some of which absolutely central to who we are, that we cannot come to know by looking at them directly. First and foremost, he argues, our knowledge about the world comes not via a distanced, disengaged perspective, but from our *going around in* this world, from our dealings with the things that surround us: "Die nächste Art des Umganges ist […] nicht das nur noch vernehmende Erkennen,

sondern das hantierende, gebrauchende Besorgen, das seine eigene 'Erkenntnis' hat" (SZ 67).[10] Our active engagement with the things around us, not disengaged perception, is what discloses those things to us in the first place. We "know" the doorknob not by holding it out at arm's length and studying it, but by using it, relying on it, finding it in place where we expect it. Indeed, what is most relevant about the doorknob manifests itself only in a context of use. Abstracted entirely from the fact that it is an object that exists to be used and handled, we can describe it as a round piece of wood or an elongated piece of metal with a sharp bend at the end, but those descriptions drastically fail to capture the "essence" of the thing we would thus aim to describe. Things like this, that are there as subjects of usage and handling – Heidegger categorises them as *Zeug*, or equipment – are never *merely present*; they are, as Heidegger puts it, *zuhanden*; ready-to-hand (SZ 69). And because they are "ready-to-hand", these things are not merely in the first instance encountered in use – in fact, they do not allow for being discovered, grasped and understood through any kind of distanced, disengaged observation. The specific ways in which, for instance, a hammer calls to be handled and allows for being handled – and these ways make up the very core of what a hammer is – cannot properly be discovered by looking at the hammer, but only by hammering. Heidegger here challenges both the dichotomy between subject and object – what an object like a hammer really is, is established only in relation to a handling subject – and the dichotomy between practice and theory: it would be a mistake to consider practice as the domain of action and theory as knowledge-giving; rather, practice has its own access to its own form of knowledge, which cannot be gained even through the sharpest and most rigorous theoretical stance. Importantly, the "practical knowledge" that we can gain from engaging with the ready-to-hand things around us is not merely "know-how"; it concerns knowledge of the deepest and most essential ontological structures.

Heidegger's critique entails at least two challenges associated with gaining knowledge of "ready-to-hand" phenomena. If we want to gain knowledge of their ontological structures – which, for Heidegger, is the very point of phenomenology as a philosophical endeavour –, we will somehow need to figure out how to register the knowledge produced in and through our interaction with the things we deal with. But this is not nearly as straightforward as it seems. First of all – and here a close parallel to the cases of distraction and absorption emerges – it is not clear whether, and in what way, such registration of practically derived knowledge

is compatible with the active engagement required to produce it. But Heidegger points out another problem. Even if we can in principle register the knowledge produced in active engagement with things in a different format, we are so used to analysing, explaining, and generally distancing ourselves from the objects of our philosophical interest, that there are all kinds of tendencies *in the way* of us relating to such knowledge. So in fact, it requires significant labour not to thwart our own efforts by disrupting the knowledge that naturally arises in our relations to things. "Die Gewinnung des phänomenologischen Zugangs zu dem so [*i.e.* in active engagement] begegnenden Seienden", Heidegger warns,

> besteht […] in der Abdrängung der sich andrängenden und mitlaufenden Auslegungstendenzen, die das Phänomen eines solchen 'Besorgens' überhaupt verdecken und in eins damit erst recht das Seiende, *wie* es von ihm selbst her *im* Besorgen für es begegnet (SZ 67).[11]

Importantly, Heidegger claims that such tendencies are not shallow ones that we can simply identify and repress or otherwise neutralise – our perception of the world around us is always at least in part shaped by them. This, then, does imply a firm limit to direct attention: we do, for the most part, not have direct access to the knowledge produced in our interaction with things, because we are burdened by irrepressible tendencies to cover over such knowledge by assuming a theoretical attitude. Simply turning towards these things, focusing on them, etc., will not show us their real nature, but reflect our own expectations and prejudices back onto us.

However, according to Heidegger, there are indeed situations in which knowledge about the ontological structure of things is made available to us in a direct immediacy. The opportunity for such immediate understanding arises in situations in which our active engagement with things is suddenly disrupted. When we, immersed in a task, reach for a hammer and find ourselves grabbing an item that is far too heavy, the inappropriateness or unavailability of the hammer for its use makes this piece of equipment stand out to us in a mode of mere presence (*Vorhandenheit*); a mode of being that stands in sharp contrast with the ready-to-handness we expect from it. In this way, the breakdown of the structure of use directly confronts us with the distinction between ready-to-handness and mere material presence, and with the fact that these are two radically different modes of being. Importantly, these revelations are not prompted by a conscious cognitive effort on our part. They arise when the network of reliance and

anticipation in which we are actively engaged directly and powerfully reveals itself in the moment it is disrupted.

A similar picture arises from Heidegger's description of moods. Moods, Heidegger argues, have the ability to confront us directly with certain facts about ourselves; facts that we may not normally be aware of, or indeed facts that we may habitually repress. "Ungestimmtheit", for instance, the (apparent) absence of any concrete mood, makes our existence stand out to us as a burden (SZ 134). Indeed, moods can disclose things that we cannot possibly *know*, "weil die Erschließungsmöglichkeiten des Erkennens viel zu kurz tragen gegenüber dem ursprünglichen Erschließen der Stimmungen" (*ibid.*).[12] The fact that our own existence is ultimately ours to carry can suddenly show itself plainly and purely, Heidegger claims, "gerade in der gleichgültigsten und harmlosesten Alltäglichkeit" (*ibid.*).[13] In other words, knowledge disclosed by moods does not come to us as a matter of directly asking about our existence. Indeed, Heidegger describes the way in which we find ourselves in moodedness as "einem Finden, das nicht so sehr einem direkten Suchen, sondern einem Fliehen entspringt" (SZ 135).[14] "Die Stimmung erschließt nicht in der Weise des Hinblickens auf die Geworfenheit, sondern als An- und Abkehr" (*ibid.*).[15] So not only are such facts not disclosed in our directly and intentionally turning towards them, in fact they are principally disclosed in our turning *away* from them.[16]

Not all phenomena reveal themselves in situations of breakdown or through moods, though. As pointed out above, Heidegger takes us to have a strong tendency to *cover over* or *conceal* what is revealed in our relations to the things around us. Whether this is the result of a subconscious desire to repress what is disclosed to us, or (as would be the main obstacle in most cases) ways of thinking and the general assumption of a theoretical attitude that have become habits, these ways of thwarting the self-disclosure of the subject matter are generally not apparent to us, and (partly for that reason) cannot be cast aside in a single act of making space for a direct relation to such knowledge. For this reason, Heidegger reserves an important place for a methodological device he calls *Destruktion*; a critical, questioning attitude towards expectations, habits, constructions, categories, dichotomies, motives, states of affairs, that we consider necessary or self-evident.[17] Importantly, since *that* and *how* we conceal what is disclosed in our active engagement with things – or which of our standards and ideals are merely fossilised contingencies – is not

immediately and directly perceptible, we must make everything subject to such deconstructive scrutiny.

This takes up the broader methodological theme I opened with, because Heidegger's suggestions for methodological adaptations necessary for disclosing the kinds of subject matter phenomenology deals with involve an important warning. While the conviction that philosophy always has to review the appropriateness of a certain method with respect to the relevant subject matter is central to the shape of Heidegger's phenomenological method, he also emphasises that such methodological attunement is not something that can be settled in advance of dealing with "the substance". Rather, an understanding of the ways in which one's method ought to attune itself to the subject matter under consideration must arise in the course of the investigation of the subject matter itself. Since this means that it is not possible to ever secure a solid starting point on which to base one's investigation, any part of the interaction between method and subject matter is in principle precarious, and the possibility of going astray is always present. For Heidegger, therefore, methodological considerations must continuously accompany all substantive work, and we must always remain alert to the possibility that we are being led in the wrong direction altogether.

What do Heidegger's critique and his alternative descriptions of the ways in which phenomena reveal themselves mean in relation to direct attention? Here I should note again that the form of direct attention that is my target in this paper is one that entails, at least implicitly, the idea of picking out something to observe and then focussing on it; an isolated subject held out at arm's length, where the isolation and distance are expected to aid the clarity and rigour of the inspection. Insofar as this is the case, Heidegger's critique goes to the heart of direct attention as an approach. He shows that ready-to-hand entities, and their ontological mode of ready-to-handness itself, do not reveal themselves to an intentional or theoretical stance, when isolated and regarded from a distance, but precisely in our active engagement with them. And he claims that moods disclose certain fundamental facts of our existence to us not insofar as we directly search for or look at, say, the nature of our existence, but precisely in our turning away from it. In other words: what is clear regardless of naming conventions or boundary decisions is that any kind of direct attention that would be compatible with an appropriate disclosive relation to ready-to-hand phenomena must not in any way be a matter of isolating an object and observing it from a distance. Insofar as

direct attention is a form of cognition, moreover, Heidegger's account of the disclosive role of moods implies a further limit to it, since he argues that moods can disclose certain phenomena that a cognitive stance cannot possibly capture. The cases derived from Heidegger form an important addition to the limits of direct attention discussed in the first two sections, for they do not merely concern the processes or contents of our own minds, but broaden the area in which direct attention is limited to ontological knowledge about ourselves and the world around us.

V. Conclusion

Going against a widespread and powerful trend in philosophy to rely on direct attention as an approach, I have in this paper aimed to show that the disclosive capacity of direct attention is limited. I have argued for three types of limits.

First, I showed that there are certain types of phenomena that direct attention is fundamentally incapable of disclosing, which, I concluded, is due to a tension between the nature of direct attention as an approach and the nature of certain types of subject matter. While the conclusion to the investigation of this fundamental incompatibility inevitably had a sense of *ad hoc*-ness – the question why direct attention is in tension with the phenomena I discussed was answered by concluding that it is ultimately in the nature of these things to be in tension –, several substantive characteristics of this tension have emerged in the process. First, it should have become clear that there is a group of phenomena – not just one single exceptional case – that cannot possibly be disclosed by means of direct attention. Second, this group of phenomena is made up at least in part of acts of mind, but (third) not all acts of mind – and indeed, not even all acts of mind that are characterised by a kind of immediacy – are vulnerable to this problem. Fourth, I argued that it is not awareness or attention *proper* that is problematic, but rather a second-order attention, or a meta-attention; a directedness of attention to the distraction or absorption as such. So the problem of methodological incompatibility does not lie in the subject matter *per se*, nor in the approach by itself, but always in the combination of subject matter and approach. Finally, it is of course a tangible result to establish that there in fact are some *instances* of such a definitional methodological incompatibility – that there actually *are* such phenomena that by their very nature are incompatible with direct attention.

Second, I showed that direct attention is moreover limited because we do not have direct access to our higher-order thought processes, or even to many of our own attitudes and beliefs. Questions as to why we performed certain acts or what beliefs we hold, therefore, cannot be reliably answered by directly attending to our reasons or motivations, since the true grounds of our actions are generally unavailable to us. While this limit may not be a matter of a fundamental compatibility, and in that sense less firm than the first, it has a very broad scope.

Finally, I drew on the early work of Heidegger to sketch a further series of cases in which direct attention is limited. I showed that for Heidegger, we cannot find out about the ontological structure of the world around us by selecting an object to be investigated and training our attention on that object directly, for first, certain types of knowledge arise only in our active engagement with the things around us, and second, we have an irrepressible tendency to *conceal* the knowledge that is produced in such interactions. Similarly, important facts about our existence are disclosed directly and without intentional prompting in and through moods; a way of disclosure that is radically different from directly and intentionally turning towards something. The cases derived from Heidegger form a significant addition to the former two categories, because here, the intended phenomena are not the contents or workings of our own minds, but the ontological structure of the very world around us. Direct attention, then, is limited in a number of different ways, and across a wide range of phenomena.

NOTES

1 "About three years ago, I recounted, I was bathing with a young man, whose constitution at the time was imbued with a wonderful gracefulness. He was probably in his sixteenth year or so, and only from a long distance the first traces of vanity could be seen, summoned by the attention of women. As it happened, we had just been to Paris and seen the youth removing a splinter from his foot; the cast of this sculpture is well known and present in most German collections. At the moment in which my friend put his foot on a stool to dry it, he cast a glance at a large mirror, and it reminded him of the statue. He smiled and told me what a discovery he had made. In fact, I had, at that very moment, made the same discovery; yet – whether to test the solidity of his grace or to meet his vanity in a somewhat curative manner – I laughed and told him he was seeing ghosts! He blushed, and lifted his foot again in order to show me the effect; yet the attempt, as it would have been easy to foresee, failed. Confused, he lifted the foot a third, a fourth, even a tenth time: all in vain. He was unable to generate the same movement again. What am I saying? The movements he made had such a comical quality that it took me effort to refrain from bursting out laughing.

From this day on, almost from this very moment on, an inapprehensible change came over this young man. He started to spend entire days in front of the mirror, and charm after charm slipped away from him. An invisible and incomprehensible violence seemed to lay itself over the free play of his gestures like an iron net, and once a year had passed, he no longer bore any trace of the loveliness that had so delighted those who knew him."
(Kleist 1985: 319–320. Translation mine.)

2 The interrelations between consciousness, awareness and attention are not at all straightforward, and are the subject of elaborate debates in philosophical and psychological literature. For an introduction to the question how consciousness and attention are related, see Stazicker 2011. For an argument that consciousness and attention are entirely independent in either direction, see Koch and Tsuchiya 2007.

3 Nisbett and Wilson 1977.

4 Wegner 2002; 2004; Pronin *et al.* 2006.

5 Greenwald and Banaji 1995; Hofree and Winkielman 2012; Clore and Robinson 2012.

6 Briñol and Petty 2012.

7 Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek, Mellott 2002; Gemar *et al.* 2001; Teachman *et al.* 2001, Barnes-Holmes *et al.* 2006.

8 In fact, this case provides an occasion to consider in more detail what exactly is the relevant sense of "direct" in the context of "direct attention", although for reasons of space, I shall not go into this here.

9 Nisbett and Wilson 1977: 246–257.

10 "The nearest way of going about is […] not cognition that merely takes in, but the act of provision, which uses and handles and which has its own 'cognition'."
(All translations of texts by Heidegger are my own.)

11 "Gaining phenomenological access to those entities that are thus [*i.e.* in active engagement] encountered consists […] in pushing away the tendencies to interpretation that crowd and accompany the encounter, which conceal the phenomenon of such "providing" in the first place, and in the same act even more so entities as they are encountered, of their own accord, in our providing."

12 "…since the disclosive possibilities of cognition fall far short of the originary disclosure of moods."

13 "…precisely in the most unconcerned and harmless everydayness."

14 "…a finding that springs not so much from a direct searching, but from a fleeing."

15 "Mood discloses not by regarding thrownness, but as a turning towards and away."

16 In the same vein, he emphasises that "disclosed" does not necessarily entail 'recognised as such'. In order to be fully aware of what is disclosed through moods in such a way, more work will typically be required. But this does not take away from the fact that our initial access to such knowledge is dependent on a stance quite opposed to directly looking at the phenomena that are to be revealed.

17 In several places, Heidegger states explicitly that philosophers concerned with describing ourselves and the world around us cannot ask directly about the things they are interested in revealing. See, for instance, GA 62: 361; GA 63: 75–76; GA 17: 275.

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