New Europe College
Ștefan Odobleja Program
Yearbook 2019-2020

Editor: Irina Vainovski-Mihai

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KNOWING FROM EXPERIENCE:
ON INDUCTION IN A BROADER SENSE AND
THE INTUITION OF ESSENCES

Abstract

Phenomenology, in its Husserlian design, appeared as a form of descriptive psychology that aimed to overcome the boundaries of an empiric science and become a pure, eidetic discipline. In this paper, I reevaluate the relation between Husserl's phenomenology and Brentano's descriptive psychology or psychognosy. I argue that despite Husserl's famous retraction of his initial characterization of phenomenology as descriptive psychology, in Brentano's specific method of psychognosy exists a step that is not specific to any empirical science, does not imply any positing, and it is not bound to the actual world, namely: *induction in a broader sense* or the intuitive grasping of laws that arise from concepts.

Keywords: induction, experiential science, eidetic intuition, a priori laws, evidence, intuitive grasp, variation, positing character

Introduction

The early days of Husserl's phenomenology are essentially determined by their link with Brentanian descriptive psychology. Already ten years before Husserl's founding work of phenomenology, namely the *Logical Investigations* (henceforth, LI), Brentano had used the term 'phenomenology' in titling one of his lecture manuscripts (1888/89): *Descriptive Psychology or Descriptive Phenomenology* (*Deskriptive Psychologie oder beschreibende Phänomenologie*). Then, Husserl explicitly labelled phenomenology as descriptive psychology in his introduction to the first edition (1900) of the second volume of LI, only to definitely reject this designation another decade later in the second edition of LI. The ground of this rejection is that descriptive psychology entails "empirical, scientific descriptions," referring to "the real states of animal organisms in a real natural order" and, therefore, has the

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character of "empirical generality," holding "for *this* nature" (LI I, 175 f.). Phenomenology, on the other hand, as Husserl had more clearly conceived it by the second edition of the LI (1913, after his so-called transcendental turn of 1907[1]), was to discuss "perceptions, judgments, feelings *as such*, and what pertains to them *a priori* with unlimited generality, as *pure* instances of *pure* species, of what may be seen through a purely intuitive apprehension of essence, whether generic or specific" (LI I, 176). From this point of view, phenomenology resembled mathematics, *i.e.*, arithmetic and pure geometry, which does not deal with *hit et nunc* instances of numbers or shapes but with their pure ideas, independently of their instantiation in this or that actual, empirical context.

Despite Husserl's non-transcendental standpoint and lack of the term 'intuition of essences,' in the first edition of LI he sharply separates phenomenology from empirical sciences as an *a priori* endeavor pertaining to a formal theory of knowledge meant "not to *explain* knowledge in the psychological or psychophysical sense as a temporal occurrence, but to *shed light* on the *Idea* of knowledge in its constitutive elements and laws" (LI I, 178). Opposed to this stands the explanatory endeavor of identifying the laws of succession and coexistence of acts or, in Brentano's terms, of psychical phenomena—precisely the task of Brentano's project of psychology of his 1874, *Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint* (henceforth, PES), as well as of his later genetic psychology. However, as I will argue, both Brentano's psychology of 1874, as well as his genetic psychology are empirical sciences that fundamentally differ from the science of descriptive psychology, which, while remaining grounded on experience, no longer aims at or employs only *a posteriori*, inductive knowledge of limited validity but also *a priori*, universally valid laws obtained through the so-called *induction in a broader sense*.

One of the first to broach the subject of Brentano's method of descriptive psychology and Husserl's eidetic phenomenology was Kraus, who criticized the pertinence of Husserl's accuses of psychologism in the case of Brentano. He argued that Husserl maintained even in his later thought a version of the Brentanian theory of knowledge from 1874 that Brentano himself considered obsolete, because it presupposed a theory of correspondence and the existence of so-called non-real objects (*ens irrealia*) (see Brentano 2009d, xxi–xxii). In the late 1960's, authors like Chisholm (1976) and De Boer (1968; 1978) took up again this discussion. Later, Marek (1986) develops an initial view more akin to that of Chisholm (1976) and Bergman (1966) in considering descriptive psychology a

"purely a priorical endeavor," as he himself testifies some years later (see Marek 1989, n. 15), when he also adjust his view so much, that he even misinterprets Brentano's clear examples of *a priori* certain laws as cases of enumerative inductions or generalizations (Marek 1989, 56, 58). Rollinger (1999) recognizes the similarity between Brentano's induction in a broader sense and Husserl's eidetic intuition[2] and briefly points out the empirical origin of the concepts of psychology. He also emphasizes the fact that, unlike Husserl, Brentano is not committed by his induction in a broader sense to any ontological claim concerning essences (see Rollinger 1999, 24 f.). Except Marek's later revision, hence, the main interpretative hypothesis has been so far that descriptive psychology is an *a priori* science whose concepts alone, but not its judgments, have an empirical origin. Only very recently, Tănăsescu (2022) showed that Chisholm's identification of Brentano's induction in a broader sense with Johnson's (1922) notions of 'intuitive induction' is problematic, since the latter's notion seems to apply rather to Brentano's notion of enumerative induction. This is due to the fact that intuitive induction presupposes a certain minimal number of individual, concrete cases starting from which the universal law is grasped—which is not at all the case with Brentano's intuitive grasping of apodictic universal laws which stem from concepts and not from individual instances.

In light of these intricacies, I set out in the present paper to investigate the relation of descriptive psychology with Husserl's phenomenology as an *a priori* or eidetic science. The main goal is to determine whether between Husserl's eidetic phenomenology and Brentano's descriptive psychology can still be identified any continuities, despite the latter's factual and the former's eidetic character. In this respect, I argue that at the heart of Brentano's descriptive psychology lie *a priori*, apodictic laws that are 'manifested through concepts' and are intuitively grasped by the researcher. Hence, in the first part of this paper, I discuss each of the steps Brentano devises for descriptive psychology and his peculiar notion of *induction in a broader sense*, its Aristotelian origin and methodological function. In the second part, I look at Brentano's method of descriptive psychology at work in his lecture on *The Origin of Our Knowledge of Right and Wrong* (henceforth, KRW) and discuss his standpoint on the empirical origin of concepts. As I hope to show, the possibility of acquiring *a priori* 'insights' in the realm of emotional attitudes is especially clarifying in connection to the *a priori* moment of the descriptive method. In the third part, I begin with Husserl's ideal of phenomenological knowledge through acts of adequate

perception and then turn to Husserl's later procedure of eidetic variation as it is formulated in *Experience and Judgment* (henceforth, EJ). In doing this, I identify three main differences between Husserl's phenomenological method and Brentano's descriptive psychology.

1. Brentano's Descriptive Psychology and His Two Concepts of Induction

The notion of *induction in a broader sense* (*Induktion in einem weiteren Sinn*) is essential for the descriptive method as it is presented in Brentano's lectures from *Descriptive Psychology* (henceforth, DP) and its connection with actual, empiric experience. For this notion presupposes only an indirect tie with experience, *i.e.*, an initial empirical experience (perception) out of which the analyzed concept is formed beforehand. In the role that a generality of essence would play for Husserl, Brentano casts the general law grasped (*erfassen*) immediately from empiric concepts. It is important to note, that this generality is not at the same time empirically founded. Its truth is rather founded in the evidence with which the law stems from the empirical concept. In a nutshell, we are dealing with *analytic* judgments on the grounds of *a posteriori* concepts, *i.e.*, 'pure' knowledge from empirical concepts.

The distinction between descriptive and genetic psychology is explicitly introduced by Brentano only in the late 1880's (see Kamitz 1987, 163). Although in his PES this distinction does not appear as such, Brentano identifies[3] a rather descriptive aspect or stage of the research and a rather genetic one.[4] Broadly said, empirical psychology has to establish, on the base of inner perception, the fundamental classes of psychical phenomena in order to then identify their laws of succession and coexistence. In order to attend to this rather genetical part of the task, the psychologist must first of all identify the most general characteristics of mental phenomena and, accordingly, their principle of classification as well as their fundamental classes: "[…] without having distinguished the different fundamental classes of mental phenomena, psychologists would endeavor in vain to establish the laws of their succession" (PES, 33). On the one hand, we can most certainly call this first methodological step a descriptive one, on the other hand, it cannot be totally assimilated to what Brentano will later call 'descriptive psychology.' This is mainly because (a) in reaching these most general characteristics of mental phenomena, the 1874 descriptive

side of the method relies on enumerative induction, which yields only probable empirical generalizations; and (b) it only serves the genetic trait of establishing the laws of succession and coexistence. Descriptive psychology, or, as Brentano also calls it, *psychognosy* or *phenomenology*, is an individual descriptive science that is to a much greater extent independent of physiology than the psychology of 1874 or than genetic psychology. Moreover, among its propositions there are not just empirical generalizations of limited validity but also intuitive apodictic truths that *stem* from concepts (*aus den Begriffen entspringen*) in what, as we will see, Brentano calls induction in a broader sense.[5]

While still relying on inner perception, descriptive psychology "[...] aims at exhaustively determining (if possible) the elements of human consciousness and the ways in which they are connected [...]" (DP, 3). In further clarifying this distinction, Brentano calls descriptive psychology *pure* (*reine*) psychology, meaning that its doctrines are free from all physiological elements or physico-chemical processes. In this respect, descriptive psychology shares with Husserl's phenomenology a strong anti-naturalistic trait: they both reject the reduction of consciousness to a psycho-chemical event and the thesis "that it itself is composed out of chemical elements" (DP, 4). Thus, its specificity is no longer that of identifying causes that lead to the appearance of a certain mental phenomenon[6] but of offering "a general conception of the entire realm of human consciousness […] by listing fully the basic components out of which everything internally perceived by humans is composed, and by enumerating the ways in which these components can be connected" (DP, 4).

As pure psychology, it is also an *exact* science. Unlike *inexact* sciences, like meteorology—which genetic psychology resembles—, its laws need not be amended with weakening terms such as 'mostly,' 'in average,' etc., being able to formulate its laws "sharply and precisely" (DP, 5). Brentano's example of such a precise psychognostic doctrine is: "the phenomenon of violet = red-blue" (DP, 6). This means that it is an analytic universally valid law that the experience of violet presupposes an experience of red and one of blue. There is no possible experience to contradict this, the law itself being evident not from several instances of noticed experiences of violet but from the empirical concept 'violet' itself.

Now, Brentano's separation of descriptive and genetic psychology does not entail the fact that the laws or the results of genetic research cannot be of any use for the descriptive endeavor. On the contrary, Brentano identifies several respects in which psychogenetic research can help psychognosis.

For example, the psychognost can use psychogenetic laws to 'call up the sensation to be analyzed,' to retain it, and even to present herself with other phenomena which help her, by comparison, to *notice* (*bemerken*) certain distinctive traits of the initial phenomenon (see DP, 8 f.). As an example in this regard, Brentano mentions Helmholtz's investigations into the nature of tone colors. In his research, Helmholtz used resonators which allowed him to distinguish in a sound certain overtones that otherwise would have been difficult to notice.[7] This experiment, as Brentano emphasizes, still leaves plenty of room for doubting whether those overtones were really present in the particular sounds or whether they were rather a biproduct of other soundwaves. Therefore, it is not the experimental part of Helmholtz's investigations *per se* that serves as an ultimate ground for the ultimate law to be distinguished. The experiment only gives rise to a *hypothesis* which guides the researcher, who, by using his *attention*, "later succeeded in really hearing the tones which he could only suppose to exist in the sound" (DP, 9). Brentano interprets Helmholtz's endeavor as leading to an evident experience in inner perception, guided along the way by experiences of external perception (aided hearing of overtones in sounds). Psychogenetic laws offer the experiential soil from which the psychognostic process as such can begin and from which concepts are informed.[8]

Nevertheless, for Brentano it is important to make it very clear that the uses of descriptive psychology for genetic psychology are far greater than the other way around, psychognosis as such being "one of the most essential steps in preparation for a genuinely scientific genetic psychology" (DP, 11). This is due to the fact that psychognosis offers the main characteristics of phenomena, the fundamental elements and identifies their possible connections and differences without which genetical psychology would lack any clear ground concerning its subject matter, being left exposed to confusions.

Brentano lists a total of six steps of the method of the psychognost: (1) experiencing (*erleben*), (2) noticing (*bemerken*), (3) fixing (*fixieren*), (4) inductively generalizing (*induzierend verallgemeinern*), (5) intuitively grasping general laws (*intuitiv erfassen*), and (6) making deductive use of what was obtained from general laws (*deduktiv verwerten*) (DP, 31, 67).

(1) *The psychognost first has to experience*: "his inner perception must register, if not simultaneously, then at least successively, a wealth of facts of human consciousness if he is not to lack the material necessary for his investigations" (DP, 32). As showed above, this is the moment when

genetic laws can help descriptive psychology by producing the required experiences.

(2) *The psychognost has to notice*. Brentano holds that there is a clear difference between experiencing and noticing, since we can very well experience something without noticing it. Thus, the real prejudicing incompleteness is not that of the quantity of experiences but that concerning the sufficiency of noticing "the particular experiences and their essential parts" (DP, 34). By noticing, Brentano refers to an *explicit inner perception* of what was initially internally perceived in an implicit way (see DP, 36). Noticing does not mean to be struck by something (*auffallen*), or to make a mental note of something (*sich merken*), or even to pay attention (*aufmerken*) to something, albeit paying attention is much more closely connected to noticing that the former two terms. Although it is neither necessary, nor sufficient, attention can represent a successful condition for noticing or making observations (DP, 39). Brentano discusses at quite some length other required empirical circumstances for noticing, like being a normal, fully intellectually developed individual, being awake, fresh as opposed to fatigued or exhausted, having an appropriate emotional state, eliminating distractions and also existing prejudices (especially those rooted in habit, *e.g.*, linguistic expressions or lack thereof, or rushing into judgment). To sum up, noticing represents a source of incompleteness for psychognosy because it is subjected to a variety of concrete circumstances ranging from external, physical factors, to practice or talent in noticing, and all the way to the specific individual constitution of one's intellect. However, it is certain that there can be no *false* noticing, since it is based on inner perception.

(3) *The psychognost must fix his observations in order to collect them.* The relation between noticing and fixing is such that nothing can be fixed that has not been noticed, but not everything that has been noticed is also fixed (DP, 67). Thus, it is not sufficient just to notice something, one must also use techniques like associations or substitutions to take note of that which is noticed and impress it on one's memory.

(4) *The psychognost must inductively generalize.* Under this heading, Brentano discusses not just the inductive generalization but also the next moment of intuitive grasping of general laws. As the last *empirical* step of the descriptive method, inductive generalization is also common to the earlier project of psychology from 1874. We are dealing here with enumerative induction on the ground of particular noticed characteristics or, as Brentano also calls it in *Versuch über die Erkenntnis* (henceforth,

VE), induction in a narrower sense (*Induktion im engeren Sinn*): acquiring a general empirical law from a number of particular individual observations.[9] The problem that Brentano tackles here concerns more exactly the extension or the field of induction. For example, I see a red point and notice that for it holds the law *L*: 'spatial location and quality (redness) are mutually pervading parts of the color red.' Then, I experience seeing a blue point, a green one, a yellow one, etc., and in all these cases I notice the same law *L*. I can thus induce that this trait is specific of color in general. Have I thus exhausted the domain of my induction? Or does this law also hold for other senses? Could this law actually characterize even the highest concept of 'sensory content'? To be sure, when Brentano says that "one must try to generalize as much as possible, so that the induction becomes exhaustive," (DP, 74) he does not mean that one should experience all the particular cases (as a complete induction would require (see VE, 68 ff.)). He does not require that induction be complete in the *infima species* but rather in the other higher species and genus.[10] Thus, if the inductive law *L* holds for all other senses also, *i.e.*, for hearing, smell, taste, touch, then it can be affirmed about the highest genus 'sensory element.' In brief, every induction should aim toward the highest concept possible. Where a general law cannot be extended to other species, like it is actually the case with *L* for the other senses except color, one can identify *analogies* that can help us easier gain overall intuitions (*Gesamtanschauungen*).

Except empirical psychology and genetic psychology, this notion of induction is also specific to natural science, and it can yield at best knowledge that is infinitely probable, never reaching apodictic certainty.

(5) This step stipulates however that the psychognost must also "intuitively grasp the general laws wherever the necessity or impossibility of unifying certain elements becomes clear through the concepts themselves" (DP, 75). This intuitive grasp corresponds to the notion of *induction in broader sense* which, as Brentano puts it in his 1903 text *Nieder mit den Vorurteilen!* (see VE, 68 ff.), acquires general truths in one strike (*in einem Schlage*), without having recourse to multiple, particular instances to abstract from. This immediate grasping of general descriptive laws also enjoys *a priori* apodictic certainty, allowing therefore no exceptions. Brentano gives here the following example of an intuitively grasped law: 'the peculiarity of evidence is not to be found anywhere outside of judgments' (DP, 75). This judgment 'unpacks' the concept of evidence, which is nothing else than a distinctional (*distinktionelle*) part of judgment, *i.e.*, a part that cannot be actually separated from judgment

and that is merely distinguishable in thought. It follows from the concept of evidence alone, and not from any particular instance of evidence, that it cannot be found outside of judgments, since that would *contradict* its character of mere distinctional part and make it into an actually separable one (*ablösbar*) (see DP, 15 ff.).

In distinguishing these two senses of induction, Brentano draws upon an apparent inconsistency in Aristotle. Namely, in the second book of *Posterior Analytics*, Aristotle holds that knowledge of universals is obtained by means of induction from individual perceptions:

> [...] when an *infima species* has made a stand, the earliest universal is present in the soul (for while what we perceive is an individual, the faculty of perception is of the universal-of man, not of the man Callias) [...] we pass from 'such and such a kind of animal' to 'animal,' and from 'animal' to something higher. Clearly, then, it is by induction that we come to know the first principles; for that is how perception, also, implants the universal in us (Ross 1957, 674).

However, Brentano notices that Aristotle holds in other writings that the law of noncontradiction is self-evident and that in the *Nicomachean Ethics* he argues that the principles of knowledge can be obtained in different ways, not only through induction. This entails that Aristotle may have used the concept of induction in more than one sense, *i.e.*, both in a narrower and in a broader sense. The latter use of the term is consistent with what Brentano shows about mathematical concepts, namely that they are all acquired from perceptual intuitions, and thus every analytic a priori mathematical judgment as well as the law of noncontradiction must be preceded by perception and apperception:

> Thus, it can be generally said that we always obtain the most general laws only in that individual perceptions open our way toward them. And if we were to call *every* ascent from assertoric individual judgments to general laws 'induction,' then we must recognize that the principles of all knowledge cannot be attained otherwise than with the mediation of induction (VE, 73).

In this kind of induction, the general law arises with immediate absolute certainty, *i.e.*, without any type of inference, from the clear presentation of the concept—which is never the case with the induction in the narrower sense.

(6) *The psychognost must make deductive use of what he has acquired through induction or intuition.* This final step means that he can deduce certain features that cannot be noticed as such, *e.g.*, the existence and characteristics of the individualizing factor for individual content (DP, 77).

My comments on these six moments hopefully made it clearer in what way psychognosy, while still an empirical science, is *purely* psychological—psychogenetic laws representing merely a means of obtaining experiential material—and *exact*, given its use of induction in a broader sense, *i.e.*, immediate intuitive grasping of laws out of concepts. On the other hand, it is difficult to see how it could otherwise be deemed an altogether a priori science, given also Brentano's own remarks:

> 6. Psychognosy as an experiential science.
> There are sciences which, at least according to the *sententia communis*, are built up completely *a priori*. Psychognosy, in any case, is incapable of being so. It, too, must start with what is immediately evident. But [what, in its case, is immediately evident] are immediately evident facts which are not of apodictic but of purely assertoric character. It is the sort of fact upon which every experiential science is based in its own way. Because each one must start with facts which are immediately evident. Yet this kind of fact we only possess in the perception of our psychical states, *i.e.*, in the knowledge of that which appears to us as *psychical* (DP, 167).

In this text from Appendix V of DP, titled *Psychognostic Sketch*, Brentano points out explicitly that psychognosy cannot be a completely *a priori* science since its fundamental source is the immediately evident experience, namely inner perception. External perception, however, is not a case of evidence, its judgments being quite the opposite, namely *blind*. Moreover, Brentano distinguishes between two types of evidence: the *assertoric* evidence of the affirmative judgments of inner perceptions and the *apodictic* evidence of the negative judgments of induction in a broader sense or of axioms in general.[11] The evidence of inner perception is guaranteed by the fact that our psychical phenomena, unlike physical phenomena, are given to us precisely as they actually are. But since they are still facts of experience and are not unpacked from concepts, they remain merely assertive.

This discussion sets the stage for the next section of this paper, in which I will attempt to flesh out Brentano's view on the empirical origin

of concepts. To do this, I refer to his 1889 lecture on *The Origin of our Knowledge of Right and Wrong* (henceforth, KRW), which can be seen in general as a contribution to the rejection of ethical relativism, by setting ethics on certain grounds in the sphere of emotions analogous to the immediate evidence of judgments.

2. The Grounding of Universal Moral Laws

Brentano's endeavor in KRW of establishing the grounds of ethics is based on the fact that there are certain analogies that hold between judgments and emotions and, hence, between the concepts like 'truth,' on the one hand, and 'good' on the other. More precisely, for Brentano, the empirical origin of the concept 'truth' lies in the experience of the two specific types of evidence mentioned above. Namely, in the experience of the evident assertoric judgments of inner perception, *e.g.*, 'I think,' 'I judge,' 'I feel,' etc., and in the experience of evident apodictic judgments that can only be negative, *i.e.*, reveal impossibilities, *e.g.*, 'one and the same thing cannot be both affirmed and denied.' For Brentano, judgments are either affirmative or negative and they can be correct or incorrect. An evident judgment, be it assertoric or apodictic, is characterized by the evidence of its correct affirmative or negative character, *i.e.*, of it correctly accepting or rejecting the object it is about. In a judgment of inner perception, *e.g.*, "I see a tree," I am immediately presented with the evident correctness of accepting the fact that I indeed see something. In other words, the *existence* of my act of seeing something is affirmed with evidence.[12] Both of these two types of evidence are immediate, that is, they do not require any other further deductive steps in order to arise as such. Their evidence is immediately present in our conscience and cannot be further explained or reduced to other judgments and concepts.

"These two forms of immediate cognitions, the assertoric cognition of our perception of ourselves and the apodictic, negative cognition, exhaust the sources from which we obtain our concept of the true" (Brentano 2009c, 88). Thus, in order to know what the concept of 'truth' is, one must have first an experience of these two forms of immediate cognition.[13]

Similarly to the way in which there are judgments or axioms that immediately are manifested from the concept as evident and thus inform the concept of truth, there are also *emotions* or *feelings* that are immediately manifested from the concept as being *qualified as right* (*als*

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richtig charakterisiert) which inform the concept of good.[14] Thus, not just apodictic, immediately evident judgments can lead to knowledge but also *higher emotions qualified as right*. The concepts of logic are rooted in the immediate evident judgments of internal perception, while the concepts of ethics are rooted in emotions given in inner perception as qualified as right. The analogy to judgments also holds for the separation of emotions into *higher* and *lower*. Just as the judgments of outer perception lack evidence and are mere blind judgments of instinct or habit, so the lower pleasures, *e.g.*, the miser's pleasure from heaping riches, are never qualified as right (KRW 4, 11 f.). Generally, for Brentano, higher emotions are precisely those emotions that arise from concepts, like the love of insight and hatred of error (KRW, 13 f.). In short, 'good' is a concept obtained on the basis of the experience of a 'rightful love,' and to say that 'A is good' entails that from the concept 'A' arises a higher love toward it that is qualified as right (KRW, 15). The way in which these concepts are acquired from specific inner experiences can be seen even clearer from a 1904 letter of Brentano in which he answers to a question that Kraus had previously raised (KRW, 75).

Kraus' main intention in his original letter to Brentano seems to be that of nuancing the determination of 'empiricism' specific to Brentano and his school. The raw qualification of 'empiricist' could have meant back then, after Husserl's strong criticism in the 1900 *Prolegomena* to his LI, almost the same as 'guilty of psychologism.' It is thus plausible to think that Kraus tried to evade this accuse by making it clear that neither Brentano, nor himself take ethical norms to be reducible to our psychical organization. The way to do that was to show that the ethical principles (*e.g.*, 'there is no knowledge worthy of hate') were actually *a priori*, that is, they were not inferred from factual experience but extracted from the concepts themselves, in a similar manner to the axioms of mathematics. However, in his argument, Kraus loses sight of *the experiential origin of the concepts* themselves—and this is what Brentano corrects in his answer: He begins by showing that, actually, ethical insight is not at all analytic since 'good' is not included in the concept of 'knowledge.' As for Kant, analytic judgments have in the case of Brentano too the character of the 'principle of non-contradiction.' So, when denying such a judgment we end up faced with a contradiction: it is contradictory to say that, *e.g.*, '2+1 does not equal 3,' since '2 plus 1' is the analytical definition of '3.'

But if we were to build the negation of an ethical principle like 'knowledge is good,' we will not obtain at all this type of logical contradiction and, thus, its immediate, apodictic rejection.

This is the point in which Brentano's argument turns toward the empirical formation of concepts. Consider the judgment '2+1 *necessarily* equals 3.' We notice that the concept of 'necessity' is not included in '2+1.' Then how does one attain the immediate evidence of this judgment? Brentano's solution is to indicate as source for the concept of 'necessity' an experience of contradiction: we assume that '2+1 is not 3,' this, being contradictory, determines the apodictic rejection of it and, by reflection on this apodictic judgment of rejection, we acquire the concept of 'impossibility' (KRW, 75). What is remarkable about this argument, is that both the evidence of the analytic proposition and its necessity stem from the concepts: the former, analytically—'2+1' is the definition of '3'—the latter, informed by the experience of the apodictic judgment of rejection of contradiction resulting from the negation of the former. Still, neither in the case of physical laws such as the principle of inertia (negating the principle of inertia does not yield the same kind of apodictic judgment of rejection), nor in the case of the ethical principles does this happen.

So, in order to explain the apodicticity of ethical principles there must be some other *analogous* kind of experience. We saw that Brentano argued that the concept 'good' is an empirical concept which stems from the experience of a 'love which is qualified as right.' Precisely this is the other experience that we need—and that, as Brentano points out, a purely intellectual being would lack—in order to experience the evidence of the judgment 'knowledge is good.' Like in the former case, when the negation of '2+1=3' motivates a cognitive act (a judgment) of rejection, from the concept 'knowledge' stems now a phenomenon of love toward it, which, since it arises from a concept, is also qualified as right.

> We call something good in view of the fact that the love directed upon it is experienced as being correct, just as we say that an object exists if the acknowledgment directed upon it is directly or indirectly evident (Brentano 2009c, 91).

But what if someone does not feel that particular emotion toward that which is good? What if someone feels in fact the opposed emotion and hates knowledge? The analogy identified by Brentano between evident judgments and emotions which are 'qualified as right' can be again of help here. In short, the first case would be similar to that in which someone does not experience the contradiction of saying '7 x 7 does not equal 49,' or 'a triangle does not have three sides.' It could be that particular

psychological factors prevent that person from seeing the evident truth of those judgments, like tiredness, sickness, etc., or it could be the fact that our apperceptive and imaginative capacities are limited—this is why we have proofs, demonstrations that bring forth the evidence of a judgment. But it is not the fact *that* a person has a certain experience or feeling that validates the judgments but rather *because* that law is evident in itself, as an analytic judgment, a particular psychological mechanism occurs.[15]

3. Husserl on Eidetic Variation

Since the LI, Husserl envisaged phenomenology as a presuppositionless endeavor concerning our knowing. Its task was that of clarifying the concepts of epistemology in order to clear the grounds for founding logic. In classical terms, phenomenology was designed as a theory of knowledge, with a specific methodology guided by the ideal of the lack of presuppositions. But what kind of presuppositions had Husserl in view? In a nutshell, any assertion lacking an actual or possible intuitive confirmation in experience should be discarded, that is, any metaphysical theory (like, for example, the existence of a substantial soul), any theoretical scientific claim regarding nature or society (*e.g.*, the principle of causality), religious dogma, personal beliefs or habits, etc. Seen in this light, it could seem we're facing a cumbersome, endless task of purifying our entire system of knowledge. However, what Husserl actually sets out to do in the LI is to retrace logical or epistemological concepts to their roots in the *intuitive experience* of what is given as such in conscience and thus gain full intuitive clarity over concepts that otherwise would be improperly, vaguely understood and, hence, left open to the import of presuppositions (LI I, 168).

Tracing back concepts to their intuitive experiences assumes that such an experience that reveals its object in a fully adequate manner is possible in principle. Can this be the case with a perception of a random physical thing, like a landscape, a table, a house, etc.? We can meet all of these objects, so to say, in person, stand right in front of them, circle around them, get closer or further, etc. But at any given moment what we are given is only a particular aspect of the physical thing, it is never given in its entirety. Regardless how long we stare at a house, go around it, go inside, up the stairs, etc., we will never have in any of our acts of perceptive presentation the object as such in its totality, in what Husserl

calls a fully adequate perception; there will always be sides hidden from us, which are merely indicated by the side actually facing us. It seems thus that such intuitive experiences that offer always only *inadequate* presentations of their objects cannot meet Husserl's claim for adequate givenness. This is not the case though with what is actually present as a real (*reell*) part in my consciousness when I experience these perceptions and then reflectively turn toward what is given *as the immanent content* of our consciousness. Husserl holds that in this kind of reflection we do not stumble upon landscapes, houses, trees, and other such things as present in our consciousness but upon real (*reell*) sense-data: sensations that constitute the real (*reell*) content of our presentations, be they perceptual, imaginary, recollections, etc., as well as upon other apperceptive, doxic characters, etc.[16]

Consider Locke's famous example of bringing in front of our eyes a uniformly colored globe (Locke 1975, 145). We would be tempted to say that its color is, *e.g.*, a uniform red, that this intentional object 'red sphere' has the objectual property of being red or that 'redness' is characteristic of it. At a closer reflective look upon its presentation, we realize that, although we perceived it as being this uniform color, in our subjective experience there was never a unitary sensory content of a solid red but a multiple one, comprising many nuances and shades of red, which then we apperceived or interpreted as the 'red of the sphere,' a specific visual property of the object of my presentation, *i.e.*, of the intentional object (LI II, 83). This sensory content that is apprehended, interpreted or apperceived as the objective color is that which is really present in our conscience and is given adequately, in full evidence, in reflexive acts. Except for these reflective acts, however, sensory contents never appear as such: in perceiving the red sphere, I do not perceive different shades of red that then merge somehow to form the final solid red. We say thus that sensory contents as real elements of consciousness are not themselves, in the first instance, intentional objects, *i.e.*, they do not appear as such or become phenomenal in acts that contain them. They and their functions are revealed only in the subsequent acts of reflection in a so-called 'inner' perception. This kind of 'inner' perception is precisely the adequate one Husserl refers to. However, it must be kept in mind that although only 'inner' perceptions can be adequate, not every such 'inner' perception is adequate, since, *e.g.*, we can never fully grasp the flow of our consciousness (see LI II, 86 f.).

In this type of investigations, we see how such concepts as 'content,' 'presentation,' 'object,' 'perception' are retraced to a certain type of

intuitive experiences, namely *acts of reflection*, that can be performed time and time again. Thus, for Husserl, already in the first edition of LI, phenomenology, like descriptive psychology for Brentano, presupposed an intuitive experiential basis.[17] Nevertheless, a *first* notable difference concerns the *reflexive character of this fundamental experience*. While for Brentano this experience was granted by what is given with assertoric evidence in inner perception and which is further to be noticed, fixed, and inductively generalized, for Husserl the fundamental experience is that of adequate perceptions, which are nothing else than reflexive acts intending the immanent content of consciousness. This further entails a different stand of the two thinkers about the ontological status of the immanent contents. For Brentano, physical phenomena exist only as immanent contents of psychical phenomena—which, to be sure, possess real existence—, having thus only an intentional or phenomenal existence and not a real one. Moreover, physical phenomena are never given *as* what they are, being signs of their real causes (see PES, 14). Husserl, on the other hand, rethinks what Brentano called 'physical phenomena' as sensory contents, *i.e.*, a part of the real (*reell*) make up of consciousness, given adequately, as they actually are, in reflective acts.[18]

Now, phenomenology does not restrict itself to particular acts of reflection of this or that individual. In this respect, it is important to bear in mind that Husserl, in the second edition of the LI, conceived phenomenology as an 'eidetic science':

> This phenomenology must bring to pure expression, must *describe* in terms of their essential concepts and their governing formulae of essence, the essences which directly make themselves known in intuition, and the connections which have their roots purely in such essences. Each such statement of essence is an *a priori* statement in the highest sense of the word. (LI I, 166)

This means that the phenomenologist does not deal with real psychical occurrences, *hic et nunc* experiences of real subjects in the real world, but with the ideas or the pure species of these experiences. This is also the case with the mathematical endeavor: Pythagoras' theorem is never demonstrated for this particular right-angled triangle and then extrapolated to other instances, rather it holds for the species 'right angled triangle' which is merely instantiated in the drawn figure.

Thus, a *second* fundamental difference between the method of descriptive psychology and that of phenomenology regards the sense in which both methods are said to be *pure*. Brentano's psychognosy is a pure psychological science since it is independent of any natural science, like physiology, chemistry, etc. However, it remains an *experiential science* (*Erfahrungswissenschaft*) that proceeds necessarily from an immediate intuitive experiential basis. Phenomenology, on the other hand, is *pure* in that it suspends every connection with empiric reality.[19]

In the second edition of *LI*, Husserl determines pure description as the task of the phenomenologist and indicates the following procedure: we start from *exemplary* individual intuitions of experiences—which, and this is very important to keep in mind, can very well be freely imagined ones—then, we conceptualize the pure essences given in them.[20] The way in which Husserl secures the independence from any contingent factual occurrence and can acquire pure concepts is by recourse to the so-called *free variation in phantasy*. To be sure, the explicit mention of this method as the *eidetic variation* appears only later in Husserl's works.[21] Still, an overview of his later stance on this methodologic moment could allow us to better estimate in retrospect the divergence between his path and Brentano's descriptive psychology.

In EJ, Husserl's discussion concerning the method of *essential seeing* (*Wesenserschauung*) begins with the distinction between empirical and pure concepts. Empirical concepts are obtained inductively from contingent actual experiences and their extension, although broader than the specific instances they were acquired from, can prove to be limited, since it is also contingent and subject to cancellation in the course of future experiences. Pure concepts, on the other hand, come before experience and even prescribe its rules. Thus, "the universal which first comes to prominence in the empirically given must from the outset be freed from its character of contingency" (EJ, 340). If we relate this to Brentano's steps of psychognosy, we could see Husserl as introducing a new step right after the moment of inductive generalization.

The novelty consists in the subsequent freeing of empirical concepts from the contingency specific to any enumerative induction. This operation consists in taking an initial experiential object and turning it into an 'example' or a "guiding 'model'" (EJ 340) starting from which we produce in our pure imagination other different individuals as *arbitrary* variants of the former. By doing this, "it then becomes evident that a unity runs through this multiplicity of successive figures [...] an *invariant*

is necessarily retained as the *necessary general form*, without which an object such as this thing, as an example of its kind, would not be thinkable at all" (EJ, 341). This invariant is nothing else than the *general essence*. For example, if we take what is common to the free, arbitrary variants of an initial heard or imagined sound, we acquire a certain invariant which is the *eidos* sound. Any other instance of a sound would then be recognized not as an instance of a new eidos but of the eidos sound. What is important in variation is not the actual number of variants but rather that the variation *can* continue arbitrarily to infinity, that we are dealing with what Husserl calls an "'infinitely open' multiplicity" in which "is grounded as a higher level *the true seeing of the universal as eidos*" (EJ, 342). By holding in grasp the entire series of variations, their overlapping[22] takes place in a passive way and by looking "toward the congruent and the purely identical […] we attain the *eidos*" (EJ, 343). More precisely, at first, we might possess only a vague presentation of an empirical concept, then, through this process of variation in phantasy, we get to *see* a generality, that is, we experience this generality itself in one of our more complex acts: "It is a seeing resulting from the actively comparative overlapping of congruence" (EJ, 348). The most important aspect for attaining a pure universal is that it has to be completely free of all positings of actuality (see EJ, 349 ff.). The initial contingent starting point is purified, so to say, precisely through the process of arbitrary imaginative variations, every positing of actual existence being excluded.

> If we practice variation freely but cling secretly to the fact that, *e.g.*, these must be arbitrary sounds *in the* world, heard or able to be heard by men on earth, then we certainly have an essential generality as an *eidos* but one *related to our world of fact* and bound to this universal fact. It is a secret bond in that, for understandable reasons, it is imperceptible to us (EJ, 350).

For Husserl, thus, perfect purity is attainable only together with the severing of every connection the variants have with this factual world. This means that in acquiring universalities we must put out of play any relation of the variants or the eidos with the actual world, *i.e.*, abstain from grasping them as belonging to this factual world. The extension of, say, the pure concept of red that I obtain starting from an initial example contains no trace of the actual red color but only pure possibilities.[23] However, every actual red color corresponds to a certain eidetic possibility: "each can be considered as an example and can be changed into a variant" (EJ, 352), and

every conceptual note of the pure eidos 'red' will belong to every actual instance of the color.[24] Thus, the truths that stem from pure concepts are all necessary *a priori* and norm every actual experience.

The central question now concerns the specific ontological commitments of the phenomenologist regarding ideas or ideal objects. As we already saw, for Brentano, the step from particular to general is called induction, more exactly, enumerative induction and induction in a broader sense as intuitive grasping of a priori apodictic truths. Here, we find a *third* fundamental difference between Brentano's descriptive psychology and Husserl's phenomenology which concerns *their ontological commitments.* Namely, decisively rejecting any sort of empirical, enumerative induction in the practice of phenomenology, Husserl relies exclusively on what he calls *intuition of essences* or *eidetic intuition.* As already pointed out, there are several mentions in the literature of the fact that eidetic intuition is similar to Brentano's intuitive grasping of laws immediately manifested by concepts. However, except for De Boer (1978), there is no in-depth discussion of the topic. Both Brentano's induction in a broader sense as well as Husserl's intuition of essences deal with evident, a priori, apodictic truths. Thus, both allow no exception and are in no way dependent on the existence or non-existence of particular, factual things. The main difference, however, is that for Brentano the apodictic laws analytically stem from empirical concepts, while Husserl's eidetic laws are obtained through the analysis of essences, *i.e.*, of ideal objects. However, Brentano's induction in a broader sense does not commit him to any ontological claim concerning generalities,[25] while Husserl has to defend the *validity* (*Geltung*) of ideal objects.

4. Concluding Remarks

Husserl's method of the intuition of essences assures that phenomenology acquires apodictic truths, characterized by the principle of non-contradiction, like all analytic judgments that arise from concepts. At the same time, these truths are given 'in person,' in a fulfilled intuitive manner. The a priori knowledge phenomenology acquires cannot consist in mere vague, symbolic intentions but in full adequate ones constituting pure intuitive eidetic insights. In Brentano's case, the a priori laws of psychognosy are truths that arise immediately from empirical concepts. What, thus, guarantees their intuitive character is not an intuition of some

sort of ideal object or essence but the direct evidence with which they arise from the concept abstracted from an original perception (be it internal or external). Husserl would hold that precisely this empiric origin is the main problem that jeopardizes the a priori character of any insight drawn from it.[26] For him, an entire series of overlapping intuitive contents of the variations and the infinite possibility of multiplying them lead to the pure eidos and assure its intuitive character.

Both for Brentano and Husserl, on the one hand, knowledge is essentially characterized—with a term belonging to the latter—by intuitive fullness. On the other hand, the role played here by factual experience is the source of their most essential disagreements. In order to reach the standard of purity, the phenomenologist needs to take certain steps to change the natural apprehension peculiar to his starting example and abstain from any sort of such positing apprehension throughout variation. As we have seen in the previous discussion of Brentano's method of descriptive psychology, the psychognost can acquire the necessary material for his analyses from genetical laws and even employ some experimental aids. Nevertheless, the essential steps of his method are centered on the evidence of inner perception. The psychognost maintains the respective psychical phenomenon in recent memory, notices its fundamental parts, inductively generalizes to the highest possible species and establishes by means of intuitive grasping their possible or impossible connections. In this process, Brentano never has in view such a change in apprehension that would separate the analyzed phenomenon from its ties with the real, factual world. In my reading, however, there is a step of this method that, by its nature, is *non-positing*—and that is the step of *intuitive grasping*. Irrespective of the empirical origin of the concepts, the analytic laws that are intuitively grasped, *i.e., vérités de raison* seized immediately and directly, without any kind of inference, are always, for Brentano, disguised *negative judgments* of the form 'S – non-P is not' (PES II, 286). They express impossible connections and do not postulate any existence. Moreover, given the analogies between the sphere of judgments and that of feelings, this also holds in an analogous way also for the laws of ethics. Beyond being a factual science and beyond Brentano's strong empirical claims, descriptive psychology seems thus to agree with eidetic phenomenology in that precise step of its method that determines its distinctiveness and through which the grounding of normative sciences is achieved.[27]

NOTES

1 In this respect, see Zahavi (2017, 51–76), Cobb-Stevens (1990, 166 ff.)
2 This perspective has a long tradition in the literature, being already pointed out by Bergmann (1944).
3 For example, in Book 2 and 3 of PES (see also Ps 53.002 f.).
4 I have discussed this in greater detail in Bejinariu (2022).
5 There are also other significant differences between descriptive psychology and the psychology from 1874. For example, the methodological moment of noticing (*Bemerken*) is not as such part of the method presented in PES. Also, the specific mereological task of determining the elements of consciousness and their possible connections is foreign to the positive psychology of 1874. For a detailed account on this subject, see Tănăsescu (2019, 409 f.).
6 In the 1880's, this is clearly distinguished by Brentano as the task of genetic psychology (see DP, 3).
7 In a letter to Husserl, Brentano talks about the possible concealing of the necessary contradiction implied by the negation of any analytic law and brings up as an example the negation of Helmholtz's law which "shows, how much the indistinctness of the apperception veils such contradictions" (Hua Dok III/1, 32). See also Bergmann (1944, 281).
8 On the empirical formation on concepts in outer or inner perception, see *infra* section 2.
9 For a detailed account on Brentano's induction in a narrower sense and the theory of probability, see Gilson (1955, 110–158), Bergmann (1944, 282 ff.).
10 Husserl also speaks in *Experience and Judgment* about a hierarchy of both empiric as well as pure generalities (see EJ, 355 ff.).
11 For a discussion on Brentano's theory of axioms as 'truths of reason' (*Vernunfterkenntnisse*) and their negative character in the context of DP, but also as it is present in the second volume of his 1874 *Psychology*, see Kamitz (1987, 166 ff.).
12 As Chisholm resumes Brentano's standpoint: "There is a very close connection between the correctness and incorrectness of judgements, on the one hand, and *existence* and *non-existence*, on the other […] an object exists if and only if it is worthy of being accepted or affirmed, and that an object does not exist if and only if it is worthy of being rejected or denied" (Chisholm 1966, 396). In Husserlian terms, this means that, for Brentano, judgements are basically reduced to their positing character. However, this is not the case with apodictic laws, since in their negative formulation (enunciating an impossibility) they do not imply the existence of any object (see De Boer 1968, 196).
13 As Chisholm sums it up, we understand concepts like 'true,' 'correct,' etc. just like "we come to understand any other empirical concept: we are

presented with something that manifests that concept" (Chisholm 1966, 398). However, Chisholm does not distinguish here an important aspect, namely the fact that there are different ways in which a concept can be manifested. One should not confuse the way in which an external perception of, *e.g.*, a particular color red manifests the concept of redness with the way in which an apodictic experience manifests the concept of 'necessity.'

14 "The emotive attitudes that are immediately manifest to us as right are similar to the judgments that, as we say, are evident *ex terminis*" (PES II, 153).

15 In his *Prolegomena* to the LI, Husserl formulates a critique against thinkers like Mill or Sigwart who seemed at times to found logical norms on the *feeling of evidence* (*Evidenzgefühl*) (LI I, 115 ff.; Hua XXII, 208). Given our discussion so far, it does not come as a surprise that Brentano himself also criticizes Sigwart in respect to this idea of *a feeling of evidence* or, as he also calls it, *feeling of necessity* (*Gefühl der Notwendigkeit*) (see Brentano 2009d, 38).

16 Concerning the sphere of immanence and its significance for the LI, see Bernet, Kern, Marbach (1996, 52 ff.).

17 Lohmar (2005, 76) points out in a note the interesting fact that in order to identify the other descriptive elements of acts and determine concepts like matter, quality, etc., Husserl already implicitly employs in the first edition of the LI a type of variational process.

18 I discuss this subject at length in Bejinariu (2022).

19 For a detailed account of Husserl's understanding of phenomenology as a science of essences and its relation to experiential sciences, in particular with experimental psychology, see Ferencz-Flatz (2018, 170–178). Concerning the actual collaborations between phenomenology and empiric sciences and its further possibilities, see Lohmar (2010).

20 In Husserl's words, we grasp "pure essences on a basis of exemplary individual intuitions of experiences (often freely imagined ones)" (LI, 175). On the complex question concerning the status of the initial example in Husserl's method of eidetic variation, see Ferencz-Flatz (2011, 274–286).

21 However, as Ströker (1987) and Seebohm (1990) show, what it refers to is also to be found in the LI. A thorough account of Husserl ideative abstraction in the context of the LI can be found in Peucker (2002, 239–255).

22 Lohmar (2005) observes that although the syntheses of coincidence "are the groundwork of apprehension (*Auffassungsgrundlage*) (the presentative content) for the intuition of the universal" we are not dealing with synthesis between sensory contents, but with "givennesses that can arise only in the transition between intentional acts" (Lohmar 2005, 76 f.).

23 The pure character of essences acquired through eidetic variation has been contested by Schutz (1959) and Levin (1968) who argued that the eidos still remains bound to the empirical typicalities from which one starts and that, hence, "ideation is continuous with induction" (Levin 1968, 2). For an

opposed view that argues for a "modal disjunction" between the specific apperceptions of eidetic intuition and induction, see Palermo (1978).

[24] Lohmar (2005) offers a stronger formulation of the relation between essences and reality when he points out that essences, "the essential structures of consciousness and reality are […] not already real for themselves. They rely upon a sensuous realization in the actual world, the world in which we live" (Lohmar 2005, 74).

[25] This fact is considered by some scholars to be the main difficulty with Brentano's account. De Boer (1968) argues that because Brentano rejects essences and accepts only what is given in sense perception (*sinnliche Wahrnehmung*), he cannot properly ground general judgments on empirical concepts (see De Boer 1968, 196). However, Brentano does not ground all concepts on sense perception. As we showed, concepts like 'necessity,' 'true,' 'good' etc. are grounded in experiences of inner perception, which, albeit assertoric, is itself, unlike outer or sense perception, evident.

[26] The sharp distinction between the eidetic and the empirical side that such programmatic depictions of the phenomenological method and its goal entail is undoubtedly problematic and requires further discussion. Ferencz-Flatz (2018) offers a comprehensive account concerning the paradoxical relation of phenomenology to experience.

[27] I would like to thank Dr. Ion Tănăsescu for his valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

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SEEING LIKE A BANK: A MONEY LENDER'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE END OF THE COLD WAR

Abstract

How did international bankers see the end of the Cold War? How did they evaluate the trajectory of late socialist Eastern Europe? What might they contribute to our reassessment of 1989 in the newfound "global context"? This article unfolds in three steps. In the first one I provide a brief overview of the recent historiography on the global aspects of state socialism. Why, I ask, have historians turned to the optic of the global and what new topics of empirical research have they ferreted out in so doing? This is not meant as a balance-sheet. This historiography is yet in its infancy and much more research will be needed before any reasonable stock-taking might be attempted. Rather, I merely want to point out that, on a conceptual level, capital is still a missing object of analytical focus. In the second part I let myself guided by international banker Lawrence Brainard through the maze of late socialist Eastern Europe's financial affairs. This is a heuristic exercise the role of which is to pick up on Brainard's often sober analysis of Eastern Europe's debt problems and raise afresh several questions about the region's insertion in the global circuit of capital. Finally, in the last part, I reflect on Eastern Europe's potential to serve as an archive of the world in which "capital has moved onto central stage", and to illuminate the central tension of the Cold War, that between the politics of empire and the interests of capital.

Keywords: Cold War; Eastern Europe; state socialism; international banks, 1989

Two distinctive features characterize the torrent of scholarship published to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe. The first, quite unlike the more selective previous batches, is comprehensiveness – hardly an actor of the time now escapes acknowledgement, however cursory: intellectuals and workers, nomenklatura and dissidents, secret police employees and soldiers,

religious activists and secular bystanders; women, men and children, all gathered "in the unlikely venues of folk-music festivals (Estonia), Baltic shipyards (Poland), underground theatres (Czechoslovakia) and church-led candlelit processions (East Germany)."[1] The second is a change of optics. The revolutions of 1989 are no longer presented just as events in the history of the Cold War, closing off the half-century of struggle between freedom and oppression, but as "world-historical" events of global reach. Indeed, few recent works fail to refer to the "global context" of 1989 or the "global" spillover of the revolutionary ideas and practices that collapsed the Soviet empire and went on to influence protesters' repertoire of contention everywhere, from Maidan to Tahrir Square.[2] Both historiographical developments result as much from the logic of research as from perceptions of the current political landscape. Historical knowledge being essentially cumulative, we now know more about the end of the Cold War in Eastern Europe and we can thus afford a charitable view of its many participants. On the other hand, the alleged worldwide "authoritarian" turn of late made historians reevaluate the legacy of 1989. The semantics of "dialogue", "human rights" and "rule of law" that shaped the round-table talks now matter as much in Istanbul, Delhi and Rio as they once did in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw; the practices of quotidian opposition seemingly as useful in resisting Trump and Putin as they once were in undermining the likes of Honecker and Ceaușescu.[3]

For all its inclusiveness and conceptual innovation, the recent historiography of the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe has yet to discover the figure of the international banker, the money lender involved in financing the region's economies, in supervising communist countries' debt management and in mediating financial flows in and from Eastern Europe during late socialism.[4] How did international bankers see the end of the Cold War? How did they evaluate the trajectory of late socialist Eastern Europe? What might they contribute to our reassessment of 1989 in the newfound "global context"? These are hardly original questions. They were first raised by US senators in various congressional hearings throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, by social scientists busily surveying the prospects of the region in those years, by the experts of the International Monetary Fund and by journalists of the financial press. The money lender's perspective was sought after even in such unlikely places as Bucharest, months before the 1989 revolution, when the president of the local branch of Manufacturers Hanover was featured in an interview praising Romania's unprecedented achievement of paying off its foreign

debt.[5] But these are all seminal questions if we are to better specify what was global about the "global context" of 1989 and enlarge the ranks of participant observers to the end of communism in Eastern Europe. For international bankers lived not in a world in which people brough down empires and set up constitutional democracies but rather in one, as Lawrence J. Brainard put it, characterized by the fact that ever since the 1970s "capital has moved onto center stage".[6] Vice-president of Bankers' Trust and arguably the most knowledgeable expert on Eastern Europe's financial affairs during the 1970s and 1980s, Brainard will be my guide to this new world of capital.[7]

This article consists of three parts. In the first one I provide a brief overview of the recent historiography on the global aspects of state socialism. Why, I ask, have historians turned to the optic of the global and what new topics of empirical research have they ferreted out in so doing? This is not meant as a balance-sheet. This historiography is yet in its infancy and much more research will be needed before any reasonable stock-taking might be attempted. Rather, I merely want to point out that, on a conceptual level, capital is still a missing object of analytical focus. In the second part I let myself guided by Brainard through the maze of late socialist Eastern Europe's financial affairs. This is a heuristic exercise the role of which is to pick up on Brainard's often sober analysis of Eastern Europe's debt problems and raise afresh several questions about the region's insertion in the global circuit of capital. Finally, in the last part, I reflect on Eastern Europe's potential to serve as an archive of the world in which "capital has moved onto central stage", and to illuminate the central tension of the Cold War, that between the politics of empire and the interests of capital.

I. Why, indeed, should the state socialist regimes and their denouement of 1989 be placed in a global context? Much of the answer has to do with the development of East European studies over the past several decades. For the call to globalize the history of the region in the second half of the twentieth century is a double injunction – it speaks first to the intellectual stagnation of the field as such; and then proceeds to invoke anew the wider relevance of Eastern Europe as a laboratory of the present. To grasp it, we may conveniently map the dynamic of scholarship as it unfolded in the pages of *East European Politics and Society and Culture* (EEPSC), the field's flagship academic journal. For its founding fathers, the launching of EEPSC in 1987 was justified by the conviction that, broadly defined, Eastern

Europe was the place where the future of socialism would be decided and the world's most burning problems – nationalism and economic backwardness as springboards of conflict across continents - could be explored in pristine form. Mobilizing the conceptual array of the social sciences, the new journal promised to examine this infamous triptych: the fate of socialism, the trajectory of nationalism and the overcoming of backwardness. It was in view of this problématique that "the historical experience of Eastern Europe, then, is an invaluable source of information and insight for the study of much of the rest of the word."[8]

By 1990, the new editor of the journal felt emboldened by the collapse of communism to proclaim that the region, whatever its future, "offers enterprising scholars a most promising laboratory of political and social problems."[9] How these so-called problems related to the wider world was too early to say, and it was reasonable to assume that as some East European countries embarked on the road to capitalism and democracy, so too would scholarship. Five years after, the enthusiasm of a yet another editor was limitless. In the midst of the transition, no scholar at work in the region needed much justification for pursuing research there - Eastern Europe spoke for itself and the field was booming, now boosted by the addition of native scholarship.[10] What, then, of the topics that drew most expert attention? By the late 1990s, Eastern Europe was not so much a roadmap for the world but rather a heterogenous geography of states. Their recent past had to be grasped in terms of "legacies" in order for their future to be anticipated: "fascism and communism", "myth and memory" or "modernity" were the main legacies that decided the prospects of creating "vibrant market economies" against the background of NATO enlargement.[11]

EU membership of the Visegrád Four in 2004 finally marked a turning point in the evolution of EEPSC. After more than a decade of "transitology" and legacy-research, scholars could now afford a cooler look at the region. Gone were the "heroic" 1990s, and with "democratization" and "privatization" firmly secured, what remained of politics was relocated to Brussels. Eastern Europe could thus be "defined by its internal characteristics rather than in relation to a global power constellation."[12] This was no mere normalization for there was still much to be explored, namely culture, low and high: socialism and Bauhaus, fascism and Jugendstil, anarchism and Surrealism. Small wonder that by 2009, the landscape of scholarship looked grim: "Equilibrium of sorts was reached, countries collapsed, states were reunited, wars were fought, populations

were removed, new alliances were forged, economies progressed (or regressed!), but Eastern Europe has not become scholarship's most promising laboratory, not even *a* promising one."[13] Indeed, the editors that took over the journal in the late 2000s contemplated a marginal field, closed onto itself, and marginalized further by the "recycling [of] certain familiar themes." Over two decades of knowledge production in and about Eastern Europe seemingly removed the region from any engagement, comparative or otherwise, with the outer world.

Several factors explain this devolution. First, as the end of the Cold War dried up funding and plummeted the job market for area specialists, Eastern Europe attracted less talent.[14] Second, native scholars, for whom research funds were always scarce, exploited their comparative advantage of being better positioned to amass empirical material by adducing new evidence to buttress metropolitan textbooks. This dependent dialogue widened the field, but reinforced narrow reading patterns and led to the snowballing of traditional topics. Thirdly, the provincialization of Eastern Europe was propelled by the dismal state of the scholarship on state socialism, which regressed during the 1990s from narratives of modernization that addressed, often implicitly, the experience of other parts of the globe to the accumulation of facts for the sake of accumulating moral outrage. The end-result was memory politics.[15] Two solutions could break this downward spiral toward parochialism, at least in the 2000s. One path for the region to recover its wider significance was for scholars to celebrate its successful "regime change". Eastern Europe could then inform the foreign policy of the White House as it switched from Bush Jr. to Obama, and pose as an ethical lesson for rebuilding countries ravaged by the war on terror.[16] For the other path, located at the opposite end of the spectrum, the region could serve as a laboratory of the present provided scholars turn their attention to the global spillover of neoliberalism.[17] Indeed, asking how neoliberalism arrived in Eastern Europe offered a way out of the field's cul-de-sac and no other scholar has done more to advance this type of scholarship than Johanna Bockman.

Bockman's work is a textbook case of recovering Eastern Europe's status as a laboratory for the wider world. If neoliberalism found such a fertile ground in the region after 1989, this was because various Polish, Hungarian, Soviet and Czechoslovak economists have long been part of transnational professional networks forged in the US and Western Europe, and have willingly contributed their expertise of the command economies as well as their experience in running reform at home to a body of knowledge

that crossed the Atlantic and reshaped the mainstream of the discipline. Neoliberalism thus rose to hegemony on the back of Eastern Europe, with "shock therapies" as the radical continuation of locally frustrated reforms during the 1970s and 1980s, rather than agendas formulated in Harvard or Chicago, only to then be imposed under the Washington Consensus. Eastern Europe thus became the terrain of a momentous ideological shift at the end of the twentieth century: following the collapse of state socialism, markets came to be identified exclusively with capitalism, capsizing a century-long tradition of thinking about market socialism.[18]

Bockman's more recent contributions take up this history of oblivion: if market socialism was a legitimate object of economic knowledge and policy-making from the marginalists down to Perestroika, was it not also a viable model for the Third World and an alternative route to globalization? Oblivion marks the history of globalization as well, at least as it pertains to the efforts of socialist and postcolonial states to craft a global economy in the second half of the twentieth century. Presiding over the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) between 1964 and 1969, Raùl Prebisch turned out to be less a theorist of dependency, import substitution and protectionism for infant industries and more of a market socialist. UNCTAD, and later on the New International Economic Order, gathered likeminded economists from across the developing word and promoted an agenda of integration in the world economy in terms of free trade and the unrestricted flow of capital and commodities, a "socialist globalization" as Bockman calls it.[19] Similarly, before it was highjacked by the World Bank in the 1980s, "structural adjustment" was a common topic of debate among market socialists, in Chile or Yugoslavia.[20] In short, neoliberalism's triumph across the globe obscured the simple truth that up to the final decades of the last century the market was a prerequisite for socialism for entire generations of economists.

The importance of Bockman's genealogy of market socialism for the field of Eastern European studies is overwhelming. For no matter how we may assess her often repetitive output, it did popularize several metaphors that play a key role in guiding the empirical forays of recent research - circulation, connection and integration – and restored the region's broader significance. Not only ideas, or economic knowledge circulated across the Iron Curtain, but people, goods, culture and even feelings such as "solidarity" took similar trips between East and South: Cuban fruits and Ethiopian coffee were appreciated in the GDR; socialist technology and expertise were highly valued in Syria and Iraq; Polish economists advised

Nehru; Bulgarian feminists debarked in Zambia; Vietnamese workers found themselves exploited in Czechoslovakia; East European architects, engineers, medical doctors, workers travelled far and wide and left their imprint on the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.[21] State socialism, in other words, was present globally in multiple ways - networking across continents, integrating against (and because of) the Cold War - an epoch of "frictions, fractures and fluidity".[22] What drives this research agenda?

Not surprisingly, here too oblivion is the main motive that justifies the global turn in the study of state socialism; a double neglect that first severed contemporary East European studies from the mainstream of twentieth century history and then reinforced the autistic practice of national history for each of the region's countries after 1989. To look for the global aspects of state socialism, therefore, is to reconnect with larger topics of research such as empire, decolonization, globalization, neoliberalism or the trajectory of democracy over the last century - to the better understanding of which Eastern European material is now deemed essential. In the hands of James Mark and his various collaborators, "global socialism" is a liberating research agenda that would ideally allow students of contemporary Eastern Europe to sit in panels convened beyond the reach of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, and address questions currently monopolized by historians of Western Europe or the US: "The idea of Western capitalism as the sole engine of globalization has left us with a distorted view of socialist and Third World states as inward-looking, isolated and cut off from global trends until the long transition to capitalism in the 1980s and 1990s."[23] Yet any such history-writing born out of neglect and eager to secure broader recognition is also one of restored agency, of state socialism actively shaping the world and working out alternative pathways to the present. What type of evidence should support such claims?

First, on a longer view that stretches back to Versailles, the history of Eastern Europe in the twentieth century can be plausibly read against the backdrop of successive waves of decolonization, down to the end of the Soviet Empire in 1991. This would make for diplomatic history - traditional and cultural alike - retracing the multiple connections that linked the East and the South, above and beyond Moscow's guidelines: not just non-alignment, but also the region's interest in UNCTAD and the New International Economic Order, as well as the transfer of expertise, people and loans to kindle postcolonial hopes for imitating the developmentalist model of socialism.[24] Second, and for all the importance of the "imagined

solidarities" and their material ramifications between the socialist East and postcolonial South, it is the evolution of the world economy in the second half of the twentieth century that offers the main body of facts for rewriting the history of state socialism. This would be history recording seemingly opposing dynamics – the desire of Eastern European elites to integrate within global capitalism via trade, bilateral agreements and participation in international organizations and the parallel desire to craft an alternative to the same global capitalism together with the Global South with practically identical means.[25]

Finally, add to these two plots the story of democracy emerging in Southern Europe during the 1970s, Latin America and East Asia in the following decade and you get a different 1989: "From a global vantage point, '1989' appears less a revolutionary watershed than an important regional manifestation of changes that already had momentum."[26] In this view, the collapse of the Soviet Empire was the last stage of decolonization, inaugurating the unipolar epoch, and the last dike crumbling before the third wave of democratization, marking the end of history. Equally important, both the integration in the world economy and the "socialist alternative" failed, their fate sealed off during the debt crisis of the 1980s that saw the rise of neoliberalism, the "no alternative" policy-package ready to remake the economies of Eastern Europe. So much for the research agenda that allows for making the history of the region less parochial, and reads the revolutions of 1989 against the broader canvass of decolonization, democratization and neoliberalism. But this was no foretold story. While imperial disintegration seemed likely once its material basis begun to falter under the combined burden of high oil prices and mounting debt in the 1980s, the successful marriage between democracy and capitalism seemed less probable. As Mark and Rupprecht note: "more work could be done on the appeal of authoritarian transitions into the 'world market' in the 1980s; for instance, in Eastern Europe there were political elites who attempted to open up to new global forces whilst seeking to maintain the one-party state."[27] It is the growth of China over the past several decades, more so than laments over Putin's Russia or Orbán' Hungary, that grounds this call for further research. To approach it, we need a different grasp of socialist Eastern Europe's relationship with the global economy beginning with the 1970s.

II. We know a good deal about socialist Eastern Europe's integration in the world economy after the more or less autarchic boom of the first

postwar decade: the expansion of trade, the thirst for technology, the reliance on cheap Soviet oil, and the sheer difficulty of securing a share of global markets in manufacture. We know far less about the region's economic relations with the former Third World, a scholarship that is likely to take off in the coming years in view of the recent interest for the history of developmentalist ideas and policies. Characteristically, with few exceptions, none of this knowledge is new. It was produced in large measure by contemporary observers, mostly associated with think-tanks and other institutions of regional expertise, and often for the benefit of US and West European authorities.[28] Brainard's early study - *Yugoslavia. An Introduction to the Yugoslav Economy for Foreign Businessmen* – is a case in point, a brochure written in 1974 as the large US banks prepared to finance foreign investment in Eastern Europe.

Brainard would not have been surprised by the literature I have reviewed thus far. Yugoslavia was "a socialist country with a communist government; yet it favors a non-aligned policy in world affairs. The economy operates like a free enterprise system – but without capitalists."[29] It was this peculiarity that made this Balkan country more open relative to its northern neighbors, and following a law legislating joint-ventures in 1967 (amended in 1971), Yugoslavia signaled its commitment to attract foreign capital: "more and more western firms are discovering that Yugoslavia's socialist institutions are not incompatible with foreign investment and western business practices. And what is more important, companies have found out that investing in Yugoslavia is attractive financially."[30] Forming joint-ventures with foreign capital was intended to replace the more common strategy among socialist states of license purchasing, the main channel of acquiring Western technology, and seemed, at least for the early 1970s, to start off on the right foot, 92 partnerships secured by 1973, foreign investment in excess of $145 million. What explained this inflow of capital to Yugoslavia was not so much the availability of raw materials and comparatively cheaper labor, necessary but not sufficient incentives together with tax exemptions and guarantees for profit repatriation, but rather the possibility of foreign capital to gain access to the Yugoslav domestic market and through it to the untapped markets of the socialist bloc and the non-alignment states.

The other socialist states in the region followed suit: they too welcomed the creation of joint-ventures, acquired licenses, signed bilateral trade agreements (BIT), opened their textile industries to lohn schemes and encouraged their more competitive companies to expand

their operations beyond national borders, "red multinationals" propelling "red globalization".[31] Such developments, reinforced by growing trade in convertible currency and barter deals galore, do validate some of the claims about Eastern Europe's integration in the global economy, but it would be far-fetched to infer from this evidence that the region also became a market for foreign investment, which remained insignificant compared to other destinations such as Latin America or East Asia. What the region became a market for – an "uncommon" one as Chemical Bank called it – was syndicated loans and official credits. Indeed, during the 1970s, prudent Eastern European borrowers tapped the petrodollars recycling Euromarket precisely to finance the strategies mentioned above; the majority of the socialist states, however, borrowed to liberate their economies from balance of payments constraints, and boost investment at home.[32]

How did Eastern Europe become a market of sovereign borrowers? Naturally, the inflow of petrodollars in the offshore Euromarket following the first oil shock was a precondition, just as was the expansion of US, West European and Japanese banks, all of which built up networks of offices and subsidiaries across the planet.[33] But as Brainard explained, Eastern Europe was able to borrow at good margins simply because, for the banks, these countries had an excellent past record in meeting their hard currency debt obligations.[34] Comecon states were good prospective clients because their monopoly of foreign trade and planning allowed them to curb, if needed, domestic consumption, boost exports, cut imports and keep a tight grip on their balance of payments. Equally important, banks operated on the assumption that even in the unlikely case in which one or more East European countries would run into repayment difficulties, the Soviet Union would step in and arrange for their bail out, since default would undermine the entire bloc's creditworthiness. For all these reasons, totalitarianism was taken as a guarantee for sound lending by the majority of banks involved in Eastern Europe.[35] Brainard himself was more circumspect: "ultimately the question of creditworthiness boils down to the factors that determine how effectively a country transforms these borrowed resources into goods and services which may be exported, thus generating an income stream denominated in foreign currency."[36] Such opinions were rare among bankers, atypical even for those banks carrying less exposure to the region. Up to 1980, when Poland showed signs of repayment troubles, Eastern European socialist countries borrowed with remarkable ease, pitting banks against one another in competitive bids for advantageous loans.

Whether in Eastern Europe or Latin America, the 1970s was a decade of frantic lending, as Brainard recalled, in a rare moment of retrospective criticism:

> The only effective constraint on sovereign borrowing was the willingness of the banks to grant new credits. In this inflationary environment, country adjustments appeared more substantial than they really were; country export successes reflected in large part the inflationary stimulus to prices and demand in the importing countries. As a result, the ability of countries to manage their debt burdens in a less inflationary environment was overestimated – not only by the banks, but also by the IMF and the World Bank. Judgements tended to become self-validating: new loans confirmed a country's creditworthiness and this perception generated even more loans.[37]

Trade figures nevertheless mattered, at least in the rhetoric of advertisements and the banks' call for monitoring the hard currency earnings of socialist states. Ideally, lending to these states should have obeyed a logic of expanding trade between East and West, with imports upgrading the technological base of socialist industries and exports bringing in the cash needed for debt repayment. But this was hardly the case. As Brainard pointed out in a number of articles, Eastern European imports grew fourfold during the first half of the 1970s, but exports lagged seriously behind, creating a trade deficit of no less than $25 billion. The proverbial poor quality of the socialist goods was not the main cause behind the deficit; much more important was the drop in demand from hard currency countries combined with various protectionist policies of the core industrialized economies.[38] Alarming the situation was not: the Soviet Union was still committed to supply its satellites with oil below world market prices, and rising inflation in the West probably trimmed some of the debt accumulated by the socialist bloc, or at least helped keep it in check. By 1979, some Eastern European countries considered applying for membership with the IMF and the World Bank as alternative sources of capital, much like the Yugoslavs and Romanians had done, just in case the syndicated loan market would downgrade their creditworthiness. Brainard's Banker Trust, for instance, was already campaigning for lending to the East on a project-base case, stricter loans linked with concrete investment plans that could generate income from exports.[39]

Much has been written about the early 1980s debt crisis in Eastern Europe. Yet this literature is curiously blind to the role of the banks. This

is understandable: bankers, unlike communist political leaders, were not loquacious, and generally left few archival traces. This makes our grasp of the crisis one-sided, either richly illustrated empirical examinations with the politics left out or political interventions couched in Cold War patois but innocent of facts.[40] More recently, and arguably under the influence of the literature on the debt crisis in Latin America, historians turned to exploring the consequences of the crisis for political change around 1989, democracy more suited to enforce austerity than totalitarianism.[41] How did Brainard understand the crisis and its impact on Eastern Europe in the 1980s? After Poland held a meeting with US banks in January 1979, informing of impending difficulties in paying interest while at the same time reassuring them of the government's commitment to tighten the budget, Brainard told the New York Times that this "marks the first time a communist government has embraced austerity – a purposeful cut in its planned rate of growth – for balance of payments reasons."[42] Brainard's judgement, informed as it was by the bankers' assumptions that guided lending to the socialist bloc throughout the 1970s, proved too optimistic.

Less than one year later, with Poland asking to refinance its maturities worth $7.5 billion and the government incapable to impose any austerity worthy of the name, Brainard looked to the IMF's stabilization program for Turkey as a possible blueprint.[43] Granted, IMF experts knew little about socialist economies, and Poland was not yet a member, but no other belt-tightening solution was available. What explains this deadlock? Following a trip to Poland in 1981 - the country not yet under martial law but technically in default - Brainard informed the IMF that all the bankers' assumptions were wrong: there was a "total lack of trust between the people and the government", a void of political authority; the economy caught in "inflationary overhang" due to wage growth, declining productivity and stable prices; black market activities were everywhere and a food crisis seemed imminent. Equally important, the so-called "the umbrella theory" – the alleged commitment of the Soviet Union to bail out its Eastern European satellites - was just a figment of the bankers' imagination.[44] And yet, Brainard assessment of a possible Polish default was not terribly worrying, at least not for the US banks: "the situation with regard to Polish loans was not so bad as to bring any banks down even if write-offs were necessary."[45] Poland, in other words, was neither Mexico nor Brazil. What, then, of the origins of the Polish debt crisis?

Called before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January 1982, Brainard explained that it all started with Edward Gierek's policies of the

early 1970s. Gierek, it turned out, was not the totalitarian first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party able to keep domestic consumption and imports in check, but a "populist" in search of securing political support against the rise of Solidarność. Consequently, "he gave everyone what they wanted: higher wages for workers, higher prices for farmers, western technology for industry, and economic reform to top it off."[46] According to Brainard, throughout the 1970s, nobody had seen Gierek's true colors: commercial banks were happy to push their loans on Poland, banking on the country's rich energy reserves; Western European governments, on the other hand, saw the reformist in Gierek and supplied official credits to back their export companies. By 1981 Poland stood on roughly $28 billion of debt.

> The record of the past ten years suggests two major conclusions. One is that Gierek's populist policies led to a weakening of internal economic disciplines and an erosion of the government's ability to manage economic activity. […] The record shows that western governments, in particular those in western Europe, bear a major share of the responsibility for the uncontrolled expansion of Polish indebtedness in the period after 1975. Loans were offered in the name of Ostpolitik or export promotion with little or no consideration of Poland's ability to use these funds. When problems became serious in the late seventies, some of the governments made special deals or bent the rules governing export credits. The Carter administration bears a portion of this blame for its decisions made purely on political grounds to authorize substantial increases in CCC credits to Poland.[47]

Blaming Carter did not mean Brainard supported Reagan's initial view, articulated by Kissinger and popularized by the Wall Street Journal, of pushing Poland into default, thereby delivering a blow to the periphery of the "evil empire". In a position paper written for the White House, Brainard advised against the default scenario and suggested instead reform on the Turkish model: austerity followed by a resumption of credit, all leading to stabilization, modest growth and regained creditworthiness.[48] Nor was Brainard, unlike many of his colleagues in the international banking community, of the opinion that the implementation of these policies required Jaruzelski's iron fist. Political liberalization was indeed possible, especially in view of the many compromises the Polish government would have to strike with entrenched interest groups at home: workers, farmers, managers etc.

By the time Brainard penned his counsel to Reagan, the debt crisis ceased to be exclusively Polish, and spread out to affect other socialist

countries of Eastern Europe: Romania, Hungary, and by 1983 Yugoslavia as well. As commercial banks withdrew their short-term credits in the wake of Poland's moratorium, and access to the syndicated loans market became ever more expensive due to higher risk in lending to the region, all these countries built up huge arrears, and save for Hungary, all were forced into rescheduling their debt.[49] The geopolitics of this crisis revealed something unexpected: mounting tensions between the US and the USSR following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan showed the extent to which neither Eastern nor Western European and Japanese governments were willing to prop the Cold War rivalry: "In Japan and Western Europe, by contrast, there is an evident desire to insulate their economic relations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union from the current downswing in U.S.-Soviet relations. The reason is simply that the economic stakes are very substantial, while the expected political benefits of economic sanctions are doubted. Interdependence in trade and finance is a fact of life for these countries. The western countries depend on the East as a source of raw materials and as a market for their investment goods. Eastern Europe, in turn, looks to the West for essential imports and the credits to finance them."[50] According to Brainard, this mutual dependence was most conspicuous in the case of Poland where France was reported to have bypassed all customary consultations with OECD member states in extending long-term refinancing credits to Warsaw.

Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia rescheduled in a context in which, domino-like, most Latin American states also asked their creditors to roll over their debt. The Latin American debt crisis, however, was of a different magnitude. Here, unlike in Eastern Europe, the large US banks were heavily exposed, and a potential default jeopardized the stability of the global financial system. Could bankers really expect for the US administration to back up their claims in the future, as Reagan did in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela and Uruguay? Brainard doubted it.[51] The syndicated loan market for sovereign borrowers was bound to collapse sooner or later, as the conditions that supported its expansion in the early 1970s would themselves gradually disappear. For over a decade, Brainard claimed, "the international financial system facilitated the creation of debt" on a global scale, but the equally "global trading system has not facilitated the servicing of this debt."[52] By the mid-1980s, the consequences were plain: protectionism in the core, austerity on the periphery. Naturally, banks would still play a key role in overcoming the debt crisis, their portfolios remade to reflect

new business practices, and so too would the indebted countries, once they renounced their commitment to public ownership and aversion to foreign investment.[53] If privatization, debt-to-equity swaps and foreign investment were the solutions envisaged for Latin America, what could be the prospects of Eastern European sovereign debtors?

Poland aside, Brainard saw no reason to worry.[54] The debt of communist governments was significantly smaller, while the exposure of US banks amounted to a petty 3.4% of all claims on the region (1.7% without Yugoslavia). Unlike Latin America, Eastern Europe posed no threat to the financial system of the planet. Default had to be avoided on purely commercial grounds: even before the Polish memorandum of 1981, bank lending to Eastern Europe slowed down, reversing the pattern of capital flows of the 1970s. Before the crisis, inflows outgrew outflows, borrowing remaining well above the rate of repayment; beginning with 1982, however, Eastern Europe turned into a region of net outflows of capital. Between January 1982 and June 1983, according to Brainard, the transfer of capital from the East to the West totaled $19 billion, payments which would have been seriously delayed or even cancelled in case of default. Irrespective of the amount of their debt, all East European states, Yugoslavia included, reacted the same way to the crisis: they all cut imports, boosted exports, and thus improved their aggregate current account balance. By the mid-1980s, with serious costs incurred to the living standard of their citizens and domestic investment slashed, but with their creditworthiness restored, most socialist states of the region returned to the syndicated loans market, and resumed borrowing. The exception was Romania, as creditworthy as its neighbors, but with a government committed to extricate the country from any credit relations with commercial banks and Western governments alike, all in the name of national sovereignty – delusions of legitimacy at the top underpinned by coercion and a policy of exports at all costs, all leading to the only classical revolution of 1989.[55]

Who was still willing to lend to Eastern European states after the crisis of the early 1980s? It is to this question that Brainard provided the sharpest answer, one curiously relegated to oblivion in all recent accounts of the supposed global entanglements of state socialism. For it was not difficult for an expert of Brainard's stature – reporting to Wall Street and Washington after trips to Warsaw and Belgrade in the 1980s – to see the larger picture, precisely the one we now, for lack of a better label, call "global". What of it? The great difference between the 1970s and the

1980s, Brainard maintained, was that new debt relocated away from the developing countries and started to accumulate in the US economy: "the way things are working now is that credit is created where production is weak, e.g. U.S. trade deficits, LDC debts, whereas creditor countries, such as Japan and Germany, are enjoying record export surpluses. Exactly the opposite is required for systemic stability; the creditor countries should run trade deficits so debtor countries can achieve the trade surpluses necessary to service their debts."[56] This structural instability, temporary papered over with petrodollars in the 1970s, changed course with the so-called "Volcker Shock" and Reagan's subsequent military spending and tax cuts, which drove up the country's trade deficit and accelerated foreign borrowing. The US thus became a net debtor: "the counterpart to this rising indebtedness was a growing positive net international asset position of Japan and Germany, the two principal surplus countries."[57] Brainard's observations need some unpacking.

The "Volcker Shock" – orchestrated by Paul Volcker, Chairman of the Federal Reserve – was an attack on inflation by way of higher short-term interest rates, which doubled between 1979 and late 1982 to reach 20%. This was an unprecedented imposition of financial austerity on the US economy, which contracted the money supply, reduced bank deposits (and lending) and pushed the country into recession, driving up unemployment and collapsing manufacturing output. Inflation was indeed cut back to 4%, with two immediate consequences for the indebted countries of world. *Primo*: the high interest rates, tax cuts, and an appreciating dollar attracted foreign capital to the US economy, initiating a "drought" of liquidity for developing countries accustomed to borrow on the syndicated loan market.[58] *Secundo*: the strong dollar of Reagan's first term facilitated the inflow of cheap foreign goods, but drowned exports thus triggering waves of protectionist lobby from industry and agriculture alike. Devaluing the dollar became a matter of international cooperation between the US government and the two export powerhouses, Japan and Germany. [59] For the second half of the 1980s, a stronger yen and mark chipped away Japan's and Germany's share of the world market, keeping both glued to whatever opportunities late socialist Eastern Europe still presented. This is the context of Brainard's remark:

> In search for capital the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will target Germany, the primary European surplus country, whereas China will likely target Japan. Given the sharp appreciation of their respective currencies,

Germany and Japan will find offers to new export markets hard to resist. The surplus capital to finance such exports is already at hand.[60]

To retain the region as a destination for German and Japanese exports, bank lending to Eastern Europe had to continue. Bulgaria's gross indebtedness to commercial banks grew by a staggering 275% between 1984 and 1987; East German debt doubled in the same span of time, reaching $14 billion at the end of 1987; Hungary, the region's most frantic borrower, piled up $17.7 billion in debt to commercial banks by the end of 1987; and even Czechoslovakia, traditionally a prudent borrower, increased its debt in the second half of the decade.[61] The trajectory of the three rescheduling countries – Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia – was different, both among themselves and with respect to their neighbors. Overall, however, by the end of the 1980s, Japan was Hungary's largest creditor, and second to West Germany as creditor for the region. Brainard intimated that trade was the motor of this renewed lending and concluded that, even in the absence of clear data to prove it, export to socialist countries made banks in these two "surplus countries", and to a lesser extent in the UK and France, view "the Eastern market as a safe region for the expansion of financial credits."[62] Having achieved their trade surpluses during the strong dollar of the first half of the 1980s by flooding the US market, Japan and West Germany, once faced with a devalued dollar after the Plaza Accord in 1985 but able to gauge Cold War tensions, looked to secure a share of Eastern Europe in a context of sharpening export competition.

Such was Lawrence J. Brainard's explanation for the ability of some Eastern European countries, alongside the Soviet Union and China, to borrow after the debt crisis of the early 1980s. To be sure, the empirical evidence marshalled to support this view was far from convincing, particularly in the case of Japan, where lending did not quite corelate with trade and other dynamics seemed at play, notably lending by Japanese life insurance and leasing companies, at least in Hungary and the GDR.[63] The overarching narrative, however, was plausible: Eastern Europe first became a market for syndicated loans in the 1970s, when borrowing was relatively cheap and offshore markets abundant in liquidity; and Eastern Europe remained a market for syndicated loans after its own debt crisis, when some lending was still available to oil Japanese and West German exports, both facing a devalued dollar in the world market but still sitting on trade surpluses. For Brainard, the lesson of this late development was

straightforward: with the communist parties removed from power in 1989, and Eastern European economies collapsing under a mountain of debt, no amount of aid could secure the region's restructuring: "unless western politicians want to keep pumping public money into the East for the indefinite future, they must seek to create conditions in Eastern Europe under which foreign capital will thrive and prosper."[64]

III. What conditions might have facilitated the thriving of foreign capital depended on whom you asked. Brainard was naturally thinking about the creation of capital markets which could then underwrite structural reforms and channel investments rationally. This was different from the previous two decades of sovereign borrowing, which required no political reform and perpetuated the misallocation of resources.[65] Others, such as IMF experts, had a much more comprehensive view of these necessary conditions, which included privatization of state assets, liberalization of prices, and even debt relief, all combined to attract foreign capital. No different were the reform plans of national governments in the region. Yet any such thinking about the conditions that would make foreign capital prosper in Eastern Europe had to take into account the aspirations of the momentous change of 1989. What historical analogy, then, - embodying the experience of democracy and capitalism flourishing in conjunction - could serve as a roadmap for the trajectory of Eastern Europe after the collapse of state socialism? For Brainard himself, more important than any such blueprint was that Western governments avoid relying too much on the IMF and the World Bank: "The best way to find out what those conditions are is by working with the capitalists themselves. This is why western governments need to go beyond IMF and World Bank involvement. As vital as their role may be, neither the Fund or the Bank is comfortable in a close working arrangement with private companies. A second reason for seeking closer cooperation with private firms is to minimize the risk that public and private lending strategies work at cross purposes, with public monies bailing out private banks."[66] As befits a banker, Brainard's writings of the time display no discussion of politics, only an acknowledgement that foreign direct investment would be conditional on economic reform accompanying political change.

Ferreting out historical analogies was the bread and butter of the Washington punditry: foreign affairs strategists moving between state jobs, academia and think-tanks such as Michael Mandelbaum, then Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. In June 1989, invited to report

before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mandelbaum argued that: "In discussions of Western policies toward Eastern Europe, the idea of a new Marshall Plan for the region occasionally surfaces. During the 1970s, it is important to note, there was something like a Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe, especially for Poland and Hungary, in the form of large Western bank loans. The money was wasted because it was channeled into unproductive economic institutions and practices. Both countries were left with substantial external debts which have contributed to the economic crisis in which they find themselves today."[67] Brainard might have agreed to the observation about money having been mismanaged but no banker in good faith would have dared call the transformation of Eastern Europe into a market for syndicated loans during the 1970s "something like a Marshall Plan." This was a gross misrepresentation of the historical record: communist governments borrowed at spreads set on LIBOR, and consequently made their repayments on principal and interest at commercial rates. If the analogy was misguided it was because it served a different purpose, as Mandelbaum noted:

> If there is to be an effort for Eastern Europe anything like the one from which Western Europe benefitted in the late 1940s, however, it will have to be a cooperative venture involving all the members of the Western community, including Japan. The United States is not rich enough to pay for the reconstruction of the region itself. Moreover, a solution to Poland and Hungary's debt problems would have to be a part of a global formula for reducing debt which in turn would require the active participation of the Western Europeans and the Japanese.[68]

Here, too, Brainard might have disagreed with the need for a "global formula for reducing debt", but he would certainly support Mandelbaum's suggestion for a cooperative venture between the US, Japan and Western Europe in shaping the future of Eastern Europe.[69] His analysis of the presence of West German and Japanese banks in the region during the second half of the 1980s already pointed in this direction: the two countries had to carry some of the burden for the transformation of Eastern Europe. Nor would have Brainard objected to Mandelbaum's argument according to which - having squashed their "Marshall Plan" of the 1970s in unproductive investments - post-socialist governments could only hope for "normal economic relationships" with the West in general and West

Germany in particular, the traditional "source of capital" for the region. Would Bonn, then, favor the double transition in the region, free markets and democracy alike? Mandelbaum had his doubts: feeding the GDR loans throughout the 1980s impeded any desire for reform in the second German dictatorship.[70] But there was room for hope: once these Eastern European countries achieved their process of self-determination and junked their command economies, foreign capital was ready to bankroll the emergence of capitalism and democracy. What made this prognosis plausible, and endowed it with an air of levelheadedness, was private capital's reaction to the crackdown of Tiananmen Square in June 1989. The crushing of the pro-democracy protests, Brainard noted, turned Japanese capital away from China, and froze all international bank lending to the country, including new lines of credit from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.[71] In 1989, private capital was sensitive to democracy.

Note the underlining set of assumptions on which this view rested. First, communism collapsed in a world in which no new Marshall Plan was possible. Not the concessionary disbursement of funds but investments under the rules of profit-making would secure Eastern Europe's economic recovery. Second, communism also collapsed in a world in which there existed not one but three main sources of private capital - Japan, Western Europe and the US. The first two rose to such status as a consequence of the Marshall Plan and the Korean War, both setting the path for the emergence of Western Europe and Japan as manufacturing rivals to the US and structuring the trajectory of global capitalism in the second half of the twentieth century. Finally, private capital (bank loans and foreign investment), while notoriously indifferent to politics as long as domestic stability was assured, by authoritarian or any other means possible, was now regarded as the umpire of democratization. Recast by Mandelbaum as "something of a Marshall Plan", bank lending to Eastern Europe in the 1970s and 1980s closed this interpretative circle: it proved that totalitarian regimes operating command economies abused private capital. That totalitarianism and planning were also the reasons why banks pushed loans on the region in the first place were thus written out of the story. How accurate did all these assumptions turn out in the aftermath of the 1989 revolutions?

Debt relief applied selectively, mostly to Poland and Bulgaria, the latter unable to pay both principal and interest on its $11 billion debt in early 1990. This discrimination between the countries of the region angered Jeffrey Sachs, economic advisor to both the Polish and Yugoslav

governments in 1990, and prompted him to pen the most memorable page of his otherwise anodyne memoir - *The End of Poverty* - worth quoting in extenso:

> Debt cancellation must reflect true social, economic, and political realities. Under those circumstances, a negotiated cancellation of debt can give new hope and new economic opportunities to the debtor country, and renewed creditworthiness. This is exactly what happened with Poland, which returned to the capital markets in the 1990s. Alas, Yugoslavia was not so fortunate. At the time that I was advising Poland, I was also asked to help Yugoslavia escape from a similar spiral of hyperinflation, excessive foreign debt, and socialist collapse. The last prime minister of federal Yugoslavia, Ante Markovic, launched a stabilization plan in January 1990 that I had helped to devise. That plan got off to a wonderful start and could actually have worked, but for Slobodan Milosevic's deliberate and disastrously successful moves to undermine the federal government and its economic program. Markovic needed bolstering in his struggle with Milosevic, who was at that point head of Serbia. Markovic appealed to the Western powers to postpone—not to forgive—Yugoslavia's debts. A postponement would have given financial breathing room and political prestige to Markovic, both of which would have strengthened the stabilization plan, whose success would have further strengthened him. Yet while Milosevic gained strength in his battle to bring down Yugoslavia, the first Bush administration, the European Union, and the IMF refused even the modest request to reschedule Yugoslavia's debts. This refusal reflected, in my opinion, the stupidity of having foreign policy and international economic policy divorced from each other. Although Milosevic, not the West, must be blamed for the collapse of Yugoslavia, there was no effort of any sophistication to help hold the country together.[72]

The divorce between "foreign policy" and "international economic policy" mirrored the recalibration of the marriage between empire and capital during the lending frenzy of the 1970s and the "lost decade" that ensued in the 1980s. Détente played a key role in kick-starting the expansion of credit into Eastern Europe, but once the region became a market of sovereign borrowers, profit margins and trade opportunities decided the inflow of loans, not great power politics. This logic was perpetuated into the early 1990s, when Western concessionary financial aid was trivial, and the great bulk of new money directed to the region came in the form of export credits and investment guarantees, non-concessionary finance disbursed on market terms and thus debt creating.[73] There was

indeed no new Marshall Plan in post-1989 Eastern Europe and no strategy of the US empire to protect "the capital of others", as it once did in the 1950s with Japan and Western Europe.[74] Nor was there any need for the US empire to protect the non-debt creating capital of its rivals - foreign direct investment – much of it, not unlike syndicated loans of old, sensitive only to political stability, not to particular political regimes. Yet even such considerations were disputed among economists. One World Bank report examining the penetration of German FDI in Latin America during the 1980s emphasized two of its peculiar characteristics: the indifference to labor costs and to politics. Fourth in size after US, Japan and UK - by the end of the 1980s German FDI was mainly driven by the conquest of market share in the host country and the availability of public guarantees.[75]

Pushed out of the country by rising production costs due to a strong yen, Japanese companies anchored themselves in East Asia, and transformed China into the single largest market for Japanese FDI in the 1990s. By the end of 1994, out of the annual $80 billion FDI destined to developing countries, China seized $30 billion while Eastern Europe attacked little over $5 billion. Significantly, 65% of all Japanese FDI went to East Asia in that year, 40% of which to China alone.[76] This, too, was FDI driven by market share, infinitely more sensitive to labor costs and structured by intrafirm trade. US FDI fit largely the same pattern, relocating south of the border after the signing of NAFTA and targeting East Asia. In Eastern Europe and Central Asia, US FDI doubled between 1991 and 1993, reaching $1.7 billion, "slightly less than the value of the outward FDI stock in Malaysia", apparently a model democracy.[77] In this context, Eastern Europe' geographical proximity and Germany's "close links with some of the formerly centrally planned economies have made that region the preferred location for German FDI."[78] No wonder the US ambassador to Budapest could declare in 1995 that "I have often been asked why there isn't a new Marshall Plan to help Central and Eastern Europe. Well, there is - it is here - and it is called private foreign investment." [79]

From the vantage point of this piece of wisdom, we can now ask what was global about the history of Eastern Europe before and after 1989? Beginning with the 1970s, the global in Eastern Europe was a financial system overflooded with cheap dollars - banks (and governments) pushing their loans on credit thirsty countries; and one still willing to finance the debt spiral of some Eastern European countries in the late 1980s, when the emergence of new financial instruments and rising corporate demand for syndicated loans in Western Europe did not hinder Bulgaria

or Hungary to keep on borrowing.[80] This entire history, plainly recorded by Brainard and visible in the pattern of FDI entering the region after 1989, was sidelined as early as the first months of 1990. During the last meeting of Comecon member states, assembled in Sofia in January 1990, the consensus reigning among the political elite newly catapulted to office by round-table and revolution was that the summit "signaled the start of the integration of Eastern Europe into the world financial system."[81] With no new Marshall Plan on the cards, one reporter noted, "both East and West seem intent on taking a business-as-usual approach to integrating the reforming countries."[82]

Less than ten years prior, Marshall Plan proposals seemed the only way of saving the livelihood of citizenries in Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe from the follies of unfettered lending. Indicative of the mood was Maurice Lauré's "Rebalancing the World Economy: Marshall Plan or Depression?", a plan for overcoming the impending energy and debt crisis through a new investment boom in the developing countries, financed by concessionary expenditure equivalent to 1.3% of the aggregate GDPs of industrialized countries. Inventor of the value-added tax in the 1950s and president of Société Générale, Lauré shared his plan even with Nicolae Ceaușescu, hoping it will prove a lasting solution to the "harmonious economic development of developing countries."[83] Brainard himself was averse to any such grandiose design. Calls for a new Marshall Plan to resolve the debt crisis, he wrote, ignored that postwar Western Europe was able to use capital productively, lacking only the resources to do so. The problems of the debtor countries in the early 1980s were of a different caliber: "access to developed-country markets, improved terms of trade, reductions in real interest rates, and more rational domestic economic policies. None of these is likely to result from a new large-scale lending program for debtors."[84] With capital pouring in from East Asian investors, Reagan's America showed the way forward, as Brainard told *Time* in 1987, "by the end of this century, the US may have the most modern manufacturing sector in the world, but it won't own it."[85] Eastern Europe's *Nachzugsgefecht* at the end of the Cold War could only replicate this model. After the revolutions of 1989, Eastern Europeans, too, were finally free to produce what they did not own and consume what they did not produce.

Source: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 51, No. 4, 1973, A-7.

Source: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 51, No. 3, 1973, A-1.

Source: *Foreign Affairs,* Vol. 53, No. 1, 1974, A-10.

NOTES

[1] Paul Betts, "1989 at Thirty: A Recast Legacy", *Past and Present*, No. 244, 2019, 274.

[2] Piotr H. Kosicki and Kyrill Kunakhovich, "Introduction", in their edited volume *The Long 1989. Decades of Global Revolution* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2019), 1-10.

[3] Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny. Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2017).

[4] I pick up the label "money lender" from arguably the best journalistic account of the development of international finance up to the early 1980s, Anthony Sampson, *The Money Lenders. Bankers in a Dangerous World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982).

[5] "O acțiune românească de pionerat, reciproc avantajoasă. Convorbire cu Robert C. Dolan, directorul filialei din București a companiei Manufacturers Hanover Trust", *Lumea*, No. 8, February 21 1989, 6.

[6] Lawrence J. Brainard, "Trade, Debt, and National Security", in Annelise Anderson and Dennis L. Bark (eds.) *Thinking About America. The United States in the 1990s* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1988), 219. Brainard's essay was read in the House of Representatives, and republished in *Bank Lending to Warsaw Pact Nations, Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. House of Representatives, September 22 1988* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1988), 166-175.

[7] Originally a professor of economics, Brainard moved out of academia for a job with Chase Manhattan, and then switched to a position of Senior Vice President, and Head of International Economic and Political Analysis, at the Bankers Trust Company in New York. He served as advisor to the Office of Technology Assessment in the United States Congress (1979) and the National Security Council in the Executive Office of the President of the United States (1982).

[8] Daniel Chirot and Ken Jowitt, "Beginning EEPS", *EEPS*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1987, 1.

[9] Ivo Banac, "Continuing EEPS", *EEPS*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1990, 1.

[10] Jan Gross, "More EEPS", *EEPS*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1995

[11] Vladimir Tismăneanu, "Letter from the Incoming Editor", *EEPS*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1998.

[12] Illya Prizel, "Editor's Note", *EEPS*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2004, 7-8.

[13] Ivo Banac and Irena Grudzińska Gross, "Recontinuing EEPS", *EEPS*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2009

[14] Michael Bernhard and Krzysztof Jasiewicz, "Whither Eastern Europe?", *EEPS*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2015

15   Recently brought to bear on the revolutions of 1989 themselves, Ferenc Laczó and Joanna Wawrzyniak, "Memories of 1989 in Europe between Hope, Dismay, and Neglect", *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 2017, 431-438.

16   Timothy Snyder, "The Ethical Significance of Eastern Europe, Twenty Years On", *EEPS*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 2009

17   Johanna Bockman and Gil Eyal, "Eastern Europe as a Laboratory for Economic Knowledge: The Transnational Roots of Neoliberalism", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 108, No. 2, 2002, 310-352.

18   Johanna Bockman, "The Long Road to 1989. Neoclassical Economics, Alternative Socialisms, and the Advent of Neoliberalism", *Radical History Review*, 112, 2012, 9-42.

19   Johanna Bockman, "Socialist Globalization against Capitalist Neocolonialism: The Economic Ideas behind the New International Economic Order", *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism and Development*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2015, 109-128.

20   Johanna Bockman, "The Struggle over Structural Adjustment: Socialist Revolution versus Capitalist Counterrevolution in Yugoslavia and the World", *History of Political Economy*, Vol. 51, 2019, 253-276.

21   I have summarized here some of the empirical contributions to two recent collective volumes: Anna Calori, Anne-Kristin Hartmetz, Bence Kocsev, James Mark, Jan Zofka (ed.) *Between East and South. Spaces of Interaction in the Globalizing Economy of the Cold War* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019) and James Mark, Artemy Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung (eds.), *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020).

22   Theodora Dragostinova and Malgorzata Fidelis, "Introduction", *Slavic Review,* Vol. 77, No. 3, 2018.

23   James Mark and Tobias Rupprecht, "The Socialist World in Global History. From Absentee to Victim to Co-Producer", in Matthias Middell (ed.) *The Practice of Global History: European Perspectives* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 83.

24   James Mark and Quinn Slobodian, "Eastern Europe", in Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

25   James Mark and Yakov Feygin, 'The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Alternative Visions of a Global Economy 1950s–1980s', in James Mark, Artemy Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung (eds.), *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020).

26   James Mark and Tobias Rupprecht, "Europe's '1989' in Global Context", in Juliane Fürst, Silvio Pons, Mark Selden (eds.) The Cambridge History of Communism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

27   IBIDEM.
28   See, for instance, the bibliography assembled by Besnik Pula in his *Globalization Under and After Socialism. The Evolution of Transnational Capital in Central and Eastern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018). An engagement with this remarkable book was not possible here.
29   Lawrence J. Brainard and Richard Kaufman, *Yugoslavia. An Introduction to the Yugoslav Economy for Foreign Businessmen* (The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A., 1974), 3-4.
30   IBIDEM, 20.
31   On "red multinationals" see the studies collected in Geoffrey Hamilton (ed.) *Red Multinationals or Red Herrings? The Activities of Enterprises from Socialist Countries in the West* (London: Frances Pinter, 1986); see also Oscar Sanchez-Sibony, *Red Globalization: The Political Economy of the Soviet Cold War from Stalin to Khrushchev* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
32   Giovanni Arrighi, "The World Economy and the Cold War, 1970-1990", Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 23-44.
33   Carlo Edoardo Altmaura, "The Paradox of the 1970s: The Renaissance of International Banking and the Rise of Public Debt", *Journal of Modern European History*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 2017, 529-553.
34   Lawrence J. Brainard, "Financing Eastern Europe's Trade Gap, the Euromarket Connection", *Euromoney*, January 1976
35   In other words, the region seemed so politically stable that it was considered free from issues of "odious debt", a type of debt rejected by new political regimes in the aftermath of revolutions; for more on this notion, see Odette Lienau, *Rethinking Sovereign Debt. Politics, Reputation, and Legitimacy in Modern Finance* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2014).
36   IBIDEM.
37   Lawrence J. Brainard, "More Lending to the Third World? A Banker's View", in Richard E. Feinberg and Valeriana Kallab (eds.) *Uncertain Future: Commercial Banks and the Third World* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1984), 35.
38   Most clearly in Lawrence Brainard, "New Trends in East-West Trade", *Challenge*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1977, 61-62. See also Lawrence J. Brainard and Tatiana Barkas, "East Europe Improves its Trade", *Euromoney*, May 1978.
39   Lawrence J. Brainard "Why Eastern Europe is Talking about the IMF", *Euromoney*, October 1979.
40   For the first, see Iliana Zloch-Christy, *Debt Problems of Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1987); for the second, see Stephen Kotkin, "The Kiss of Debt. The east Bloc Goes Borrowing", in Niall Ferguson et alli (eds.) *The Shock of the Global. The 1970s in Perspective* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[41]   This is the conclusion of an outstanding recent doctoral dissertation, Frederic Michael Bartel, *The Triumph of Broken Promises: Oil, Finance, and the End of the Cold War* (PhD Dissertation: Cornell University, 2017).

[42]   Quoted in Ann Crittenden, "Poland, in Bid for Loan, Will Let West's Banks Monitor Its Economy", *New York Times*, January 26 1979

[43]   IMF Archives, European Department Immediate Office Records, EURAI Country Files, Poland, Box 57 File, 2, p. 93.

[44]   IMF Archives, European Department Immediate Office Records, EURAI Country Files, Poland, Box 57, File 3, p. 24.

[45]   IBIDEM, p. 2.

[46]   IMF Archives, European Department Immediate Office Records, EURAI Country Files, Poland, Box 57, File 4, pp. 125-6.

[47]   IBIDEM. CCC credits were credits extended by the Commodity Credit Corporation, a US government agency that subsidized the export of American farm produce. For a similar reading of the Polish economy some seven years later, penned by another banker-cum-expert on the region, see Gabriel Eichler, "A Banker's Perspective on Poland's Debt Problems", in Paul Marer and Wlodzimierz Siwinski (eds.) *Creditworthiness and Reform in Poland. Western and Polish Perspectives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

[48]   IMF Archives, European Department Immediate Office Records, EURAI Country Files, Poland, Box 58, File 1, p. 68 and p. 223.

[49]   On the power of banks to withhold and withdraw short-term credits, see Jerome Roos, *Why Not Default? The Political Economy of Sovereign Debt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).

[50]   Lawrence Brainard, "Eastern Europe's Uncertain Future: The Outlook for East-West Trade and Finance", in *East European Economic Assessment. Part 2 – Regional Assessments. A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Joint Economic Committee Congress of the United States, July 10 1981* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1981), 752.

[51]   Lawrence J. Brainard, "LDC Debt: A Threat to U.S. Business Prospects?", *Business Economics*, Vol. 22, 1987, pp. 19-22

[52]   Lawrence Brainard, "Soviet International Financial Policy: Traditional Formulas or New Innovations?", in *Gorbachev's Economic Plans. Volume 1. Study Papers Submitted to the Joint Economic Committee Congress of the United States, November 23, 1987* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1987), 104-105.

[53]   Lawrence Brainard, "Current Illusions about International Debt Crisis", *The World Economy*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1985, 1-9.

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57   IBIDEM, 104.

58   I follow the analysis in Jeffry A. Frieden, *Global Capitalism: It's Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Norton, 2007), 379-382.

59   Robert Brenner, "The World Economy at the Turn of the Millennium toward Boom or Crisis?" *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2001, 6-44.

60   Lawrence Brainard, "Trade, Debt, and National Security", in *Bank Lending to Warsaw Pact Nations, Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. House of Representatives, September 22 1988* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1988), 222.

61   I took the data from *PlanEcon Report*, Vol. IV, No. 24-25, June 17, 1988.

62   Lawrence Brainard, "Overview of East Europe's Debt: The Evolution of Creditworthiness in the 1980s", *Business Economics*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1990, 14.

63   Lawrence Brainard, "Finance and Debt in East-West Relations. Policy Challenges in an Era of Change", in *To Examine Small Business Trade Opportunities with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Hearing before the Committee on Small Business United States Senate, March 23 1990* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1990), 247-298.

64   IBIDEM, 297.

65   Lawrence Brainard, "Reform in Eastern Europe: Creating a Capital Market", *Economic Review*, January/February, 1991, 49-58.

66   Lawrence Brainard, "Finance and Debt in East-West Relations. Policy Challenges in an Era of Change", in *To Examine Small Business Trade Opportunities with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Hearing before the Committee on Small Business United States Senate, March 23 1990 (Washington: US Government Printing Office*, 1990), 298.

67   *Developments in Eastern Europe, June 1989. Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred First Congress, First Session, June 27 1989* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 29. For an assessment of Mandelbaum's intellectual output over the recent decades,

see Perry Anderson, *American Foreign Policy and Its Thinkers* (London: Verso, 2015).

[68] IBIDEM.

[69] For Brainard's take on the early US plan to reduce debt, see Lawrence Brainard, "Managing the International Debt Crisis: The Future of the Baker Plan", *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1987, 66-75.

[70] Ironically, if there was a situation after 1989 to which the Marshall Plan analogy applied, that was East Germany after reunification. There, welfare payments by the federal government, near parity wages pushed for by trade-unions in the West and covering for the Treuhandanstalt's losses made for arguably the single largest investment after the 1950s in Europe. As Klein and Pettis note "Despite these substantial costs, reunification has largely been a success. Thanks in part to ongoing transfers from the rest of the country, living standards in the former East Germany have almost completely converged to levels in the West, most notably in terms of life expectancy. The remaining gap in incomes between East and West Germany is trivial compared to the gaps between northern and southern Italy, northern and southern England, or the former Confederacy and the rest of the United States. Unemployment has plunged. Manufacturing output in the East has more than doubled since the early 1990s. Lower living costs have even attracted artists and others to migrate from the West to some cities in the East.", Matthew C. Klein and Michael Pettis, *Trade Wars are Class Wars. How Rising Inequality Distorts the Global Economy and Threatens International Peace* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2020), 145.

[71] Lawrence Brainard, "Finance and Debt in East-West Relations. Policy Challenges in an Era of Change", in *To Examine Small Business Trade Opportunities with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Hearing before the Committee on Small Business United States Senate, March 23 1990 (Washington: US Government Printing Office*, 1990), 298.

[72] Jeffrey D. Sachs, *The End of Poverty. Economic Possibilities for Our Time. With a Forward by Bono* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 127.

[73] See the analysis of Judit Kiss, "Debt Management in Eastern Europe", *Eastern European Economics*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1994, 60.

[74] The expression belongs to Robert Brenner, "What Is, and What Is Not, Imperialism?", *Historical Materialism*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2006, 86.

[75] *Financial Flows to Developing Countries. Quarterly Review, The World Bank, Debt and International Division,* September, 1990, 16-17.

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[77] IBIDEM, 20.

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[80] For some of those new financial instruments, see Lawrence Brainard, "The Decision-making process. A changing role for country-risk analysis", in Ronald Solberg (ed.) *Country Risk Analysis. A Handbook* (London: Routledge, 1992), 276-279. Rising demand from West European corporations on the syndicated market is documented in *Bank for International Settlements*, 59th Annual Report, 1st of April 1988 – 31st of March 1989, Basle, 12th June 1989, p. 119.

[81] "Paying the Market Price", *Euromoney*, February, 1990, 80.

[82] IBIDEM.

[83] Arhivele Naţionale ale României, CC al PCR, Secţia Economică, 9/1981, p. 1.

[84] Lawrence J. Brainard, "More Lending to the Third World? A Banker's View", in Richard E. Feinberg and Valeriana Kallab (eds.) *Uncertain Future: Commercial Banks and the Third World* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1984), 40.

[85] "For Sale: America", *Time*, September 14, 1987, 53. To service these East Asian investors, Brainard's Bankers Trust moved to the increasingly sophisticated financial markets of South Korean and Taiwan, Lawrence Brainard, "Capital Markets in Korean and Taiwan: Emerging Opportunities for Foreign Banks", *Journal for Asian Economics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1990, 173-177. It is worth pointing out that Brainard's analysis was paralleled by heterodox economists such as Andrew Glyn. Tight budgets, Glyn noted, combined with an aversion to public spending across post-socialist Eastern Europe melted workers' wage sacrifices into an economic slump. This was in marked contrast to the reconstruction of postwar Western Europe, notably West Germany where price liberalization, fiscal and monetary austerity combined with low real wages to transform the German economy into an export "miracle", its goods in high demand in Southeast Asia and Europe as well: "With neither a sophisticated and experienced private capitalist sector not high and expanding levels of external demand, it is most unlikely that the countries of Eastern Europe can follow a West German-style trajectory out of their current slump.", Andrew Glyn, "Wasted Sacrifices: Real Wages and Reconstruction in Eastern Europe", in Ha-Joon Chang and Peter Nolan (eds.) *The Transformation of the Communist Economies. Against the Mainstream* (London: St. Marin Press, 1995), 133.

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Auteur de volume :
Samblances. Images animées dans le roman français médiéval, Editions de l'Université de Bucarest, 2018

LA FIGURE DE NARCISSE DANS LA LITTÉRATURE MÉDIÉVALE

Résumé

Cette étude se propose de suivre les grandes lignes de l'évolution de la figure de Narcisse dans la littérature française médiévale en langue vernaculaire. Récupéré au XIIe siècle dans un lai qui développe le scénario ovidien et l'adapte à la mode littéraire de l'époque, Narcisse sera, à tour de rôle, une figure exemplaire du *fin amant* dans la lyrique des troubadours et des trouvères et une figure de la beauté idéale. À partir de la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle et jusqu'au XVe siècle, le discours littéraire moralisateur, accentué à la suite de l'apparition de l'*Ovide moralisé* au XIVe siècle, le transforme en *exemplum* censé illustrer le lien entre sa beauté excessive et l'orgueil.

Mots-clés : Narcisse, *aetas ovidiana*, amour courtois, lyrique médiévale, réception d'Ovide, fantasme, littérature didactique

L'œuvre d'Ovide est une des sources littéraires latines dont l'influence est à retrouver un peu partout dans les textes médiévaux, surtout à partir des XIIe et XIIIe siècles. La première occurrence de Narcisse, figure provenant de la lyrique ovidienne, dans la littérature médiévale est à retrouver dans un texte écrit vers 1160, le *Lai de Narcisse*. L'auteur anonyme du *Lai* renonce à la dimension étiologique et adapte sa version à la sensibilité de l'amour courtois, tout en restant fidèle au schéma narratif ovidien. L'interdiction et la prophétie sont le point de départ de ce récit bref : « Gart bien qu'il ne se voit mie ! / Ne viura gaires s'il se voit[1]. » Loin d'être représentatif pour un discours sur l'identité, Narcisse connaît trois formules textuelles dans les textes médiévaux : la poésie lyrique le récupère dans le discours érotique, où il apparaît comme idéal de l'amant courtois et image du « je », du sujet désirant, tandis que les textes narratifs s'intéressent surtout à sa beauté, sujette à l'idéalisation. La troisième formule, qui s'appuie sur la dimension

esthétique de sa figure, finit par réduire son histoire à la leçon morale, et fait de lui une image de la vanité. En dépit de ces mutations, il y a des éléments qui restent attachés à Narcisse dans tous les textes : il est une figure lyrique, pas un personnage, et sa figure est toujours associée à une dimension conceptuelle. Exemple ou contre-exemple, Narcisse incarne une idée.

1. Narcisse, une figure lyrique brisée

Dans le corpus médiéval, Narcisse connaît trois types d'apparition : comme figure centrale, comme terme de comparaison et sous forme d'allusion ou de référence. Le premier type d'apparition est minoritaire. Narcisse occupe le rôle central dans les textes suivants : le *Lai de Narcisse*, le *Roman de la Rose*, *Floris et Lyriopé*, *Cristal et Clarie*, l'*Ovide moralisé*, l'*Épître Othéa*, *Les échecs amoureux* et le *Jeu de Narcisse*. Les apparitions de second degré sont beaucoup plus nombreuses : dans tous les autres textes qui forment le corpus, Narcisse apparaît en guise de comparaison qui sert à emphatiser la souffrance amoureuse ou la beauté de la figure centrale ou d'expliciter le discours, ou bien sous forme de référence ou d'allusion.

(a) Typologies textuelles

Si Roland appartient décidément à la chanson de geste et Lancelot au roman, il est difficile d'esquisser la typologie textuelle de Narcisse, car il traverse les genres : il apparaît pour la première fois dans un lai, puis il ressurgit dans le roman, dans les productions lyriques, puis dans le roman idyllique et allégorique. Il est également mentionné dans les traités didactiques mythographiques et dans une pièce de théâtre. Il traverse, donc, presque tous les grands genres littéraires légués par le Moyen Âge, tout en évitant de se fixer dans une typologie ou autre. Certes, le roman médiéval est reconnu pour son hybridité, qui lui permet d'accommoder d'autres types de discours, mais à tout genre correspond une thématique propre et des personnages reconnus. Narcisse se soustrait à cette tradition. Peut-être son origine lyrique fait de lui une figure insaisissable du point de vue du genre littéraire, car il n'est pas un vrai personnage.

Le statut de personnage, terme problématique pour la littérature médiévale[2], suppose une forme d'action performée par le personnage

et une forme de transformation qui le touche et, à la fin, lui façonne une identité. Même les figures les plus typologiques, tel Roland, pour reprendre cet exemple, évoluent dans un cadre narratif qui aide à fixer leur identité. Le personnage se donne une identité à travers l'action. Par contre, Narcisse est une figure passive qui apparaît dans un cadre narratif presque inexistant : son histoire commence lorsque l'action s'arrête, c'est-à-dire au moment où il arrête de faire la chasse pour étancher sa soif. L'action est le prétexte de son histoire, mais que l'accent tombe sur la contemplation et sur l'émotion. La chasse, activité noble et masculine par excellence, est l'activité préférée de Narcisse. Les scénarios médiévaux de l'histoire commencent souvent avec l'image de Narcisse chasseur, absorbé par cette activité qui, seule, le rend heureux. Il préfère la compagnie des fauves et des veneurs à celle des dames et il méprise les délices de l'Amour. Dans le *Jeu de Narcisse* du XIVe siècle, la première intervention de Narcisse s'ensuit à celle du Fou, personnage typique pour le théâtre de l'époque, qui assume le rôle de narrateur et se moque des deux amoureux, mais surtout du jeune homme qu'il traite de fou. Narcisse fait son entrée en scène en tant que chasseur :

> Vouloir m'est prins d'aler chasser
> Et quelque beste pourchasser,
> Pour esbatre ung peu ma jeunesse,
> On doit oyseuse dechasser
> Et tristesse de cueur chasser,
> Qui fait l'omme cheoir en vieillesse[3].

L'éloge de la chasse[4] se transforme en éloge de la jeunesse et de la vitalité. Le jeune homme veut chasser de son cœur toute forme de tristesse qui condamne l'homme à la vieillesse et à la déperdition. Le rapport action-passivité est surpris dans cette séquence courte, reprise par d'autres textes : Narcisse souhaite garder sa vitalité intacte, il veut rester dans cet état d'ignorance amoureuse où il ne connaît ni tristesse ni contemplation, mais la fatalité le guette et il tombe en proie à la tristesse qu'il voulait éviter à tout prix. Son refus d'obéir à la divinité cruelle qu'est le dieu d'Amour et de préserver son état idyllique est lu comme un affrontement. Une Écho en colère vitupère contre le jeune homme et, après l'avoir affublé d'une série de noms des plus déshonorants – parmi lesquels « vilain poulleux » – elle recourt à la malédiction qui sera fatale au jeune homme :

Je requier a Dieu doulcement
Qu'il envoie prochainnement
A Narcisus telle aventure
Qu'il s'enamoure follement
D'aucune qui pareillement
Le reffuse et n'ait de lui cure[5].

L'usage du mot « aventure », terme qui codifie, entre autres, une manifestation du destin, signale, pour Narcisse, la sortie de son ignorance amoureuse synonyme d'action et l'entrée dans la passivité. La contemplation désespérée de Narcisse, qui croit regarder une belle dame, fait l'objet du commentaire du Fou, destiné au public :

Il estoit alé pour descroistre
Sa soif, mais il l'a fait recroistre
D'une autre soif plus perilleuse.
C'est soif d'amours tresangoisseuse[6].

Le jeu langagier avec les deux types de soif, la soif physique et la soif qui sert de métaphore pour le désir amoureux, signale aussi le passage de l'action à la contemplation. Ce jeu n'est pas l'invention de l'auteur médiéval. Cet usage métaphorique de la soif apparaît chez Ovide : « dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera creuit[7] ». L'auteur médiéval, qui semble avoir consulté la source latine, reprend le jeu et le développe. La soif physique est une sensation associée, dans cette séquence, à l'action : le chasseur a soif après avoir couru dans les forêts, en image de la jeunesse et de la vitalité. La faim et la soif sont des sensations souvent évoquées dans le roman chevaleresque afin de signaler la clôture d'un épisode aventureux. Avoir faim et soif veut dire, somme toute, avoir un corps sain, dont les appétits riment avec action et vitalité. La soif « plus perilleuse », la soif amoureuse, annonce le passage vers la passivité et la mort. Après avoir regardé dans les eaux mortes, telles qu'elles sont définies par le texte, le jeune chasseur ne peut plus résister à la tristesse qu'il méprisait et dont il voulait s'échapper sur les sentiers entortillés des forêts.

(b) Narcisse au passé

Dans le corpus de textes qui le concernent, Narcisse devient souvent un prétexte, au sens propre du mot : il est une figure du passé, c'est-à-dire

du passé du texte, car il est déjà mort. Par rapport au présent du texte respectif, il n'est qu'un souvenir, dont la mémoire sert à expliciter le sens, la *senefiance*, du nouveau texte. En même temps, il sert de point de départ pour d'autres discours, surtout à la fin du Moyen Âge, dans les textes didactiques, doués d'une forte dimension théorique. La figure statique de Narcisse s'identifie à sa fontaine : c'est le lieu où il découvre l'amour et la mort et où les amoureux découvrent les dangers de l'amour. Le *Roman de la Rose* est peut-être l'exemple le plus connu, car sa topographie, illustrée souvent sur les frontispices des manuscrits, est élaborée autour de la fontaine de Narcisse. Très souvent, l'iconographie récupère sa figure qui apparaît penchée sur la fontaine, faisant de lui un souvenir visible. Ce lieu de mémoire est décrit par Guillaume de Lorris, qui utilise le terme « figure » pour désigner Narcisse, et les syntagmes « mireors perilleus » et « fontaine d'amors » pour désigner sa fontaine :

> Dedanz une pierre de marbre
> Ot nature par grant mestrisse
> Souz le pin la fontaine assise,
> Si ot dedanz la pierre escrite
> Ou bort amont lettre petite
> Qui devisoient qu'anqui desus
> Se mori li biaus narcisus[8].

Le roman médiéval utilise souvent les inscriptions pour démarquer les lieux de mémoire mais aussi pour inscrire les lieux dans le texte, tout en leur offrant un rôle explicite. Dans ce cas-là, la fontaine devient la tombe cénotaphe de Narcisse et l'écriture résume le sens de son histoire à travers deux mots-clés : la mort et la beauté. L'emploi du terme « figure » est lié au moment où le jeune homme se regarde et se fait tromper par sa propre image :

> Si vit en l'yaue clere et nete
> Son vis, son neis et sa bouchete.
> Icil maintenant s'esbaï
> Car ses ombres tout le traï,
> Qu'il cuida veoir la figure
> D'un enfant bel a desmesure[9].

La mort du jeune homme est racontée quelques vers plus tard, et le commentaire du narrateur finit sur un avertissement pour les jeunes femmes qui ne devraient pas infliger une telle souffrance aux amoureux. Dans ce texte, Narcisse pense voir un jeune homme dans les eaux claires, pas une femme, mais l'exemple s'adresse aux femmes, tout en s'inscrivant dans une tradition qui sera cultivée par les textes plus tardifs. Ce renversement des rôles est typique : dès le début, Dané subit les supplices de l'amour, réservés plutôt aux hommes dans la lyrique, tandis que Narcisse emprunte les traits de la dame orgueilleuse et inaccessible. Dans la séquence citée apparaît un autre élément associé à la figure médiévale de Narcisse : la démesure. Sa beauté dépasse la mesure et on peut y voir la contradiction avec une des valeurs cultivées par la poésie provençale, la *mezura*. Jacques Wettstein a montré, dans une étude sur l'usage cette notion dans la lyrique occitane[10], que *mezura* ne se borne pas à tracer un idéal moral, mais elle touche aussi à la vision esthétique qui se détache des poèmes troubadouresques.

(c) Stratégies de narrativisation

Le caractère essentiellement non-narratif de Narcisse et sa genèse lyrique conduisent les auteurs médiévaux vers des stratégies scripturales. Milena Mikhaïlova-Makarius associe Narcisse au fantasme conçu par la lyrique courtoise et, dans son ouvrage sur les origines lyriques du roman, elle mène une investigation sur plusieurs romans idylliques d'inspiration ovidienne, parmi lesquels *Floris et Lyriopé*, un récit sur l'histoire d'amour des parents de Narcisse, Floris et Lyriopé. Lyriopé tombe amoureuse de Floris, l'ami de son frère, lorsque celui-ci était déguisé en femme et passait pour Florie. Toute cette préhistoire de Narcisse s'articule autour des jeux de miroir et des dédoublements. Une stratégie similaire est mise à l'œuvre par Jean de Renart dans son *Lai de l'Ombre*, où un chevalier tombe amoureux d'une dame qui ne veut pas recevoir son don, une bague. Afin de séduire la belle, le chevalier recourt à la ruse : il offre la bague à la réflexion de la femme dans la fontaine. Le tour est joué et la dame est conquise. Narcisse n'est pas cité dans ce lai, mais l'influence de sa figure se lit en palimpseste. Selon Mikhaïlova-Makarius, le fantasme est récupéré dans la narration grâce aux doubles : l'invention d'un double, d'un jumeau ou des jeux de déguisement permettent le développement d'une narration à partir d'un scénario statique, typiquement lyrique, et

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« le jumeau a l'avantage de résoudre l'opposition ontologique entre réel et irréel tout en incarnant la figure du même[11]. »

La figure résiste à l'action. L'infusion narrative passe par la médiation du dédoublement et ainsi ne fait que déployer l'aporie du récit original et la redire. Jumeaux, frères, déguisements : toutes ces formules ne font que déplier le drame de Narcisse et de le rendre supportable, comique même. En dépit de la ressemblance et des liens étroits entre les personnages, il ne s'agit plus d'un rapport d'indentification entre les semblables, et ainsi l'amour devient possible. Le langage héraldique, construit autour de l'identification, nous fournit le terme qui décrit le mieux ce procédé employé par les auteurs qui narrativisent le scénario. Il s'agit d'une brisure de la figure : en héraldique, la brisure est utilisée pour rendre visibles les rapports de filiation. Or, le même phénomène apparaît, au niveau narratif, dans les réécritures du récit de Narcisse. La filiation est indiquée par le biais de la brisure : dans *Floris et Lyriopé*, les dédoublements brisent la figure et la démultiplient, tout en créant autour d'elle l'impression d'un lignage, et transformant les nouvelles figures en personnages, car la possibilité d'accomplir leur désir leur offre la possibilité de sortir de la passivité.

2. Au centre de l'amour courtois

Le rôle du miroir dans la lyrique courtoise a été amplement discuté, à partir des années '50 du XXe siècle[12]. Mais l'assimilation de Narcisse à l'amant parfait dans ces textes l'a été moins. Son identification à l'idéal du *fin amant* est remarquée par Christopher Lucken, qui l'observe dans le *Roman de la Rose* : « Mais c'est également Narcisse, fasciné par son image au bord de la source, qui s'impose généralement comme la figure emblématique de l'amant épris des yeux de la dame. […] Le couple qui fonde le discours amoureux peut se réduire à celui composé de Narcisse et de son image[13]. » Sa position au centre du verger symbolique traduit son importance dans le discours pédagogique développé tout au long du rêve allégorique. Il est modèle et anti-modèle pour l'amoureux, et son ambiguïté perdure. Si l'*amour de lonh* représentait un obstacle redoutable, l'amour de Narcisse illustre ce thème de manière exemplaire, car la distance paradoxale qui le sépare de son objet désiré est indépassable.

(a) Narcisus sui : miroir du poète

La source de l'assimilation de Narcisse au *fin amant* est à trouver dans les textes du XIIe siècle, d'ailleurs les premières productions littéraires à proposer cet idéal. Un premier exemple est à trouver dans le *Roman de Troie*. Achille, amoureux de Polyxène, la fille de Priam, se compare à Narcisse, dans une lamentation où il évoque le drame de l'éphèbe, mort à cause de l'impossibilité d'avoir l'objet de son désir, de l'accoler ou l'embrasser :

> Narcisus sui, ço sai e vei,
> Qui tant ama l'ombre de sei
> Qu'il en morut sor la fontaine.
> Iceste angoisse, iceste peine
> Sai que jo sent : jo raim mon ombre,
> Jo aim ma mort e mon encombre ;
> Faire m'estuet, jo n'en sai plus,
> [...]
> Ço iert ma fin, que que il tart,
> Quar jo n'i vei nul autre esguart.
> Narcisus por amer mori,
> E jo referai autresi[14].

Comme l'observe Jane Gilbert[15], la comparaison est fondée sur l'impossibilité d'accomplir son désir amoureux, qui transforme Narcisse dans en victime de l'amour : « Narcisus por amer mori ». Les préfixes itératifs, plus communs en ancien français qu'en français moderne, servent au narrateur à accentuer la comparaison et montrer la répétition : « jo raim mon ombre », « jo referai autresi ». La formule « Qui tant ama l'ombre de sei » témoigne elle aussi de la lecture médiévale du mythe : en choisissant une formule transitive et non pas réflexive, le narrateur introduit l'histoire dans le schéma médiéval du désir, où il y a un désirant et un désiré, l'« ombre de sei ». À ce clivage opéré par des moyens grammaticaux s'oppose l'identification d'Achille avec Narcisse, car la mot de comparaison disparaît. Il n'est pas *comme* Narcisse, il *est* Narcisse. Cette formule a comme résultat rhétorique un effet d'authenticité auquel font écho les verbes itératifs. Les deux figures vont jusqu'à se confondre, immergées dans le même vécu. Dans le roman, Achille sera trompé par Hecuba et tué à cause de son amour pour Polyxène qui le fait tomber dans un piège tendu par la mère de la princesse. La mort d'Achille, survenue à

cause de son amour, l'inscrit dans la lignée des amants parfaits et anoblit le personnage. La force transfiguratrice de l'amour est illustrée dans ce fragment par une formule très proche du modèle de la lyrique provençale.

Un des premiers troubadours, Bernard de Ventadorn, décrit la souffrance amoureuse à partir d'une image spéculaire dans *Can vei la lauzeta mover* : l'amoureux se perd dans les yeux de sa dame tout comme Narcisse d'était perdu dans la fontaine. Au sujet de la source que Ventadorn aurait utilisée, Sarah Kay[16] affirme qu'il s'agirait plutôt du *Lai de Narcisse* que d'Ovide, car le poème, tout comme le *Lai*, met l'accent sur la souffrance amoureuse de l'éphèbe et non sur le problème de l'amour de soi, comme cela se passait dans le *Métamorphoses*. De nouveau, la dimension identitaire est gommée, car la figure du jeune de Thèbes n'est pas récupérée parce qu'il s'était trouvé dans la fontaine, mais parce qu'il s'y était perdu :

> Anc non agui de me poder
> Ni no fui meus de l'or' en sai
> Que•m laisset en sos olhs vezer
> En un miralh que mout me plai.
> Miralhs, pus me mirei en te,
> M'an mort li sospir de preon,
> C'aissi•m perdei com perdet se
> Lo bels Narcisus en la fon[17].

La perte de soi est à comprendre comme un manque de *mezura* et exprime le trouble affectif de manière assez typique, tout en signalant les dangers de l'amour. Aussi, cette perte de soi est souvent associée à la folie amoureuse, au *fol amour*, un autre motif cultivé par le discours érotique médiéval. Le jeu de mots, fondé sur la racine *mir-*, commune au verbe qui veut dire mirer ou regarder et au miroir, accentue la dimension visuelle de l'amour, typique pour l'*innamoramento*. L'identification n'est pas à retrouver chez le comparant, mais chez le comparé, c'est-à-dire chez le poète qui regarde dans les yeux de sa dame comme on regarde dans un miroir. La dimension fantasmatique de l'amour courtois est surprise par cette stratégie spéculaire : l'amour pour l'autre passe par le regard et par le sujet amoureux. L'association au fantasme et à l'imagination, vers la fin du Moyen Âge, traverse les textes du corpus. Elle est tellement stable parce qu'elle illustre, à travers l'aporie amoureuse de Narcisse, l'aporie

du vécu amoureux : tout amoureux est comme Narcisse, immergé dans un désir esseulant.

(b) Figure de la folie amoureuse

Si les récits essaient de narrativiser la figure de Narcisse à travers des dédoublements, la lyrique s'attaque à cette aporie pour y projeter l'affectivité du poème. Probablement issu de l'école de Bernard de Ventadorn[18], Peirol d'Auvergne associe la figure de Narcisse à la folie amoureuse, dans la troisième *stanza* de son poème *Mout m'entremis de chantar voluntiers* :

> Ja no partai de lieys mos cossiriers ;
> per mal que•m do non li puesc mal voler,
> quar tant la fai sens e beltatz valer
> segon l'afan folley saviamen.
> Mal o ai dig, ans folley follamen,
> quar anc Narcis, qu'amet l'ombra de se,
> si be•s mori, no fo plus fols de me[19].

La figure de la dame est décrite à partir du vocabulaire courtois standard : elle fait preuve de *sens* et de *beltatz*, de raison, d'intelligence et de beauté, tandis que le *je* poétique se dit, d'abord, savamment fou, *folley saviamen*, mais avoue être follement fou, *folley follamen*. L'effet de symétrie est évident. Au niveau de la construction, les vers jouent sur des effets de réflexion : « per mal que.m do non li puesc mal voler », où les deux séquences du vers s'entrecroisent dans un chiasme. De nouveau, la figure du fou apparaît en jonction avec celle de Narcisse, par la médiation du *je* poétique, qui fonde sa comparaison sur la folie et finit par s'affirmer plus malheureux et plus fou que lui. Dans la strophe suivante apparaît le motif de la mort provoquée par la souffrance amoureuse, et le lien avec Narcisse est rendu plus évident encore. La comparaison n'est pas limitée à ces deux motifs, mais se lit aussi dans le vers qui décrit la fidélité sous forme de l'impossible séparation de la dame, devenue non seulement un objet du désir, mais aussi l'objet d'une contemplation sans fin : « Ja no partai de lieys mos cossiriers », une contemplation qui persiste et qui est similaire à l'*immoderata cogitatione* d'Andreas Capellanus[20], en dépit du refus de la dame et de la souffrance provoquée par celui-ci, et qui rime avec folie.

Dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle, Thibaud de Champagne reprend les *topoi* de l'amour courtois dans *A enviz sent mal qui ne l'a apris*, poème où l'amoureux s'identifie avec Narcisse, à l'instar d'Achille. Tout comme lui, il recourt à l'identification par l'emploi de la même formule qui apparaissait dans le *Roman de Troie* : « Narcisus sui ». Le poème développe le scénario où le *fin amant*, rejeté par sa dame, avoue son amour et sa fidélité, traduite par le service :

> Se ma dame ne prent oncor conroi
> de moi, qui l'aim par si grant couvoitise,
> mult la desir et, s'ele me desprise,
> Narcisus sui, qui noia tout par soi.
> Noiez sui près, loing est ma garison,
> s'entendré je touz jorz a son servise.
> Servir doi bien pour si grant guerredon ;
> mult voudroie qu'ele en seüst ma foi[21].

L'innovation de Thibaut de Champagne n'est pas à trouver dans l'image du couple et de la souffrance amoureuse, déjà conventionnelle au moment où il la décrit, mais dans sa description de Narcisse, « qui noia tout par soi ». Il renonce à la référence à l'image que le jeune homme avait aimée, pour introduire dans le poème une allusion à la responsabilité individuelle, obtenue par l'usage du pronom réfléchi « soi ». Narcisse n'est plus la victime de son amour pour l'image, mais la victime de soi-même. Le sujet n'est plus seulement un sujet désirant et passif, mais aussi un sujet réflexif, capable de prendre une certaine distance par rapport au vécu. Il n'exprime pas seulement le vécu présent, comme la plupart des poètes du XIIe siècle, mais il anticipe aussi sur le futur. On entrevoit déjà une certaine distance par rapport à l'affectivité déployée dans le poème et une conscience de l'appartenance à une tradition poétique déjà codifiée. La poésie de Thibaut de Champagne a suscité de nombreux échos parmi ses contemporains, et son usage de la figure de Narcisse aussi. En témoigne ce poème de Raoul de Soissons, adressé à Thibaut lorsque celui-ci était déjà roi de Navarre. La codification de la poésie et la conscience de la tradition dont il se revendique sont illustrées par cet *envoi* qui exprime la préoccupation du poète pour son métier, le « bien chanter » qu'il attribue à Thibaut. Le morceau commence de façon lumineuse, lorsqu'il s'agit de l'hommage poétique, et finit par trois vers sombres qui expriment le désespoir amoureux dans le langage le plus typique :

Roi, a qui ai amour et esperance,
de bien chanter avez assez raison ;
maiz mi plourer sunt ades en saison,
quant je ne puis veoir ce que j'aim plus
c'onques ama son ombre Narcisus[22].

La saison des larmes, métaphore pour la souffrance, est complétée par la comparaison avec Narcisse. Il se déclare, comme les autres poètes qui lui précédèrent, plus malheureux que l'éphèbe, car il ne peut pas voir l'objet de son désir. La comparaison est formulée, selon la tradition médiévale, pour indiquer la supériorité de la figure qui appartient au présent du texte et montrer l'unicité de l'amour. Le poète veut faire peau neuve et chanter l'unicité par des mots déjà usés, et pour ce faire, il tourne vers le miroir de Narcisse pour y magnifier son malheur. Mais la comparaison lui permet aussi de gloser autour de ce que la joie amoureuse veut dire : il se déclare blessé par l'impossibilité de voir sa dame. Or, ce faisant, il se situe au cœur du fantasme amoureux, là où le désir vacillant perdure au-delà du sensible, dans le territoire de la contemplation imaginaire. Si le drame de Narcisse consiste dans l'impossibilité de toucher ce qu'il voit, le drame du poète consiste dans l'impossibilité de voir ce qu'il aime. L'amour qu'il avoue devient, ainsi, exemplaire, et la figure du poète dépasse en subtilité l'ancienne figure de Narcisse.

(c) Un poète parmi des chevaliers

Le contraste entre l'action et la passivité, qui fait de Narcisse une figure et non pas un personnage, est rendu plus évident encore dans les romans arthuriens où il est récupéré à travers le motif du chevalier pensif. Une séquence typique se déroule de la manière suivante : après le tournoi, le chevalier qui a combattu incognito se retire dans la forêt, souvent la nuit, et il s'arrête au bord d'une fontaine. À l'abri de l'obscurité, il regarde son visage et commence à chanter des lais en vers ou de se lamenter sous forme lyrique. Les références à Narcisse sont souvent explicites. La plainte amoureuse à la fontaine devient presque un rituel poétique dans les romans, et elle est associée à la solitude et au repos, mais aussi au désespoir. Dans les romans en prose, cette séquence se détache du reste aussi parce que le chevalier pensif manifeste sa souffrance en octosyllabe, abandonnant la prose, réservée aux séquences narratives. Même récupéré

en pleine narration, Narcisse reste figure, et sa passivité lyrique crée des oasis poétiques[23] au sein de l'action.

L'importance de la lyrique dans la structure des romans, souvent traversés par des veines poétiques, est intimement liée à la figure de Narcisse. Dans le *Tristan en Prose*, vaste roman arthurien du début du XIIIe siècle, qui combine les légendes tristanienne et arthurienne, les références ou allusions à Narcisse sont légion dans le discours des amoureux. La poésie, la souffrance et la fontaine cachée dans les forêts solitaires forment une unité thématique fondée sur le scénario narcissique. Un des meilleurs exemples de chevalier pensif est Kahédin. Ce frère d'Iseut aux Blanches Mains, la femme de Tristan, provient des versions anciennes de la légende, mais il devient un personnage à part entière dans la version en prose, où il s'inscrit dans la série des rivaux de Tristan, amoureux d'une Iseut qui suscite et monopolise le désir des chevaliers. La première mention explicite de Narcisse dans ce texte apparaît dans un échange dialogué entre Kahédin et Palamède, un chevalier Sarrasin amoureux lui aussi d'Iseut. Kahédin accuse son rival d'aimer la reine d'un amour mortifère : « se vous amés la u je aim, vous amés aussi con fist Narchisus, ki ama cele dont il mourut. Se vous amés la u je aim, vous amés vostre mort sans doute, et de vostre mort avés joie[24]. » Leur dialogue est intéressant à plusieurs titres. D'abord, parce que les deux personnages ont été conçus comme doubles de Tristan. Kahédin est le double de Tristan et le frère du double d'Iseut, tandis que Palamède est une construction spéculaire, un imitateur de Tristan. Par ces dédoublements, ils s'inscrivent dans les stratégies de narrativisation de Narcisse. La phrase de Kahédin trahit aussi l'ironie du texte, car son avertissement s'avère prophétique, mais pour soi-même. Le dialogue est aussi révélateur de l'idée qu'on se fait de Narcisse : selon Kahédin, Narcisse « ama cele dont il mourut ». L'emploi du féminin pour désigner l'objet du désir décrit un couple : le jeune homme aime quelqu'un, une figure féminine, et ainsi il s'apparente au *fin amant*. La mort de Kahédin, cette mort *estrange*, est plus digne d'un *fin amant* que celle de Tristan, qui sera tué par le roi Marc. Les origines lyriques de Kahédin le rendent, en fin de compte, incompatible avec l'idéologie du roman chevaleresque.

Dans le paysage violent du roman, où la voix des armes résonne plus fort que le chant des amoureux, Kahédin se distingue par son discours anti-chevaleresque qui condamne *ceste coustume laide et vilainne*[25] de Logres, qui imposait aux chevaliers l'obligation de se confronter lors de toute rencontre. Il ne fera pas carrière en tant que chevalier, mais en tant qu'amoureux-poète. Sa mort arrive très tôt dans le roman, car son manque

d'adhésion à l'idéologie chevaleresque le rend incompatible avec la narrativité. Tout comme Narcisse, dont la mort demeure dans la mémoire littéraire, il restera dans la mémoire du roman pour sa mort exemplaire.

En dépit de l'évidente ressemblance avec Narcisse, on décèle également l'influence d'Écho dans la construction de Kahédin. Au début de son amour pour la reine, il avait tenté de s'opposer à sa passion et à la puissance d'Amour, en s'isolant dans un monastère, loin d'Iseut. Il l'avait presqu'oubliée lorsque le roi Marc décide d'organiser une fête en proximité de son refuge. En entendant parler du cortège royal et de la beauté de la reine, il redevient malade d'amour : « Quant il oit aucun parler de madame Iseut, tout maintenant li refroide li cuers et devien aussi conme mors, pales et vains. Il ne puet voir madame Iseut de Cornouaille des ex du chief, mais des iex du cuer le voit il adés et de jour et de nuit[26]. » Sa passion réveillée fait écho à la nouvelle. Il ne doit pas voir la reine, car il la voit des yeux du cœur, où son image perdure. On y retrouve le fonctionnement du fantasme amoureux. Il décide d'envoyer un lai à sa dame. La réponse versifiée d'Iseut le condamne, tout en actualisant l'image de Narcisse :

> S'il en muert, nus ne l'en doit plaindre
> Puis que il meïsmes s'ocist,
> Ne l'en doit plaindre cis ne chist[27].

Elle répond en vers octosyllabe, car le langage de l'amour est un langage lyrique par excellence. Le désespoir conduit Kahédin à accepter sa fin et à chercher une belle fontaine au cœur de la forêt : « Quant il est en la forest venus, il descent tout maintenant devant une fontaine mout bele et mout envoisie[28]. » Les adjectifs employés pour qualifier la fontaine proviennent directement de la lyrique courtoise, où la mort de l'amant est belle et lui procure joie, « envoiseüre ». La mise en scène de sa mort solitaire au bord de l'eau ne laisse aucun doute sur son modèle. Le commentaire du narrateur confirme le caractère exceptionnel de sa mort dans le roman : « Il muert de si estrange mort que onques mais nus hom ne morut a si grant dolour com il muert ! La mort li plaist et atalente. Il ne veut mais nul autre bien[29]. » Lorsqu'il compose son dernier lai pour sa dame, tout en sachant qu'il trouvera sa mort, il avoue : « Je laisse la prosse pour vers[30] ». Ce faisant, il abandonne les territoires aventureux de la narration, synonyme de la prose, pour accepter sa « douche » mort lyrique. La perfection de son amour pour la reine lui interdit de la

trouver coupable pour sa fin, qu'il attribue à la passion amoureuse, à l'« ardours d'amours » :

> En morant de si douche mort
> C'ainc nus si dous mortel ne mort,
> Me plaing d'icele ki m'a mort :
> Ardours d'amours a ce m'amort[31].

La rime interne « ardours-amours-amort » du vers final résume parfaitement le trajet que ce personnage avait parcouru dans le roman, et la monorime de cette strophe finale, où tous les vers finissent par « mort », offre à la fin de ce personnage une cadence tragique inégalée dans le roman. Le parallèle avec Écho est habilement inséré dans la réponse d'Iseut. Après avoir lu le lai de Kahédin, la reine émue reconnaît les mérites poétiques du chevalier qu'elle avait jugé auparavant de fou : « Quant ele a la charte leüe de chief en chief et veü ce k'il avoit dedens, ele dist a soi meïsmes tout plainnement que durement estoit Kahedins sages cevaliers et viseus, ki si sagement et si bel sot metre sa mort en escriture[32]. » Il devient un chevalier sage et habile car il a su mettre sa mort à l'écrit, en vrai poète.

Vers la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle, la même figure de Narcisse devient l'objet des ironies. Il refait surface dans un *jeu-parti* du trouvère arrageois Jehan de Grieviler qui répond à Jehan de Marli. La question qui nourrit le poème dialogué oppose deux types d'expérience amoureuse : le *vif deduit*, le plaisir accompli, et le désir inaccompli qui se manifeste sous forme de rêve et permet le prolongement du désir. Roberto Crespo a examiné ce poème et les fragments dédiés à Narcisse dans le *Roman de la Rose* et il a mis en lumière ce poète très peu discuté[33] qui soutient que *estre endormi en cele daserie* ne serait qu'une forme de bêtise. On reprend ici la quatrième strophe de son *jeu-parti* :

> Maistre Jehan, vous volés resambler
> Chel Narcisu dont on va tant parlant,
> Qui la mort eut par son ombre mirer ;
> Autant vaut çou que vous m'alés contant:
> Songiers ne vaut a amours tant ne qant,
> Mais qant d'ami est amie sentie.
> Autres deuis tant cuer ne glorefie,
> Bien l'os prover[34].

Jehan de Grieviler, un défenseur de l'amour conjugal, compare Jehan de Marli à un Narcisse déjà très connu à l'époque – « dont on va tant parlant » – pour critiquer l'éloge du fantasme amoureux. L'ironie qui se dégage du texte est le résultat, d'une part, de l'épuisement de la tradition lyrique du Sud, qui, après avoir suscité des imitateurs parmi les trouvères, perd son éclat et se fait concurrencer par d'autres traditions, et de l'autre part, d'une attitude assez commune à l'époque, très critique envers le côté excessif de l'amour courtois. Narcisse partage le sort des amants tristaniens, eux aussi critiqués et cités comme exemple négatif de conduite érotique. Toujours au XIIIe siècle, la figure de Narcisse apparaît deux fois chez Richard de Fournival, écrivain du Nord qui est un amoureux et théoricien de l'amour. Ce clerc nourri de la philosophie aristotélicienne et de la lyrique ne pourrait pas oublier la figure de Narcisse, qu'il revisite dans ses textes. En témoigne son *Bestiaire d'Amour*, œuvre où l'érudition se mêle à l'invention pour livrer une production originale et séduisante, qui récupère et ressuscite la tradition courtoise sous forme de lettre envoyée à une dame « sans mercy ». La formule scripturale est la suivante : afin de décrire son amour, Fournival utilise des figures animalières tirées des bestiaires, qu'il ordonne, en bon aristotélicien, en suivant la hiérarchie des sens : la vue, l'ouïe, le goûter, l'odorat et le toucher. Parmi les premières bêtes citées dans la section dédiée à la vue on retrouve la tigresse. L'histoire de la tigresse dans le bestiaire est simple : afin de la tromper et de lui enlever son petit, le chasseur, représenté à cheval dans la plupart des enluminures, lui présente un miroir. Une fois son regard fixé dans ce miroir, elle oublie ses petits : « Miuz fui-je pris par mon veoir que tygre n'est au mireor, que jà ne sera tant correcié de ses faons, s'on li a emblez, que s'ele encontre un mireoir, qu'il ne li conviegne ses ieols aerdre ; et si se delite tant au remirer la grant beauté de sa bonne taille qu'ele oublie ciaus a chacier qui li ont emblés ses faons, et s'arreste iluec come prisse[35]. » Le narrateur ajoute son commentaire, où il s'affirme semblable à la bête, car lui aussi il est captif, « pris », grâce au regard. La deuxième occurrence de Narcisse dans son œuvre est beaucoup plus développée, et elle apparaît dans un poème, *Puis k'il m'estuet de ma dolor chanter* :

Puis k'il m'estuet de ma dolor chanter
Et en kantant dire ma mesestanche,
On ne doit pas ma kanchon demander
K'il i ai envoiseüre,
Ains kant selon m'aventure,

Si com chil ki ne puet merchi trouver
Et ki en soi n'a mais point de fianche.

Si com Eqo ki sert de recorder
Che k'autres dist, qant par sa sourquidanche
Ne la deigna Narchisus resgarder,
K'el sécha toute d'ardure
Fors la vois ki encor dure,
Ausi perdrai tout fors merchi crier
Et sécherai de duel et de pesanche[36].

Christopher Lucken voit dans ce poème une « synthèse exemplaire où se combinent les fantasmes de l'amour et l'exigence du chant[37] » et met en évidence l'originalité de l'approche de Fournival, car le poète sort du paradigme de la comparaison avec Narcisse et choisit de construire son discours amoureux autour de la figure d'Écho[38], longtemps négligée dans les réécritures. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet signale, à son tour, la rareté des occurrences d'Écho chez les auteurs médiévaux[39]. On peut attribuer cet intérêt à la préoccupation de Fournival pour les sens, qui font l'objet de son *Bestiaire*, mais aussi à son penchant pour l'innovation au sein d'une tradition qu'il connaît et maîtrise. Dans son prologue du *Bestiaire*, Fournival parle de deux sens, deux portes, par lesquelles on accède à la mémoire : la vue et l'ouïe. En dépit de la favorisation de la vue, l'ouïe occupe aussi une place privilégiée dans la hiérarchie des sens. Il évoque dans son *Bestiaire* une longue série d'animaux qui, par le chant ou par la voix, forment une longue métaphore filée de l'amoureux et des pièges de l'amour. Dans cette chanson, Fournival revient sur le rôle du son et de la musique dans la pratique amoureuse, mais il ajoute une dimension supplémentaire, celle de la mémoire. C'est à partir du son qu'il établit la comparaison avec Écho : tout comme le poète, qui chante son amour, la nymphe condamnée à répéter les mots des autres, de les « recorder », perdure dans la mémoire, après sa mort, grâce à sa voix. Sur ce point, Fournival s'avère, une fois de plus, un bon connaisseur d'Ovide. Chez l'auteur latin, la nature étiologique du récit s'appuie sur l'immortalité de l'écho, reprise ici : « Fors la vois ki encor dure ». L'« ardure », symptôme de la blessure infligée par Amour, consume la nymphe, mais sa voix demeure. Les similarités avec la figure de Kahédin sont des plus évidentes, car non seulement il utilise les mêmes mots, comme l'« ardure », pour décrire ses malheurs, mais il s'intéresse aussi à la mémoire et à la fonction de la poésie qui, tout comme la voix de la nymphe, préserve le souvenir

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de ses émotions. À l'indifférence de la dame aimée, qui condamne son amant, s'oppose la consolation apportée par la mémoire du chant ou de l'écriture. Cette conscience de la durée du texte est une innovation du XIIIe siècle et un témoignage supplémentaire de l'émergence de la subjectivité littéraire, telle que la décrit Michel Zink dans son étude classicisée[40]. La rime « ardure - dure » met en relief la durée de l'écho de la souffrance amoureuse et, par le biais de la comparaison, elle montre la conception du poème comme témoin durable de l'amour. La comparaison est fondée aussi sur la soumission du poète, « ki ne puet merchi trouver », à sa dame, car la chanson amoureuse est un écho de l'amour, une réponse à l'amour auquel il ne peut qu'obéir et qu'il est contraint de versifier. De la même manière, Écho, récupérée ici à partir de la source ovidienne, est condamnée à répéter les paroles d'autrui, sans être capable de maîtriser son discours. La formule sur laquelle s'ouvre le poème, « Puis k'il m'estuet de ma dolor chanter », reprend une formule répandue dans la lyrique : *m'estuet* + verbe à l'infinitif. On a vu la même formule dans le discours d'Achille : « Faire m'estuet, jo n'en sai plus, / Iço que fist danz Narcisus. » Il se dit contraint de faire ce que Narcisse avait fait, de marcher dans ses pas vers une mort identique. Le français moderne ne permet pas une traduction fidèle de cette formule qui combine le caractère impersonnel du verbe « falloir » et le caractère personnel obtenu par la formule pronominale. La formule moderne « il me faut », qui indique la nécessité, le besoin, est très éloignée de celle médiévale, qui indique une contrainte qui s'impose à la personne. L'*innamoramento* est un processus surtout visuel et Fournival le sait très bien lorsqu'il choisit de subvertir le scénario ovidien et d'explorer la figure de la nymphe et les vertus poétiques du son. Ce faisant, il met en question la figure de Narcisse et la place qu'il occupe au centre de la lyrique, tout en montrant l'épuisement d'une tradition poétique qui jetait ses derniers feux.

3. *Ad imaginem Amoris* : Narcisse et la beauté

Narcisse tombe amoureux de son image car elle est belle. En dépit des différentes versions de la réécriture, quoiqu'il pense voir un homme ou une femme, il est fasciné par la beauté de l'image. Mais que veut dire ce mot dans le cas de cet amoureux archétypal ? On va interroger quelques textes qui décrivent son image, tout en laissant de côté ceux qui se contentent de mentionner sa beauté sans offrir un portrait. Les textes de la fin du

Moyen Âge, à visée didactique, s'intéressent moins à son apparence et cherchent à offrir un discours moralisateur sur les dangers de la beauté.

(a) Un portrait atypique

Dans son étude sur le portrait au XIIe siècle, Alice Colby remarque quelques détails atypiques dans le portrait de Narcisse dans le *Lai* : « In the portrait of Narcissus, we find our one and only reference to the beauty of a candid expression in the eyes, the beauty of *les yeux simples*[41]. » Elle remarque également l'unicité de ses sourcils, qui ne s'inscrivent pas dans le canon qui juxtapose des sourcils noirs et un front blanc. Dans ce tout premier texte, où Narcisse confond son image à une image féminine, son portrait contient des traits féminins et masculins, et les verbes utilisés pour décrire sa création font penser à la création d'une sculpture. D'abord, la description commence d'une façon conventionnelle, par une référence aux proportions et à l'exceptionnalité de sa beauté :

> Gens fu de cors, grans par mesure
> Onques si bele creature
> Ne fu mais nee ne si gente[42].

Elle continue, de manière toujours typique, par une évocation de la figure de Nature, sa créatrice qui apparaît partout au XIIe siècle :

> Nature i mist toute s'entente
> Au deviser et au portraire,
> Et a grant painne le pot faire
> Tant com el en ot devisé,
> Car tant i mist de la biauté
> Q'onques ne pot rien porpenser
> K'iloeuques ne vausist mostrer[43].

Déjà, le narrateur fait mention de l'effet que sa beauté, résultat de la raison de Nature, sur les autres. Mais le caractère exceptionnel de son aspect réside dans un détail original, qui n'apparaît que dans sa description : la participation du dieu d'Amour dans sa création. Les yeux, premier élément cité, confèrent à sa beauté la force de séduction dont tomberont victimes toutes les jeunes filles et lui-même :

Primes a fait les ex rians,
Sinples et vairs, clers et luisans ;
Mais estre tot çou qu'el i fist,
Li dex d'amors du sien i mist :
Il li asist un doç regart,
Ki tot le mont esprent et art[44].

Les adjectifs utilisés pour décrire ses yeux, « rians », « vairs, clers et luisans » sont assez typiques et décrivent des yeux gris-verts et lumineux. L'adjectif « sinples » est beaucoup plus compliqué à comprendre, car il contredit l'adjectif chromatique. Le mot « vair » décrit une couleur aqueuse, aux reflets changeants. S'agirait-il d'une erreur, d'une contradiction issue d'une simple maladresse ? Il serait difficile de nous prononcer là-dessus, sachant surtout que la figure de Narcisse contient des ambiguïtés intrinsèques. Cette juxtaposition d'adjectifs pourrait montrer la double paternité de la beauté de Narcisse : la simplicité pourrait être un don de Nature, tandis que la couleur changeante pourrait indiquer l'intervention d'Amour. L'importance accordée aux yeux, qui sont mentionnés au tout début de la description, suggère plutôt une contradiction délibérée, censée signaler la beauté dangereuse du jeune homme. Tout portrait médiéval fait une mention des yeux et il serait difficile de s'imaginer que la description des yeux de Narcisse aurait été hâtive. L'intervention du Dieu d'Amour, qui met « du sien » dans les yeux du jeune homme, est plutôt immatérielle, car il ne s'agit pas d'un attribut purement physique. Il lui lègue un regard doux, qui peut brûler le monde entier. Déjà, le portrait s'était éloigné des canons, car la mesure mentionnée au début vire vers la démesure. La description est concentrée autour du visage, la seule partie qui est décrite en détail. Les contrastes offrent à cette image son caractère inhabituel :

Puis fist le nés, et puis la face,
Clere plus que cristaus ne glace
Les dens fist blances conme nois[45].

Le contraste entre le feu et la glace ou la neige signale, une fois de plus, l'ambiguïté de ce portrait, auquel s'ajoute une nuance sensuelle lors de la description de la bouche, un autre élément plein de « douceur », dans la création duquel se mêle le dieu d'Amour :

Les levres joint en itel guise
C'un poi i laisa d'ouverture,
Tout par raison et par droiture.
Et quant ele ot fete la bouce,
Amors une douçor i touche :
Femme qui une fois la sent,
De s'amor alume et esprent[46].

À la légère ouverture des lèvres, typique aux portraits féminins, s'ajoute la douceur de la bouche, offerte par Amour. L'image évoquée par le verbe la rend plus sensuelle encore, car Amour lui ajoute cette douceur en la touchant. Littéralement, il la touche avec douceur : le vers est très ambigu, car on peut comprendre qu'il décrit le geste plein de douceur mais aussi qu'il lui offre cette douceur par le biais du toucher. Les yeux et la bouche reviennent plus tard dans la lamentation de Dané : « Ques ex, quel bouce por baisier! » (v. 287), s'exclame-t-elle. Ce discours aux nuances sensuelles tourne vers un discours plutôt technique :

Aprés li forma le menton,
Et de totes pars environ
Li vait polissant a sa main,
Tant qu'el l'a fait soëf et plain[47].

Le verbe qui décrit la création et la finesse du menton provient du vocabulaire de la sculpture. La peinture est elle aussi évoquée à travers des éléments chromatiques :

Quant tot a fait a son creant,
Par le vïaire li espant
Et par la face qu'il ot tainte,
Une color qui pas n'est fainte,
Ki ne cange ne ne se muet :
Tant ne fait bel ne tant ne pleut,
Ne se desfait en nule fin ;
Tes est au soir com au matin,
Mesleement blance et vermeille[48].

Amour agit en peintre, il « espant », il répandit sur le visage qu'il a peint, « tainte », une couleur qui n'est pas fausse. Comment comprendre cet ajout ? Il s'agit, probablement, d'une allusion au mythe de Pygmalion,

qui tombe amoureux de sa création et demande à Venus de l'animer. Dans ce portrait, cet adjectif sert à signaler l'animation de la création d'Amour. Le vers suivant sert à montrer qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une couleur ordinaire, tout comme l'image n'est pas ordinaire, car cette couleur, couleur de la vie, ne perd pas son éclat et n'est pas affectée par la pluie ou par le soleil. On peut songer aux couleurs qui animaient les sculptures des églises romanes, aujourd'hui blanchies. Le portrait finit sur deux couleurs typiques, le blanc et le rouge, chargées ici d'une signification supplémentaire, car elles sont censées indiquer la vitalité de la figure. Le dieu d'Amour contemple sa création qu'il trouve sans faille et la prochaine séquence du texte évoque l'image du jeune chasseur et son innocence érotique. Vers la fin du récit, lorsque Narcisse s'était rendu compte que l'image qu'il aimait était la sienne, il déplore sa mort de la manière suivante :

> Vos, camp, vous, pré de ci entor,
> Por Diu, esgardés ma dolor !
> Plaigniés mon cors et ma biauté[49].

Sa beauté est évoquée comme valeur dans ces vers qui font écho à la poésie lyrique, où la dame est décrite à travers sa beauté. Dans cette première réécriture, l'orgueil de Narcisse est ombragé par sa grande beauté qui le définit et le conduit à sa mort, mais il n'est jamais question d'une condamnation de la beauté que le jeune homme incarne. L'exemplarité de sa beauté est reprise par deux romans du XIIe siècle. Dans le premier texte, *Cligès,* Narcisse sert de modèle de beauté, mais aussi de « po savoir », et lorsqu'il esquisse le portrait de Cligès, le narrateur parle du déséquilibre entre la grande beauté de Narcisse et son peu de savoir. Il n'oublie pas d'ajouter que la beauté de Cligès, doublée par sa raison, dépasse celle de Narcisse, tout comme la valeur de l'or dépasse celle du cuivre :

> Plus estoit biaus et avenanz
> Que Narcisus, qui desoz l'orme
> Vit an la fontaine sa forme,
> Si l'ama tant, quant il la vit,
> Qu'il an fu morz, si com an dit,
> Por tant qu'il ne la pot avoir.
> Moût ot biauté et po savoir ;
> Mes Cligés an ot plus grant masse,
> Tant con fins ors le coivre passe
> Et plus que je ne di ancor[50].

L'exemplarité de sa beauté est reprise dans le *Roman d'Alexandre* d'Alexandre Paris. Dans la branche III du roman, deux pucelles de la reine des Amazones évoquent la figure de Narcisse, dont parlent « li auctor ». Dans leur introduction à l'édition du *Lai de Narcisse*, Martine Thiry-Stassin et Madeleine Tyssens voient dans cette mention une allusion à une source médiévale perdue, qui aurait précédé le *Lai* : « il n'est donc pas impossible qu'il ait existé un *lai de Narcisse* différent du poème que nous éditons[51]. » Jusqu'au présent, l'hypothèse n'a pas été vérifiée. Narcisse est une figure placée dans un passé lointain, définie par sa beauté qui a une grande valeur et qui est la source de son mépris pour les pucelles :

> Chantent une chançon o son de grant douçor
> D'un vallet qui ja fu, ce content li auctor,
> Onques tant bel ne virent trestout nostre ancisor ;
> Por ce que de biauté avoit si grant valor,
> Amer nule pucele de degna par amor[52].

Le fait que la figure de Narcisse apparaît dans une chanson n'est pas dépourvu d'importance, car il montre une fois de plus sa nature lyrique. Tout aussi importante est la causalité qui s'établit entre la beauté du jeune homme et son attitude envers les jeunes femmes. Elle ouvre la voie vers la condamnation de la beauté, liée à l'orgueil dont le *jovencel* se fait coupable dans les textes suivants.

(b) Une beauté « por cuers atraire »

Au milieu du XIIIe siècle, Robert de Blois affiche une attitude ambivalente par rapport à la beauté. Lorsqu'il écrit l'histoire de la mère de Narcisse, Lyriopé, il lui imprime une direction claire :

> Or m'estuet de beauté parler,
> Que blasmer le vuil et louer.
> De l'un et de l'autre dirai
> Reison selonc ce que je sai.
> L'orgoil voil je sans espernier
> Forment blasmer por chestïer.
> Mais a totes les dames pri
> Ençoiz, et je por bien lor di,
> Que ne se vuillent corrocier,
> Quar ço c'on dit por chestïer,

Ne doit on pas en mal torner
Ne je n'en vuil nule nommer[53].

L'histoire s'ouvre sur un dévoilement de l'*intentio*, « de beauté parler », une beauté qu'il va blâmer et louer. Dans ces deux premiers vers, il imprime au récit des enjeux didactiques. Ensuite, il vitupère contre l'orgueil, qu'il associe à la beauté, mais demande pardon aux dames qui pourraient se fâcher contre lui. Une fois de plus, le discours sur Narcisse, lorsqu'il vire vers la moralisation, s'adresse au public féminin, traditionnellement associé à la vanité et à l'orgueil. Ce prologue s'achève sur une note comique, car le narrateur assure les dames qu'il ne va pas les nommer. La tonalité du texte redevient sérieuse et la voix du narrateur devient celle d'un prédicateur, lorsqu'il s'attaque à la beauté vaine et passagère :

Beautez dechiet, beautez debrise,
Granz beautez est molt tost faillie
Par povreté, par maladie,
Et par lonc deul a cuer avoir
Voit on grant beauté dechaoir[54].

Il reste, pourtant, fidèle à l'ambivalence qu'il avait annoncée au début du récit : il loue la beauté accompagnée par d'autres vertus, qu'il compare à une fleur dont l'odeur enrichit la beauté du coloris. Mais, à la fin du prologue, il avertit le lecteur que son récit portera sur la mauvaise beauté, que l'orgueil « trop envillist » (v.100). Le portrait de Lyriopé reprend, en grandes lignes, celui de son fils, dans le *Lai*. Elle a le même regard doux, les mêmes yeux « vairs », et une beauté attirante : « Totes biautez furent por plaire,/ Mais ceste fu por cuers atraire. » (v. 217-218). Malheureusement, elle est dépourvue d'humilité, et à cause de ce défaut et va se montrer médisante envers les autres et de refuser le mariage. Telle mère, tel fils : elle sera punie pour son orgueil, qui est constamment associé à sa beauté, et son destin ne fait qu'anticiper celui de son fils, qui s'inscrit dans un lignage condamné. Lors de la naissance de Narcisse, « Qui tant estoit de beauté pure » (v.1370), il est nommé le Beau Narcisse. Le récit s'achève sur la mort du jeune homme qui perd sa beauté à cause de sa douleur : « Tote sa force li est tresalee,/ De beauté n'i remaint donree. » (vv.1740-1741) Les deux derniers vers reviennent sur les dangers de l'orgueil : « He, orgoil, honis soies tu ;/ Maint mal sont par toi avenu. » (vv.1759-1760)

À partir de ce moment-là, Narcisse n'est plus le *fin amant* de la lyrique courtoise. Il devient une figure de la beauté et de la vanité, et il le reste jusqu'à la fin du XVe siècle. L'*Ovide moralisé*, long traité didactique du XIVe siècle, est typique pour les réécritures du mythe à la fin de l'époque médiévale. L'ambivalence de Robert de Blois, qui parle de deux hypostases de la beauté, est remplacée par un discours univoque :

> Biauté mondaine petit vault,
> Qui si poi dure et si tost fault,
> Et met maint a perdicion
> Par lor foie presumption,
> Dont il perdent le cors et l'ame[55].

Nous sommes bel et bien à l'époque de la Danse Macabre, où la beauté perd son statut de valeur et devient une qualité passagère et une source de l'orgueil. Evrart de Conty, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, Christine de Pizan et Jacques Legrand tomberont tous d'accord avec la leçon de l'*Ovide moralisé* et utiliseront, la figure de Narcisse afin d'illustrer les dangers de la beauté. Dans le dernier texte médiéval français où il apparaît, Narcisse sera condamné aux enfers par le frère augustinien Jacques Legrand :

> Orgueil
>
> Narcisus desprisoit pour sa beauté toutes pucelles et nimphes, mais Echo l'ensuivoit pour son amour avoir, mais il la fuioit ; et finalement lassé, il but de la fontaine, en laquelle, voiant son ombre, fut si ravi de sa beauté que il peri, et son corps fut mué en fleur, et son ame descendi en enfer[56].

Exit le souvenir du *fin amant*, cultivé par la lyrique courtoise. Si la figure poétique de Narcisse s'était avérée incompatible avec la narration, sa carrière dans la littérature médiévale s'achève sous la plume des moralistes.

NOTES

1   *Lai de Narcisse,* dans *Pyrame et Thisbé, Narcisse, Philomena. Trois contes français du XIIe siècle*, trad. fr. Emmanuèle Baumgartner, Gallimard, Paris, vv. 52-53.

2   *Façonner son personnage au Moyen Age - Actes du 31e colloque du CUER MA, 9, 10 et 11 mars 2006*, éd. Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, Presses Universitaires de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, 2007.

3   *Jeu de Narcisse*, in Alfons Hilka, « Das mittelfranzösische Narcissusspiel *(L'istoire de Narcisus et de Echo)* », in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 56 : 3, 1936, p. 275-321, vv.259-264.

4   Christian Veilleux, « Narcisse chasseur : jeu d'échos du motif cynégétique dans l'Epistre Othea de Christine de Pizan », in *Memini* [En ligne], n° 21 | 2017, mis en ligne le 26 mars 2017.

5   *Jeu…op. cit.*, vv.787-789.

6   *Ibid.*, vv.897-981.

7   Ovide, *Métamorphoses. Livre III*, trad. et notes de A.-M. Boxus et J. Poucet, Bruxelles, 2006, v.3415.

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9   *Ibid.,* vv.1480-1485.

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12 Jean Frappier, « Variations sur le thème du miroir, de Bernard de Ventadour à Maurice Scève », in *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, n° 11, 1959, p. 134-158.

13 Christopher Lucken, « L'écho du poème », in *Par la vue et par l'ouïe : littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, éd. Michèle Gally et Michel Jourde, ENS Éditions, Fontenay/Saint-Cloud, 1999, p. 30.

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15 Jane Gilbert, « "I Am Not He": Narcissus and Ironic Performativity in Medieval French Literature », in *The Modern Language Review*, n° 4, 2005, p. 941.

16 Sarah Kay, « Love in a Mirror: An Aspect of The Imagery of Bernart de Ventadorn », in *Medium Ævum*, vol. 52, n° 2, 1983, p. 272-285.

17 *Can vei la lauzeta mover,* in Moshé Lazar, éd., *Bernard de Ventadour, troubadour du XIIe siècle : Chansons d'amour,* Bibliothèque Française et Romane, B, 4, Klincksieck, Paris,1966, n° 31.

[18] *Peirol, Troubadour of Auvergne*, éd. S. C. Aston, Cambridge University Press, 1953.

[19] *Peirol…op. cit.*, vv. 15-21, p. 93-94.

[20] Andreas Capellanus, *De amore libri tres*, éd. E. Trojel, Copenhague, 1892.

[21] *The lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne*, éd. et trad. Kathleen J. Brahney, New York, Garland, 1989, p. 32-33, vv.33-40.

[22] Raoul de Soissons, *Rois de Navare et sires de Vertu,* in *Die Lieder Raouls von Soissons herausgegeben* von Emil Winkler, Halle a. S., Niemeyer, 1914.

[23]   Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, « Fontaines dangereuses, fontaines amoureuses, un lieu poétique de la littérature médiévale », in *Cuadernos del CEMYR*, nᵒ 18, 2010, p. 57-66.

[24] *Le Roman de Tristan en Prose, Tome I, Des aventures de Lancelot à la fin de la* « Folie Tristan », éd. Philippe Ménard, Droz, Genève, 1987, p. 168.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

[33] Roberto Crespo, « Jehan de Grieviler e Narciso », in *Neophilologus*, vol. 71, nᵒ 3, 1987, p. 467–469.

[34] Jehan de Grieviler, *Jeu-parti,* in *Recueil général des jeux-partis français*, publié par A. Langfors avec le concours de A. Jeanroy et L. Brandin, II, Libairie Ancienne Edouard Champion, Paris, 1926, p. 5-8, vv.41-48.

[35] *Le bestiaire d'amour par Richard Fournival suivi de la Réponse de la dame*, publ. pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque impériale, par C. Hippeau, Paris, 1860, p. 22.

[36] *Chanson XIII*, in *L'œuvre lyrique de Richard de Fournival*, Édition critique par Yvan G. Lepage, Ottawa, Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, « Publications médiévales de l'Université d'Ottawa / University of Ottawa Mediaeval Texts and Studies », nᵒ 7, 1981.

[37] Christopher Lucken, *art. cit.*, p. 47.

[38] *Cf.* Friedrich Wolfzettel, « Au carrefour des discours lyriques. Le trouvère Richard de Fournival », in *Romania*, tome 115, nᵒ 457-458, 1997, p. 50-68.

[39] Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, « Écho et Sibylle, la voix féminine au Moyen Âge : entre affirmation et extinction », in *Revue Équinoxe, Le genre de la voix,* éd. S. Bahar, A. Fidecaro et Y. Foehr-Janssens nᵒ 23, 2002, p. 84.

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41   Alice M. Colby, *The Portrait in Twelfth-Century French Literature. An example of the stylistic originality of Chrétien de Troyes*, Librairie Droz, Genève, 1965, p. 43.
42   *Lai…op. cit.*, vv.61-63.
43   *Lai…op. cit.*, vv.64-70.
44   *Lai…op. cit.*, vv.71-76.
45   *Lai…op. cit.*, vv.77-79.
46   *Lai…op. cit.*, vv.82-88.
47   *Lai…op. cit.*, vv.89-92.
48   *Lai…op. cit.*, vv.97-105.
49   *Lai…op. cit.*, vv.875-877.
50   *Cligés*, in *Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes édités d'après la copie de Guiot (Bibl. nat. n. 794)*, publié par Alexandre Micha, Champion (Les classiques français du Moyen Âge, 84), Paris, 1957, vv.2726-2735.
51   *Narcisse. Conte ovidien du XIIe siècle*, éd. Martine Thiry-Stassin et Madeleine Tyssens, Belles Lettres, Paris, 1976, p. 74.
52   *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre*, vol. 2, Version of Alexandre de Paris, éd. Edward C Armstrong; Douglas Labaree Buffum; Bateman Edwards, New York, Kraus, 1965, vv.7452-7456.
53   Robert de Blois, *Floris et Lyriopé*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Dr Jacob Ulrich, Berlin, Mayer und Müller, 1881-1895, vv.1-13.
54   *Ibid.*, vv.46-50.
55   *Ovide moralisé*, éd. C. de Boer, 5 vol., Amsterdam, 1915-1936, t. I, liv. III., vv.1865-1869.
56   Jacques Legrand, *Archiloge Sophie et Livre des Bonnes Meurs*, édition critique avec introduction, notes et index par Evencio Beltran, Honoré Champion, Paris, 1986, p. 161.

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RELIGIOUS IMAGINATION AND IMMIGRATION IN SPINOZA'S POLITICAL TREATISE

Abstract

What does Spinoza tell us about immigration, and how does this connect to the fundamental tenets of his philosophy? In this article, I will argue that the striving for collective liberation that guides Spinoza's political philosophy is based on an inclusive impetus favourable to the welcoming and integration of migrants, and that the laws and institutions that facilitate this objective can gain the support of the people if their imagination is governed by the precepts of "true religion". Furthermore, I will argued that Christ-inspired religious imagination is most likely to promote the goal of peace, safety and harmony among the options considered by Spinoza. This will help us better understand the many continuities between the TTP and TP on the role of religion, as well as highlight the difference marked by Spinoza's focus on *charitas* as a universal value and abandonment of *justitia* as an integral part of the essence of true religion.

Keywords: Spinoza, Immigration, Religion, Affects, Justice, Charity

Spinoza is often seen as one of the champions of the process of secularization in 17th Century Europe. His sharp critique of religion and of the interference of theologians in political matters has been famous, or notorious - depending on the side one takes - , ever since the publication of the *Theological Political Treatise* (henceforth TTP) in 1670. While religion suffers a significant epistemic downgrade when Spinoza claims that it cannot offer adequate knowledge, it does play a part in the political project formulated in the TTP. Given the exclusively political focus of Spinoza's later, and unfinished, Political Treatise (henceforth TP), we may wonder whether there is any significant role left for religion in this work.

Does religion play little part in the constitution of an ideal commonwealth in the TP? Is this yet another difference from the early TTP that we should add to those already discussed in the literature? In this paper I will argue that, despite appearances, religious imagination

and its proper employment through political institutions play a vital part even in Spinoza's late political philosophy, and that this helps us better appreciate the nature of the connections between the TTP and the TP. I will argue for this thesis starting from Spinoza's (albeit brief) discussion of a major political question of his own time, viz. that concerning the integration of immigrants to the United Provinces. This not only helps better contextualise Spinoza's philosophy, but also indicates how he can still be relevant to us today given the many debates on immigration we hear on an almost daily basis (unfortunately, the limits of a single paper make it impossible to discuss this second theme here).

In order to substantiate this thesis, I will outline in the first section the major characteristics of Spinoza's political philosophy as well as the place religion finds in his thinking in the early TTP. In the second section, I will present some of the challenges that immigration had presented to the young Dutch republic of the 17th Century, and discuss what Spinoza tells us about this question in the TP. In the second and third sections, I will argue that the inclusive nature of the state that Spinoza advocates requires setting up laws and institutions that accommodate migrants as long as they submit to the civil order of the state, and that a Christ-inspired religious imagination is a privileged way to persuade the populace to endorse these laws and institutions. The arguments of the last section focus on the continuities and differences between Spinoza's treatment of religion in the TTP and the TP.

Rosenthal has argued that religious imagination, according to the TTP, can be useful when used to produce states of affairs, i.e. a civil order, in agreement with some of our true, rational ideas. Those who do not have adequate knowledge can be governed, to their own benefit, using the passions of fear and wonder that religious imagination fuels. Religion, once stripped of its metaphysical claims, can have an important political function (Rosenthal 2010, p. 233, 247). My thesis is that, if we consider later developments in Spinoza's political philosophy in the TP, especially when focusing on the question of how a state deals with foreigners, we can observe that a) religion does not have to fuel solely, or primarily, disempowering affects such as fear and wonder, based on "ideas that are literally false" (Rosenthal 2010, p. 247), in order to be beneficial to the political order; and b) this politically empowering function of religion is best served by a religious imagination inspired by Christ's teachings.[1]

There is something of an exegetical puzzle in trying to clarify the reasons for Spinoza's respectful approach to the Christian New Testament,

especially when compared to his sharp criticism of the Hebrew Scripture. While Spinoza is dismissive of much of the latter, he writes many positive things about Jesus, Paul and the New Testament as a whole. This difficulty is compounded by Spinoza's clear awareness that Christianity can be a grave threat to civil peace due to its influence on secular powers. Two often invoked reasons to explain this approach are Spinoza's self-confessed lack of competence in Greek (although this does not stop Spinoza from writing many things about the New Testament) and his awareness that he cannot alienate his powerful Christian readers if he is to avoid persecution (Nadler 2011, pp. 157, 170-2). While this latter motivation is no doubt formidable, I want to argue that there are also more philosophical reasons for Spinoza's positive take on Christ-inspired teachings. Their value stems from the kind of sensibility they engender within the community, i.e. an openness to universal doctrines that are in principle available to all humankind and that predispose us towards ethically beneficial behavior for all, regardless of specific circumstances. If employed judiciously, the kind of religious imagination formed by Christ's teachings can overcome some of the limitations inherent in the teachings of the prophets and be of great use to collective empowerment. We are in a good position to understand the potential of these teachings when we consider the question of how best to ground, in the collective imagination, the kind of inclusive policy on foreigners and immigrants that Spinoza puts forward.

I. Spinoza's Political Philosophy and the Place of Religion

The main problem of Spinoza's political philosophy is not the form that the civil state should take, but rather liberation (Negri 1991, p. 220). The aim of Spinoza's political philosophy is twofold: to explain the constitution[2] of the body politic in terms of power, rather than by appeal to transcendent norms and causes (Balibar 1998, p. 66);[3] and to discuss the best way to promote empowerment or liberation through politics.[4] In the sphere of the political, liberation must be understood, in the first instance, as emancipation from various forms of domination (Balibar 1998, pp. 1-2). Oppression is brought about by various cases of theological and secular authorities who act in the name of theological values.[5] The transcendent model of what the State ought to be,[6] together with moralizing interpretations of human behaviour[7] (TP I 1), are impediments to the empowerment of individuals, and, ultimately, of the state.

Adherence to supposedly universal and absolute values does not do justice to the individuality of human beings, i.e. the specific, unique structures and powers to act and be acted upon each body, as well as of each mind. Rather, the goal that transcendent values serve is the preservation of the power of theologians (Balibar, 1998, pp. 7-8). Their domination, manifested in the condemnation of vices, not the promotion of virtues, makes them hateful to other human beings (EIVp63s), and the detrimental effects of theologically-inspired oppression are amplified by the fanaticism[8] of theologians. We can therefore understand the importance of historical analysis[9] for Spinoza's politics: he is interested in exposing, in order to undermine, the various historical manifestations of metaphysical and theological illusions and their practical effects (Negri 1991, pp. 120-1).

The difficulties that an account of the constitution of the civil state must face revolve around the fact that the horizon of the state is the horizon of war (Negri 1991, p. 200). If humans were to live according to reason, then Spinoza claims they would live in agreement (*conveniunt*) (EIVp35). However, this is not the case because humans are guided by their passions (TP I 5), and humans necessarily differ with regard to their passions (EIVp32). The civil state must develop institutions that are capable of directing the ineradicable inter-human conflict towards empowerment in the best way possible (TP I 4, 6). Political institutions can and do facilitate individual empowerment, and they must be suitable for individuals who act from the first kind of knowledge, i.e. imagination,[10] knowledge that offers no guarantee of truth or adequacy. The constitution of the body politic cannot be predicated on the fictitious assumption that all humans possess adequate knowledge.[11]

The distinction between imagination and adequate knowledge is a locus classicus of Spinoza's philosophy, and we can only sketch the difference here. Adequate knowledge is always and necessarily true knowledge of causes and consists in either knowledge of common notions or in intellectual intuition, while imagination can at best offer what Spinoza calls moral certainty and always remains fallible. Imagination is based on our everyday, mutilated and confused experience of things in the world and consists in our ideas of these things, the signs by which we refer to, organize and communicate them, our passions and desires that shape our experiences and actions, as well as various informal modes of reasoning. Imagination is built on our experience of particulars and is determined by one's own history. It can lead to deleterious social practices, as seen in the Dutch Reformed Church that Spinoza criticizes, but can also

be productive by stimulating comparatively harmonious, if not ideal, behaviour within communities (EIIp40s2; cf. James 2010, p. 253; 255-6; 2012, pp. 30-1). The beneficial effects of imagination can be observed both on the individual and the communal levels. According to EIIIp6dem the conatus is always resisting external influences that are trying to supress it. The various strategies of resistance include the development of language which, even though based on signs stemming from imperfect knowledge, is nonetheless instrumental in directing potentially beneficial communal agency. Furthermore, memory and habit can, to a certain extent, prove trustworthy guides for action (see Bove 1996, p.15).

Spinoza's attempt in the TTP to elucidate the nature of the politico-theological complex is, largely, the study of the role imagination, especially in its religious incarnation, plays in the body politic. Religious imagination is at the core of the commonwealth Spinoza discusses first and foremost, namely the Hebrew state. In a famous argument, Spinoza claims that prophets are not characterised by an exceptional intellect or ability to reason, but that they possess very vivid imaginations that help them communicate their moral insights. This is particularly helpful given the nature of their audience, which is not composed of scholars, but of all members of society (TTP I 27-9; V 15-18 inter alia). The Hebrew people have been, according to Spinoza, led by their imagination in founding their state and, famously, in their belief that their state is a theocracy, i.e. God is their sovereign. Moses, who was considered to be God's interpreter among them, gave them the laws that defined the constitution of the Jewish state (TTP XVII 8,9).

Spinoza argues that we cannot expect that most people will have a philosophical understanding of God, such as he later puts forward in the Ethics. The large majority in any society will form their ideas using their imagination and so will be inclined to form various religious beliefs. While he argues that we can encounter throughout history many cases in which the theologians have abused their power over collective imaginations and have usurped political power, there is nevertheless a way to use religion for the good of the community. This depends on understanding the true nature of the religious message, as Spinoza believes to have found it in the Bible, as well as on its judicious use under civil authority. The divine law, which prescribes what one ought to do in order to obtain the "supreme good", commands that we know and love God and that we love our neighbour as ourselves. In order to clarify this imperative, Spinoza argues that we should model our moral practice on our knowledge of

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God's divine justice and charity. The fact that this practice is not based on true or adequate understanding of God does not diminish its practical benefits: the accessible and colourful religious narratives that sustain it find a highly useful place in society (Nadler 2011, pp. 147, 154). The essence of 'true religion' consists in obedience to the authority and in practicing *justitia* and *charitas*. Taking an idea (produced by the imagination) of God as model, one who practices true religion will be just and will practice loving kindness towards others.

This detailed discussion of the interplay between imagination and religion, and of its historical incarnations, disappears from Spinoza's later TP. While the critique of the deleterious influence of theologians and of politicians who employ religious illusions for their personal advantage is still present, this is one change among the many that commentators have noted between the early and the late political works. Spinoza moves away from the language of the social contract (Balibar 1998, pp. 50-1) and gives us the opportunity to consider an analysis of the power and potential for liberation of the multitude under the attribute of extension. Spinoza's political philosophy in this late period can be aptly described with the phrases "political physics" (Negri 1991, p. 194) or "physics of social relations" (Negri 1991, p. 109), with a view to developing a strategy of collective liberation guided by the motto: "as many as possible, thinking as much as possible"[12] (Balibar 1998, p. 98). While in the TTP Spinoza discusses only democracy among various forms of government, considering it to be the best, the TP provides systematic discussions of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, the latter being unfortunately unfinished. Being guided by the celebrated methodological principle "non ridere, non lugere, neque detestari, sed intelligere", Spinoza strives to study the constitution of states as one would study natural phenomena (TP I 4).

> The best way to organise a state is easily discovered by considering the purpose of order, which is nothing other than peace and security of life. Therefore, the best state is one where men live together in harmony and where the laws are preserved unbroken. (TP V 2)

Humans are naturally inclined to form societies because they are driven by passions and are guided to form a civil order either by a common hope, desire or by common fear[13] (TP VI 1). A disturbance in the commonwealth can lead to a change in its form, but never to the complete dissolution of political society (TP VI 2). The task of political theory is to find the best way to

organise the commonwealth. Peace and safety, the two-main characteristic of a well-functioning commonwealth, are indispensable conditions for human flourishing. They constitute the conditions of possibility for beneficial encounters that can increase one's power to act. Spinoza is careful to highlight, in a number of places, that peace should not be understood merely as the absence of war, but in a much stronger sense, as the "strength" (TP V 4) and "union or harmony of minds" (TP VI 4).

Humans are inconstant and are led more often by superstition and fear than by sound judgement. This means that the law-makers need to implement a rational strategy that empowers the body politic and, by consequence, its members. This is accomplished by formulating and enforcing good laws that ensure humans "either voluntarily or constrained by force or necessity, […] will all live as reason prescribes" (TP VI 3). Spinoza's argument is that human nature cannot be trusted to be virtuous, i.e. to be constant in the pursuit of common welfare and by consequence of its own good. To entrust the proper functioning of the state to "the good faith of any man" (TP VI 3) is naïve, because it does not take into account the inevitable lapses in good judgement or in virtuous action that the finite, imperfect nature of humans necessarily entails. The best strategy is to set up sound laws and institutions.[14] Sedition, wars, contempt or breach of laws must be imputed to the bad state of the body politic rather than to humans and, conversely, virtues should be ascribed in the main to the virtue of the state (TP V 3, 4).[15]

The individual pursuit of empowerment is always best pursued in society (EIVp73). Spinoza's ethics and politics are geared towards demonstrating that the greatest good of an individual can be realised only within the framework of the search for the common good. The greatest good (to know God) is common to all and can be possessed by all equally (EIVp36), and there is no opposition, only perfect agreement, between the rational pursuit of my good and helping others (EIVp37; cf. Jaquet 2005, pp. 297-8). Human beings do not exist and cannot be understood in isolation. The subject is constituted by its outside, and the subject's power will always be outmatched by external things. This is why it is important to ensure, as much as possible, that the interactions of the subject with its environment are not to its detriment (TP II 21). The body politic is in a privileged position to do so, since its power far outweighs that of single individuals (TP II 13). For human beings, the advantages of living in a society that encourages useful encounters[16] are twofold: it provides the body with the resources it needs in order to maintain itself, function

properly and so act and be acted on in a great number of ways; and humans can observe things and so both gain "experience and knowledge" of them and alter them to their advantage (EIVapp XXVII). The wise man will therefore be freer in society than in isolation (EIVp73) and will strive to promote the preservation and empowerment of the state. He will also strive to make others understand and act according to reason (EIVp37dem), because nothing is more useful to a human than another human, i.e. a rational person: "man is a God to man" (EIVp35cor1 and scholium).

II. A Case-Study in Dutch History: Immigration and Integration in the United Provinces

Following its successful rebellion in the 16th Century against the kingdom of Spain, the Seven United Provinces acted as a magnet for various waves of immigrants: Southern-Netherlanders who refused to be governed by Catholic Spain, Jews persecuted for their religion, the Huguenots who were driven from France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. One of the main reasons for the attraction that the United Provinces exercised on these various groups was the celebrated Dutch tolerance, sanctioned in the Union of Utrecht of 1579, which allowed people freedom of belief and, very often, freedom of expression. Even if the situation in the United Provinces was substantially better than in the rest of Western Europe, religious controversies were still a part of everyday reality and had the potential to destabilise society. Arguably the most famous and influential split was between the followers of Jacob Arminius (the Remonstrants), and the orthodox Calvinists or Counter-Remonstrants, led by figures such as Gomarius and Voetius (James 2012, pp. 141, 292). The religious divide had political consequences, with the Arminians close to the republican States General and their leaders, most notably Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, and the Counter-Remonstrants allied to the Prince of Orange, who served as Stadtholder and would often have monarchic ambitions.

One of the many distinctive features of the Untied Province in this period was the nature of their elaborate, orderly, well-equipped and secular charitable institutions. Whereas in the rest of Europe orphanages or asylums were often organised and financed by the Church, whether Catholic or Protestant, in the Netherlands it was the town councils that were in charge. This entailed a lessening of the power of the public Calvinist Church compared to other parts of Europe, and was a state

of affairs guarded jealously by city councils. While the public Church would often be co-opted in administering charity, other Churches would also be called upon. Because towns were responsible for the care of the various groups of poor within their respective territories, it was natural for them to give priority to those who had resided within the city for a long time or were born in it. Unfortunately for economically impoverished immigrants, this meant that they were excluded from the benefits that cities would grant their own poor. This entailed discrimination in favour of the pre-1585 native population over immigrants from Flanders, Brabant or Wallon who were adherents to the Reformed Church. Many of them had migrated to the United Provinces precisely because they were Calvinists and had been persecuted for their faith in the Spanish Netherlands. Not only did the system in place not sufficiently ease their economic burden, it generated dissatisfaction with civic regimes and strengthened adherence to the Reformed Church (Israel 1995, pp. 353-5, 359). In other words, the stage was set for the kind of civil unrest Spinoza warns against, and that makes itself manifest in Dutch history especially in the crisis years of 1618, 1648 and 1672.[17]

Throughout the TP, Spinoza provides us with a number of clues as to his views on immigration and its potential benefits and disadvantages. In Chapter VIII section 12, he discusses it in the context of his account of why societies transform from democracies to aristocracies and finally to monarchies. This matters because Spinoza prefers democracy (the most absolute form of government, cf. TTP XVI 10-11 and TP VIII 3 III/325/26-27), and finds aristocracy second best: these transformations, therefore, map a decay in the power of the state. Spinoza begins by stating that most aristocracies start by being democracies, when a multitude founds a commonwealth by finding a new place to live. People share equal rights, but do not think it fair that others, who have joined later, should enjoy them too, because the foreigners had not contributed with their labour and blood to the maintenance of the Commonwealth. Foreigners are happy with this circumstance as long as they enjoy security for their private affairs (perhaps an allusion to the Sephardic Jewish community in the Netherlands), and in the course of time become indistinguishable from the native inhabitants except for the rights they do not enjoy. While the number of immigrants rises, that of citizens may diminish due to various circumstances, and so the more powerful among the original inhabitants reduce the rule of the country to just a few, and finally to only one. Spinoza claims that there are more factors that enable this process of decay, but it is significant that

he chooses to mention only one. A remedy for this deleterious course of events is to grant citizenship to immigrants, and so keep the population at a sufficiently large number. This should be sufficient to stop the ambition of the few who find themselves unopposed and who share a great power only among themselves. This is indeed what we find Spinoza suggesting in another important passage, and one which shows not just the way in which welcoming immigrants might put off the decay of the state, but also the direct way in which it can benefit the commonwealth.

In paragraph 32 from Chapter VI (On Monarchy), Spinoza argues for an inclusive society in which the children of a citizen with a foreigner would be automatically counted as citizens and in which foreigners who are born and brought up in the state can buy their citizenship. To show his lenience, which he shares with Machiavelli (Discourses II 3), Spinoza argues that even if citizens pay less than the established price due to the corruption of the rulers "no harm can come to the state from that". Quite to the contrary, an increase in the number of the citizen body can be of great advantage to a commonwealth. While we need to acknowledge that this argument is put forward in a chapter written about a well-organised monarchy, a less perfect form of government than a well-run democracy, I submit that we still have good reasons to believe that there is nothing in the nature of a democracy that would alter this reasoning. Given "that nothing is more useful to man than man" and that the greater number of humans that act together, the greater the power of the state, it is in the logic of Spinoza's thinking to be well disposed toward migrants. This suggestion gains strength from Spinoza's claim in TP VII 23, where he claims that the line of reasoning about immigration presented in this section is so evident that it "can be known without argument". While the text refers to those who are born in the country, but do not have citizenship, we may ask whether the criterion of birth is indeed such that it a priori excludes all those who do not fulfil it from gaining the status of citizen. Given the overarching inclusive impetus behind Spinoza's thinking, it is hard to see why this would be the case as long as the immigrants live by the laws of the Commonwealth. A well organised commonwealth would then be tolerant of immigrants and strive to integrate them.

A critic may object, however, that there are instances in the TP when Spinoza does not seem to endorse the inclusive attitude described above. In chapter VIII, for instance, the Dutch thinker asks how an aristocratic commonwealth can be organised in order to last (TP VIII 1 III 323/20) and have the greatest power possible (TP VIII 4 III/326/1-5). By aristocratic rule

he understands a regime in which only "certain selected men rule" (TP VIII 1 III 323/24-5) and argues that the number of individuals selected needs to be sufficiently large in order for power not to end up concentrated in the hands of a very few: the ratio of Patricians to the general population should be about 1 to 50 (TP VIII 14 III/330/4). Spinoza argues that even if power is not hereditary it will inevitably be handed down to the sons and blood-relatives of the Patricians, but that it is impossible to prevent this by law, nor is it desirable (TP VIII 14 III/330/21-25). The aim of an aristocratic regime is not to promote equality among all inhabitants, but to preserve the form of the state. Therefore, not excluding inhabitants from acquiring power *de jure* is sufficient, even though *de facto* any empowerment of non-Patricians is unlikely. In the text just referenced (TP VIII 13 III/330/21-25), individuals not born in the state can be excluded a priori from access to offices (among other groups, such as those who do not use the native language, have a foreign wife, are disreputable or servile, and make their living in some servile occupation). Furthermore, in the case of military service, even the non-patrician native population "ought to be regarded as just like foreigners" when brought into the military (TP VIII 9 III/330/13). How can these texts be made to fit any supposedly favourable attitude towards migrants?

In order to address this challenge, we first need to discuss the premises of Spinoza's arguments: he wants to explain how the aristocratic system can last and be stable, but he also concedes that this is not the strongest, or "most absolute" form of government. In other words, the policies that work best in order to set up a solid aristocratic regime are not necessarily the best possible ones in order to empower a state. The only absolute rule is, after all, "the rule which occurs when the whole multitude rules", not just a large Council (TP VIII 3 III//325/26). This means that limiting the rights of foreigners is necessary in order for the Patricians to maintain control, not that it is in principle the best policy. The reasons for which migrants are debarred from serving as councillors, or from voting, hold in aristocracies, but not necessarily in the commonwealth that wishes to be empowered as much as possible (even though it will probably still be essential for migrants to have a reputable occupation or learn the local language). With regard to military service, Spinoza only writes that the subjects of aristocratic regimes, when joining the military "ought to be regarded as just like foreigners" i.e. be paid. In fact, in an aristocratic state, everyone except the Patricians "is a foreigner" in the sense that they cannot gain the honours that the elites have access to (TP VIII 10 III/328/20). This

lack of integration only shows the relative weakness of aristocracies when compared to democracies: the more soldiers who "fight for their altars and homes […] with singular courage" the better off a state would be.

Not only do Spinoza's arguments on aristocracy, and its exclusive nature, not undermine the need for an inclusive attitude towards migrants, they also help us connect him to a thinker whom he greatly admires and with whom he shares many similarities, namely Machiavelli. While a comprehensive comparison goes beyond the ambit of this paper, it is worthwhile signalling a few important points of contact. Machiavelli acknowledges that some predominantly aristocratic regimes, such as Sparta or Venice, have enjoyed extraordinary stability and durability, yet he does not select them as his ideal republic (Discourses I V). Instead, he turns to Rome, a republic with strong democratic elements and that, significantly for us, based its remarkable force and expansion precisely on the ability to not only welcome migrants, but incorporate them into the military (Discourses I VI 3, II 3). One of the foundations for Rome's success as a republic was precisely the way it integrated foreigners. We see Spinoza being influenced by this "very prudent man" (TP V 7 III/297/9) in this respect: aristocracies can be highly stable regimes, but only at the price of excluding foreigners and thus limiting their own potential for growth.

Does it make a difference to Spinoza's arguments whether immigrants are stateless or citizens of another commonwealth? He discusses inter-state relations in the TTP, but his analysis in chapter XVI is focused on relations of power between states: all states should be mindful of having others surpass them in power and should fear being deceived. All polities, even allies, present a potential threat since they are not subject to the authority of the state (TTP XVI 16-17). It is difficult, however, to see how this could influence the relation between a state and an individual, even if previously subject to a different commonwealth. The disparity in power is so great that a state cannot be under threat from a single person, or even from a relatively small number. This, of course, is not meant to make a commonwealth disinterested in having immigrants obey the laws and civil order of their new home. It also does not mean that foreigners should be allowed into a state in any number, lest they overwhelm the capacity of a state to deal with them (unfortunately, Spinoza does not give us any guidelines on this matter). We do not, therefore, have a clear and meaningful distinction on Spinoza's part between types of immigrants. Furthermore, he could have been influenced on this point by his reading of Machiavelli, who argues that key in empowering a state is to make it

full of inhabitants by any means necessary, whether by love i.e. attracting foreigners who willingly settle in a new polity, or by force (Discourses II 3).

Laws, no matter how just they are, must be supported in order to promote civil order both by reason and by common affects. Otherwise, even just and useful laws cannot be maintained (TP IX 9). Spinoza is willing to admit that laws may be implemented even by force, if necessary, but it would undoubtedly be better if humans would submit of their own accord. The wise will understand that such submission would not amount to a diminution of their liberty since they would act in accordance with reason, but the many need to be otherwise persuaded. It would therefore be most useful if humans were led so that they would think they live according to their own mentality and free decision. For most, this means that they must be allowed to exercise their love of freedom, desire to increase possessions and their hope for achieving honours. Given that most humans are governed by their imagination, it would be most useful to the state if laws and institutions were supported by the populace because they imagined the laws and institutions to be beneficial. What kind of imagination would serve this purpose and, more precisely, could any kind of imagination ever encourage the integration of foreigners within a community?

III. Religious Imagination and the Force of Laws and Institutions

Suppose a state is in the felicitous situation of having a form of government and laws that best suit the temperament of its citizens and are most conducive to collective as well as individual empowerment. Such a state would nonetheless run into great difficulties unless it were capable of persuading its citizens to obey the laws and contribute to the peace and security of the commonwealth. One reason for which Spinoza praises democracy is precisely its ability to mobilize all citizens to participate in law making and in running the state. He argues that in order to direct our natural selfishness toward the common good we need to direct our imagination in such a way that the vast majority of the populace is willing to work together. Imagination can be useful when the people think that the beliefs it produces are true, and when they are guided more by devotion, or love, than by fear. The meanings and narratives offered by imagination need to be adaptive, flexible if they are to contribute to the peace and security of the state, and so to be able to accommodate various interpretations. What matters most are the practical consequences of beliefs based on

imagination, not their theoretical presuppositions (although their veracity would no doubt help). Furthermore, imagination can support not only religious, but also civil laws (James 2010, p.258-261). In other words, a successful political arrangement or institution needs not only to be set up wisely, but also to be animated by the power of our imagination.

What forms can imagination take in the political sphere and to what extent can they be beneficial? Starting from the condition of the Dutch Provinces in Spinoza's own time, we can detect the presence of the attachment of the population to their own city or to their province. The citizens of the United Provinces would have a sense of belonging to the Dutch commonwealth, but their allegiance would primarily be local. This situation opens up an important problem: it can lead to the rejection of a great number of foreigners, many of whom would presumably be of great benefit to their communities and to the commonwealth. Impoverished economic conditions lead to the stunting of growth and development of many individuals whose flourishing would have much to bring to the harmonious agreement Spinoza sees as the foundation of a well organised state. This loss needs to be addressed, but cannot be done so either through an appeal to the power of adequate knowledge, which most do not possess, or by an appeal to imagination that is invested in local values and communities. If a state is to be truly welcoming to outsiders, if for nothing else than for the pragmatic considerations that Spinoza prioritizes, it needs to find new forms that imagination can take so as to infuse the populace with the desire to integrate these foreigners.

If Spinoza is to be faithful to the inclusive principle that drives his political thought, then how can he hope to mobilize the power of our imagination in the direction of overcoming local differences and divisions? At first, a possible solution appears to be a monarchic state, in which a citizen would identify not with the local community but rather with a (large) kingdom. Perhaps the same would be the case in a nationalist state, as it appears in history much later than the 17th Century. Unfortunately, this solution is not available to Spinoza. First, he is explicit about the grave dangers that attend any change in the form of government: if the United Provinces were to change from a republican constitution to a monarchy it would, besides annulling the famous Dutch liberties, bring with it internal perils and the possibility of strife and anarchy that the potential gains could not compensate. Second, this would not manage to solve the initial problem, since refugees may come to a community not only, or primarily, from a different part of the country, but from a different state.

In this case (historically that of the Southern Netherlanders, the Jews, or the Huguenots) wide ranging or even nationalistic sympathies would not suffice. I submit that Spinoza has a way to address this difficulty, and that it consists in the recourse to religious imagination.

Religious imagination, in the Christian guise dominant in Spinoza's time, was driven to a significant degree by an universalist tendency. Christianity, in its different forms, addressed itself to humankind as a whole, and strove for the salvation of all. Spinoza is very well aware of this tendency essential to Christianity, as we can see in his study of Christ and the New Testament. Even if Spinoza does not believe that Christ had a divine nature, he is willing to argue that he had a mind vastly superior to the human mind, and that the decrees of God that promote human salvation had been revealed to him directly (TTP I 18-19). Perhaps the best way to understand the unique case of Christ is to say that he possessed intuitive knowledge, i.e. the third type of knowledge described in EIIp40s2, to a greater degree than anyone else (James 2012, p. 109-110). This would explain why Christ means to address his teachings to all humans, not just the Jews: his doctrine consists in universal, true principles that are adapted to all mankind (TTP IV 10). Not only is Christian teaching more universal in scope than its predecessors, it also represents the law made by God as written on "tablets of the heart rather than on tablets of stone": true obedience lies in commands that one imposes on oneself due to good reasons to do so (James 2010, p.262). Christ taught only universal truths (TTP V 3) and his teaching consisted primarily of moral doctrines which could have been acquired also by natural light, i.e. reason (TTP XI 6). Nevertheless, most humans do not manage to reach these insights by philosophizing, so Christ is a necessary moral teacher if the good of mankind is to be promoted. Consequently, Christ sometimes adapted his teachings to his audience and, when dealing with the ignorant, appeared as a lawgiver (TTP II 19; IV 10). Promoting peace, especially in the Church, depends on undermining the schisms that disturb its peace and reverting to the very few and simple dogmas that Christ taught (TTP XI 9). These relatively simple and practice oriented dogmas amount to the love of God and make humans attempt to imitate him in his justice and loving-kindness towards others. This is the spirit of Christ that must be cultivated in each human and that, as Spinoza reminds us in the *Ethics*, consists in the idea of God on which alone depends that one is free and that one desires for others the good that she desires for herself (EIVp68s). The universal moral teaching proclaimed by Christ and grounded in his superior knowledge

constitutes the basis for a religious practice in agreement with Spinoza's own *Ethics*, but that are much easier to communicate to the multitude. Among their beneficial properties we count not only their intrinsic value and the ease they display in being communicated and understood, but also the strategic advantage of being considered authoritative throughout the Christian world. While the message has been corrupted throughout history due to the various interests of power-hungry politicians and theologians, it still carries the weight of authority that can make it easier to accept than new dogmas put forward even by someone like Spinoza himself. By an appeal to the teachings of Christ, the imagination of the multitude can be directed towards universal precepts that would otherwise require intense philosophical work.

In the end of this section, it is helpful to consider the affective dynamic that a citizen of a state may undergo when faced with the prospect of welcoming a migrant, especially one in precarious circumstances. To do so, we need to turn Spinoza's account of the imitation of affects in the *Ethics* (a text never published in Spinoza's lifetime, probably finished in 1675, but that is clearly later than the TTP and close, on many points, to the unfinished TP) and see whether it can support inclusiveness. I submit that a well-meaning concern for immigrants is, as Spinoza would put in, "in accordance with practice" for reasons we can deduce from EIIIp27:

> If we imagine a thing like us, toward which we have had no affect, to be affected with some affect, we are thereby affected with a like affect.

Images of things are affections of the body that express both the nature of our bodies and that of the external things that affect us. If the external thing happens to resemble our body then, Spinoza believes,[18] the idea that we imagine of that thing will involve an affection of our body that resembles the affection of that external body. From this it follows that if the affection of the external body is an affect, i.e. a transition to a lesser or greater power of acting, we will be affected by a similar affect. Consequently, if we imagine a human being suffering we will feel pity and try to alleviate its suffering (EIIIp27cor3), and we will strive to emulate others if we imagine that they desire something (EIIIp27s). It follows that most of us will desire to better the condition of human beings that we perceive to be similar to us, but that find themselves in unfortunate circumstances, as may be the case with migrants. Therefore, if the state and its institutions are not to be hateful to most of its citizens, they need

to accommodate this phenomenon of the imitation of the affects and aim to create the institutional framework in which those that are similar to us and that are affected by sadness have their suffering alleviated.

We can think of at least two exceptions to this affective dynamic: either when we are already affected by hatred toward beings that are like us, as Spinoza acknowledges (EIIIp27dem), or when we do not recognise that other human beings are similar to us. If we already hate someone, then when we notice that they suffer we are not affected with sadness, but with a contrary affect. As Spinoza cautions us, the kind of imagination that involves hatred is disempowering and can only be the effect of inadequate knowledge which is the result of moral and metaphysical illusions. It is therefore in the best interest of the community if we do our best to avoid such cases and if the laws and institutions of the state are set up so that hatred is not promoted. If, in the second case, we fail to recognize our resemblance with other human beings, we are again in a situation characterised by an epistemic inadequacy that has significant practical consequences, in that it stops us from acting according to the dictates of reason and seeing the value of the companionship of others.

While the imitation of affects can be the foundation of an empowering dynamic, a critic would be right to object that, in practice, it may more often lead to sad, therefore disempowering, affects. If we imagine that someone hates us, we will hate them in return (EIIIp40), a proposition in whose demonstration Spinoza starts precisely from EIIIp27. While it is true that most of the time, in the body politic, we are dealing with sad, disempowering affects, and we must acknowledge that most people, being unwise, fall prey to them, we must not let realism obscure the fact that Spinoza is interested in showing means of bettering the commonwealth. The imitation of affects often has deleterious effects, but the same dynamic can, when used adequately, be put in the service of the body politic. If Christ's teachings are used to shape religious imagination, then the imitation of affects can work in favour of this attempt to persuade the populace to endorse inclusiveness for its own benefit.

Not only is it in the best interest of the commonwealth to avoid hatred and epistemic inadequacy and to create laws that best serve our desire to help others, but those in power have a direct interest in being mindful of the phenomenon of the imitation of affects. In EIIIp27cor1 Spinoza argues that we feel love towards those that help beings that we regard to be similar to ourselves, and hatred towards those who affect others with sadness. Therefore, if politicians strive to better the situation of those in

need they will benefit from the affection of the populace, whereas harmful policies will hurt the politicians' own interests.

IV. Religion and the Civil Order in the Political Treatise

Following our discussion of immigration, of the importance of an inclusive attitude and of the role of religion in promoting this attitude among the multitude, it is time to return to the question of continuity between the TTP and the TP. The arguments presented so far in favor of welcoming foreigners use textual evidence from the TP and yet our discussion of religion in the first section of this paper refers to the TTP. While the extensive analysis of religion and its relation to politics in the TTP is essential for understanding Spinoza's thinking on the matter, we must turn to his views on religion in the TP for two reasons: first, to see to what extent our arguments about the role religious imagination plays in a tolerant attitude towards foreigners are still valid for the TP, and second to discuss the problem of continuity between the two treatises.

The textual evidence for Spinoza's opinion on religion in the TP is by no means as broad as in the earlier TTP, yet we are provided with a number of significant clues on the matter. I will begin by discussing Spinoza's general approach as well as the similarities with the TTP, and will then turn to the differences.

In TP VIII 46 (III/345/6) Spinoza writes:

> In the Theological-Political Treatise we showed fully enough what we think about Religion. But at that time we did omit some things which that wasn't the place to discuss: namely, that all the Patricians ought to be of the same Religion, a very simple and most Universal Religion, such as we described in that Treatise. For it's very necessary to make sure that the Patricians aren't divided into sects, some favoring one group others favoring other, and that they don't, in the grip of superstition, try to take away from their subjects the freedom to say what they think.

This strong wording entails that the differences between the TTP and the TP are, at most, a question of details that had not been previously made explicit. Since Spinoza did not discuss aristocracy in the TTP there was no reason for him to argue that all Patricians ought to be of the same religion. Familiar topics are brought to the fore: Spinoza reminds us of his

commitment to a simple and universal religion and of the importance of avoiding political conflict on the basis of religious differences. The debt to the TTP is also stressed in TP VII 26 (III/319/10), where Spinoza writes that the right of religion or worship cannot be transferred and simply refers the reader to the last two chapters of the TTP. Nevertheless, in order to discuss the relation between religion and obedience to the state in the TP, Spinoza does go into more detail:

> Someone may object: don't the civil order, and the obedience of subjects we've shown to be required in it, destroy the Religion by which we're bound to worship God? No. If we consider the matter properly, we won't find anything which could cause any uneasiness. For insofar as the Mind uses reason, it is its own master and is not subject to the control of the supreme power (by II, 11). Moreover, the true knowledge and love of God can't be subjected to anyone's command, any more than loving-kindness (*charitas*) toward one's neighbour can. Furthermore, if we consider that the supreme exercise of loving-kindness (*charitas*) is to protect the peace and bring about harmony, we won't doubt that a person has really done his duty if he has brought each person as much aid as the laws of the Commonwealth - i.e. harmony and tranquillity- permit. (TP III 10)

How does Spinoza explain the compatibility between the civil order he wants to promote and the existence of religion? On the one hand, he argues that there are some aspects of a human's being life, i.e. his thoughts and affects, that cannot be subject to the power of the sovereign authority. The freedom to think, to feel, or to express one's beliefs (to a certain extent) cannot be limited by the state without grievous civil disturbances. On the other hand, the goals of religion (peace and harmony), when properly understood, are wholly compatible with those of a good civil order, and are particularly well suited to reinforce the latter. This evaluation is in agreement both with the understanding of the "true knowledge and love of God" and of right practice (*charitas*) that Spinoza proposes in the Ethics, as well as with the epistemically more modest foundations of "true religion" put forward in the TTP. The love of God can refer not only to the third, or intuitive, kind of knowledge, but also to the imperative to love God and have God as a model for action, even if this involves an idea of God produced by the imagination. The right practice that follows from this is now described by Spinoza as *charitas*, dropping the notion of *justitia* that accompanied it in the earlier TTP, a change we need to consider more carefully later in this paper.

The list of points on which Spinoza's treatment of religion in the TP is indebted to his earlier treatise can be expanded even further. In the same paragraph referred to above (TP III 10), Spinoza addresses the question of external forms of worship, to which he grants no value in the pursuit of true knowledge and of love of God, and which he says should not be valued so highly as to make them a cause for disturbing public peace and tranquillity. In addition, the spread of religion should be left to God or to the supreme powers, since no man possesses the power to perform miracles "as the Disciples of Christ once did". In short, the worship of God is a concern for the private human being, with its public expressions possible only insofar as they are allowed by the laws of the Commonwealth.

In another important passage in the TP we learn that:

> As for Religion, it's also certain that a man is freer, and most obedient to himself, the more he loves God and the more he worships him wholeheartedly. Insofar as we attend, not to the order of nature, which we don't know, but only to the dictates of reason concerning Religion - and at the same time insofar as we consider them as revealed to us by God, as if he were speaking in us – or also as laws, revealed through the Prophets – to that extent, speaking in a human way we say that a man obeys God if he loves him wholeheartedly. On the other hand, if he's guided by blind desire, he sins. (TP II 22)

Here, Spinoza is busy delineating the characteristics that mark the essence of religion: it is a practical teaching that does not require fully adequate knowledge of nature, but that is consonant with the dictates of reason (to live according to virtue cf. EIVp37dem). These dictates are known by the mind either directly or through the Prophets. This statement appears unproblematic at first: we already know that dictates of reason can be known by natural light, as if they were revealed by God to us, and the prime example of this happening is the case of Christ. Furthermore, right ways of living had been revealed by the prophets, according to the TTP, due to their especially vivid imagination and their high moral standing. Nevertheless, have the Prophets revealed enough? Are their teachings sufficient to promote peace and harmony in a present-day state? No matter how important an example the Hebrew state may have been in political discussions of the 17th Century and how much we can learn from studying it,[19] Spinoza thinks we cannot imitate it, nor should we try to do so. He already warns us in the TTP that a state modelled

on the Hebrew commonwealth would most likely be pleasing only to those who wish to isolate themselves from the rest of the world, not to those who need to have commerce with others (TTP XVIII 1). One of the most important elements that the Hebrew prophets lacked, but that the teaching of Christ displays, is the universal nature of their respective moral teachings. Loving kindness should in principle be extended to as many as possible, especially those that live in the same Commonwealth. A welcoming, inclusive society, that manages to develop the powers to think and to act of each individual, promises the best hope for peace and tranquillity. To be sure, this does not entail indiscriminate toleration, but it does commit a Spinozist to a pragmatic desire to make all humans desire the highest good, namely the love of God. Even when this desire comes in a religious, imaginative form it is still well guided because there is nothing more useful to humans than other humans. While there is much work to be done in elucidating the details of the implementation of such an inclusive impetus, Spinoza's analysis has the benefit of pointing us in the right direction when we consider the nature and scope of various welfare institutions. It follows that, when confronted with the problem of immigration and integration through welfare institutions, Spinoza should, if he is to be consistent, appeal to Christ-inspired religious imagination if he is to keep to his desire to find the means best in accordance with practice to animate the desire of the multitude for an empowering civil order. While no doubt other possibilities for various kinds of (religious) imagination could be suggested, the thesis presented here has the advantage that it is in agreement with another of Spinoza's tenets. In TP I 3 Spinoza expresses his firm belief that experience or the writings of "very acute" authors have already shown us all the kinds of State which might be conducive to harmony among humans, and all the ways in which the multitude should be guided towards peace and security. This principle is meant to avoid the mistakes of previous political philosophers who had written Utopias or satires of human nature rather than viable political programs. Whether or not Spinoza is justified in his conviction, if he is to be faithful to it then he needs to find resources from previous human experience to answer the difficulties raised by the integration of immigrants. If the thesis presented here is correct, then the most viable resource is a Christ-inspired kind of religious imagination. Furthermore, even if we are not willing to go along with this assumption on Spinoza's part, we can still argue that although this type of religious imagination is not unique and does not offer the only

possibility we have at our disposal, it nevertheless remains a powerful tool for arranging our society wisely.

The presence of numerous continuities should not, however, obscure the differences. In light of the arguments presented so far, the focus will first be on the absence of any explicit reference to the New Testament and Christ's teaching in the TP. I will argue that this difference is not essential, but will then point to a fundamental shift in Spinoza's understanding of religion and its role in the State in the TP, namely the change from describing religious practice in terms of *justitia* and *charitas* to only *charitas*. In order to address these issues, I will use as my starting point Curley's discussion of the topic. Curley (2010, pp. 23-6) argues that we should understand Spinoza as a pluralist in matters of religion, because he holds that there is "not one true religion, acceptance of which is both necessary and sufficient for salvation". He bases his arguments on the claim that Spinoza advocates a "universal religion" that represents the common core of the monotheistic religions he knew of, and that this universal faith described in chapter XIV of the TTP has nothing specifically Christian about it. There is a reference to Christ in the passage Curley discusses, but it only serves to show that religious belief should consist in belief in God's mercy, which should in turn inspire one to love God. Having "the spirit of Christ in you" therefore does not commit us to any specific set of beliefs about the historical Jesus and his (supposedly) divine nature. We should distinguish between the practical aspect of religion and its theoretical dogmas which, even though they may be superstitious, could in some cases encourage the practice and spread of the virtues of justice and loving-kindness. This makes Spinoza a "pluralist with a difference", who believes that multiple religions lead to salvation even though some may be forms of superstition. This line of reasoning enables Curley to interpret Spinoza's claim in TP VIII 46 that in an aristocracy it is essential for the rulers to agree in endorsing and practicing one type of religion and that other religions are subject to certain restriction as simply making explicit the position of the earlier TTP. The national religion Spinoza has in mind is the universal religion he had described in TTP chapter XIV.

By my lights, this argument does not sufficiently take into account two important elements. First, as has been argued above, there is something specific to Christ's moral teachings as Spinoza understands them that renders them somewhat different from those of the prophets. Not only are they based on adequate understanding in a way that is not the case for Prophets of the Old Testament, they are also universal in character in a

way not previously encountered. This means that they are much likelier to appear persuasive to all and to encourage us to practice loving kindness towards all humans, indiscriminately of specific differences. In the context of the present argument, they are much likelier to make all citizens well disposed towards foreigners within the commonwealth. Contra Curley, there is something particularly persuasive about the New Testament that is reflected in the TP, albeit not explicitly as in the TTP. Second, we have already remarked on the absence from the TP of the term 'justitia' from Spinoza's description of universal or true religion. In EIVp37s2 we are told by Spinoza that just and unjust are "extrinsic notions, not attributes which explain the nature of the mind". In other words, we can speak of what is just or unjust (the "will to give to each his own, or to take away from someone what is his") only in a civil state in which laws decide that justice and injustice are. In the early TTP we sometimes find Spinoza employing the term "justus" in opposition to "impius", not "injustus" and to give it a meaning closer to the modern "righteous" (TTP XIX 8, cf. Curley's translation from 2016, Glossary, under the heading "Justice"). In the TP however, the uses of 'justitia' follow the account given in the *Ethics* and are in line with their present-day English cognates (see TP II 23 and VI 26). This later and clearer delineation of the scope of the term 'justice', which now avoids the moral implications of the word "righteous", makes it unnecessary for Spinoza to include it under the heading of the "universal religion". Justice is dispensed by civil authorities and is not the subject of religious practice as is the case in the earlier TTP. Religion, as the practice of loving kindness, is in a sense less than civil laws and institutions, justice included, because it is subordinated to civil authorities and does not regulate them, but is also in a sense more because it can shape the morals of the populace. The power that religion has to enhance the lives of individuals is freed from the constraints of having to be concerned with the domain of *justitia*. Religion can make people desire to follow the laws of the state, but it can also make them willing to go above and beyond what is strictly required in their attempt to help their fellow humans. This last argument not only signals an important development in Spinoza's views on the nature of religion and his interest in carefully delineating what falls within its domain and what must be left to the civil authorities, but it also shows how religion has the potential to contribute, by shaping the morals of the populace in a way inaccessible to secular authorities, to disposing the people towards welcoming and integrating migrants.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that the striving for collective liberation that guides Spinoza's political philosophy is based on an inclusive impetus favourable to the welcoming and integration of migrants, and that the laws and institutions that facilitate this objective can gain the support of the people if their imagination is governed by the precepts of "true religion". Furthermore, I have argued that Christ-inspired religious imagination is most likely to promote the goal of peace, safety and harmony among the options considered by Spinoza. Considerations grounded in the study of the historical example of the Untied Provinces have shown how, according to Spinoza, religious imagination, while potentially dangerous, is particularly well suited to guide the multitude due to its easily accessible presentation of loving-kindness (*charitas*) as a universal practical virtue. Furthermore, we have seen how our investigation into the role that Christ's teachings can play in shaping the support of the populace for the integration of immigrants has also helped us reveal the many continuities between the TTP and TP on the role of religion, as well as highlight the difference marked by Spinoza's focus on *charitas* as a universal value and abandonment of *justitia* as an integral part of the essence of true religion.

Nevertheless, Spinoza's account leaves open a number of questions directly concerning the implementation of any inclusive policy regarding immigration. On the one hand, it is not clear what precisely the legislative and institutional framework must be that best promotes the integration of migrants and their development along the pragmatic lines advocated by Spinoza. On the other hand, it is not clear to what extent immigration should be allowed, in other words how porous state-borders should be, given that Spinoza explicitly discusses only cases of obtaining citizenship when the foreigners are either the offspring of a citizen or are born in the country. This does not sufficiently clarify the status of foreigners not born in the land, let alone the prospects of those who wish to enter the commonwealth. Nevertheless, his arguments in TP VIII 12 suggest that there are good reasons to extend the commonwealth's institutional welcome even to those wholly foreign to the state.

NOTES

1   I write 'Christ's teachings' or 'Christ-inspired' teachings in order to distinguish what Spinoza thinks is the authentic core of Christ's message from its various abusive interpretations, used for political gains, that he identifies throughout history.

2   The constitutive process is historical, naturalized and immanent (Balibar 1998, p. 36).

3   Spinoza constructs a world and "destroys the possibility of dominating it" (Negri 1991, p. 185). "It is … the responsibility of the (democratic) state to 'demythicise' dogma" (Balibar 1998, p. 115).

4   "It is one thing to have dominion and care of affairs of state by right, and another to exercise dominion and direct affairs in the best way" (TP V 1).

5   Spinoza argues that the history of the Hebrew state shows that it is pernicious for the priests to gain secular power (TTP XVIII 6 [1]) because they strive to regulate beliefs, which can only lead to sedition within the body politic (TTP XVIII 4 [1]).

6   Skinner traces the beginnings of the secularization of political theory to at least as early as the 13th Century. He contrasts Augustine's influence, for whom the Christian should not be concerned with temporal goods and be mindful only of eternal life, with the outlook developed following the recovery and translation of Aristotle's *Politics* (Skinner 1978a, p. 349). The modern idea of the State presupposes that political theory and a political society exist solely for political, not other-worldly, purposes (Skinner 1978a, p. 352).

7   Spinoza rejects the work of philosophers who have written satires, or utopias, instead of a theory of politics with useful application.

8   They are the first victims of their own illusory values (Balibar 1998, p. 15).

9   See the analysis of the nature of the Hebrew state (TTP XVIII 4), but also of Rome, Macedon (TTP XVII 5, 6) or of the power of the Pope (TTP XIX 17). This is all meant to substantiate Spinoza's commentary on the state of the Dutch Republic of his day.

10   "Politics is the metaphysics of imagination, of the real, human constitution of the world." (Negri 1991, p. 97)

11   The civil state proves nevertheless beneficial to the sage.

12   The analysis of the concept of "multitude" in Spinoza, especially in the TP, goes beyond the ambit of this paper.

13   Hope and fear are never good in themselves, but can be useful when they restrain a certain kind of excessive and deleterious joy (EIVp47; cf. Jaquet 2005, p. 285).

14   These arguments should be read against the background of a long-running debate on the best means to ensure the existence of a flourishing political association. The debate takes place between those who claim that the

effectiveness of government depends on laws and institutions (e.g. Hume), and those who argue that, given that individuals control government and institutions, the state depends on the virtue (or corruption) of those in charge (e.g. Machiavelli or Montesquieu; cf. Skinner 1978b: 45).

[15] The preservation of the body politic is not a conservative notion. It must be understood under the principle of mobility and development of power (Balibar 1998, p. 96).

[16] The power to act of a mode can be assisted by an external power: in this case, even if the body is acted on, the interaction can still prove empowering.

[17] Spinoza himself had, of course, more than an academic interest in the problem of migration since his parents had been immigrants themselves. Furthermore, the Jewish community in Amsterdam had faced, in the 17th century, the problem of Sephardic, and especially a large number of Ashkenazic Jews, joining them. While the Sephardim were relatively well off, the Ashkenazim were much poorer, thus requiring help from the community. The latter came in large numbers to the United Provinces and, by the end of the 17th Century, outnumbered the Sephardim by almost two to one (Nadler 1999, 19-21). Spinoza does not explicitly discuss this situation, but would it be possible to surmise that he would have liked to see the whole of the United Provinces join in including these foreigners into their state to the benefit of all? This can only remain a conjecture, but one that the arguments in this paper support.

[18] For an interesting way to make sense of this claim, see Steinberg (2013, p .393; 398-9), who distinguishes between two forms of imitation of affects or empathy: 1) straightforward empathy in which the communication of affective states is based on direct communication, between similar beings, of the motion that constitutes affective state, within a physico-mechanistic framework; 2) more complex forms of empathy that can include cases of misrepresentation of the other, her affective states, and her resemblance to me.

[19] See Nelson, 2011.

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NARRATIVES OF SPACE: "TRADITIONS" BETWEEN ORAL AND WRITTEN MEMORY

Abstract

Contemporary local cultures, generically referred to as "traditional," have their own dynamics, and an important part in this is played by the relation between oral and written culture, a relation that must be considered as early as the pre-fieldwork stage of each ethnological research. Drawing on a case-study from Buzău region, namely the narratives of the places situated in the vicinity of villages, the paper illustrates the flexibility and the dynamic nature of a local oral culture, its dialogue and complementarity with the literate culture, as well as its adaptative nature. It does so, by presenting the characteristics of three types of orality (see Zumthor 1990) encountered in the field: mixed orality, second orality (stressing the role of the intellectuals), and mediatized orality.

Keywords: orality, literate culture, narratives of space, tradition, dynamics of culture, Buzău

Preamble

From peasant cultures and "tradition" to the relation between oral and written culture

Content to have found the right key for unlocking the current transformations of the village world, in my field research, over the years, I was most interested in studying the dynamics of culture, focusing on how the concept of "tradition"[1] offers the key to interpreting it. Since looking into "traditions" is one of the paths taken by the social researchers, particularly ethnologists,[2] a discussion of the methodology that uses this concept and its embedding in the theoretical approaches is in order.

First, the study of "traditions" focuses on the investigation of archaic layers of peasant cultures, to find the foundation of contemporary culture. "Tradition" is deemed defining for the type of society that folklorists

and ethnologists document, the "traditional society," characterized, as Mihăilescu (2004) notes, by a cosmos-centric view of the world, a retrospective rationality legitimated by the community's past, which is transmitted through customs. This is a world where "there cannot be anything new, where the unforeseen can exist, but not the unpredictable" (Mihăilescu 2004: 188). Sought for in "traditional societies" and endowed with the power to legitimate, "tradition" becomes the topic of study *par excellence* of "national" ethnology (Mihăilescu 2007). This was a direction that folklore and ethnology studies embarked on as early as the end of the nineteenth century (see Stahl 1983[3]), in the context of the efforts to legitimate the creation of the Romanian nation-state, followed later, in the interwar period, by rural sociology studies (Cotoi 2009). Next came the foundation of ethnographic museums (see Iosif 2009) and ethnological archives (Iosif 2015; Jiga Iliescu 2020) that followed the same logic of legitimation and strengthening of the nation-state, building this time the image of an institutionalized "tradition," practice that was continued during the communist period (Iosif 2015). According to this view, "tradition" is perceived mostly in its hegemonic aspect, as "tradition as value," although "the only valid object of study is the old and all that is well enough preserved—and by this it becomes the object of safeguarding awe" (Mihăilescu 2004: 203).

Another noteworthy aspect is that of "tradition" used as power discourse (Mihăilescu 2007), as illustrated by contemporary cultural policies. This direction was generated by the coining and adopting of the concept of "ethnological heritage" in the 1980s, leading to the institutionalization of this heritage by the state bureaucratic apparatus (see Tornatore 2004). In the 2000s, the 1980s term was replaced with that of "intangible heritage," as famously illustrated by the UNESCO's 2003 "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." The introduction of this new range of cultural goods in the world heritage was accompanied by the policies that aimed to emphasize local and, implicitly, national identities (see Iosif 2015). The discussions about the safeguarding of heritage had an immediate effect in post-communist Romania, with the task to manage the problems that the new heritage category gave rise to falling on folklore studies. For this discipline, it was "a new and modernized political opportunity, namely heritage-making and, implicitly, [managing] the 'market of traditions'" (Iosif 2015: 104). In the context of heritage-making, "tradition"—which for communities means continuing and, at the same time, interpreting the past—acquires

various institutional and political meanings, as now the past is approached selectively by heritage specialists, using value judgments typical of the present (Mihăilescu 2007).

Having acquired all these theoretical and political nuances, "tradition" came to be a saturated concept, while remaining useful for understanding the dynamics of the contemporary village world and its complexities. Therefore, although an appealing perspective, with tangible results in my research, the analysis of village cultures through the lens of the dynamics of tradition has proven lacking and to some extent methodologically inoperative, as it does not answer a particular methodological question: the mutual influence of oral culture and written culture. This is an issue insufficiently discussed, at least among Romanian ethnologists, as it is often the case that, even today, rural communities are approached and researched as essentially oral societies, where "tradition" is reproduced exclusively through oral transmission. Or this is not entirely true.

The argument of the field

Retrospectively, I realize that the question of the mutual influence of oral and literate cultures arose early on in my research, an aspect that I ignored for quite a long time. What happened was that the most interesting and reliable interlocutors for the interviews I conducted, on how local "traditions" were lived and experienced, were educated people, even with university education: village teachers, students, intellectuals. Although the role of the intellectuals in redefining and safeguarding local culture[4] is a known fact (see Goody 1977), I was oblivious of it for a long time. During my field research in Maramureș region, the share of intellectuals was not particularly large among my interviewees,[5] so I did not think much about it. But as I started doing research in other regions and furthering my training, I encountered increasingly often intellectuals belonging to the communities that I studied and I became increasingly aware of the role they played in ensuring the continuity, valorisation, and sometimes revival of the researched cultural phenomena. This prompted me to reflect on the possible relation today between the cultural facts I researched, their dynamics, and literate culture.

From the interviews I conducted, I could see that it wasn't only the intellectuals that would use both their personal, direct experience and their book knowledge to speak about "traditional" culture from a different perspective, namely heritage-making. Even less educated persons[6]

complemented their lived experiences with print references, at least in some domains. Technically speaking, the methodology of interwar social research already included a compulsory rubric ("Does he/she read or write?") in the "Informant Card", which recorded the level of literacy of the interviewees (Stahl 1999: 237). This was particularly relevant in the interwar period when the level of illiteracy was still quite high—at 43% in 1930 (Mihăilescu 2018: 187). Similarly, subsequent ethnological field research, also included this information in the "Informant Card." However, since the literacy rate had gone up in the meantime, the information was adapted and rephrased as "Literacy (level of schooling)" (Pop 1967: 89).

Today it is rare to encounter illiterate interlocutors in the field which makes the mentioning of literacy data largely irrelevant. Researchers are methodologically more interested in the actual experience of the interview, interlocutors being perceived as "modified individuals" (Golopenția 2001: 13) who are in a situation of talking to an outsider about their own lives their lived experiences (see Hedeșan 2015). But however focused on content the researcher might be, we cannot help glimpse, as the interview unfolds, the interlocutors' training, the references they make to literate culture: they might recall things they learnt in school or the professional environments they were active in, or they might mention a published source for the information they have just provided.

The first occasion for me to reflect on this issue was in 2010 when, during an interview with A. M. (age 56, farmer, Șurdești, Maramureș), I asked him if he had any knowledge of medicinal plants, and he started listing all the plants that he regularly picked and explaining how and when they should be picked, providing details that I believed to be local knowledge passed on from one generation to another. At the end, however, he provided a bibliographical reference: "I have [this] book. But I have misplaced it now. I have a book, what's it called… *From God's Pharmacy.* By Maria Treben,[7] she wrote the book."

In addition to these miscellaneous, unarticulated observations, the research I carried out in the northern area of Buzău County, for the *GeoSust*[8] project, was the fieldwork that made me seriously consider to what extent written culture influences local knowledge. One such good example are the stories associated with the village surroundings, the material I draw on in this paper.

Relevant for the relationship between oral culture and written culture was precisely the way the interviewees we approached would recommend other good storytellers, who, they perceived, would make good subjects

of our research. Most of the times they recommended the community's intellectuals,[9] the majority of them active or retired teachers, or persons employed in the cultural field (librarians, employees of local cultural centres). This aspect is all the more important as these are the people who are most active in the heritage-making process and in re-inventing the local culture. Also, it is important to mention that the actions of the project research team were not limited to documenting and collecting data. In addition, we initiated a few cultural activities within the community. In other words, we, as outsiders, interfered with the community, bringing our own contribution to the process of capitalizing culture through heritage-making, an endeavour worthy of applied anthropology. Concretely, we organized a local museum exhibition[10] and another one in Bucharest.[11]

So, the interviews conducted in the villages of Buzău region and the project team's cultural interventions provided sufficient food for thought on the meanings that "traditions" still hold today and how their dynamics unfolds, this time, largely in the relation between oral culture and written, scholar culture.

On orality and literacy

The relation between orality and literacy proves difficult to integrate in the methodology of Ethnology. Firstly, this is because, at least in Romania, the history of the discipline was built on the assumption that orality was structural to peasant culture. Therefore, the issue was little discussed by Romanian ethnologists, as opposed to the West where we find a theoretical interest in the topic as early as the early twentieth century.[12] M. Pop and P. Ruxăndoiu (1978), however, pointed out a methodological shortcoming of the studies focusing on the orality of folklore strictly from the perspective of cultural transmission during performance.[13] The two Romanian ethnologists further noted that, even if the "creation[14] and performance remained strictly oral" (p. 77), one had to consider how the piece was performed and received, performance and reception being clearly influenced by the listening/reading opposition. Writing had become essential for a number of cultural facts ever since the late nineteenth century (e.g. letters sent by the soldiers); most often however, due to their materiality, these were perceived by the communities as cultural objects *per se*.[15]

The mutual influence of literacy and orality is identified to occur as early as the Antiquity (Crobsy 1936; Goody 2010), a number of studies in the field of history focusing mainly on the way this relation unfolded in the Middle Ages (Crosby 1936; Zumthor 1987; Gurevich 1988). Anthropology studies made their contribution to this research topic, focusing on present-day cultures. In this regard, J. Goody's work (1968, 1977, 2010) is particularly important, as he proposed a methodological distinction between "literate societies" and "preliterate societies" (Goody 1968). This distinction was later refined by R. Finnegan (1974), who further distinguished between "non-literate societies" and "literate societies." Finnegan claimed that because orality and literacy "exhibit constant and positive interaction" (1974: 57), the two types of societies are neither universal, nor absolute; they are merely the extremes that make the comparison possible.

The mutual influence having been acknowledged, several proposals to classify orality based on the transmission medium were made. A first such classification came from philosopher W. J. Ong in his book *Orality and Literacy* (2002), first published in 1982. Ong made a distinction between "primary orality," typical of societies that do not know literacy, and "secondary orality", which is sustained by electronic devices and is becoming increasingly widespread with the use of the phone, TV, and radio. Primary and secondary oralities have many common features, especially in terms of fostering a sense of belonging to a community, even if "secondary orality generates a sense for groups immeasurably larger than those of primary oral culture" (p. 133). However, "it is essentially a more deliberate and self-conscious orality, based permanently on the use of writing and print" (p. 133).

In 1983, P. Zumthor further refined the classification claiming that "[o]rality does not mean illiteracy" (Zumthor 1990: 17). He identified four types of orality. First, there is "primary and immediate or pure orality" (p. 25), characteristic of societies that have no contact with literate knowledge, where "strength of speech is limited only by its impermanence and inexactitude" (p. 19). Second, we speak of "mixed orality," "an orality coexisting with writing" (p. 25), when writing does not override oral tradition. Third, there is "a secondary orality, one that is (re)composed based on writing and that is central to a milieu where writing determines the values of voice" (p. 25), which is derived from a literate culture, as in the case of medieval troubadours, for example. Last, Zumthor singles out a new type of orality, visible in the mass-media, that he calls "mechanically

mediatized orality" (p. 25), manifested first and foremost in recordings. Recordings are important, he claims, because they "restored to voice an authority almost lost," (p. 18) freeing it from spatial limitations, but at a cost, namely the "exclusion of any and all variants" (p. 19).

Moreover, the existence of variants is specific to orality, which is characterized by a "generative transmission" (Goody 1977: 27). A topic otherwise discussed in detail in the literature (see Goody 1977, 2010; Ong 2002; Stahl 1983; Baumgardt 2008), it is reinforced by the fact that "oral memorization[16] is subject to variation" (Ong 2002: 65). The existence of variants poses, however, a few methodological problems. From their very first experiences with fieldwork, "all direct researchers of folklore find out, to their greatest regret, that there is no standard text or template of belief, custom, ritual or ceremony universally known and repeated *ad litteram*, only themes and expressions generally known, which each informant will perform, improvising a new version of them every time" (Stahl 1983: 237-8). In fact, the researcher's intervention in the field, namely audio recording and writing down the documented cultural fact, does only to privilege one version over another, freezing it as it were. This can lead to problems in later stages of the research, such as the analysis of the data. One drawback is not having access to the original text, the one from which all the other versions were derived. One possible solution is to go back to the first version ever published or recorded (Baumgardt 2008). This can however lead to a second problem, namely that, by recording one particular version, the researchers created a "version-modèle" (template version) (Baumgardt 2008: 82). To avoid this, it is advisable to record several versions to be then examined and published in print or mass media (see Goody 2010; Seydon and Dauphin-Tinturier 2008).

Coming back to the classification of orality based on how the information is transmitted, in addition to Zumthor's (1990) four types of orality, given the importance the Internet and the online world have acquired in recent years, a new type has emerged, namely "digital orality," which uses text, image, and sound (Lafkioui and Merolla 2005). As a result, recent studies increasingly focus on how the Internet is integrated into oral cultures and contributes to the affirmation of local identity, a fluid identity that also relies on the new technologies (see Barber 2005; Castleton 2016). The phenomenon is the more important as it constitutes the source of inspiration in reinventing culture, especially in migrant communities (Merolla 2005).

In light of the above, the importance of the indissoluble relation and the mutual influence of oral and written cultures is impossible to overlook, especially in studying contemporary rural communities. This interdependence is to be used first as a methodology choice, a methodology for both the collection and the interpretation of field data. This approach could thus provide a possible solution for analysing and assessing the epistemological discontinuity that researchers perceive between two types of inquiries. On the one hand, there are folklore studies, which acknowledge this interdependence (see Pop and Ruxăndoiu 1978) but only briefly touch on it, since rural cultures are from the start conceived of as being oral. And on the other hand, there are cultural anthropology studies, which are more open to the transformations of the contemporary world.

Narratives of Places and Orality

My field research in the north of Buzău region allowed me to investigate the relation between orality and literacy *via* a few examples of narratives about places and events that occurred in the area surrounding the villages.

I chose to focus on narratives because they are the prototypical products of orality, as their existence is bound by utterance (Goody 2010). Moreover, narrating is an activity which is essentially human (Clemente 2015), and, according to cognitive psychologists (Kékesi 2017; Damasio 2016), stories are deemed to play a significant part in the building of the self and the definition of selfhood. Stories are also vehicles for passing on knowledge through the generations: although they might seem to convey the personal experience of one individual, as they bring to "the stage events from the narrator's life as agent or at least an indirect or direct witness" (Bîrlea 1981: 256), narratives connect the various generations. They relate to and fuse with the experiences of the ancestors, which are transmitted through narratives (see Culianu 1996; Goody 1977) and, thus, preserved in the group's collective memory as exemplary events (see Halbwachs 1980). Consequently, all experiences, however fantastic they might seem, become true because they are embodied in local traditions (Valk 2012); they become testimonies of the connection between personal experiences and formalized belief.[17]

The second reason I opted for researching narratives of places is because of the diversity of stories we encountered in the interviews

conducted in Buzău region, which to some extent reflected the natural (geographical, geological) diversity of the landscape.[18] Landscape is a cultural construct (Taylor 2008), that is to say it is not neutral but "qualitative," in phenomenological terms, actively participating in all the events that occur within its boundaries (Bernea 1985). Precisely because it is experiential—either via personal experience or that of ancestors (Basso 1996)—abstract and general "space" becomes a personalized, known and familiar "place" (Baker 2012). People thus know the qualities of each place, good or bad (see Iuga and Andreescu 2016); places are witnesses of unusual events, or they are shaped in a particular way because an exceptional event took place there, or, just as well, they have the appearance that we see today because of the actions of the ancestors (Basso 1996). As such, places are named and personalized (Clemente 2015), they are important because they are imbued with memory (see Taylor 2008; Baker 2012; Halbwachs 1941). And because "[e]very story is a travel story—a spatial practice" (de Certeau 1984: 115), narratives help transform (neutral) spaces into (personalized) places, "bedecking" them with stories and legends (Gunnell 2008: 15).

By this logic, narrative structures turn out to be genuine "spatial syntaxes" (de Certeau 1984: 115), they decode and give meaning, since they load places with symbolic references. The challenge is to observe how these syntaxes become articulated within orality's frame of reference, and then come to engage in a dialog with the written culture. To do so, I looked at three types of narratives, each illustrating one of the types of orality described by Zumthor (1990): (a) oral narratives recorded during interviews; (b) written narratives, in their various forms, stressing the role of the intellectuals inside the community, as well as outside of it; and (c) the new media narratives to illustrate the increasingly prominent "mediatized orality".

Narratives of places and "mixed orality"

The first sources of narratives of places were the oral narratives recorded in the interviews we carried out as part of the research. They tell the stories of the people and the places, as they have been experienced by the interlocutors or by their ancestors (see Culianu 1996; Goody 1977). Tales are told as they have been heard from parents, grand-parents, neighbours, or other kin. They were all passed on from one generation to another as stories are preserved in the collective memory, ensuring

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the connection between generations[19] and enabling the transformation of mere souvenirs in local tradition (see Halbwachs 1941). This type of memory draws on direct experience; it is a primary, live, instantaneous memory specific to traditional communities, or "memory collectivities" as Nora (1997) called them.

Insomuch as they describe the interlocutor's direct experience, narratives are autobiographical, or just biographical, if the main characters are other community members, whether the interlocutor is personally acquainted with them or not. Therefore, to structure the various narratives I documented, I adopted the classification proposed by I. Benga (2005) and B. Neagotă (2005),[20] which they designed using the referentiality criterion. In their view, there are four types of narratives: *memorate* I— self-referential, the subject shares his or her own experiences; *memorate* II—the narrator knows the referents directly; *memorate* III—the referents are generic, unknown, and the narrator does not provide clear information to identify them; and *memorate* IV—the referents are heroic, fantastic. Below I offer one example of each type of *memorate*, to illustrate my field data.

Memorate I:

> *I told you I didn't believe in that kind of thing … From Valea Lupului, I came on foot … And then a big wind, a blizzard started, and you couldn't—you couldn't even breath. And at one point, so I could go on walking, I put a bag over my head, I pulled it up—no, basically you couldn't see the road. And, after you cross that bridge they're working on now, before you enter the village of Colți, all of a sudden, as I minded my business, from the left-side of the road, a big toad, this big, appeared. And bang, it came towards me, I moved away, and the toad, bang, towards me, so at one point, I stopped and I said: "Good Lord, Blessed Mary, where did you come from now?" Because it was freezing, snowing, and the toad kept following me—I was afraid to look back, but there, in that area, you get to see this kind of thing* (F.R., age 72, village of Colți, Oct. 2014, interview conducted with M. Andreescu).

Memorate II:

> *[My father-in-law], back when he was out cutting wood in the forest at night— it was around midnight, in a forest near Buda—like they worked back then, with a saw, an axe, a two-man saw, he felled, he bucked— when he heard a beautiful song. Those were the* Iele.[21] *If you make one peep then, you're paralyzed. Paralyzed, completely. We can't believe it. I personally, since I heard it and the things that happened to me, I still*

can't believe it (M.M., aged 77, village of Sărulești, Sept. 2016, interview conducted with M. Andreescu, C. Voicilă, and R. Marinescu).

Memorate III:

> *By the woods, there was this place, Coman's House it was called. They say there was this man who ran an inn there and he ended up dead I don't know how … crazy or something. And they said ghosts came up when you passed by. But [only those] who were afraid could see it. … It happened to a woman; she told the ghost came before her oxcart. … Something came up to the oxen. The oxen got scared but [the ghost] kept walking, only stopped when the woman crossed herself, before that it just kept walking. It happened at night. … Nearby, towards Țățîrligu, past the crosses* (I.L., age 80, village of Cojanu, Nov. 2015).

Memorate IV:

> *Our elders would tell that giants used to live here, but I never saw them. … A long time ago, I don't know where this was, … they found one of us ploughing with two oxen. They say the giant tucked them in his shirt and took them away. "Look, mother, I found some little worms, they were dugging down there, with these animals, they were dugging there. … What should we do with them?" … This is hearsay, passed down from father to son, you know—This was a long time ago. I couldn't say what date this was. They're gone now. They knew [what would happen to them] because they said: "Let them be, let them be, take them back to where you took them from, because they'll survive us, we'll perish," she said. She predicted that … That's what I heard from the elders.* (I.B., age 92, village of Scăieni, Nov. 2014, interview conducted with G. Vlahbei).

Since all the interlocutors are literate, according to Zumthor's classification (1990), the narratives above belong to "mixed orality" and not "primary orality" typical of illiterate communities. Nonetheless, Buzău locals live in an environment in which local knowledge continues to be transmitted orally. The proof of this living transmission is the use of direct speech and imagining dialogues in the brief space of the story. Further, the speakers use persuasion to convince the audience about the factual truth of their utterances, couched in the language of orality: "but there, in that area, you get to see this kind of thing" (memorate I); "We can't believe it. I personally, since I heard it and the things that happened to me, I still can't believe it" (memorate II); "they say" (memorate III); "Our elders would tell" (memorate IV). These phrases are indicative of the intergenerational

transmission, which is done strictly orally and uninterruptedly within the communities.

It should be noted here that the narratives above, and other similar ones, were recorded in their spoken form, during the interviews. In addition to their own imagination, subjectivity, and emotions stirred by the storytelling, the interlocutors were also stimulated to perform as storytellers in relation with the researchers. They used gestures or changes of tone to make the story more dramatic, showing once more that speaking "engage[s] the body" (Ong 2002). The transcript of the recording, however, is but an "arbitrary" version (Goody 2010: 6) out of all the versions that could be found in the field, even coming from the same interlocutor, since oral performance is personalized and influenced by the context in which it takes place (see Finnegan 1974, 1977; Goody 1977). Following Ursula Baumgardt's theory (2008), a template version was produced during the research, which was later also captured in writing, through transcribing. As a result, all of the recorded narratives exist at present in written form, as faithful a copy of the spoken version as possible. The narratives thus become "textual object[s]," which "will constitute the basis for any subsequent analysis" (Roulon-Doko 2008: 281), linking their oral, living existence to their written, frozen one, to be cited as a primary source from now on. This process of formalizing the oral texts is emphasized by their institutionalization, as they are transferred under the authority of an archive—in this case the Romanian Peasant Museum archive— with all the methodological problems associated with indexing oral records, including the ethical issues that concern the status of the researcher conducting the interviews and deciding to record them.

There are indeed several studies discussing the methodological slippages that the relationship between writing and speaking causes when the ethnological document enters the institutional collection of ethnological archives in both its audio recorded form and its written, transcribed form (see Iosif 2015; Jiga-Iliescu 2020, Mateoniu-Micu 2020). In this direction, C. Iosif (2015) writes about methodological reductionism as an effect of the archives, and ethnographic museums, because they present the "ethnological document" as the irefutable proof of orality. "Following the logic of typologies, those institutions would depict rural societies as fundamentally 'oral'" (p. 102), despite the village world having been for generations now at "the confluence of written culture, non-traditional spectacular practices, and the mass media" (p. 102). To further complicate things, Iosif goes on, the folklore "document" is an oral

document that is "identified," recorded and classified following the logic of archives and typologies, i.e., of the literate culture. Therefore, in light of the methodological problems raised by the relationship between orality and literacy, Iosif claims the need for a reevalution of the ethnological document produced by the researchers.

As an archival record, the oral document becomes therefore an instrument, source and resource for researchers, or cultural actors. The document, both oral and written, thus lives several lives via the readings that it supports, independent of the original intention of its creation as a document, since "[l]istening to a recording can also produce a variety of written outcomes" (Goody 2010: 6). It is however vital to point out that, although it appears to connect orality and literacy within the framework of mixed orality—as a "half-breed, or mixed genre," as F. Pejoska-Bouchereau's proposes to call it[22]—transcription has a reifying effect, and in so doing it draws attention to the absence of oral transmission mechanisms; cut away from the original context of its production, and especially cut away from the community that produced it, the document is deprived of the intergenerational transmission[23] that generates the multiplicity of versions.

Written sources and the "second orality"

Once transcribed, living, primary memory, which is transmitted orally, turns into "secondary memory" (Cornea 1988), mediated and reified. This points to a paradigm shift that occurs with the invention of writing, since, as Jack Goody (1977) reminded us, "writing shifts language from the aural to the visual domain" (p. 78). To exist, therefore, this secondary memory needs a physical medium, i.e., the written text affixed to various materials, which become "places of memory" [*lieux de mémoire*] (Nora 1997), witnesses and marks of a shared past. The narratives about the places of Buzău region create many such *lieux de mémoire*, the first being turn-of-the-twentieth-century publications and, second, more recent publications produced by local teachers or cultural representatives.

Perhaps the best known such *lieu de mémoire* is Al. Odobescu's *Pseudo-kynegeticos*, first published in 1874, which includes the fairy-tale of "The Emperor's Son Who Had Luck Hunting." The book, as the title suggests, is a mock hunting treaty, in fact a genuine travel guide around Wallachia and Moldova. Northern Buzău is one of the areas featured in the book, complete with the names of places, a brief description of them,

and a few legends explaining local exceptional natural phenomena. Some of the important sites of the future Geopark are mentioned, e.g., Dealul Balaurului (Dragon's Hill), in the area of Beciu and Arbănaşi villages, as a reminder of the fantastic beast killed by the emperor's son, or the mud volcanoes, located in the area of Pâclele and Beciu villages, where they said that "the Devil set up his pots of boiling tar and pitch" (Odobescu 2010: 211).

Second, there is Al. Vlahuţă's *România pitorească* [Picturesque Romania], first published in 1901, a travel diary in which the author described the wonders he encountered in the places he travelled too, giving their local names, among which a few villages from northern Buzău. He recorded some of the giant stories,[24] creatures said to have lived a long time ago in those parts.

A third publication, written by a local teacher, D. Şerbănescu-Lopătari (1937)[25] recorded in elaborate detail the legendary origin of the toponymy[26] of the area, including the communes of Lopătari, Mânzăleşti, and Bisoca, crossing into Vrancea region. The legend accounts for the origin of the eternal flame natural phenomenon as nature's interfering in the final battle between Giurgiu, the protagonist, leader of the local shepherds, and the thieves who attacked him.

Although these are fictional works, the authors switch to a different register when they recount the legends, resorting, even if in passing, to a few artifices typical of orality. First, all three of them use the stylistic device of the embedded narrative, as the legends are told by a local, incidentally a gifted storyteller, who acts as the guide of the traveling writer. Odobescu does not mention the name of his guide ("a strong Bisoca villager, a sort of darker, Wallachian Apollo, who knew all the meanders of the mountains like the back of his palm," 2010:196); Vlahuţă's guide is "Moş [Father] Gheorghe", presented as a wise man, who spoke "in riddles"; and Şerbănescu-Lopătari's guide is "nea [Uncle] Vasile Andrei", who, although illiterate, "was also a very good hunter and therefore a wonderful storyteller. For Uncle Vasile, each hill, valley, stone, rock, stream, and even older tree had its own story" (1937: 3). Further, direct speech is used in the text, as the guide speaks to the current audience made up of travellers and the future audience of readers. In terms of the language, local speech is used sparsely, despite its potential to lend local colour to the narratives, as the authors prefer a literary standard language, easier to read than the local speech in which the story was presumably told originally. The authors do acknowledge that; for instance, Odobescu

writes: "And then my good man of Bisoca did not waste any time and started to tell the following tale, using his soft, lyrical speech, which hard as I try, I could never recall" (2010: 199). Clearly, these literary devices are meant to recreate an appearance of orality—which the text fundamentally lacks, and with it, also variance.

In addition to the three works published before the 1950s, two of them (authored by Odobescu and Vlahuță) having become landmarks of Romanian literature, I also consulted several more recent local monographs (Gâlmeanu 2004; Costea 2012), as well as local publications.[27] They all record legends about places or other narratives explaining toponymies as part of a process to produce heritage, i.e., to salvage a culture that, in what is essentially a romanticized view, is deemed to be on the verge of extinction. The style of the monographs and legends does not raise any issues, as the narratives are merely transcribed and, ever so often, rewritten as they are retold, losing their orality in the process, the only remaining trace being at best the mentioning of the interlocutor.

In this type of secondary orality, the written version exists along with the still living, oral tradition, which, in the process, goes through several essential changes, such as losing its capacity to be re-created through variance or acquiring the style the transcription imposes on the spoken word, or sometimes being subject to a meddling with the language by educated authors. Nonetheless, the one version captured in writing can regain its orality, as visible during the interviews. For example, after telling us the legend of the village of Vintilă Vodă, when prompted where she had heard it, I. D. (age 71, village of Mânzălești, April 2015) admitted that she had learnt it in school.

Orality and the intellectuals

The role of the local intellectuals, according to the above, is anything but insignificant, pointing to the need to reconsider their part in promoting local culture, as well as, within the framework of this analysis of how orality and literacy interact, the way they influence, through their actions, the perception of oral cultural facts.

a) Local intellectuals

First, there are the local scholars who, in our recorded interviews, described their own experiences in a way that made apparent their active

involvement in the communities. Through their efforts to preserve and transmit the local collective memory in the form of monographs—thus "freezing" mixed orality and turning it into secondary orality—they become witnesses of traditions and orality. But their action is not limited to recording and, possibly, rewriting texts, for, as Goody (1977) put it, they are those "individuals engaged in the creative exploration of culture" (p. 20). It takes instead the form of a multiplicity of contexts in which local scholars intervene proposing creative cultural activities akin to heritage-making, sometimes with the purpose to "educate" the community. Their efforts are the more significant as they emerge within the community and actively engage the locals.

Mânzăleşti is a good example, as several creative activities were organized in the village over the years. After 1990, under the guidance of their teachers D. Cristea and V. Beşliu, the pupils were encouraged to bring to school old household items that their families no longer used, thus creating the collection of objects displayed at the "'Time of Man' Museum" exhibition.[28] This attests the contemporary trend of educating the young generations to embrace self-heritage-making as an identity-building practice, an approach reminiscent of the theoretical orientations of the early days of folklore studies (Mesnil 1997). In addition, creative activities for adults and teens were offered. During communism, a folklore group[29] made up of both adults and teens was organized to participate in local and national festivals and take to the stage local traditions, especially winter customs, re-inventing them in the process. The folklore group's repertory included a folk theatre play, based on a legend explaining the origin of the village's name. The sketch was written by teacher D. Cristea, who first collected the legend in 1970 and wrote it for the stage to be performed by both adults and teens in 1974-1975. Before 2001, the play, consisting of short folk music, theatre and dance pieces, was performed only locally or regionally. In 2001, it was performed for the first time outside the county, at the ASTRA Museum in Sibiu, and in 2015, it was included in the opening program for the "'Time of Man' Museum" exhibition.

The story of Mânzăleşti is illustrative of how active involvement by local intellectuals can change the direction of local knowledge transmission. Thus, the direct oral transmission paradigm, where memorization techniques focuses on themes and motives, allowing for each transmitter to interfere with the story and imbue it with his or her own personality or style, is altered. With the establishing of a reference text, first collected as an oral document and then transposed in a popular theatre script, the

narrative is reified in a relatively fixed form, meaning that, in this case, there is word-by-word memorization and the possibility for variance is largely lost. As a novelty, the theatre play provides new media for the message, apart from the spoken word, namely gestures, music and dance, all of them engaging the body the same way it used to happen in the case of direct oral storytelling. But, by being performed as a theatre play, the narrative re-enters the oral circuit through another "door," as each actor (member of the folklore group) leaves his or her mark on the text and the performance.

b) Intellectuals from outside the community

Next, I discuss the cultural interventions performed by actors coming from outside the community. In this connection, I will focus on our actions as researchers to single out and display Buzău heritage, both tangible and intangible, in what can be ultimately deemed an applied anthropology endeavour that invites to self-reflection.

While, during research, we gather evidence, we record narratives, which we then file and preserve in the archives, later, our role as museum researchers implies that we give back the community what we recorded, in the form of cultural interventions. In the framework of museum work, this would require opening local exhibitions, as well as creating publications for the use of the young generations. This analysis discusses heritage-making as representation of orality via institutional action (Iosif 2009), even more so as these cultural interventions use information that was already selected as representative.

As part of the GeoSust project outcomes, two local exhibitions were opened in Buzău region. The first, the mostly ethnographic "'Time of Man' Museum" display (Mânzălești, 2015) used household items belonging to the 1990s local collection. Initiated by the mayor of the commune, it was the outcome of the collaborative work between Romanian Peasant Museum researchers, geologists, and a few locals. The exhibition was designed around the local natural elements, salt and clay, combining objects and excerpts of interview transcripts that told the story of the people and places. The success of the small display showed both how much the community welcomed the effort, as well as the community's openness to it, as the locals fully appropriated the discourse on heritage offered by us. The opening of the exhibition in Mânzălești stirred the competitive spirit of other villages, so, in 2016, the "Seven fairy-tale places" exhibition

was opened in Lopătari. The display explained seven key local natural phenomena (the salt domes, the eternal flames, the mud volcanoes, the amber, the sulphur springs, the concretions, the caves dug in the rock) using both scientific data and local narratives, mostly from print sources, as well as from the interviews we conducted during the research.

Another intervention that concerned the interference of orality and literacy were the publications that resulted from the GeoSust project, namely "A User's Manual for the Environment" and "A Guide to Cultural Legacy." The two publications were designed as manuals for the use of the community youth to encourage them to become involved in the heritage-making process, the process that valorises a community's cultural particularities, such as oral cultural facts that help build local identity.

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The narratives of places—even when performed on stage or filtered through the personalities of village or outsider intellectuals—do not cease to be dynamic as, despite having been transcribed, they can always go back into the oral circuit and undergo the transformations specific to the dynamics of orality. The novelty here is that, presented this way, they are meant for a larger audience than the local one. Nonetheless, the reversion to orality, unsurprisingly, only occurs within the community. This is not however the whole picture since these cultural events target mostly the young local audience, those who need to be made aware of the significance of cultural heritage, here intangible, for defining and asserting local identity. The intellectuals' interventions are, for that reason, all the more important as the dialog that they enable between oral culture and literate culture shapes how communities perceive their history and reactivate their oral memory.

New media and the "mediatized orality"

Because it is a dynamic phenomenon, present-day orality "no longer has the same agenda as it did for our ancestors" (Zumthor 1990: 18), which explains why its current form is radically different from mixed or secondary orality, sometimes combining the features of the two, always surprising as it resorts to all the latest media for transmission. In fact, as early as 1977, Finnegan claimed that the radio and the TV, "the oral media," were becoming "one of the main means of distribution of oral poetry" (Finnegan 1977: 169) and orality in general, and by that "restored

to voice an authority almost lost" (Zumthor 1990: 18). Now is the time for a new type of orality, "mediatized orality" (Zumthor 1990), that uses mechanical devices. In the world of the "hypermedia," where the Internet reaches all types of audiences and is directly involved in the perpetuation of orality in digital form (Lafkioui and Merolla 2005), the researcher must consider the new media.

I did encounter instances of mediatized orality in northern Buzău, as the narratives of places were increasingly advertised using the mass-media (TV, radio), but also in digital form (websites, social media, etc.). They all made an active contribution to asserting local identity (see Castleton 2016). So, the region's cultural assets are now accessible through the mediation of technology (TV, radio, the Internet), illustrating the capacity for adaptation and appropriation of the new media by the local community and ultimately the latter's resilience.

Most often, this mediatized and digital orality develops from within the community. For example, an increasingly widespread way to popularize the stories of places is to post them on social media (Facebook, Instagram). Locals from Buzău region post them on their own pages to draw attention to the local culture—but mostly it is local intellectuals or people with a higher profile, not only online but regionally due to mass-media promoting them as craftsmen. One of the most active local actors posting stories and legends about Buzău places is C. P. (age 70, Mânzălești), former teacher. Now and then, she posts the narratives she collected herself in the 1970s-1980s or later, her posts gathering a lot of likes and comments. Social media pages thus become a new way for people with shared passions and, most importantly, values to come together, as evidenced by the positive tone of the posts and comments.

Mediatized orality remains, however, mostly the domain of actors outside the community. The most eloquent example in the Buzău case study are the three documentary films[30] produced by Digi World, the *GeoSust* project's media partner. The films tell the story of the region following several narrative threads and focusing on three themes derived from the natural landscape: fire, wood, and stone. The directors opted to present the places of Buzău Land via the stories told by the people—several key interlocutors recommended by the researchers who did fieldwork there. The three films were screened during the exhibition about Buzău at the Romanian Peasant Museum (2017); they were also present at the "Culese din Balkani" documentary film festival (Nov. 2017, Bucharest); and another special screening was organized at the Romanian Peasant Museum

(Jan. 2018, Bucharest). In addition, they were repeatedly broadcasted on the Digi World TV channel, which brought them to a considerably larger audience. Excerpts from the interviews were published on the Facebook page of Asociaţia Ţinutul Buzăului [Association of Buzău Land],[31] an NGO created, as our research project ended, to enable the establishing of the Geopark and communication with the local communities. The interviewees' stories thus reached an audience that exceeded by far the boundaries of the region.[32]

In the case of both mediatized and digital oralities, although the audience is expected to engage with the oral cultural phenomena during their reception (Seydon and Dauphin-Tinturier 2008), in our experience, the interaction did not actually occur during the storytelling. There was a time lag between the shooting of the films and their screening and even between the writing and the publishing of Facebook posts, so the reaction of the audience came a good while after the fact. Despite the appearance of a dialog in the hypermedia environment, the oral narratives are in fact transmitted rather in the form of a monologue.

Beyond this shortcoming, the new channels for expressing orality confirm the "return in force of orality" (Zumthor 1990: 227), all the more so as they generate a strong feeling of belonging to a group, albeit online. Further, these communication channels contribute to the assertion of local identity as they "can bring proximity to cultural practices" (Castleton 2016: 209) and give the locals (and others) access to a set of informational resources otherwise kept strictly in the private sphere: old photographs of locals, photographs and video recordings of customs, or lesser-known legends.

Conclusions

As presented above, all three types of orality (mixed, secondary, and mediatized) coexist in Buzău region, illustrating the flexibility and dynamic nature of local oral culture, despite it having been influenced by literate culture for several generations. The dynamic aspect is further emphasized by the way oral memory was integrated in the written culture through transcribing, as secondary memory, an endeavour similarly motivated as the Enlightenment scientific approach, meant to "save" the local culture (see Mesnil 1997; Pop and Ruxăndoiu 1978). Adapting to the new era, orality transcends the traditional media, making its way in the digital

environment and integrating among its forms of expression, in addition to writing, recorded speech and gestures.

The Buzău case-study is significant for illustrating a reality that we, researchers, understand sometimes only after finishing our fieldwork: the relation between oral culture and literate culture, that we succeed or fail to integrate it in our research. In this sense, researchers should set out to the field equipped with a methodology that takes into consideration the complementarity and coexistence of orality and literacy, acknowledging the fact that the people whom we meet and whose stories we record are more or less educated and have access to publications and media (TV, radio, Internet, social media) that continuously educate the local community in the spirit of orality. After we record the narratives of places, for instance, asking our interlocutors the question "How did you learn that?" could be very relevant. Often people speak from their experience or that of other community members, which they know because it was orally transmitted in their social group. But sometimes their stories come from print sources, most often narratives transcribed in local monographs or received through other media channels only to fall back into orality and be passed on through the usual channels of oral transmission. In this sense, the interaction with the intellectuals from the local communities is relevant—whether we look for them ourselves or they are recommended to us by the villagers as key members of the community. They offer us a more elaborate and reflexive view of local cultures, which is why they are often overlooked as interlocutors in our final research papers, only their works are cited as bibliography. Other times, when they speak from their own experiences, they are assimilated with the other speakers, without any mention of how their narratives are distinct, because of their capacity to synthesize the local beliefs and knowledge.

As a result, once the discussion of the relation between orality and literacy is reopened and the complementarity and coexistence of the two is built into the methodology, ethnological research will acquire a new dimension to help it unpack the current meaning of traditions and their dynamic marked by both continuity and discontinuity. We find therefore that, today, oral, living, primary, empirical memory communicates with and is integrated in secondary, passive, mediatized memory without however disappearing altogether. Seemingly, oral memory leaves no material traces, as opposed to secondary memory that can be traced in written documents, audio and video recordings, or the digital environment. The traces of oral memory are nonetheless there, they are intangible, visible

in the style of the writing, the gestures recorded on video, the intonation of the audio recording. Contemporary researchers of intangible cultural facts must therefore acknowledge both types of memory, make room for them in their studies, and acknowledge the dialog that unfolds between the two.

Finally, Mesnil's claim that the relation between oral culture and literate culture should be approached critically couldn't be more topical, given that "any reflection on European ethnology must begin, we believe, with a critique and rethinking of its object of inquiry: the phenomenon of orality within a 'historical' society" (Mesnil 1997: 23). The Belgian scholar thus emphasized the need to redefine the methodology of ethnological research, which is lacking at present, precisely because it does not adequately integrate the complementarity of oral and literate cultures, a shortcoming that can only be overcome by considering this interconnectivity as early as the pre-fieldwork stage.

NOTES

[1]   V. Mihăilescu (2007) makes a conceptual distinction between two understandings of "tradition." First, "tradition as value," with a very broad, naturalistic, organic and absolutist meaning, connected with the concept of "tradition" as "cultural message" (Lenclud 1987). Second, "tradition as process," seen from a constructivist perspective, following Handler and Linnekin (1984) who posited that "tradition refers to an interpretative process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity" (p. 273). In this latter view, "tradition is a model of the past and is inseparable from the interpretation of tradition in the present" (p. 276).

[2]   See Lenclud (1987).

[3]   As early as the interwar period, the sociologist Henri H. Stahl (1983) provided a detailed critical account of how folklorists and other people of culture had used the concept of "traditions" starting with the eighteenth century (the Transylvanian Enlightenment) up until the first decades of the twentieth century (when Folklore Studies are established due to the interest of the Romanian Academy in the topic).

[4]   In this regard, it is very telling that, for the indirect ethnological surveys conducted in late nineteenth-century Romania, the village intellectuals were the ones to fill out the questionnaires sent to them by B. P. Hașdeu—in 1887 he prepared the first indirect ethnological survey questionnaire dedicated to legal customs, and in 1884 he circulated a second questionnaire, which he used to draft the *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae* dictionary.

[5]   For instance, during my PhD field research, of the fifty-nine interlocutors, only nine (15%) held a university degree.

[6]   Looking back, all of the persons I interviewed had at least graduated primary school. Primary education has been free and compulsory in Romania since 1864, under Law no. 1150/1864, promulgated by Al. I. Cuza.

[7]   M. Treben, *Sănătate din farmacia Domnului. Practica mea în legătură cu plantele medicinale și sfaturi pentru utilizarea lor [Health Through God's Pharmacy: Advice and Experiences with Medicinal Herbs],* Hunga-Print, Budapest, 1994.

[8]   The field research was conducted from 2014 to 2017 as part of the project Applied Research for Sustainable Development and Economic Growth Following the Principles of Geo-conservation: Supporting the Buzău Land UNESCO Geopark Initiative (*GeoSust*), coordinated by the Romanian Academy Institute of Geodynamics, funded by EEA and Norwegian grants and the Ministry of Education, contract no. 22 SEE/06/30/2014, with the Romanian Peasant Museum assigning nine ethnologists to be part of the research team. The project researched both the geo-heritage and the intangible heritage, within a bounded territory, for the purpose of establishing a geopark.

9   Of a total eighty-two semi-structured interviews that I conducted in Buzău, sometimes on my own, other times alongside my colleagues, 38 percent of the interlocutors were community intellectuals, the highest share out of all the fieldwork studies I had participated in until then.

10   The "Muzeul Timpului Omului" [Time of Man Museum] exhibition in Mânzăleşti, opened in 2015.

11   The exhibition "Ţinutul Buzăului. Privelişti, rosturi, poveşti" [Buzău Land. Sights, Meanings, Stories], held at the Romanian Peasant Museum from April 26 to June 25, 2017, at the end of the GeoSust project.

12   R. Crosby's 1936 study on the Middle Ages, with references to the oral culture of the Antiquity, represented a breakthrough for the study of the relation between orality and literacy. In it she started from the premise that, in medieval times, the majority of people "read by means of the ear rather than the eye, by hearing others read or recite rather than by reading to themselves" (p. 88).

13   Performance is perceived as a creative process (see Goody 1977, 2010), influenced by subjectivity, the imagination and immediate emotions of both the performer—who, equipped with specific skills, is a necessary mediator, although he or she performs within the limits (a framework of motives, topics) imposed by the community (see Baumgardt 2008)—and the receiver who, in turn, gives a subjective meaning to the text (see Seydon and Dauphin-Tinturier 2008).

14   When it comes to the creation of oral cultural facts, the context is often blurred, since it is ruled by the spoken word, which is both dynamic and perishable (Ong 2002: 31), the resulting cultural fact being therefore necessarily "ephemeral" (see Jiga-Iliescu 2020).

15   A reflection that came out during a discussion with C. Iosif, February 2020.

16   As opposed to "verbatim memorization," typical of literate societies, which relies on a written text (Ong 2002: 56).

17   The observation belongs to L. Jiga-Iliescu in a comment she made during the international conference "Călători şi călătorii. A privi, a descoperi," University of Bucharest, Faculty of Letters, October 24, 2015.

18   Buzău region includes indeed many highly valuable geological heritage sites: the mud volcanoes, the eternal flames, the amber, the salt domes, the caves, the concretions and the mineral springs.

19   Maurice Halbwachs claims that "social memory," as external memory of the social group, is associated with traditional communities where "all persons think and remember in common" (1980: 78). Ricoeur refers to this type of memory as "transgenerational memory" (2001: 480).

20   The two researchers use the referentiality criterion to classify narratives in order to substantiate the process of cultural transmission in relation to fictionalization. In my study, however, this classification is not used to measure the degree of truth or fictionalization because this is not the purpose.

Therefore, I use a simplified version of the classification to distinguish between the subjects the narrative is centred on.

21 *Iele* are female mythical creatures in Romanian beliefs, often described as fairies.

22 Personal conversation with Professor F. Pejoska-Bouchereau, February 27, 2020, Paris.

23 *Idem.*

24 The legend of the child giant who finds the man ploughing his field, picks him up in his palm, and takes him to his parents. We did record the legend during our research in the GeoSust project, see the *memorate* IV example.

25 Let me note here that I owe the access to the text, in its typed version and not the 1937 published one, to Ioan Zota, a teacher in the village of Lopătari.

26 The legend covers many toponyms still used today, explaining how the protagonists of the legends (mostly people, but also animals) turned into various elements of the natural landscape: mountains, hills, rocks, rivers, etc.

27 This refers to *Întrezăriri. Revistă sătească de știință și cultură [Glimpses. A village science and culture magazine]*, first published in 2013, in Pârscov (Buzău County), under the coordination of Gheorghe Postelnicul. You can access the magazine online: https://intrezaririrevista.wordpress.com/).

28 The museum opened in the cultural center of Mânzălești in 2015, as a local outcome of the GeoSust project; it was preceded by a small local exhibition designed by the local teacher in the 1990s.

29 "Slănicul from Mânzălești."

30 "Focul – Ținutul Buzăului" [Fire – Buzău Land] (2017, director A. Oprea, 35'), "Lemnul – Ținutul Buzăului" [Wood – Buzău Land] (2017, directors: A. Dobrescu, A. Oprea, 38'); and "Piatra – Ținutul Buzăului" [Stone – Buzău Land] (2017, directors: A. Oprea, A. Grădinariu, and I. Pană, 42').

31 www.tinutulbuzaului.org; https://www.facebook.com/pg/tinutulbuzaului

32 The documentary film excerpts posted on this Facebook page have between 2,100 and 82,200 views.

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DIVIDED COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND THE JUDICIALIZATION OF (PAST) NECROPOLITICAL PRACTICES AROUND INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES IN ROMANIA[1]

Abstract

This paper is an analysis of a recent series of criminal complaints by the Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism and the Memory of the Romanian Exile regarding preventable deaths in residential institutions for children with disabilities. I contrast the investigations with ethnographic and interview data surrounding one of the institutions included in the trial, as well as archival material. I argue that the criminal complaints have marked a turning point in the process of judicialization of the state socialist past through democratizing victim and perpetrator statuses and set in motion dynamics of cultural memory recognizing the deaths of children in institutions on a local level. Nevertheless, they also obliterate continuities of necropolitical practices in relation to institutions.

Keywords: memory, judicialization, disability, post-socialism

Introduction

The section of the Orthodox Christian cemetery in Siret, where the children and other people who had grown up at the NPI [neuropsychiatric children's hospital] are buried, lies apart from the other sections designated for people of Orthodox faith in Siret. Whereas in the other sections one can see tidily kept graves and marvel or neatly kept metal gravestones, the section pertaining to the once institutionalized children and people stands in stark contrast (see images in appendix).

Most of the section is made up of anonymous graves, the differences between the individual graves are, if at all, so barely perceptible, that it

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gives the impression of a mass grave. Every now and then metal or stone crosses mark individual graves, yet most are broken down and one can see the tide of time and neglect that has passed over them.

Only at the entrance to the section that separates it from the rest of the cemetery, one can see a large monument erected recently (since 2018) to the memory of the children who had grown up at the hospital, died and are buried there. Locals say that it was erected by a former nurse from the hospital that had been strongly involved in the processes of inclusion in the community and who received support from transnational volunteers. Nevertheless, local press reports show that it was erected as a consequence of the deaths of the children from the hospital receiving attention in the wake of the launching of the criminal investigation by the Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism and the Memory of the Romanian Exile (hereafter IICCMER, a government agency involved with researching crimes committed during the state socialist period and initiating criminal trials against the alleged perpetrators) (Monitorul de Suceava, 2018a). Moreover, alongside the erection of the monument, the plot in the cemetery was also cleaned of the growing weeds that had made the few existing crosses and marked graves invisible (Monitorul Suceava, 2018b), and trees were planted (Monitorul Suceava, 2018c). The monument is adorned with plastic flowers and stands in stark contrast to the remainder of the section in the cemetery pointing to a shift in memory practices that occurred well after most of the children and other people buried in the cemetery had already died.

I visited the cemetery in February 2020 as part of my research on how a criminal trial initiated by the Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism and the Memory of the Romanian Exile (hereafter IICCMER) is changing practices and relationships among the people in Siret that had once grown-up or worked as employees at the neuropsychiatric children's hospital (NPI). Upon this visit, my partner and amateur photographer Mugur Ciumăgeanu documented what we were seeing in the cemetery in a series of images that I have reproduced in the appendix with his permission. The trial was initiated by the IICCMER in June 2018 and concerns inhuman treatments of the children at the NPI hospital during the 1980s. Upon my visit to the cemetery, I was surprised how much of the shifts in interpreting the history and memory of the NPI hospital and its inhabitants and workers were visible in the space of the cemetery –

making it into a veritable *lieu de mémoire* as described by the reputed historian Pierre Nora (1989).

In the following, I will first outline the methodology that underpins the generation and interpretation of the data presented in this paper. In a next step, I will look at the way in which the investigation carried out by the IICCMER addressed the question of the violent past and the deaths in institutions for children with disabilities during the state socialist time. I will problematize the framing of the necropolitical past of these institutions by giving special attention to the place awarded to survivors' voices and to the framing of victims and perpetrators that the investigation produced. I will then look at the way in which these have travelled back into the space of communicative memory surrounding one of the communities where such an institution once existed, namely the town of Siret. Finally, I will look at how complementary to the trial that was initiated as a result of the investigations, andra- and pedagogical interventions could be developed to address the formation of ethical impulses of de-normalization of preventable deaths of children in institutions.

Methodological Reflections

The present paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork in Siret in 2015 and 2020. 2015 was the year of my extended ethnographic fieldwork in Siret that lasted for several months, and 2020 when I revisited Siret with the specific question addressed in this paper in mind. During my 2020 stay, I conducted interviews and a focus group/conversational interview with several people who had grown up at the hospital, as well as with a now retired carer that had worked at the hospital all her life. During this one week visit in February 2020, I also visited the cemetery in Ruși. My ethnographic stay in 2015 in Siret was pivotal to being able to carry out the present research. On the one hand, the difficulty of establishing a relationship with the interview partners that would allow exploring episodes of violence, but also ambivalent and intricate local social relations that the person is embedded in requires trust that cannot be built on a short term basis. The fact that I knew almost all my interview partners in advance, allowed me to gain an ever more complex understanding of the dynamics involved in the present transformations.

Among these challenges, the most methodologically relevant is that speaking out loud publicly (e.g., on TV) as a former child/ survivor of the

hospital had brought severe criticism from the local community, especially from former workers of the hospital upon those who had spoken up. Those who appeared on TV were discredited in several ways publicly, they were called liars and accused of having received money or objects (like refrigerators) for their inexplicable statements. This made my interview partners very wary of speaking up about their past at the hospital. Those that I eventually came to speak to were alright with speaking to me (and not to anyone else, as they assured me), since they had met and known me previously, and knew that I would take their anonymity as sources seriously. One of my interview partners spoke to me knowing that I am a researcher, and hoping that I could be an expert witness in the trial - a possibility I had not thought about. But there were also people who refused to speak to me, feeling concerned about the consequences speaking out load could have for them locally. At the same time, the staff were also concerned about speaking to me since it could be to their disadvantage in the present situation. The carer that did speak to me was introduced to me by a former worker from the hospital. She was an outspoken person that felt she did not have anything to fear, since she had already been in retirement for a long time. The fact that my first ethnographic encounter with Siret had happened previous to the trial opening helped to uncover the ways in which the memory of the hospital and the people who had survived it or died there was understood previous to the proceedings of the criminal trial. It offers the possibility to analyze the dynamics at play in the way in which collective memory is constructed in relationship between local memories and national and transnational processes of coming to terms with these memories. Moreover, having got to know the hospital and its past before the onset of the trials helped me as a researcher keep an open mind about vernacular interpretations of the proceedings, since I knew Siret as a community beyond its image as the sight of the "massacre of the innocent".

Another important avenue for research was understanding the way in which the initiation of the criminal trial had come about. Initially, I had intended to follow the trial proceedings but there was as far as I could tell no progress during the timeframe of my research. I thus analyzed the documents and materials collected by IICCMER in support of the trial concerning the hospital in Siret,[2] as well as one other trial concerning three care institutions for children with disabilities, Cighid, Păstrăveni and Sighet.[3] To better understand the way in which the files on each of the institutions was produced, how the institutions were chosen and how the

trials came about, I interviewed historian Luciana Jinga, one of the experts who had a pivotal role in bringing this issue on the agenda of the IICCMER, as well as in conducting a significant part of the research that went into the files. I analyzed the materials collected in the files, and contrasted them with materials concerning the same or similar institutions that I had collected during a Visegrad fellowship at the Open Society Archives in 2018, as well as with my ethnographic and interview data from Siret.

Unfortunately, time did not allow for implementing the educational interventions that I discuss at the very end of the paper and seeing how this approach to the topic allows for generating new insights about the way in which memory operates collectively on a local level. My conclusions in this field therefore remain as peda- and andragogical methodological suggestions.

Divided Collective Memory Practices and the Hospital's Past

Bio- and necropolitical questions

In 2020, I decided to revisit Siret and the memories of deaths of children from the neuropsychiatric hospital with the question of understanding the social significance these deaths had for local people (both survivors and others). My interest was prompted by two different interconnected trains of thought.

Firstly, while going through the material generated and gathered during my fieldwork in Siret in 2015 studying how the deinstitutionalization of the neuropsychiatric hospital had arrived in the lives of people with disabilities, I came across what I came to regard as (past) biopolitical (Foucault, 1978, 2003 [1997]) and necropolitical (Mbembe, 2003) practices. My interview and conversation partners, who had grown up in the hospital in Siret spoke of having been given *food from the bucket* until the age of seven, when upon being admitted to the school that was also located on the grounds of the hospital, they started being served three course meals and told that they need to know how to eat with cutlery because one day they will go out into the world beyond the hospital. The hospital (in a movie shot in 1981) also prided itself with its recovery activities, something that was very surprising given its reputation as a place of death for many children with disabilities. The differentiated food associated with school admission status and recovery opportunities of children with disabilities from the hospital

shows how the biopolitical separation between those considered at the time as "recoverable", thus in need of education, recovery and food, and those considered "unrecoverable", thus only entitled to a bare minimum, must have operated. The practices worked to separate those whose lives should be actively enhanced and those whose lives could be disavowed, they could be let die. These practices were interconnected on many levels and involved prognostic professional statements of specialized committees (of recoverability or un-recoverability[4]), but as I learned from both carers and survivors through ethnographic interviews, also everyday life explicit or implicit biopolitical hierarchies: aesthetic questions of being ugly as opposed to being beautiful, or being "good" and helping out, as opposed to making trouble for the carers.

The practices underpinning the system could partly also be described with what Mbembe (2003) has called *necropolitics.* Necropolitics (Mbembe, 2003) is a form of politics that allows for the creation of a relationship of enmity that legitimizes certain people to inhabit a positionality of power that entitles them to decide over killing or exposing to death of someone who inhabits a different positionality. In this sense, "unrecoverability" as a professional diagnosis positioned a person outside of the claim to having one's life fostered, to paraphrase Mbembe (2003), it located the person in a *space of death within life*, where death becomes a real possibility and lies within the freedom of others to act upon one's life and death. Yet, recoverability operated as a biopolitical category that entitled the bearers to having their lives fostered (biologically, socially and educationally).

I came to ask myself, how and where is this bio- and necropolitical distinction once drawn in the hospital still visible today? How does the fictionalized notion of the enemy (see Mbembe, 2003), that makes necropolitics possible, interact with the possibility of mourning and remembering the dead, as well as with challenging the conditions of possibility of their deaths?

Secondly, in the time that had passed between my fieldwork in Siret in 2015 and my visit in 2020, a significant change in the way in which the bio- and necropolitical past of these institutions was being discussed had occurred in Romania. In 2017, on June 1st, symbolically chosen as children's day, the Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism and the Memory of the Romanian Exile/ IICCMER forwarded a file to the Romanian Criminal Authority concerning the deaths of 771 minors in 3 state hospital-homes/institutions for children deemed

"unrecoverable", followed one year later by a second trial opened for the Neuropsychiatric Hospital in Siret, concerning the deaths of 350 children in the 1980s (of the 1500 children believed to have died in the institution since its beginning in 1956). The bodies of the children buried in the cemetery in the Ruși neighborhood thus had acquired significance as the earthly remains of victims in a criminal trial surrounding inhuman treatments carried out in the hospital in the time from 01.01.1980 and 22.12.1989.[5] I came to ask myself how the relationship with the untimely deaths of the children from the closed hospital were re-inscribed with meaning through the process of investigation, judicialization and criminalization of their deaths and the treatment they have suffered.

"The Massacre of the Innocent" – Re-inscribing Deaths with Historical and Legal Meaning

As we learn from Katherine Verdery (1999), dead bodies have had a significant after-life in the post-socialist memory landscape that operated with reburials and resignifications of deaths. Specifically, when addressing the anonymous dead, Verdery (1999, pg. 20) sees in the reburial or drawing of attention to those whose death was only known to few people close to them a form of repositioning of entire social categories. Thus, the cemetery in Ruși appears as a space in which the death of the children from the neuropsychiatric hospital in Siret re-acquires meaning, repositioning children with disabilities previously deemed and labelled "unrecoverable" within the affective space of the community and of the country.

Yet, the resignification of dead bodies is only one way of dealing with deaths that happened during the state socialist period in institutions for children with disabilities. In this particular case, the resignification of dead bodies appears as a consequence of another framework for problematizing the past in this region, namely that of judicialization (see Grosescu et. al, 2017) and connected to this, that of criminalization (see Constantin, 2019). Often judicialization was carried out through national memory institutes that came to be seen as a characteristic of East European transitions (Baby et. al, 2019, Behr, 2019). Through judicialization national memory institutes in the region, and particularly the IICCMER, also play a central role in the criminalization of the state socialist past (Constantin, 2019). A common feature of this modality of dealing with the past is that it mixes history with justice and politics (see Behr, 2019). Especially history writing

and legal procedures appear as often confounded in the work of these institutes (Behr, 2019).

Very recently the institutional framework of the processes of criminalization and judicialization of the state socialist past in the region (Baby et. al, 2019, Constantin, 2019, Behr, 2019), as well as the transnational and global ramifications of the associated memory processes (Grosescu et. al, 2019, Grosescu 2017, Neumayer, 2017), have received scholarly attention. This literature allows for a sophisticated immersion into the national and transnational drivers of the processes of criminalization, judicialization and cultural memory – but it leaves the local dynamics of communicative and collective memory under-reflected.

To address this absence, I propose to trace the work of judicialization of the state socialist past as it works to change the ways in which groups and collective identities on a local level are shifted and shaped in this process. The process of judicialization that I have chosen to analyze also marks a significant change from the way in which such trials have been carried out in the past, as it involves the democratization of both perpetrator and victim status.

The crimes for which the prosecutor's office was notified through the launch of a criminal complaint involved the deaths of 340 minors (in Siret)[6] and 771 minors[7] (in other three institutions for children with disabilities) ran under the legal framing of inhuman treatments. The investigations were pivotal in drawing attention to the deaths from preventable causes of children in institutions, thus opening up the possibility of publicly discussing the necropolitical practices and violence to which children that were labelled as "unrecoverable" and "deficient" were subjected. It marked an opportunity to discuss the perpetual and systematic marginalization of children and people with disabilities that peaks in such violent manifestations. Nevertheless, this opportunity was not fully explored. This missed opportunity is relatable to the way in which the victims, perpetrators, as well as the forms and drivers of violence have been framed in the investigations – that is why I will engaged with these points at large throughout the paper.

The victims of inhuman treatments were institutionalized children. The victim status of this group is visible in the death numbers that I will come back to in a bit, but also in the title given to the investigation related to one of the criminal complaints: *The Massacre of the Innocent from the chronic neuropsychiatric hospital in Siret*. The word *massacre* in the title involves an intentional character attributing to the (not yet identified) perpetrator

an awareness of the deadly consequences of their actions. Moreover, the "Innocent" appear as clearly separated from the perpetrator in the form of speechless victims characteristic of humanitarian aid framings (see Malkki, 1996).

The intended suspects of the complaint were the employees of the institutions. As the IICCMER representatives remarked at the press conference upon the launch of the first criminal complaint in 2017, the people considered responsible for inhuman treatments were all the employees of the institution, their occupations varied from cleaning staff to heads of institutions (ProTv, 2017). Yet, the investigations were opened in 2017 and 2018 without clear suspects (*in rem*).[8] The reason for this move was that the IICCMER did not have access to all the employee registers of the institutions that were included in the proceedings and they did not want to include as accused only those about which information was available to the institute.[9] To date, not much has occurred in respect to these investigations from a legal point of view, but there are signs that the proceedings will regain momentum.[10]

The variety in occupations of the accused offers an interesting contrast to previous trials initiated by investigations carried out by the IICCMER. The most prominent such instance is that concerning Alexandru Vișinescu, the former head of the Râmnicu Sărat penitentiary, who died while serving a twenty year prison sentence as a consequence of the trial initiated through a criminal complaint by the IICCMER for inhuman treatments inflicted upon political detainees in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[11] The perpetrators in the cases concerning the institutions for children with disabilities are more varied, but at the same time more difficult to trace and identify. The victims are also more vulnerable and their presence in institutions for children with disabilities less easily associable with "Communist" institutions and ideology, since such institutions also existed in non-"Communist" countries across the world.

These specific investigations offer an interesting starting point in throwing light on the question of how local dynamics of communicative memory are transformed through processes of cultural memory with a dimension of judicialization in a post-socialist context. This is the case since as outlined above the past everyday lives of employees in these institutions in the late 1960s through to the very early 1990s becomes sufficient ground for their inclusion as (would-be) suspects in the investigations, if not in the trials. Therefore, the local community around the former institution in Siret, where most people either worked or had

grown up, is involved in the investigations directly as either perpetrators or victims.

Counting preventable deaths

In order to understand the nature of the judicialization and intended criminalization of the necropolitical past of institutions for children with disabilities by the IICCMER it is useful to have a closer look at the press files concerning the institutions that were made available upon the launching of the criminal complaints.

The files that the IICCMER created on the four institutions under investigation are rather similar. They share introductory historical and organizational sections, as well as a section presenting the numbers of the deaths in each of the institutions, and a section including testimonies (see IICCMER, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c; 2018). The counting of the deaths had been one of the main objectives of the research process in preparing the criminal complaint and consisted of creating a database that could centralize death certificates obtained from local authorities that were in charge of registering the deaths of children from these institutions.[12] As an effect of this modus operandi, the deaths of children are discussed mainly numerically in terms of the ages of the children and the registered causes of death, as well as an evolution of the numbers of deaths in each institution throughout the period of time about which the complaint is launched. The period varies from 1987- March 1990 for Cighid, to the full 1966 – April 1990 for Păstrăveni and to 1973 -1991 for Sighetu Marmației. The complaint about the hospital in Siret only refers to the decade of the 1980s. Other pieces of information, such as the county of origin are also available, which most probably is due to the attempt to integrate all the available information into the description.

From the description of the death numbers we learn that several tens and even hundreds of children had died in each of these institutions and that the most common cause of death was pneumonia. However, in the case of the institution from Păstrăveni pneumonia, although accounting for around 30% of the deaths, is overtaken by malnutrition, that accounts for another 41% of the deaths (see IICCMER, 2017b). Other registered death causes include oligophrenia (an old term for intellectual disability that is an unlikely death cause), without further explanations of associated health conditions. Death causes such as pneumonia and malnutrition accounting for tens of deaths, if not hundreds, makes the necropolitical

nature of the mechanisms operating here clearly visible and identifiable. The death causes also give an indication of the mechanisms through which necropolitics operated – pneumonia has been a curable disease ever since the widespread use of antibiotics and its presence in such high numbers appears to indicate lack of access to medical treatment. Moreover, given the widespread nature of this diagnosis as a cause of death in terms of years and in terms of different institutions, it is clear that these institutions appear to have been systematically deprived of basic lifesaving medical treatment. Moreover, pneumonia, as we read in one of the humanitarian reports quoted in the press release (IICCMER 2017a, Spiegel/ Ariane Barth 1990), may have been due to the lack of heating in these institutions, pointing to a different mechanism that points to the lack of necessary resources for the biological reproduction of life. This mechanism is also visible in the registration of malnutrition as a cause of death. In these instances we see the necropolitical mechanism of depriving children of the necessary resources for the biological reproduction of life operate through starvation and cold deaths.

From the death numbers we can also see that most children died before reaching age four. An account that is confirmed by survivors. In a conversation-like focus group, survivors mentioned to me that in their view the work of carers working with small children was hardest. This was the case since these carers had to feed each of them despite the large numbers of children in their care, as well as witness their unexpected deaths.[13] The necropolitical mechanism identified here points to the lack of human resources necessary to perform care and might help articulate itself with the other two necropolitical mechanisms: lack of possibilities to perform care means not identifying the need to administer medication in the right moment or not feeding someone often enough or the right kind of food in the right kind of way.

The three identified mechanisms operate in such a way as to point to the systematic nature of this necropolitics. Unavailability of medicine or food or even people to administer either are all elements the securing of which goes beyond the everyday life of carers in institutions, it also even goes beyond the acting possibilities of a head of an institution. Who then can be identified as the perpetrator of these preventable deaths?

The next section of the press files released by IICCMER (2017abc, this section is interestingly absent with the file dealing with the hospital in Siret) deals with witness testimonies. Interestingly, these testimonies consist mainly of translations of transnational humanitarian reporting about the

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institutions from around 1990 and from the early 2010s (including the statement by a Bavarian politician, previously arrived as a humanitarian volunteer, upon visiting one of the institutions in 2011). These accounts were chosen to convey a similar picture of living conditions and lack of care that lead to severe neglect, as well as preventable deaths. Children are described as covered in their own excrement, compared to (wild) animals, the lack of medical treatment and medical supervision noted, as well as instances of locking children and young people up or putting them in cages (IICCMER, 2017abc). These accounts are generally taken from Radio Free Europe re-airing of humanitarian reports from German and American transnational humanitarian reporting and work to support the claims provided by the statistics concerning death numbers discussed above.

Interestingly, survivors' voices are strongly underrepresented in the files, except for one specific file that addresses the case of Izidor Ruckel (IICCMER, 2017d), and that accompanied the launching of the first criminal complaint. Izidor Ruckel was also present at the press conference held upon the launch of the criminal complaint (ProTv, 2017), and his presence at the press conference had been a key factor in attracting media attention, since he was already well-known in the national media landscape.[14] Izidor Ruckel had spent part of his childhood in the institution in Sighet, before being adopted by an American family. In adult life he wrote his autobiography and starred in a number of reportages surrounding Romanian institutions.[15]

Very valuable as it is, the inclusion of Izidor Ruckel's biography on an equal footing with the reports about the deaths of many nameless others creates a strange asymmetry that he himself addresses in his work: the asymmetry between those of the "abandoned children" who have been given the opportunity for a fulfilling life and those who haven't.[16] Moreover, the testimony of a survivor throws an interesting light on an inquiry that only addresses death – can one be included as a victim of an institution, if one has managed to survive it? This question points to how limiting the framing of the necropolitics in terms of death numbers in the context of the present processes of judicialization of dealing with the past set in motion by the criminal complaints initiated by the IICCMER.

Another important point in the files analyzed here is the legal framing of the preventable deaths of children labelled "unrecoverable" through the necropolitical mechanisms described above, namely that of inhuman treatments. This framing was made possible by its inclusion alongside

genocide and war crimes in the 1968 (Socialist) Criminal Code, with the mention that these types of international crimes were not subject to statutory limitations (see Grosescu, 2017, pg. 6). Incidentally, this was the crime for which Alexandru Vișinescu had been convicted for in 2016 in a trial initiated through a criminal complaint by the IICCMER. This was the case despite the inclusion in 2012 in the Romanian Criminal Code of the legal category crimes against humanity as a replacement of inhuman treatments and relied on the fact that the defendant had the right to be trialed under the applicable legal framing that would offer the most favorable conditions (see Grosescu, 2017).

The framing of inhuman treatments allows for overcoming statutory limitations, such as those concerning the duration of time elapsed since the crime had been committed. Nevertheless, it might create other problems since the framing is strongly associated with conditions of war, although it has been successfully applied in other contexts (such as the case of Alexandru Vișinescu). However, the underlying logic[17] requires the presence of a relationship of animosity/enmity between the state and the citizens/group in concern. The argument in the Vișinescu case had been that "adversarial relations" existed between the socialist state and its political opponents (Grosescu, 2017, pg. 14-15).

In the complaints concerning the institutions for children with disabilities, an argument could be made that a necropolitical regime that positions children labelled as "unrecoverable" and locates their lives as outside of the realm of those deserving to be fostered is "adversarial" (see also Mbembe, 2003 discussed above). Nevertheless, such an argument ties the present question of inhuman treatments in residential institutions for children and bio- and necro-political regimes to much broader processes of denying and demanding the right to life of people with disabilities that range from the eugenic movement to present day responses (or lack thereof) to the Covid-19 pandemic related to care homes and institutions across the globe (American Civil Liberties Union, 2020). It goes way beyond the "adversarial" relations of the state socialist state with children labelled as "unrecoverable".

The legal framing therefore points to a broader set of questions concerning the limits of approaching (past and present) necropolitical practices in institutions for children with disabilities with the lens of judicialization in relation to the "crimes of Communism".

Limits of dealing with necropolitics through judicialization and criminalization

Survivors' stories

As visible above the main sources that were included in the IICCMER's investigation were on the one hand statistically aggregated data on the numbers and causes of deaths and on the other hand accounts by transnational humanitarian volunteers. These accounts were either voiced and printed in the 1990s upon the said "discovery" of these institutions by Western volunteers (a formulation used in two of the five files) or as a memory by the same volunteers voiced in the 2010s. Izidor Ruckel's stance is as described a different, though partial complement. Yet, the fact that his account is not integrated with the file on Sighet, but receives a file of its own is indicative of the fact that survivors' accounts are placed apart (and still barely) within the historical-legal framework of the investigation.

Although in the documentation process of the investigation by the IICCMER, former employees had been interviewed, the same was not true of survivors. Survivors were seen as a problematic category, since their accounts of the carers were unlikely to be black and white – one survivor telling one of the IICCMER's experts that he would not name perpetrators since even if he had witnessed a carer killing another child, in another instance the same carer took care of him and she is the reason why he is now alive.[18]

Survivors' testimonies appear as difficult to reconcile with the framework of a historical investigation preceding a criminal trial and it is here that the epistemological tensions brought into historical research by judicialization and criminalization become apparent: it is hard to ascertain how complex necropolitics operated in and through institutions for children with disabilities, while trying at the same time to divide people into victims and perpetrators. This is the case since in this framework it is impossible to address the fundamental tension and paradox underlying institutions for children with disabilities in this context. Their aim at care and recovery contrasted with the large numbers of deaths and terrible living conditions – yet, these two opposing bio- and necropolitical forces co-existed in the space of these institutions. People serving as workers in these institutions, as well as children confined to them participated in both, as I learned from my interview partners during my 2015 fieldwork. It is therefore almost impossible to retrospectively and analytically isolate the victims from the perpetrators in order to punish the later.

Nevertheless, both survivors and experts that I have interviewed seem to agree that the perpetrator status should be attributed to those with highest responsibility – the heads of the institutions and starting from there downwards to heads of wards, etc. The equation of perpetrator status with organizational responsibility solves the problem of accusing people retrospectively for dealing with a terrible working situation (like caring for twenty or thirty infants alone for several hours, as in the case of the carers), yet, it is also the most difficult to prove. Heads of institutions can only be accused of not having done enough to protect the lives of the children who had died, since they were not directly involved in offering them care or medicine.

Moreover, during my 2015 and 2020 fieldworks, when speaking of the violence that had happened in the neuropsychiatric hospital, former carers and those community members connected to them identified it as a process that happened between the children. Whereas, former children would stress violence carried out by carers or more often being assaulted or physically punished by an older, more privileged roommate and screaming but receiving no support by the carer on duty. Moreover, some in order to avoid punishment would receive the task of keeping a look out so that no carers would come while the older children "punished" others by hitting the soles of their feet with wet sticks or beating them with wet bed linen.[19] Another situation often told is that of receiving only the support of specific carers that one had a relationship with.

The line between victim and perpetrator appears as blurred – whereas it actually should not be. Carers could encourage or discourage violence – but often it appears that violence could be used by older children to discipline the younger ones. Yet, for this former children cannot be held responsible, since they were not legally responsible for their actions at that time.

Yet, memories of past violent relations also affect the way in which and to whom these episodes can be narrated. My first meeting with an interview partner took place in a group discussion with women who had grown up at the hospital. To me the stories of violence told then (in 2015) had appeared shocking. Yet, only much later did I find out that one of the women present had been the "boss" and had engaged in some of the violent episodes narrated. The initial account of her former roommate had then remained incomplete due to the presence of her previous abuser at the interview. Yet, when in a later follow-up interview in the absence of the abuser, I asked her whether she attributes blame to the other woman,

my interview partner replied that she neither blames her nor does she feel spite for what happened "in their childhood". At the same time, she said she would like to see all the employees convicted of negligence, since they had not been there to protect them. A view held by another one of my women interview partners, but not shared by others who saw the head of the institution as the main perpetrator and showed understanding for the difficult situations that carers were faced with in the hospital.

Another question that points to the limitations of the present approach of the IICCMER to the necropolitical past of institutions is conceptualizing violence and inhuman treatments in terms of preventable deaths. What about other forms of violence that people who grew up in institutions have survived through? Would acknowledging untimely deaths be enough to stop future and present abuse in institutions for children with disabilities? And what dignity is regained in the process of acknowledging these untimely deaths for the survivors of these institutions who have suffered violence but not death?

To illustrate this point, one of my interview partners, who asked to be called Rania, told me the story of her violent experiences at the hospital.[20] When she was a small child, she had lived in the basement of the hospital's main building. Close to the room for small girls was the room for older boys (ages sixteen and above). When they would leave the room, some would be raped and Rania had witnessed such a rape, causing her to live in fear of it for the rest of her time there. Later, when she moved to a different room, it was so crowded that there was no room for her to sleep in a bed, so she would have to sleep on the floor to avoid being beaten by older girls. She lived through many humiliations, like being told to take off her clothes and stand in the window, so that people living close to the hospital in the community could see her naked body in the window. When she wanted to run, she would be threatened that she would be beaten. The older girls would beat her with rubber bands over her wet feet, or would throw buckets of cold water onto her face. Once they put her body on a bed sheet and four girls held a corner each and propelled her up into the air. They propelled her into the wall and she hit her head so hard that she had an epileptic like seizure. The nurses stopped the girls and Rania received medication for epilepsy for around a month after the episode. She was not beaten by carers, just by the older girls. The carers were always absent, but there was an older girl who would stand up for her and others and stop the violence. She also remembers that her primary school teacher stood up for her against the older girls, once she

had come to be older (around nine) and look prettier. The first time her teacher gave her a hug, she remembers not knowing what to do with her arms and holding them stiffly.

Stories such as Rania's are hard to research since trust needs to be built before such experiences can be articulated in dialogue. Rania was asked by journalists travelling to Siret to speak up as a survivor, but she had declined since they refused to offer her anonymity and insisted she appear on TV. Once articulated, the story shows the huge complexity of violent relations that could, but did not always, result in death - such as the episode when her body hit the wall and she developed a head injury. Is she to be considered a victim of the hospital? And how could this victim status and the violence she was subjected to be acknowledged, especially since she wants to keep what has happened to her silent from all but the people she trusts?[21]

Denying having been a perpetrator by upholding the normalization of preventable deaths

If the victim status is complex, so is that of the perpetrator. The criminal complaint has contributed to a re-articulation of a dynamic that was already in place, namely that of normalizing the deaths that are now disputed. This dynamic is apparent in the narrations of former employees of institutions, whether they fear being accused of inhuman treatments or not.

When asking a former care-worker from the NPI hospital in Siret about whether children had really died there, she replied that dying was not so common, just "who had to die, died" (*cine avea de murit murea*). In her view it only happened to those disfigured and it didn't really happen to the older children. The deaths could be attributed to conditions that the children had been born with. To her the hospital had been a very good place to work, and she remembered the children she had cared about, even loved (the favorites), as well as the good food, but tough working conditions (like needing to manually wash clothes and bed linen) in the hospital.[22]

A similar form of normalizing the deaths is visible around the former children's institution in Cighid. After the first criminal complaint was launched in June 2017, one of the local newspapers[23] from around the former hospital-home in Cighid, tracked down the two doctors (husband and wife) that had headed the institution for children with disabilities from October 1987 to March 1990 (coinciding with the period for which the trial is being opened). The interviewed doctors considered not they,

but the "system is guilty" and both considered nothing could have been done for the children since they were "unrecoverable" and "unwanted by both their families and the state, sent to us to die". The local paper also quotes the woman doctor saying: "Our purpose was to secure hygiene, food and treatment and supervision so that we are not accused that they died because of us", their purpose was to make the death of the children "silent" (Bihoreanul, 2017).

The causes of the animal like state that the children were reduced to portrayed in the humanitarian reporting is attributed by the man doctor to the children's disability phrased as: the children were oligophrenics [intellectually disabled] and could not absorb food. And the "unrecoverability" is seen by his wife as a reason why there was no actual need for recovery activities. Nevertheless, interestingly, the woman doctor admits to having dreamed about the children for many years, despite knowing that she could not have done anything to help them (Bihoreanul, 2017).

The tendency to normalize these deaths, so as to prevent taking on responsibility for them is at the same time a legal defense, as it is an ethical defense mechanism – it erases personal responsibility for furthering the lives of children with disabilities that had once been in one's care through restating the logic behind the term "unrecoverable" a diagnostic category that denied children a livable future.

Yet, it is exactly here in this ethical realm that an alternative future needs to become imaginable for precisely those people that share in the discourse that normalizes the deaths of children from these institutions. The power of the framing of "unrecoverability" needs to be robbed of its power to normalize preventable deaths and these deaths need to regain their eventfulness as a space of rethinking the ethical relationship between those considered to be disabled and "unrecoverable" and those that are responsible for their care (Povinelli, 2011, pg. 4). Put briefly, their deaths need to be re-inscribed with eventfulness in order to allow for the formation of an ethical impulse that involves the de-naturalization of their deaths. I will return to this point when discussing peda- and andragogical interventions.

Necropolitical marginalization of institutionalized children with disabilities

The criminal complaints launched by IICCMER in 2017 and 2018 related to inhuman treatments that took place in institutions for children

in Romania share one common very significant feature. They all relate to residential institutions that housed children with disabilities labelled as "unrecoverable". Cighid and Păstrăveni were "hospital-homes for unrecoverable minors" (*cămin-spital pentru minori nerecuperabili),* Sighetu Marmației was a "home for deficient unrecoverable minors" (*cămin pentru minori deficienți nerecuperabili*) and Siret was a "neuropsychiatric hospital for children" and it also housed children labelled as "unrecoverable".

Although, the notion of "unrecoverability" was central to the ways in which these institutions were organized and ran, as well as the normalizing dynamics of the violence and depravation that children were exposed to in these places, it is not central in the IICCMER investigations. Upon the launch of the first criminal complaint in 2017, the mention is made that "IICCMER experts had come across numerous cases in which the classification is made erroneously, the children were perfectly healthy or had minor physical and mental disabilities that were completely recoverable."[24] Although the statement is clearly intended to relativize the way in which the classification of children was made into the category of "unrecoverable", stating that many of the children were in fact "recoverable", it nevertheless upholds the ableist classificatory logic. It follows that some children were rightly considered "unrecoverable", which is immensely problematic from a social model of disability perspective.

It is this classificatory logic of negative future prognosis that is inscribed in the category labelling an individual child as "unrecoverable" that I argue was fundamental in setting in motion the necropolitical mechanisms uncovered by the investigation. It is the present shadow of this label that through such statements inadvertently acts to normalize violence and preventable deaths – some were wrongly attributed this label, whereas (few) others were rightly attributed this label? The underlying classificatory logic remains unchanged from the practices of employees that normalize violence and preventable deaths through the relativizing efforts of the IICCMER since both recourse to the category of "unrecoverability".

Thus, I argue that this classification needs to be denormalized and denaturalized – making clear that no child or adult individual is "unrecoverable" as such. It needs to be acknowledged that it is the environment that disables the individual and creates barriers to, as well as defines the standards of what we call participation in society. Acknowledging this offers the possibility to denaturalize both the classification and the violence and necropolitical mechanisms that derived from it, making it possible to think of a more inclusive future.

The limits of "Crimes of Communism"

Among the limitations that dealing with the necropolitical past related to the institutions for children with disabilities through the lens of judicialization and criminalization of "Communism" that the IICCMER's criminal complaints inaugurated maybe the most striking one is the circumscription of preventable deaths of children in institutions to the state socialist period. This circumscription coincides with an increase in the population of institutionalized children after the infamous pronatalist decree 770/ 1966 (on this increase see Jinga, 2011).

Nevertheless, this framing of necropolitical practices directed at institutionalized children and people with disabilities as a problem of "Communism" brushes out of view the continuities with practices of abuse both before the state socialist and the pronatalist period, as well as after it. It neglects the fact that institutions for people with disabilities (like psychiatric hospitals) were infamous places with very high mortality rates from the 19th century onwards (Obregia 1905, 1910, Parhon, 1919). Moreover, it neglects episodes of violence against children in institutions (Alexandrescu, 2019), as well as instances of high numbers of preventable or unexplained deaths in institutions close to the present day (Amnesty International 2004ab, Centrul De Resurse Juridice, 2015). This is not to say that institutions do not defer in the numbers of preventable or unexplainable deaths or in the forms of violence practiced within them, but that the problem goes beyond "Communism" and is connected to the systematic exclusion of children and people with disabilities that sometimes has necropolitical ramifications.

Moreover, interestingly the reports that create the fundament for distinguishing between "Communism" as a criminal system against children with disabilities in institutions and "Post-Communism" as a system free from such systematic problems is the myth that the problematic situation in "Romanian orphanages" was discovered by Western volunteers immediately after the revolution and that this discovery put an end to these practices.

The discovery of Romanian orphanages by transnational volunteers around 1989/1990 revisited

Christmas 1989, the moment of the "Romanian revolution", is widely regarded as the turning point of the bio- and necropolitical regime surrounding children institutions in Romania. A series of transnational video and audio-documentaries circulated in Western European and

US American media that documented the problematic living conditions in what came to be known internationally as "Romanian orphanages". "Romanian orphanages" were actually mostly residential institutions for children with disabilities that had been entrusted by their families into state care. As I have shown above the notion of "discovery" is also used in the transnational humanitarian reporting substantiating the criminal complaints. Nevertheless, this "discovery" was not as novel as originally apparent, allowing for a finer re-periodization of transnational circulation of information around the end of the Cold War.

„Eine Atmosphäre von Gefangenenlagern" / „An atmosphere of prison camps"[25] is the title of a reportage published by a Frankfurt-based visitor to Romania in the January/ February edition of the Menschenrechte/ Human Rights magazine. The author had been to Romania in the Fall of 1985 and had accompanied an acquaintance to visit a state care home close to the mountain town of Predeal in the Carpathian mountains, where she was taking care of the formalities related to the death of a resident she had known. After witnessing the poor living conditions and lack of care staff of the elderly home, the two visit a nearby institution for children with disabilities. This institution was severely understaffed with three carers looking after over one hundred children of various ages and with various, mostly intellectual disabilities. The author was shocked by the neglect in which the children were growing up and the apparent resignation of their carers. He also witnessed an episode that apparently determined him to write the reportage: right before making their way back, the two visitors notice one of the carers handing a lofty load to children for them to take to the elderly home. The Romanian acquaintance offers to transport the load in her car and this is how they come to know that it was actually composed of poorly wrapped dead bodies of children that would normally be dragged across the street by older children. In shock, the author thinks about exposing the conditions to the international press but realizes that they seem to belong to the everyday life of these places. Yet, he does resolve on writing for the magazine Menschenrechte. The information is picked up by Radio Free Europe and distributed further and we learn from a later report of the same magazine the November-December 1986 issue[26] that the Romanian authorities upon learning of the account increased the surveillance and fencing surrounding care institutions for both elderly and children.

The account that my research in the Open Society Archives[27] in Budapest uncovered is interesting in several ways: First of all, it helps to

re-think the periodization of transnational humanitarian and human rights reporting that conventionally located 1989 as the turning point of the "discovery" of human rights abuses committed in care homes for children in Romania. The report clearly shows that albeit a much more modest, yet, nevertheless strikingly similar transnational flow of information regarding these institutions existed during the Cold War. Moreover, this episode also helps to clarify that it wasn't the "discovery" of human rights abuses in care homes in Romania by Western observers that brought about the emergence of transnational humanitarian spaces. The emergence of these spaces, as that of human rights scandals was made possible by the reconfiguration of transnational power dynamics between East and West after the end of the Cold War. Put differently, although the report by the West-German author had made it into a human rights magazine, it did not become front-page news. Nevertheless similar news would become immensely important and relevant three years later. At the time of his writing nonetheless, the credibility of his account needed to be validated by the publisher by adding below his account the fact that he is "personally known" by the editing team – since apparently otherwise his anonymous account would not have been taken seriously.

Three years later, around Christmas 1989 the type of account that this magazine put forward develops into a veritable genre of transnational humanitarian reporting, which then informed the investigations of the IICCMER.

Yet, this re-periodization is necessary not only when addressing how these instances had already become known (though marginally) outside of Romania during the state socialist period. Another episode from Siret narrated by a survivor during our conversation in February 2020[28] also helps to substantiate this point by proving that it is impossible to limit the investigation to the duration of "Communism". The survivor considered that the head of the hospital should be held accountable for his inactions as part of the trial, yet, related his desire for accountability to occurrences in the 1990s: "Yes, I believe [that the head of the hospital should be held accountable] and I would be ready to testify in court against the head [name of the head], he should be held accountable that he didn't get involved. Americans came to beat up a child. He let an American beat up the child. A former American doctor adopted a child from us [from the hospital]. He took him in to take care of him. One year later, the doctor came back to Romania to visit a boy from the hospital who had beaten up the boy he had adopted. He [the doctor] did not come to hold accountable

those who had been supposed to be guarding that boy keeping him from beating others up.[…] [The head of the hospital] gave an order to the head nurse, the head nurse to the carer on duty. The head nurse took her out of the room and asked who is P. – this is P. . P. was the boy who was taking care of the kindergarten aged children, he would take care of them and rarely would he be guarded by anyone like a carer. So no one would check on him that he doesn't beat up the children. The American came in and started punching P. and talking at him, but P. didn't understand. If I had been P., I would have hit him back, defended myself."[29]

The continuity of violent practices, in which the American volunteer also participated, is not incidental. As the survivor explained the head of the hospital gave orders allowing this abuse and the violence to which the child had been subjected was enabled and not stopped by the professionals involved in his hospital visit. The survivors also linked this to advantages the head may have received from the volunteer, as well as the volunteers "American" characteristic arrogance that allowed them to do whatever they pleased from their position of power. A chain validating violent abuse therefore existed after the onset of transnational volunteering practices and international adoptions and was entangled with these practices. This could be read as a form of post-socialist path-dependency, nevertheless, the main perpetrator that uses the system of abuse is external to the mechanisms of socialist reproduction of violence and therefore locates the episode outside of easy path-dependency based interpretations.

Moreover, locating the problem of "crimes" affecting people with disabilities in the "Communist" period works to silence forms of violence directed at this vulnerable group long after 1989. For example, even recently children are still being subjected to different forms of violence in the protection system (Alexandrescu, 2019) and people with disabilities institutionalized were exposed to much higher mortality rates than the regular population (Centrul de Resurse Juridice, 2015). Episodes such as that from Poiana Mare in 2003/2004 when around one hundred people in a psychiatric hospital with a capacity of five hundred beds died, many of preventable causes such as hypothermia and malnutrition (Amnesty International, 2004ab) show that transition did little to overthrow necropolitical mechanisms in certain care institutions for people with disabilities.

Understanding the problematic framing of violence and death that happens in institutions for people (and children) with disabilities outside of the confines of legally condemning "Communism" and those who

have acted on behalf of "Communism" allows to open up a space of reflection regarding the normalizing dynamics that allow for the continuous marginalization of children and people with disabilities and its necropolitical and violent ramifications what regards care institutions.

Moreover, on a European level, memory entrepreneurs supporting this particular form of indictment of "Communism" have found little recognition for their framing of the past, outside of Central And East European Conservative Members of the European Parliament (Neumayer, 2017). This is due to different collective memory frames existing in relation to the state socialist past.

Nevertheless, the question of coming to terms with the violent and necropolitical mechanisms that have affected institutionalized children (and other people) with disabilities can constitute a relevant memory issue, beyond the reductive and distortive frame of "condemning Communism" on local, national, transnational and global levels. Such an approach would allow coming to terms with both the violence inflicted upon children with disabilities in the past and in the present in order for a more ethical future that recognizes the right to a dignified life and a more inclusive society to emerge. In the final section of this paper, I will explore what I see as the stepping stones for this possibility of crafting a peda- and andragogical response to de-normalizing preventable deaths in relation to disability, but before that I will turn to communicative memory dynamics as visible in the cemetery in Ruşi, Siret.

Communicative memory and the consequences of judicialization in everyday life

In this section, I will look at an unexpected consequence of the initiation of the trial concerning inhuman treatments carried out in the NPI hospital in Siret, namely the redrawing of attention to the section of the cemetery, where the children (and young people) who grew up at the hospital are buried.

The cemetery in Ruşi as a lieu de mémoire

"The cemetery in Ruşi is full of children from the NPI [the neuropsychiatric children's hospital]" said Ştefan,[30] a man in his mid to late twenties, when speaking about the violence that occurred in the previous neuropsychiatric children hospital. The hospital had been closed in 2001, no less than fourteen years before our conversation took place in

2015. Ștefan also remembered witnessing a death at the hospital, where he had spent his early childhood (mostly during the 1990s), as well as a situation in which a nurse was discovered as wanting to hang another child – a deed that was prevented and she was punished only by having money taken away from her salary. Such memories were confided in me by others who had grown up at the hospital, especially as those older in age, yet, the cemetery was rarely so explicitly mentioned during my 2015 ethnographic stay in Siret.

Nevertheless, upon my return to Siret in 2020, the section assigned to the former hospital in the cemetery and the few graves that were identifiable as such had gained a strange form of importance.

Two images (see images in the appendix, especially image 5 and 6) give a sense for the desertedness of the cemetery as a place where the graves of very few of those who are buried are marked – the burials of other hundreds in this plot has left no visible traces. The place of their decaying bodies is anonymous and parallels the uneventfulness of their deaths that impedes the formation of an ethical impulse. The ethical impulse is substituted by a normalizing impulse that attributes "natural causes" to a slow decaying death (see Povinelli, 2011). The children and people buried among many others who had lived at the hospital and now lay in the common plot, resembling a mass grave were subjects whose death could not be mourned, their lives did not appear as grievable and their deaths not as mournable within the community boundaries (Butler, 2003, pg. 20f).

Yet, the hopelessness of the scenery is not unfragmented. It points to cracks in the ethical order and the boundaries of collective memory frames that make up the mournable subject. These cracks are essential for thinking through the potentialities for hope for a different future order of inclusion. Every now and then, a cross, even a name and the date of birth and that of death are visible on the crosses, making the plot recognizable as a place where the dead are buried. Furthermore, transformations in memory practices are also visible in the space of the plot in the cemetery. Close to the monument pictured above at the extremity of the plot that is closest to the rest of the cemetery, there is a small series of graves (see Image 5, in the appendix). Most of them belong to people who had grown up at the hospital, but have died since it's closing in 2001. Their funerals were visited by many members of the community. Among the graves, I could see one of a young man who suffered of a serious illness during my fieldwork in 2015 and who had since then, died. Others buried here

were remembered by my interview partners, who also remembered their funerals. The plastic flower wreaths have been generously put on all visible graves and crosses marking again a sporadic moment of acknowledging the memory of the people buried here.

Yet, not only the plastic flower wreaths mark the fragmentation and transformation of the memory of the deaths of children and people from the hospital. The fragmentation is also seen in the few graves and crosses that can be identified and attributed to deaths that happened as early as the 1970s, or the planting of a now full grown tree on a small grave marked by metal bars. The transformation of memory practices can be seen in the well taken care of graves at the extremity of the plot that belong to people who have died in the previous twenty or so years since the closure of the former hospital. Moreover, the transformation can be seen in the planting of trees and weeding out of the overgrown weeds in the plot that followed the initiation of the criminal trial (see Image 6 in the appendix).

These two forms of transformation are different in their relationship between memory and history pointing to the significance of the cemetery as a *lieu de mémoire* in Pierre Nora's (1989) terms. Pierre Nora (1989, pg. 7f.) locates *lieux de mémoire* as sites of embodiment of memory in relation to history as a mediating force. The cemetery in Ruşi is re-inscribed with meaning through knowledge uncovered by historical research within a frame prone to legal reasoning and criminalization that of IICCMER, which is in turn representative of a broader global and transnational shift towards judicialization of the past (see Baby et al, 2019, Grosescu et. al, 2017). This meaning making is separated from previously dominant memories that circulated in the community and transforms the space of the cemetery.

In the present, after the initiation of the trial, the deaths of the children from the hospital forty years ago lose their triviality and gain an eventfulness for the local community inscribed in the landscape of the cemetery they did not have at the time at which they occurred. This transformation is marked by the appearance of the monument and trees in the space of the section of the cemetery that pertains to the former hospital. The "natural causes" of the deaths of the children are denaturalized by being questioned, opening up a space for ethical reflection and practices of mourning in relation to these deaths.

Yet, this transformation of space is fragmented and partial, as well as subjected to local power dynamics. As is visible in the images of the cemetery (in the appendix) the space of memory remains deserted, the plastic wreaths of flowers hang on crosses without needing or displaying

having received constant care (they are not living flowers) and the anonymity and mass character of the grave or graves is barely challenged creating an incredibly stark contrast to the marble monument and freshly planted tiny trees.

The forms within which this tension is expressed point to its precise locus: in the space of the cemetery we can see the tension between what Jan and Aleida Assman have called cultural and communicative forms of memory (see Assman, 2008). Cultural memory is institutionalized and exists through mediation and objectification in an external symbolic order (see Assman, 2008, pg. 110ff) – cultural memory can be seen in the cemetery in the monument to the memory of the children and people buried in the hospital's plot. Yet, communicative memory is subjected to social groups and interactive socialization processes and therefore operates through the relationships between groups that interact on a daily and local level, in Assman's terms, communicative memory is closest to what Maurice Halbwachs described as collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950). Investigating the communicative memory involves looking at how social groups that are differently positioned by the former structure of the neuropsychiatric hospital in Siret remember the deaths of the children from the hospital that are buried in the plot in the cemetery and is akin to the tensions in survivors' accounts and the normalizing and naturalizing epistemic forces of preventable deaths mobilized by former staff of the institutions.

As Maurice Halbwachs has shown (1950) we consider our own memories of the past from the perspectives of the groups that we socially belong to. Thus memory is a collective as well as individual process and encompasses the to-and-forth movement between the autobiographical memory that is individual and the social or historical memory that provides a collective frame in which meaning can be attributed to autobiographical memory. Forgotten episodes or fragments of memory resurface as interconnected traces when a "path to our past is indicated […] and we see them grow in depth and unity. These traces did exist, but they were more marked in others' memory than in our own. Certainly we do the reconstructing, but we do so following the guidelines laid down by our other remembrances and the remembrances of other people" (Halbwachs, 1950, pg. 76).

What does this mean for the re-articulation of the memories of deaths and the life at the NPI hospital? The criminalization of the hospital's past and the transformation of the cemetery that followed it constituted new

points of reference in the re-organization of memory in town, among different groups of people. It shifted the grounds of what can be articulated as memory in relation to which local and broader social structures. Most significantly, the divide that had always existed between those who had once been children growing up at the NPI hospital and those who constituted the staff of the hospital was re-articulated in this divide and took up new forms.

Andragogy and Pedagogy of Hope and Inclusion?

The judicialization and criminalization of the necropolitics that operated in the neuropsychiatric children's hospital in Siret, as well as in other institutions for children with disabilities and their continuities with later violent practices, was crucial in drawing attention to the preventable deaths and violence that children labelled as "unrecoverable" were exposed to. Yet, as I have shown these processes have had both unexpected, as well as problematic effects. I will now turn to exploring the potentialities of dealing with the necropolitical past from a complementary perspective that can contribute to bringing a more hopeful future of inclusion closer to the present and contribute in a different manner to the possibility of acknowledging these violent and deadly necropolitical practices and thus impeding them from being carried out again.

While cultural memory can be changed through institutional action translated into erecting monuments (such as the one in the cemetery in Ruşi), communicative memory is more difficult to transform. It requires an intervention that inter-actively involves the members of the groups whose communicative memory frames are engaged, in this case survivors and carers, as well as other locals, especially young people. Thus, in this final section I explore the potential of building a pedagogy/ andragogy of hope (Freire, 2013) with methods of collective biography (De Schauwer et al, 2016, De Schauwer et al, 2018) engaging the communicative and cultural memory frames that circulated surrounding the hospital.

As Paulo Freire (2013, pg. 16) points out hope is an ontological necessity for making the world better. It contrasts powerfully with despair (as its opposite) that immobilizes people and makes them resort to fatalism and the belief that it is impossible to gather the resources necessary for a creative transformation of the world (ibid.). This despair can be routed in

socio-historical experience that need not be denied (ibid), but hope needs to emerge in order for change to become thinkable.

Interestingly, this despair is most visible in the accounts normalizing the violence against institutionalized children with disabilities and the preventability of their deaths. It comes through in the carers words, "Who had to die, died", but also in the head doctor's dreams of the children in her care, despite "knowing" she could not help them. This despair impedes the formation of the ethical impulse of inclusion, as it rests upon the unpreventability of death and the normalization of violence. It is this despair that needs to be problematized and denormalized – but how?

A similar desire for denormalization of violence was voiced by a survivor in conversation about his hopes surrounding the trial: "they [the employees of the institution] should be held accountable, even if not publicly, but they should know that what they did was not good and then they can educate others, their grandchildren, or their children, if you work in children's houses […] don't do as I have done."[31] Thus the trial is imbued with an andragogical mission to educate the former employees of the institution for children with disabilities about the responsibilities of someone in their former position. The demand behind the desire is that of creating a space where past violent inaction on behalf of the carers is denormalized and thus changes future practices by becoming less socially acceptable and thus sanctioned by authority (including those who had once practiced violent inaction as employees).

Denormalization of past violence and necropolitical practices should be addressed in a context of guided collective dialogue that would allow a reflection and problematizing awareness of the past, as well as opening up new opportunities for action. Such spaces of reflection could be created both as ethical spaces within training courses for aid, education and health professions, as well as extracurricular activities for students in school.

These spaces of reflection could be built around collective biography workshops for those who have been involved in working with institutions or with people with disabilities (De Schauwer et al, 2016, De Schauwer et al, 2018) with the goal of engaging with shared understandings of difference and disability and their problematic outcomes. The reflection should be guided by materials co-produced by people with disabilities who have been institutionalized as children (like the graphic novel "Becoming Eli/ Spune-mi Eli", illustrated and narrated by Dan Ungureanu, 2017). These practices and spaces can allow for an epistemological re-perspectivation, which is necessary for de-normalization of past practices. Nevertheless,

a medium, an alternative *lieu de mémoire* like the book co-produced by a person with disabilities that was institutionalized, is a necessary mediator in this process. This andragogical process should not involve making previous victims face their oppressors or abusers in a face-to-face encounter, as that is likely to be traumatizing as well as re-normalizing of past relationships and frames. A context that is both artificial and distanced as well as familiar should be created that would allow for a more hopeful vision of inclusion in the future to emerge.

Moreover, survivors, if they so desire can be involved in pedagogical interventions with young people that have no personal experience of institutions. In such interventions, young people, especially from communities close to (former) large institutions for children with disabilities, should be offered the opportunity to be exposed to narratives of past violence in order to counter-balance the normalizing discourses they are likely have been exposed to.

ANNEXES

All images are reproduced here with permission by Mugur Ciumăgeanu, author of the images, to use and publish them.

Image 1. The section for institutionalized children in the cemetery of Ruși neighborhood, Siret, in February 2020, photo by Mugur Ciumăgeanu

Image 2. Monument to the memory of the children from the neuropsychiatric hospital burried in the cemetery of Ruși, Siret, February 2020 (photo by MC)

Image 3. Crosses and unmarked graves in the cemetery of Ruși, February 2020 (photo by MC)

Image 4. One of the around thirty crosses in the plot of the cemetery where the hundreds of children from the hospital are buried, February 2020 (photo by MC)

Image 5. Graves of people with disabilities who had died more recently and had received more care, February 2020 (photo by MC). The grave in the bottom part of the image belongs to the plot where the children and people who grew up at the hospital are buried.

Image 6. A tree recently planted in memory of the children who are buried in the cemetery of Ruși, February 2020 (photo by MC)

NOTES

[1] The author would like to thank Mert Koçak, Răzvan Voinea, Ana Iuga, Olga Ștefan, Igor Cașu, Giuseppe Tatteo, Andrei Sorescu, Viorel Anăstăsoaie, Adrian Grama, Romiță Iucu, Constantin Ardeleanu, Liviu Bordaș and Anca Oroveanu for useful comments on the arguments put forth in this paper, as well as Mugur Ciumăgeanu for the permission to use the photographs included in the appendix.

[2] https://www.iiccmer.ro/masacrul-inocentilor-sesizare-penala-a-iiccmer-privind-tratamentele-neomenoase/ last accessed on 04.07.2020

[3] https://www.iiccmer.ro/sesizare-penala-privind-tratamentele-neomenoase-perioada-comunista-in-caminele-spital/ last accesed on 04.07.2020

[4] On the comittees see Spiegel (1990)

[5] https://www.iiccmer.ro/masacrul-inocentilor-sesizare-penala-a-iiccmer-privind-tratamentele-neomenoase/ accessed on 19.06.2020

[6] For information on the investigation see, the official IICCMER website, Masacrul Inocenților de la „Spitalul de copii neuropsihici cronici Siret" available here https://www.iiccmer.ro/masacrul-inocentilor-sesizare-penala-a-iiccmer-privind-tratamentele-neomenoase/ last accessed on 09.07.2020

[7] For the other investigations see https://www.iiccmer.ro/sesizare-penala-privind-tratamentele-neomenoase-perioada-comunista-in-caminele-spital/

[8] See anouncement on IICCMER website available here https://www.iiccmer.ro/iiccmer-si-asociatia-umanitara-il-chicco-pe-urmele-orfelinatelor-comunismului/ last accessed on 09.07.2020

[9] Interview with historian Luciana Jinga (IICCMER), conducted in June 2020

[10] Ibid.

[11] See information on the case on the IICCMER website: https://www.iiccmer.ro/a-murit-alexandru-visinescu-fostul-comandant-al-penitenciarului-ramnicu-sarat/ last accessed on 09.07.2020; see also Grosescu, 2017

[12] Interview with historian Luciana Jinga (IICCMER), June 2020

[13] Focus group like interview with survivors in Siret, February 2020

[14] Interview with historian Luciana Jinga (IICCMER), June 2020

[15] Interestingly, the most recent such reportage was just published: The Atlantic (2020) available here https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/07/can-an-unloved-child-learn-to-love/612253/?fbclid=IwAR3geJjXWPIh2e4grve1QO7uI_hFkhWCXXtS5L6zv0ecwJOgCetjKgxE1sE accessed on 11.07.2020

[16] Interview with Izidor Ruckel part of the Teaser Izidor the Movie available here https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNKe6G549bo last accessed on 15.07.2020

[17] For the text of the Criminal Code of 1969 concerning inhuman treatments, see https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/heydinrt/art-358-tratamentele-neomenoase-codul-penal?dp=giztonzxguztg accessed on 11.07.2020

18   Interview with historian Luciana Jinga (IICCMER), conducted in June 2020

19   Interview conducted with a survivor woman in Siret, February 2020

20   Interview conducted with Rania, a survivor woman in February 2020, in Siret

21   Rania has confided in me her story in full understanding that this is a research project and has given me permission to use her story, yet, under the strict provision of anonymity, since many people close to her are unaware of what she has lived through and she wants to keep it that way.

22   Interview with a retired care-worker woman in Siret, February 2020

23   Adrian Criş/ Bihoreanul (2017) Criminalii de copii: BIHOREANUL i-a găsit pe medicii orădeni care au condus orfelinatul groazei de la Cighid. Mărturiile lor sunt șocante. Available here https://www.ebihoreanul.ro/stiri/ criminalii-de-copii-bihoreanul-i-a-gasit-pe-medicii-oradeni-care-au-condus-orfelinatul-groazei-de-la-cighid-marturiile-lor-sunt-socante-134825.html last accessed on 12.07.2020

24   See IICCMER official website (2017) https://www.iiccmer.ro/sesizare-penala-privind-tratamentele-neomenoase-perioada-comunista-in-caminele-spital/ accessed on 14.07.2020

25   From the Open Society Archives: HU-OSA 205-4-70 Box 232 Social Issues/ Children/ 1986.01-1989 [general]

26   From the Open Society Archives: HU-OSA 205-4-70 Box 232 Social Issues/ Children/ 1986.01-1989 [general]

27   Material from the Open Society Archives incorporated in this paper was collected previous to my stay at the New Europe College as part of a Visegrad Fellowship granted by the Open Society Archives in the academic year 2017/2018.

28   Focus group like interview with survivors in Siret, February 2020

29   All names have been removed or altered from the account. Focus group like interview with survivors in Siret, February 2020

30   All names of ethnographic and local interview partners have been changed in order to ensure that no harm will come to research participants' for providing me with information or opinions and wherever possible any detail that could make the person identifiable was ommitted. The only names that have not been changed are those of experts, who have formally agreed to being named and cited.

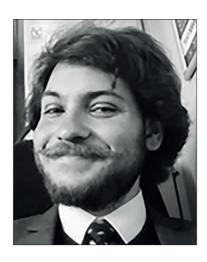31   Focus group like interview with survivors in Siret, February 2020

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PEDDLERS, PEASANTS, ICONS, ENGRAVINGS: THE PORTRAIT OF THE TSAR AND ROMANIAN NATION-BUILDING, 1888-1916

Abstract

The present contribution examines how, in late-nineteenth-century Romania, a subversive political object transformed the dynamics of nation-building. Brought in by Russian peddlers selling religious icons on transregional routes, engravings of the Russian tsar in peasants' homes attracted the attention of political elites and catalysed top-down attempts at nationalising the peasant majority. By considering a case in which the rural masses were exposed to the "wrong" political symbols before official nationalising and dynastic paraphernalia could reach them, the study homes in on the attempts of both state and church to solve a surprisingly long-standing state of affairs, from 1888 to 1916.[1]

Keywords: nation-building, nineteenth century Eastern Europe, cultural history of nationalism

Introduction

What happens when yet-to-be-nationalised masses are exposed to the "wrong" political symbols? How does the symbolic culture of nationalism displace inconvenient, pre-existing allegiances and become normative? And, how is the continued spread of subversive symbols contained and prevented by nation-state-builders? The present paper aims to address these three interrelated research questions by taking as its point of departure the moral panic surrounding the discovery of engravings bearing the likeness of the Russian tsar in peasant homes by Romanian elites at the tail-end of major rural uprisings in 1888, and following the thread of an abiding political anxiety up to Romania's involvement in World War One alongside Russia, in 1916. Brought in by peddlers who met the demand for cheap religious iconography in the Orthodox Balkans, these political images, distributed alongside icons, were seen as proof of imperial attempts to extend Pan-Slavic agitation to a Romance-speaking people,

under the pretext of the tsar's self-proclaimed role as protector of Eastern Christendom.[2] In the nineteenth century, Russo-Romanian relations were, at best, ambivalent: a Russian protectorate between the 1830s and 1850s impelled state-building and modernization in the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, but faced the opposition of increasingly nationalist local elites which achieved their union in 1859, whereas Romania's independence, won in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, came at the price of Southern Bessarabia's annexation by the erstwhile ally. Indeed, apprehension over Russia's influence was a fairly common concern for politicians.[3] However, in 1888, Petersburg appeared to be just as surprised by the peddlers' presence as Bucharest:[4] the agency of peasants and icon-merchants as subaltern political actors came to shape the policies of states and empires alike, through their patterns of goods consumption.

In an age when the peasantry was equated with the nation itself, the possibility that peasants' identities and affections failed to fit officially prescribed categories troubled Romanian elites. Overwhelmingly illiterate, land-starved and increasingly proletarianised, the peasantry appeared to be susceptible to rumours and uprisings, with a particularly earth-shattering *jacquerie* breaking out in 1907.[5] Rallying against perceived "national indifference"[6] and the effects of a "displaced naïve monarchism",[7] teachers, priests, MPs, and a host of other actors joined in efforts to replace the image of the tsar with that of the legitimate reigning king, thereby explicitly catalysing the very first attempts at nationalising the rural masses. Although efforts to foster a symbolic sphere conducive to the emergence of a desirable "banal nationalism"[8] continued well into the early twentieth century, extant historiography has remained virtually silent on the topic. And yet, once identified as a subject of inquiry, traces of peddlers and portraits insistently recur across corpora, providing an entry-point for observing the mechanisms of nation-building, as a case-study illuminating elite and popular reactions to a mass-consumed,[9] subversive political commodity outside its "legitimate" and intended cultural sphere of influence. Likewise, attempts to produce icons that would prevent the demand for those imported by peddlers were also prioritised – emphasizing the role of anxieties as a catalyst, the present paper therefore attempts to sketch a reactive process that aimed to do away with what one might call "objects out of place", and nationalise the private sphere.

Two reigns marked the course of the events we shall deal with here: that of the Prussian-born Carol I (1866-1914), which saw Romania gain

its independence as of 1877-1878, the proclamation of the kingdom as of 1881, and, more generally, the consolidation of the nation-state; and the reign of Ferdinand I (1914-1927), his nephew, who would achieve the maximum territorial expansion of Romania after the Great War, as a co-belligerent of the Entente. While critical secondary literature on the iconography of royal power in the Romanian context remains scant,[10] as opposed to that on Tsarist Russia,[11] our focus here will not be on the gradually-expanding reach of national and dynastic portraiture in an urban setting, but rather on the rural hinterland, and the difficulties of reaching it.

The first proposal that this chapter makes, therefore, is to consider Russian icons and engravings as "objects out of place", from the standpoint of Romanian nation-building elites. With a nod to Mary Douglas' classical definition of pollution,[12] the problem posed by the physical and symbolic presence of the images was not their existence as such, but by their geographical displacement, which transformed them from legitimate expressions of political and religious devotion into subversive objects. In this sense, Russian icons and engravings were doubly out of place, as far as literate elites were concerned – both in peasants' homes, and in peasants' hearts and minds. That these objects enjoyed physical durability, constant visibility, and (in the case of icons) a protected status therefore made their displacement *qua* purification all the more difficult.

In turn, this ties into what we might call a vision of the "well-bounded state container": for nation-builders, an independent nation-state was presumed to be free from ideological interference competing with its own nationalising project. This also extended to foreign presence more broadly – and, in the Romanian case, one only need think of the anti-Semitic anxieties that framed Jewish presence as nothing short of an "invasion", or Jewish lobbying for political rights as an infringement upon Romanian sovereignty.[13] That Russian peddlers and prints could leave their mark throughout the country regularly made observers rhetorically equate the unnerving permeability of the "state container" with its absence altogether: as symbols signalling political allegiance, their presence was taken to de-nationalise the very spaces they inhabited.

To say that all of this ultimately boils down to a study of the material culture of nation-building,[14] however, means we must also include the broader issue of infrastructure. This was a matter of objects being produced, or not; circulating, or failing to circulate. Both in the case of icons and of patriotic engravings, infrastructure determined the disparity between the Russian and the Romanian print industry, the attempts at

setting up a system of distribution, or a human network to enforce the displacement of problematic objects. On a basic level, this chapter can be read as an account of how the production and distribution of political and religious imagery in the service of the Romanian national project navigated infrastructural constraints, and reassembled infrastructures in the process.

Another theme that underpins the present narrative is that of so-called "national indifference",[15] as a shortcoming perceived by nation-builders on the part of the rural masses. What the presence of Russian objects appeared to foreground was, in fact, a deeper and more complex entanglement between religious affiliation and (non-)national self-description. As we shall see, peasants were sometimes found to be insufficiently invested in "Romanian" as a self-description; the primacy of religious affiliation, in turn, opened the gates for pan-Orthodox solidarity with Russians, further compounded by the perception that the Russian tsar was the protector of Eastern Christendom, and therefore a mightier ally than the (German Catholic) Romanian king in the peasants' political pantheon. Without disentangling dynastic loyalty-building from nation-building in nineteenth-century Romania, the chapter will highlight how these processes – as well as that of distributing cheap, mass-produced icons – were at least in part reactive, in their attempts to reach the rural majority and displace inconvenient beliefs and artefacts.

This brings us to the final key point that we shall deal with: the semiotic continuum between icons and political engravings. Not only were icons historically, since their very inception as a religious visual language, connected with late Roman and early Byzantine representations of the emperor – or, indeed, deeply connected with the "scenarios of power" of the Romanov court, its legitimation, and public visibility. In our case, icons and political images were, firstly, quite literally brought together by the circumstances of their physical origin and distribution. This meant that, in order to prevent the continued entry of unwanted political imagery, the nation-state and the national church had the converging goal of producing religious images that would satisfy local market demands. Secondly, literate elites feared that peasants would perceive and relate to Russian political imagery in the same devotional manner they venerated icons, especially if peddlers would persuade them to do so. However, this was not simply a category mistake presumably made by the peasants: on their part, nation-builders also occasionally referred to desirable imagery depicting the royal family or the heroes of the Romanian national pantheon while "icon" was also still used as a general term for "image". Nationalising

religious iconography, on the other hand, remained problematic: apart from stemming the tide of Russian icons as a matter of national import (or, indeed, of Catholic icons as one of dogmatic conformity), the project of reviving a purer "Byzantine" style of iconography while re-integrating local traditions into the process only slowed down the production of iconography for the masses.

Part One: The Portrait of the Tsar

Ever since the mid-nineteenth century, the gradual birth of a nationalised, literate urban stratum meant that patriotic imagery, be it in the form of royal portraiture or historical scenes, began to make its way into the private sphere. The material nature of royal iconography diversified, first with the spread of photographic *cartes de visite*, then with the introduction of modern postcards in urban areas. However, we may also safely note that the visibility of the ruler's effigy on coins, stamps, matchboxes, or medals (distributed to veterans post-1878) meant that contact with it on the level of everyday life even in rural areas was likely. Still, the focal point of debates concerning our study remained lithographs, as objects with a more permanent and privileged visual presence in the domestic space – and this held just as true for icons, as religious objects whose disposal was an inherently contentious issue. The pioneering entrepreneur most closely associated with patriotic engravings was Col. Dimitrie Pappasoglu (1811-1892), a collector who first began printing them by the end of the 1850s, and who is estimated to have printed a grand total of about one million copies of at least 222 different lithographs, over some three and a half decades of activity.[16] Though also openly advertising his lithographs in the press, Pappasoglu cultivated his connections with central and local authorities,[17] so as to ensure a steady income; indeed, as we shall see, public buildings such as schools and village halls would often be noted to be the only places where royal portraits were visible, into the 1900s. With a keen sense for political developments, a flyer advertising Pappasoglu's engravings (probably from the 1880s or early 1890s) explicitly encouraged prospective customers to buy them so as to replace "unpatriotic" foreign prints.[18] However, though not included in that list of engravings, advertisements in the contemporary press show that Pappasoglu had also printed a portrait of the Russian imperial family during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, when Romania gained its independence as a co-belligerent of Russia. Just how many were in print or

were sold is not known.[19] What could briefly be a legitimate object depicting a wartime ally could, equally, become an object out of place soon thereafter.

A potential link between the presence of Russian engravings in Romanian homes after 1877-1878 and the presence of Russian troops may be plausible given that the war had seen a massive investment in illustrated prints as a means of information and patriotic entertainment for Russian soldiers on the frontline.[20] Even as the war effort and the elation over the country's independence saw a massive spike in the production of patriotic engravings, Romanian anxieties over Russian competition remained constant. By May 1878, newspapers were ablaze with rumours that Russian soldiers had, in some cases, spread the promise that the tsar would bring land reform and do away with the *boyars* – rumours also confirmed, it seems, by archival material.[21] Throughout the 1880s, scattered references referred to the presence of icons and engravings that had breached the limits of the newly-reinforced, independent state-container. Already in 1881, one agrarian periodical cautioned that Russian icons were sold to unwitting peasants by monks who claimed to have travelled from Jerusalem, under the pretence of collecting alms.[22] And, in 1884, folklorist, storyteller and printer Petre Ispirescu (1830-1887) published a travelogue in the prestigious cultural monthly "Convorbiri Literare", chronicling his journeys from Bucharest to the town of Roșiorii-de-Vede in the nearby county of Teleorman, some two and three years earlier. Finding it relatively removed from the influence of the capital, Ispirescu reflected on the permeable nature of what ought to have been a well-bounded state container, for want of infrastructure writ large. The author "crossed himself" upon noticing the overwhelming presence of Russian and Bulgarian images in shops, which gave him the feeling that he was in Bulgaria, rather than in Romania:

> Isn't it that our people were left to go astray? (We are speaking here of the inhabitants of Roșiorii-de-Vede and its surroundings), with Bulgarian icons, images and portraits in their homes. They do not read, for they have nowhere to buy their books from. They are abandoned by the heart of the country, torn from its ribs near the shores of the Danube, as they are not directly linked to the capital by either roads or a postal service. What can they do, but buy whatever they find, wanting to decorate their shops and houses? Romanians have fought a rather glorious war – where are the images that might depict their glorious deeds? Russian and Bulgarian icon-merchants roam our country with various icons and portraits – where are our own? Statesmen and master painters, it seems, are too great to think

of their poor people. Whatever they do is for the relatively well-heeled (*poporul mai spălățel*); the plebs (*mojicimea*) are for the Russians and Bulgarians to mould, to civilise – as they say.[23]

Roads, mail, books, engravings: absence and distance prevented the nation from reaching its normative potential of self-understanding. Moreover, the idea that the people were somehow not fully aware of their own role in the War of Independence, or even that the presence of Russian lithographs depicting the war prevented a more national interpretation, would become a recurring theme in years to come.

Apart from one MP's speech on the dangers of foreign iconography during debates on the general import tariff in 1886[24], it was only in the wake of 1888, however, that icon-merchants became a topic for public debate, in the attempt to make sense of that year's jacquerie.[25] Mainly restricted to southern Wallachia and centred on villages around Bucharest, the uprising was brief (March to April) and the dissent quelled by army troops, with some loss of life and many an arrest. The exact cause of the uprising was a political bone of contention, as the most unruly villages were not necessarily seen as particularly impoverished. What appeared to be the extension of inter-partisan strife at the end of a twelve-year spell in government by the Liberal party nevertheless quickly led to a moral panic surrounding potential Russian involvement. After all, the precedent recently set by Russia's involvement in Bulgarian politics and its attending crises[26] made Romanian politicians feel they were caught in the crossfire, and note similarities and connections.[27] To note once again, Petersburg appeared to be just as surprised by the peddlers' presence as Bucharest:[28] Official Liberal newspapers gave some credence to the rumours,[29] dissident Liberals did not fully exclude their plausibility,[30] while the so-called Radicals oscillated between acceptance and denial.[31] As per the official reports submitted by the commanding officers in charge of the uprising's armed repression, however, foreign subversion was scarcely even alluded to – instead, the evils of the (outgoing) administration and the non-enforcement of legal frameworks that regulated the buying of land and economic relationships between peasant and landowners were highlighted, as was the purported influence of the Socialist movement.[32] Still, as the reports examined for the collective amnesty of arrested peasants noted, some had indeed demanded that money purportedly sent by Russia be distributed for their benefit.[33] While the incoming government would be helmed by a young Conservative faction, the *Junimists*, the mouthpiece

of the Conservative party proper, partly accepted that the portrait of the tsar had something to do with all of this. If the market would have been adequately stocked with religious engravings produced locally, then the peddlers – be they deliberate agents of Russian expansionism or not – would simply not have had buyers.[34] Such was the line of thought espoused by Mihai Eminescu (1850-1889), for instance, now pantheonised as Romania's national poet, but equally appreciated as a fierce pamphleteer in his time:

> The portrait of the emperor may prove a problem, but he is not immortal, and once he has gone the way of all flesh, his graven image will mean nothing to the next generation, who will forget his name and treat him as a senseless figment of the past. By contrast, icons will persist for as long as we keep our faith, and it is in the name of this faith that we were once occupied by the Russians […]. We are certain that, were we not of the same creed as the Russians, not one of their icon-merchants would be in our midst. It is therefore both relatively inexpensive and of the essence that we set up an industry of our own.[35]

This article, part of an exchange with a Liberal notable who had become one of the main advocates of interpreting the uprising as a consequence of Russian meddling, made the point that a demand for icons was what kept the door open for further troubles on the horizon.

As we shall see in the second half of our argument, the Orthodox Church hastened to rectify this. But, at the same time, so did the state begin actively looking into how peddlers might be stopped. A brief diplomatic scandal erupted at the end of 1888, when the expulsion of some icon-merchants soured Russian-Romanian relations, to the effect that the orders were revoked soon after.[36] Still, finding the right means of dealing with peddlers and their wares remained a priority. As published in the Official Gazette on 26 June 1891, regardless of their specific medium, printed material "depicting religious subjects (icons) or portraits and scenes from foreign history" were banned as part of the custom tariff regulating imports to Romania,[37] an amendment already proposed by the Chamber of Deputies committee before the final vote, under a Conservative government.[38] This was a blanket ban, which applied to all countries, even if its origins were relatively obvious. If high art was exempt from this, as one later comment by the maverick Liberal orator Nicolae Fleva (1840-1920) put it, "what is at hand, gentlemen, is trade in ordinary icons.

It was decided that they be prohibited. Very well. The credulousness of the public, of the peasant, was abused, and emperors, absolutist lords, despots whom we mustn't admire as we would admire God were sold as His image. [...] But who may judge artistic value?".[39] This, then, was coded as a class dimension of aesthetics – naïve visual consumption was a mark of peasant "credulousness", finding a strong connection between how a peasant might relate themselves to an icon and a political image.

It was in the 1890s, and even more visibly in the early 1900s, that an interest in both making sense of and getting across to the peasantry manifested itself on the part of literate elites. The vanguard of the movement were rural teachers, who became increasingly aware of their status as a professional corps, publishing an ever-growing number of periodicals discussing pedagogy, village life, and their mission as a force for nation-building. Perhaps the most interesting corpus produced by teachers was a series of village monographs published in the early 1900s, which highlighted the perceived importance of the royal pair's visual presence in peasant households. Part of the questionnaire for compiling monographs, published by the Ministry of the Interior in 1903, and addressed to teachers, priests, mayors or notaries in the countryside, explicitly demanded that would-be authors investigate the extent to which royal portraits were available in a given village, and, with similar intent, determine whether the linguistic/conceptual apparatus of self-identification with the "motherland" as a superordinate category existed among the peasantry.[40] On both accounts, however, a number of monographs made plain that national and dynastic affiliation were not yet achieved – or, in current analytic parlance, that signs of national indifference were still pervasive. As one monographer was surprised to see, "whatever images [peasants] might have in their homes oddly enough do not depict the royal family; I have seen the portraits of: the late queen of England, the late king of Serbia, etc." and only far more rarely the portraits of the legitimate sovereigns, perhaps indicating the usage of newspaper clippings for home decoration.[41] Was this simply a means to fulfil a need for beautifying one's home, or did the presence of such images also fulfil some apotropaic role, in the same sense that icons did? In any event, to claim that acceptable royal portraits were common in a given village appears to have been a rarity.[42] In one village, apart from the mayor's office and the local school, only one royal portrait could be found.[43]

Peasants, however, offered a simple explanation: in the village of Văleni, Olt county, no images of the king or heir apparent existed outside

the village hall on account of their supposedly steep price: "we have our King and our Prince on matchboxes, Sir",[44] the author noted that the peasants replied, which shows that, on the other hand, the everyday presence of royal likenesses on mundane objects did no go unremarked upon. Indeed, as another author opined, the peasants merely lacked access to the proper imagery, which they favoured over that brought in by "those foreign peddlers of portraits who roam the villages and sell various printed cloths to our peasant women, bearing all manner of faces, save for those of our great and glorious king, which the peasant would more gladly buy, as it is more beautiful. Whenever peasants come across a postcard with queen Elisabeta, princess Maria and her young children, they cannot admire them enough, finding them so interesting and beautiful."[45] Another monographer who noted the absence of royal portraits lauded their potential pedagogical effects in terms of the personal (even gendered) connection that they could cultivate between male and female peasant-folk and king and queen, respectively – but also spoke of how "nevertheless, the face of His Highness looks at the peasant from every penny with which he pays his dues; that face speaks gently of [the virtues of] work, thrift, and steadfastness, as if captured by some masterful hand at the very moment when it uttered a maxim: *if the peasant has money, then everyone has it, too.*"[46] These, then, were the very foundations of everyday nationalism and dynastic sentiment – or at least so they were hoped to be.

The trouble was, however, that peasants so often evinced contradictory and, from the standpoint of local elites invested in normalising national self-identification, pernicious beliefs when it came to defining themselves as a nation apart. Thus, in the village of Priboeni-Muscel, peasants rarely referred to a motherland (*patrie*) on an abstract level, "but rather merely 'country' [*ţară*], 'Wallachia' [*Valafie – sic*!]." What was even more worrisome was the dilution of the privileged national ethnonym in common parlance: "they say *rumân* instead of 'human'; if they see anyone of any nation or creed fallen on hard times, they will help them by saying that, 'the poor fellow's a *rumân,* too', or a 'Christian', or 'a *rumân's* flesh'".[47] While peasants in the village used Russians as the subject of negative proverbs, the same teacher wrote, "some show sympathy toward the Muscovites, or at least the vain belief that 'the whole world will fall under the Muscovite, when there shall only be one flock and one shepherd'".[48] Or, as another teacher noted, literate peasants or those who had served in the army, while "incapable of conceiving the abstract notion of a motherland, understand their country from a geographic and ethnic

point of view"; still, "what one cannot get out of their heads is their belief in the Russians. 'They are of the same faith', they say; and having served on the same side in 1877 only strengthens this conviction".[49] Still other villagers, in the Wallachian county of Prahova, held that "the Russians are thought to be our brothers, for 'they believe in the same God and cross themselves in the same way'; or even better than us in the eyes of God, since the Muscovite crosses himself at all times, whenever he eats or drinks. When told that the Russians are not their friends, [peasants] are confused, as 'Russians have always been on our side'".[50]

Several different interrelated problems become apparent here. One is the ambiguity of self-classification along national lines; another is Russophilia as a consequence of shared religious belonging – yet another, however, is the mention of a "shepherd" and a "flock". This was a direct reference to an apocalyptic belief, likely drawn from an eighteenth century philo-Russian Greek prophetic book which had long enjoyed a broad circulation across the Balkans: the so-called prophecy of Agathangelus.[51] Not only had this text, which predicted the liberation of Constantinople and all Eastern Christendom by the Russians, been present through a number of Romanian manuscripts and printed editions well into the mid-nineteenth century,[52] but contemporary observers also alleged that priests would sometimes continue to reference it in church.[53] As a more elaborate re-telling had it, a final showdown between the Antichrist and the prophets in Constantinople did not end with the return of Christ in glory, but with "the Russian rising from Russia, conquering Constantinople (*Țarigradul*), and only then will there one true flock and shepherd be".[54]

So, what could be done to root out the influence of peddlers, portraits, or pan-Orthodoxy as pro-Russian sentiment? From the standpoint of infrastructure, much was owed to the joint initiatives of trailblazing Minister of Instruction Spiru Haret (1851-1912) and royal confidant Ioan Kalinderu (1840-1913), head of the Crown Estates and subsequent president of the Romanian Academy. The rise of a complex pedagogical practice of engaging the peasantry in the early 1900s combined evening sittings (*șezători*), village theatres, conferences, and more. The *șezători*, for instance, drew upon the folk custom of communal work and storytelling, often gendered and seasonal, but reinvented as a means of cultivating/collecting folklore, handicrafts, and national education. As noted by one female teacher from the Moldavian village of Lipovăț in 1916, this provided her with the occasion of noticing the presence of lithographs depicting the Austro-Hungarian imperial family in peasant households, which she

had the chance of not only preaching against in the course of subsequent *şezători*, but also actively replace by paying for some fifty engravings of the royal family out of her own pocket, with a further twenty donated by another teacher from the village school.[55]

The barrier of literacy proved a problem. Thus, a three-volume popular history in which the evils of Russian occupation were explained for the benefit of the peasant readership could not have the broad reach of the visual and the oral.[56] As such, village theatres, also set up at the joint initiative of Haret and Kalinderu, involved peasant children for the pedagogical benefit of both themselves and their illiterate parents in the audience. Thematically, plays also broached the subject of popular Russophilia, and the evils of foreign portraits. For instance, one such production, "Our Merchants" (*Negustorii noştri*), set in a Moldavian town overrun by a gallery of foreign rogues – Turks, Jews, and Greeks – also featured the Russian Izot the Icon-Merchant. Symptomatic of broader anxieties surrounding the absence of an ethnically-Romanian merchant class,[57] the play featured a wily salesman from the west-Wallachian region of Oltenia, seen as a bastion of Romanian traders:[58] seeing Izot selling a portrait of the tsar as an icon of St. Nicholas to a crowd of peasants and crossing himself before it, the Oltenian interjected, warning that it was only good for kindling, and that the fate of de-nationalised Bessarabian Romanians ought be a stark reminder of Tsarism and its evils. "Remember to tell all others who have such devilish icons in their homes to cast them into the fire", the protagonist suggested, encouraging his on-stage and off-stage audience to replace them with portraits from the emerging national-historical pantheon, "but especially those of His Highness, Carol, who is our king and our parent".[59]

Conferences also played a part in responding to the perceived Russian menace: for example, one teacher in the westerly county of Gorj used a conference to encourage peasants to report the presence of "charlatans" who supposedly circulated petitions to the tsar demanding land – "what has this got to do with Romania? We have our own king, with whom we have conquered our independence, and under whose reign we will also conquer our economic progress".[60] It was not much later that, in the course of an uprising in the nearby town of Slatina, caused by the failed election of an outsider candidate who allegedly carried an icon in his overcoat in order to encourage voters to pledge their support by swearing on it, peasants were reported to invoke the coming of former ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza's (1859-1866) son and Russian aid – "to no avail did the county

prefect and the prosecutor tell them that we are a free country, with its own king – 'it may be so', answered the peasants, 'but the Muscovite is mightier.'"[61] And, even though the Great Peasant Uprising of 1907 was marked by a host of other tropes (such as that of "students" as subversive agents), talk of secret orders for land redistribution sent by the tsar were also occasionally recorded.[62] Thus, the promise that historical engravings would soon be distributed through schools made another teacher in the same county reflect on the "imminent danger" that foreign portraits represented: "our most imperious duty that we spare no effort in casting out philo-Russian sentiment and picture from the peasant's home and *heart*."[63]

One decisive first step towards grappling with such folk beliefs was taken with the establishment of the quasi-official "Steaua" (*The Star*) society in 1900, involving the likes of Haret and Kalinderu. While the primary goal of the institution was that of providing cheap and adequate reading material to villagers, with some seven titles totalling 280,000 copies already printed by 1903, the report published in that year also proudly announced that "work toward printing the portraits of their Majesties, artfully designed [...] has already begun, so as to be especially distributed throughout the countryside, with a view to replacing foreign portraits and icons".[64] This, quite openly, was an admission of how a major attempt at reaching the village with the visual culture of dynastic loyalty functioned as a reactive, corrective measure. In practice, distribution was facilitated by awarding portraits as prizes for contests or school ceremonies.[65] By 1913, however, the yearly report of the society noted that, while it planned to expand its repertoire of patriotic prints with a number of historical figures, it had already incurred some debts with the printing of royal portraits which it had still failed to sell, noting that the price of half a *leu* was already too steep for the public.[66] In 1915, "Steaua" could pride itself with some 47 titles totalling 736,000 copies, and some 111,000 copies of engravings depicting the royal couple, the heirs to the throne, and the medieval Moldavian ruler Stephen the Great – though not yet with a dedicated network of distribution for sale in villages.[67]

Private initiatives also addressed the issue of production and distribution. One example would be the popular edition of "Neamul Românesc" (*The Romanian Nation*), a periodical published by nationalist historian Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940), as part of his bid to gain political traction at the head of the anti-Semitic Nationalist-Democrat Party. For instance, playing upon the recent interest in Stephen the Great (1433-1505, r. 1457-1504) that was catalysed by his country-wide commemoration

in 1904 as something of a holy figure, on the four hundredth anniversary of his passing, Iorga published a text in 1910 pleading that priests begin celebrating him in church as a saint in earnest. The portrait reprinted in the same number came with the caption: "Stephen the Great, whom you may count amongst the saints", which, in the original Romanian (*îl puteți pune în rând cu sfinții*) read ambiguously enough to also suggest that the physical image could, indeed, be placed amongst icons.[68] Indeed, subsequent numbers would speak in similar terms of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, whose statue was soon to be inaugurated in Iași:

> It is fitting and even necessary, brothers, that the portrait of Cuza Vodă not be absent from anyone's home, and, just as holy icons must be in every home, so too, must be the portrait of this good prince who is holy to us. I know that many among you have in your households the portraits of people foreign to our nation and country, whom you do not even know. Abandon them, for if a foreigner saw them, they would not believe you are Romanians; and replace them with those of our princes, but especially with those of Cuza and his right-hand-man, [prime-minister Mihail] Kogălniceanu [1817-1891], who was like a brother to him.[69]

Was capitalising on the popular affection for the two architects of the Land Reform of 1864, which had ended the *corvée* and granted land to the peasantry, a form of subtle anti-dynasticism? Not necessarily: the presence of Carol I among the peasantry at the unveiling of Cuza's statue in 1912 was connotated as a form of two-way legitimisation.[70] On Iorga's reading, this was more a matter of fostering a living cult of national heroes as a means of raising political awareness among the peasantry than one of combatting the actively pernicious influence of foreign prints. As an advert for the 1913 edition of Iorga's full-colour "Romanian's Cultural Calendar" (*Calendarul cultural al românului*) put it: "the beauty of its colourful images has already left its mark in Romanian homes, otherwise so full of foreign or unintelligible (*neînțelese*) portraits."[71]

In quick succession, however, things changed dramatically: the deaths of Carol I and Elisabeth, in late 1914 and early 1916, respectively; a rapprochement with Russia as of early 1914; a decision to refrain from entering the war that was now raging throughout Europe, upheld by king Ferdinand until the summer of 1916. Two articles published for the benefit of a peasant readership in the widely distributed "Albina" (*The Bee*) (also under the patronage of Kalinderu for much of its existence) are,

however, revealing of continuities. The first, by writer Dumitru Teleor (1858-1920), broached the subject of "Russian Commerce in Romania" in May 1914, before the official visit that the Russian imperial family would pay the Romanian royals in the port city of Constanța. On the one hand, the article began by encouraging its readers to interpret the visit as "a great honour that the mighty Emperor bestows upon us, with felicitous consequences for our country"; on the other hand, revisiting the history of Russian-Romanian commercial relations, the author noted, among other things, the importance of "icons, on wood and paper, which are still very much sold at fairs even today, as are shoddily chromolithographed images, representing the war [of Independence], the family of the tsar, the sovereigns of Europe, and many more."[72] Not only do we find here that, as late as 1914, icons and portraits were still very much present in Romania, but, we may equally note, their implicitly undesirable presence had now to be reconciled with the new role that Russia promised to play as Romania's partner.

A second article, published two years later, just before Romania's political leadership resolved to join the Entente's war effort, paid homage to the late Carol I and sounded a call for patriotism in a climate of fevered expectation. Its author, S. T. Kirileanu (1879-1926), who also published a popular tract on the life of the late royal pair for a peasant readership under the auspices of the Crown Estates,[73] titled his article: "The Icon of King Carol I". A short, apocryphal story was meant to drive home the importance of the royal portrait, by ventriloquising Carol himself. After the War of Independence, Carol found himself at the monastery of Rarău, on a tour of the country, where a soldier accompanying him found a royal portrait painted by a monk in the form of an icon, if one imperfectly painted. To this, the king's reply was imagined to be: "If only one such portrait, even as bad as this, were in every home, I would find it of great comfort!". The conclusion, as spelled out by the author, was that "these were wise words, for in many households one sees the portraits of Russian tsars or tsarinas, of the Bulgarian tsar [Southern Dobruja had been annexed from Bulgaria in 1913], and even of the Ottoman sultan; and our royal family hardly ever receives its place of honour on householders' walls. Just as we have to have portraits of our parents and our dearly beloved, so too must the portraits of our country's fathers not be absent from our homes."[74] Not only was a connection made between icons, family photographs, and royal portraiture – but, as an admission of what was yet to be fully achieved, some almost thirty years since an uprising had brought the issue to the

fore, the people were still called upon to fully appreciate the importance of the *correct* visual markers of dynastic loyalty and national belonging.

Part Two: The Quest for National Icons

The other half of our story is that of how the Romanian Orthodox Church attempted to displace foreign icons from (peasant) believers' homes, as objects that were equally perceived to be out of place, from both a religious and a national standpoint. Both Church and state underwent a parallel process of consolidation in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the latter often managing to impose fundamental organisational and financial measures on the latter. Gaining autonomy from the Patriarchate of Constantinople along national lines, the Church enjoyed a privileged position within the Romanian state, given that the majority of ethnic Romanians were also Orthodox. Even as the state's financial support was inconstant, the number of churches and priests in decline, and monastic life greatly diminished in the wake of the secularisation of land holdings in 1863, the high clergy appear to have mostly been willing partners in the state's nation-building programme.[75] And, as of the 1890s, the emergence of a growing number of associations and periodicals marked the mobilisation of the lower clergy as a category willing to make itself heard: discontent with financial difficulties, and occasionally with its marginal role in the decision-making process of the Church as a whole, were doubled by a sense of mission, both in spiritual and nation-building terms. Indeed, this strongly resembles the case of the teaching corps, as mentioned above.

As omnipresent religious objects, both in church and in the homes of believers, the visibility and ritual importance of icons meant that they had the potential to become a source of contention. In the wake of 1888, foreign icons were thus considered by the clergy to be, on the one hand, as subversive of national sentiment as the foreign portraits alongside which they entered the household, and, on the other hand, detrimental to the aesthetic and religious sentiment of believers. While contemporary debates surrounding the idea of national essence in Romanian art or what exactly could qualify as a sensible return to a "Byzantine" heritage in a religious context lie beyond the remit of the present study, let us nevertheless note here that constant reference was indeed made to the "national" pedagogy that icons could propagate, and that the clergy, too, saw a connection

between religious and political iconography, as we shall now see. Indeed, from its very inception in the later Roman/early Byzantine period, Christian religious iconography partly found its model and justification by analogy to the iconography of imperial power.[76] This is not to argue for a reductionist interpretation of any icon as inherently political, however, but merely to highlight once more the potential permeability of two adjacent symbolic fields: that which was considered to be foreign to the normatively "national" had to be identified and excluded from the visual repertoire of symbolic presence. In Russia, too, similar debates marked religious and artistic debates throughout the period, with an added anxiety surrounding the proliferation of mechanically-printed icons as an innovation that deepened the aesthetic and dogmatic problems already long since posed by mass-produced painted icons.[77] There, too, an official interest in codifying and standardising the representation of the sacred made itself felt, and an ample body of literature has investigated the dynamics linking popular iconic devotion, the reaction of ecclesiastic authorities', and the production of iconography.[78] By contrast, the circulation of cheap Russian icons outside of the Empire has been far less documented,[79] and even less could be said of attempts at historicising popular devotion in the Romanian context.

Still, traces of Russian icons making their way into Romanian lands do appear starting with the seventeenth century, first as luxury items,[80] and, by the early eighteenth century, as more affordable wares.[81] By the end of the century, in fact, Russian icon-merchants would be a source of concern for imperial authorities in Transylvania on account of their potential involvement in peasant uprisings.[82] Finally, one continues to find disparate references to the presence of Russian peddlers in Romanian lands well into the nineteenth century;[83] their presence, one might conclude, had long been a fact of life time in the Principalities.

What is certain, however, is that the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a relative dearth of affordable icons on the Romanian market. While domestic production of painted, wooden icons is recorded into the 1860s, listed objects in Romanian museums are typically examples of religious art destined for church, rather than domestic use.[84] One famous icon, the purportedly self-painted and wonder-working "Prodromiţa", was a major object of interest beginning with 1863: made for the recently-established Romanian Athonite monastery of Prodromu, a host of miracles were associated with it, beginning with its inception, which transcended the efforts of the local icon-painter commissioned

to depict the Virgin. As a pamphlet edited by Maj. Pappasoglu in 1867 suggested, this icon was worthy of being photographed along with its monastery, and prints could be distributed (to serve as icons, no doubt) across the country. Ever the entrepreneur – but also pious enough a figure to compile a proposal for the icon's grand reception on a tour of Romania in the same year[85] – Pappasoglu estimated that a public subscription could cover the costs of a photographic expedition/pilgrimage, with the subtext that he would happily undertake the printing – which, it seems, never came to pass.[86]

By that point already, the (presumably small) output of printed icons from the printing presses of Neamț monastery in Moldavia was also dwindling, given state efforts to root out the strong Russian presence felt there;[87] a similar decline was noted at the monastery of Sucevița, also in Moldavia.[88] At the same time, contemporary documents also mention the penetration of Greek prints or Transylvanian icons painted on glass, the latter seen as aesthetically and dogmatically unsatisfactory given their naïve style[89] – but also that Wallachian monasteries nevertheless offered Transylvanian icon-merchants lodging on their journeys.[90] Thus, just whether or not these were objects out of place is debatable; still, allegations that Russian prayer-books and religious objects entered the country with subversive intent were also made toward the end of that decade.[91]

More generally, after the secularisation of monastic holdings in 1863, many surviving monasteries were reduced to the status of mere churches, which must have also played a part in diminishing the availability of icons. Of 141 monasteries still documented in a report drafted in 1890 for the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Instruction, only ten nunneries could pride themselves with textile handicrafts, one monastery with monks who practiced woodworking, textiles, and shoemaking, and only the monks at Ciolanul in Buzău county were explicitly mentioned to have icon-making as a constant activity, alongside woodwork.[92] In sum, given the absence of domestic alternatives, the growing output of printed material in the Russian Empire could easily find an outlet on the Romanian market – and, alongside it, heterodox icons, which posed a separate dogmatic difficulty, but were most often mentioned in the same breath.

Thus, even before foreign icons and historical prints became prohibited items in 1891, the church began calling for an end to foreign encroachment. As an article published after the risings in October 1888 in the official church monthly cautioned, "there is no Romanian home without its icon. But where can [believers] buy them from? Certainly not

from our renowned painters, as this would be expensive and insufficient [in terms of output]. And, besides, a Romanian has, in fact, some three or four icons in their household. So as to fulfil this Christian need, merchants foreign to our people, Russians or Hungarians, manufacture icons which [are destined to] meet the needs of our peasant in particular. This, we must all know, means that the artistic taste of our peasant, and therefore of our nation, is altered; [...] with the destruction of national iconography, a taste and ambition for being Romanian is also destroyed."[93] The connection between the peasant as the most representative, yet also most vulnerable part of the nation was clearly made, as was that between the politics of religious aesthetics and normative modes of national belonging: the problem to be solved was that of logistics.

Some one year later, the Orthodox Church Synod resolved to issue a "Decision on Icons, Architecture, Painting and Ornaments in Churches Throughout the Country", as voted on 22 November 1889 – guidelines had to be established before production could begin.[94] As has been rightfully remarked, this decision was in part driven by a long-standing general discontent with how, for at least half a century by that point, influences in church art had been overly Westernising, with little positive consensus on what exactly a return to more dogmatic "Byzantine" aesthetics might entail in practice.[95] However, mural painting and architecture were not the sole focus of the Synod's decision: icons in domestic settings were of equal importance. Bemoaning the "great influx of various foreign icons which have flooded the country from all corners", this was a rallying call against Russian imports as it was against Catholic images, most likely brought in from Austria-Hungary via other networks of peddlers and fairs. Bishops were therefore tasked with enforcing dogmatic conformity within their jurisdictions, and "make priests receive for consecration in their churches only those icons which are approved and recommended by ecclesiastic authorities, or made in the workshops of Romanian painters which are known to and vouched for by at least two or three members of the higher clergy. Icons that have not been consecrated as per the ritual of our Church will gradually be removed from Christian homes through our priests' moral influence, recommending approved ones in their place". Mayors, too, were to be involved in policing the sale of religious objects within their jurisdiction, so as to ensure the monopoly of local parish churches on their distribution. With severe penalties in place for the clergy in case of disobedience, this was something to be taken seriously.[96] The emphasis on state-church cooperation and on the need to privilege the national over

the foreign were openly emphasized, as was the involvement of clergymen of all stations. As consecrating an icon for domestic use required keeping it in church for some forty days,[97] priests had time enough to detect those that failed to conform to the regulations.

The first solution proposed after 1889 was that of using four icon models made by the Socec printing emporium, designed by the painter Jean-Jules-Antoine Lecomte du Nouÿ (1842-1923), who had notably worked with his brother, architect André Lecomte du Nouÿ (1844-1914) on the restoration of the cathedral in Curtea de Argeş. As the Synod noted on 20 November 1889, this had been encouraged by the Junimist Minister for Cults and Instruction, Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917, better known as a literary critic), during his tenure between March 1888 and March 1889; if the religious figures depicted in the icons had the fault of being somewhat too Western and "blonde", the images were nevertheless fitting, at least as a stopgap measure.[98] In the interim, however, other priests still had to catch up with decisions of the Synod. Thus, from 1892 to 1894, circulars sent by the upper clergy in the southerly county of Romanaţi insisted that "heavy punishments await those who continue to accept foreign icons for consecration in church; only those edited by Mr. Socec and approved by the Holy Synod are allowed".[99] After some inspections were carried out, another circular stressed that foreign vestments and textiles also be banished from church use, that the royal family be properly mentioned in church, and called for zero tolerance for foreign icons at home and in church.[100] In the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional province of Dobruja, the local bishop made a point of carrying out and publicising a tour of his inspections from the autumn of 1892, chiding local communities for both unsuitable mural paintings[101] and foreign icons, cautioning that "keeping them in church allows for the introduction of heresy and other harmful tendencies."[102]

By 1895, church authorities resolved to take matters into their own hands, again on dogmatic, aesthetic, and "national" grounds, by planning to open a lithograph section at the Church Book Printing Office.[103] The problem, however, was that printing icons would immediately prove financially unviable for church authorities, not least because paper had to be imported, and tariff deductions were inadequately small.[104] Still, in 1897, when production was still ongoing, the Synod saw fit to reject a further offer of some 30,000 icons at a tenth of a *leu* apiece from Socec & Co., as they had neither the money nor the willingness to cede their new *de facto* monopoly. Even if their own first print run had been somewhat

unsatisfactory, wonderworking icons (including the aforementioned Prodromița) were now suggested as models for a print of Virgin Mary.[105] By 1898, however, the lithographic print shop had run a massive deficit and had failed to distribute much of its production quickly enough,[106] which meant that production had to be suspended indefinitely.[107] It seems that the icons were well-received, however, and the short-lived initiative only strengthened calls for the necessity to drive out "Muscovite and German icons" from Orthodox households.[108]

For a number of years, icons were printed on Mt. Athos and imported to Romania.[109] It would be only in 1905 that a petition from Vasile Damian (1857-1915), a church painter who submitted some forty-three sketches for icons to be printed at various sizes, emboldened the Synod to aim toward mass production once more, finally printing some of them in 1910.[110] By 1908, an attempt had been made by the Synod to also re-launch local production, by subcontracting the printing to: *Librăria Națională,* or the "National Bookshop", established in 1904 as a co-operative society set up by a group of teachers and professors, publishing calendars for the rural market and a number of textbooks.[111] Being granted a monopoly on icon distribution, it was argued, was a sure means for peddlers to also sell books alongside them, which showed that icons were the more familiar and in-demand commodity.[112] This was an initiative which signalled the perceived importance of nationalising the trade in religious goods, as lauded by a clerical press anxious with non-Orthodox, or even Jewish salesmen.[113] Heralded as a new chapter though it was, the National Bookshop was ultimately nothing more than a flash in the pan: in 1912, the monopoly was granted to the various clerical societies in the country, for the benefit of orphans and widows.[114] The authorised salesmen of the National Bookshop were accused of selling icons to villagers at hugely inflated prices, the wooden frame and glass pane added to the print by no means justifying a mark-up from 1/3 of a *leu* to some 8-9 *lei*, which was roundly denounced as "defrauding" the pious peasant, and in no way an efficient means of displacing foreign competition.[115] What was even more aggravating, however, was that around the very same time, the revelation that a shop specialising in Russian products and located in the very building of the Bucharest Chamber of Commerce sold paper, tin, or wooden icons showed just how little enforcement the ban on imports had received.[116]

Still, it was around the same time that more concrete attempts were made toward reaching a consensus on an iconographic repertoire and

what reconnecting with a Byzantine style might entail. While debates on the latter subject continued to animate the art world,[117] the Commission for Historical Monuments (*Comisiunea monumentelor istorice*) budgeted a series of grants for young artists who would tour Italy and Athos in order to gain first-hand experience in Byzantine art,[118] and, in December 1910, the House of the Church (an administrative body overseeing church finances set up by Haret) inaugurated a small museum collecting noteworthy historical examples of iconographic art, touted as models for lithographs that could now be sent to the countryside.[119] This, finally, allowed the Synod to approve a project regulating iconography, which had first been introduced in 1898:[120] the image of any individual saint had to be instantly recognisable as such, and a permanent iconographic repertoire containing all such models was established. Looking back on the pre-war efforts at displacing foreign icons, however, a 1920 monograph on the House of the Church concluded with chagrin that much was still left to be done in terms of reaching the houses of believers, all the more so in the context of a newly-expanded Romania.[121]

But, finally, what of dynastic loyalty and portraiture more specifically? True, the Orthodox Church was placed in the somewhat awkward position of offering religious legitimation to a royal pair who were not themselves Orthodox; however, as per the dynasty's commitment to raise their descendants in the Orthodox faith (Art. 82 of the 1866 Constitution) and given the privileged position occupied by the Church (Art. 21, respectively), coexistence would become the norm. As such, the country's rulers were mentioned in church prayers, appeared in votive paintings in historical cathedrals whose restauration they financed (such as in Curtea de Argeș or Iași), and publicly took part in all official religious ceremonies.[122] By the 1880s, the continued resistance of some Romanian Athonite monks against praying for a Catholic king was as scandalous as it was marginal.[123] The anti-Catholic sentiment retained by many members of the Orthodox clergy high and low (evident in so many periodicals at the time) was thus, at least in most public contexts, uncoupled from the religion of the king.[124] Indeed, as a popular catechism published in 1905 by a high-ranking clergyman would make plain, the Romanian Orthodox believer was to "sacrifice their life for faith, country, and king, when circumstances demand it",[125] and "honour the king as one who is sent by God to rule our country, and know that his power is granted to him by God. Show him filial love, as to a Father of the country who is permanently concerned with our good and our happiness."[126]

This, however, was also accompanied by visual attempts to publicise the image of the royal couple as Christian monarchs and patrons of Orthodoxy. Between mid-1911 and early 1913, the House of the Church sought to distribute a luxury print of the king and queen, kneeling amid the people at the blessing of St. Nicholas cathedral in Iași in 1904. The cathedral, which had been slated for massive renovation since the 1880s, bore a massive votive painting of the extended royal family, including the heirs to the throne, set against that of medieval ruler Stephen the Great, to whom Carol was compared in official literature destined for peasant consumption, given their long reigns and military victories.[127] The portrait, titled "Before God We Must All Pray", was suggestive of the link between nationalism, dynastic loyalty, and Orthodoxy – yet there was a problem: as per the repeated orders of the House of the Church, buying it was mandatory, at the relatively steep price of 10 *lei*, which made some disgruntled priests question the urgency of its acquisition, seen as more of a business ploy on the part of the painter, I. Negreanu.[128] In fact, one circular suggested that payments could be made directly to the painter of the original model, which made still others wary of the monopoly on church goods granted by the House of the Church to the "National Bookshop".[129] Order No. 11208/26 April 1912 had recommended the print as "an object of high moral value from a religious and patriotic standpoint", and Negreanu himself hyperbolically presented it as "the illustration of the most important moment in the history of our Church", yet – probably in light of priests' protestations – Order No. 364 issued in June of that year relented on the obligative nature of its purchase.[130]

Several points are in order here. One, its stated goal was precisely that of combining the religious and the patriotic, by capitalising on the connection between the role of the king as a patron of the church and his public performance of piety in a church associated with the national past. Two, the country-wide attempt to ensure the existence of such a print signals that, prior to that moment, no previous attempt of that nature had either been undertaken or had been successful in bringing a visual representation of royal piety to the masses. Three, the lower clergy's reluctance did not stem from questioning its aesthetic or moral/patriotic value, but from its price and imposition, especially given the money that its designer would make, and its distribution – in short, a whiff of corruption seemed to be in the air. A minor episode, it nevertheless illuminates the difficulties of disseminating imagery, even when the proper backchannels

were in place. Infrastructure and production, semiotic proximity and pedagogical value: all could, contingently, mean little in practice.

Conclusion

This essay has attempted to capture the contingencies of nation-building, as triggered by the presence of "objects out of place", whose symbolic pollution catalysed a reactive process. As we have seen, however, the logistics of displacement were not always quick to materialise: contingency and structural incapacity dictated the relatively slow pace at which progress could be made. On one level, this has been a story about how perceived national indifference/lack of dynastic loyalty was dealt with, top-down. But, at the same time, it has also highlighted the essential problems that the physical presence of unwanted objects, be they political or religious, were thought to pose – in a sense, how imagining the peasant mind and gaze could fuel the anxieties of literate elites. Subaltern actors such as peddlers and peasants, though almost completely voiceless in the historical record, nevertheless complicated the trajectories of nation-building. As shown across corpora and over some three decades, the importance of narratives' constant recurrence speaks beyond their non-inclusion in the canonical grand narrative of national(ist) teleology: anxieties, not just triumphs, make history.

NOTES

1   I would like to thank my co-fellows at New Europe College for their generous support, as well as UCL SSEES and CEELBAS for funding some of the preliminary research, in the course of my MRes and Ph.D. Thanks are also very much due to Susan Morrissey and Wendy Bracewell, for having first encouraged me to work on the topic. Eric Gordy, too, deserves a mention, on quite the same note. Silvia Marton, Raul Cârstocea, and Maria Floruțău have, as always, been immensely supportive. My love and gratitude to Alexandra; thanks for putting up with all of this.

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16   Ioan Strujan and Constantin Căzănișteanu, *Locotenent-colonel Dimitrie Papazoglu,* Editura Militara, Bucharest, 1972, pp. 107-109

17   Alexandru Istrate, *De la gustul pentru trecut la cercetarea istoriei. Vestigii, călătorii și colecționari în România celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului XIX,* Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Iași, 2015, pp. 264-272

18   P LII/3 Arhiva Papazoglu, f. 28, *Fond Saint George,* National Library of Romania

19   *România liberă,* 31 July 1877. Let us note as an aside that Pappasoglu also had scientific contacts in Russia; Strujan and Căzănișteanu, *Locotenent-colonel Dimitrie Papazoglu,* pp. 92-94.

20   See: Norris, *A War of Images.*

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22   G. Leon, "Câte ceva despre necesitățile țăranului", *Monitorul Agricol, Vinicol și Horticol,* 8/1881

23   P. Ispirescu, "Din poveștile unchiașului sfătos. De la București la Roșiorii de Vedea și-napoi.", *Convorbiri Literare,* 5/1884-5, pp. 198-199

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28   Ceobanu, *Politică și diplomație,* pp. 147-152 and pp. 206-208

29   *Voința națională,* 31 March 1888

30   „Cine să fie în culise?", *Națiunea,* 9 April 1888

31   See: *Lupta,* 2 April *vs.* 7 April 1888

32   Vasile M. Kogălniceanu (ed.), *Chestiunea țărănească. Anexe conținând rapoartele șefilor de trupe asupra cauzelor care au provocat răscoala țăranilor din 1888,* Stab. de Arte Grafice Universala, Bucharest, 1906

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35   M. Eminescu, „Iar iconarii", *Timpul,* 20 November 1888

36   Ceobanu, *Politică și diplomație,* pp. 147-152

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38   Alexandru G. Djuvara, *Raport presentat în numele comitetului delegaților asupra tarifului general al drepturilor de vamă,* Imprimeria Statului, Bucharest, 1891, p. 10

39   N. Fleva, *Chamber of Deputies,* 17 December 1893

40   See: *Programul Monografiei unei comune rurale,* Imprimeria Statului, Bucharest, 1903

41   D. T. Gheorghiu, *Monografia comunei Pechea din Județul Covurlui,* Imprimeria Statului, Bucharest, 1905, pp. 39-41. On the use of newspaper clippings as home decorations, see: Tudor Pamfile "Măgarul, trenul, bicicleta și aeroplanul", *Ion Creangă,* 11/1909

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43   Ion P. Voinea, M. Stoian, and C. Dumitrescu, *Monografia comunei rurale Merenii-de-Sus (Județul Vlașca),* Tip. Gutenberg, Joseph Göbl, Bucharest, 1905, p. 92

44 S. P. Radianu, *Monografia Comunei Văleni, Plasa Șerbănești, județul Olt,* Imprimeria Statului, Bucharest, 1904, p. 109. The state enjoyed a monopoly on the production – and, as such, on the imagery depicted on – matchboxes and playing cards, as of 1887 and 1886, respectively; see: Th. C. Aslan, *Studiu asupra monopolurilor în România,* Inst. de Arte grafice Carol Göbl, S-sor Ion St. Rasidescu, Bucharest, 1906, p. 219 and p. 227.

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50 A. Rădulescu "Monografia comunei Chiojdeanca, Prahova", *Arhiva,* 1903, pp. 357-360

51 John Nicolopoulos, "From Agathangelos to the Megale Idea: Russia and the Emergence of Modern Greek Nationalism", *Balkan Studies,* 1/1985, pp. 41-46. This, in turn, was a reference to John 10:16.

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THE TIME OF THE CHALICE:
OF MARRIAGES, ANCESTORS, AND SONS
AMONG GYPSIES IN TRANSYLVANIA

Abstract

Ethnographic research among a Gypsy population from Transylvania, the Cortorari provides me with insights for advancing the theorization of Gypsies' attitudes towards temporality, and the understanding of their survival as a group. Contrary to other Romany people who are uninterested in the material world around them, and whose attitudes towards time are informed by a presentist orientation, the Cortorari convey a strong commitment to the ownership of some objects of wealth and status, namely the chalices. Practices related to the possession of chalices reveal a stance on time which accommodates pulls towards the past, the present, and the future. Coming from the ancestors, chalices circulate as male heirlooms, and are central to practices of marriage. What is critical about chalices is that, on a temporal dimension, they secure permanence and immutability. I look at how different kinds of time, memory and historicity relate to each other and are weaved into the social reproduction of the group.

Keywords: Gypsies, Cortorari, chalice, practices of marriage

Half-way through my Ph.D. fieldwork, my landlord's family experienced unprecedented grief. For a week or so neither my landlord nor his wife or his mother could have a wink of sleep all night or have a bite of food all day. I had seen them before anguished and participated in their repeated sorrows over the threats their co-parents-in-law made either to end the advanced pregnancy of their younger daughter or to break her marriage altogether. Yet these were plights whose resolution was obtained in the short term as they were linked to different dimensions of the person such as her body or her gender. This time the higher intensity of their anxieties mirrored the intricacies of a much longer term predicament, one that reaches beyond the individual lifespan. The time had come for their thirteen-year-old son Greg to bring his bride into their household and to

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sleep with her and subsequently procreate, as other Cortorari boys of his age normally do. All the adults were worried that Greg was infertile, a judgement they made based on the dimensions of his genitalia, and I have addressed the question Cortorari's proclivity for associating maleness, masculinity and the capacity to procreate with the 'development' of sexual organs elsewhere (Tesăr 2012a: 128f.). Greg's parents' and his grandmother's worries about his stunted penis were constitutive of the shared dread of the extinction of their family as Cortorari consider the son to be central to the reproduction of the family. Greg's grandmother's words are telling here: "Had it [being infertile] happened to one of the girls, it wouldn't have been a dead end. Whereas if the boy is childless, we will have worked in vain our entire lives…Knowing we have carried on with our lives with no heir on whom to pass our *averea* (wealth)?" The Cortorari notion of wealth is based on the possession of particular material items, chalices, and the old woman's worries are centred on the chalice that her family possesses: "Our *taxtaj* (chalice) would be worthless! This would be the absolute worst of the worst, I would better hang myself."

Most of what Cortorari do and think, dream and worry about, talk and not talk about is driven by the imperative of marrying their children, seeing them married and have children of their own thus becoming grandparents, the ultimate indicator of a fulfilled life. Cortorari's obsession with processes of growth and replacement of generational cycles and their unrelenting awareness of life's linear progression from birth to death, punctuated by the transition from an age-group to another, along with their commitment to possessions creates an image of them which appears to be at variance with orthodox anthropological depictions of Gypsies as living in a timeless present (Stewart 1997; Gay y Blasco 1999; Williams 1984: 164), celebrating impermanence and disregarding material possessions (Kaprow 1982). This is not to say that Cortorari's sociality is completely inconsistent with how other Romany populations construct their sociality. In most aspects of their everyday life, Cortorari could have been easily likened to other Gypsies described by the literature, in as much as they did not save for tomorrow, they "reaped without sowing" (Day *et al.* 1999: 4), they behaved thriftlessly and men especially squandered money on gambling; their actions, even their stints abroad for economic purposes, were for the most part impromptu; they did not make commitments and did not record the passing of the time, and overall they appeared to be worlds apart from their peasant neighbours who sweated over ploughing the land in the summer to provide for the winter. Generally speaking, in the

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choices they made in regard to their livelihoods and to time spending, they faithfully complied with common scholarly representations of Gypsies.

Underpinning the orthodox anthropological accounts is the idea that Romany people live in the short term which "they transform into a transcendent escape from time" (Day *et al.* 1999: 2). Gypsies' presentism, along with their peculiar attitudes towards work, person and community, was tackled analytically as an active response to their marginal position (Stewart 1997; Day *et al.* 1999). Romany figurations were presented as constellations of equal and autonomous individuals who ideologically deny hierarchies and bonds and the processes of reproduction pervasive in European households and, at the same time, actively disengage from material objects and property. Just as Carsten's (1995; 1997) Malays on the Langkawi fashioned themselves as persons related to each other through everyday practices of commensality and dwelling, Stewart's (1997) Hungarian Roms were preoccupied with celebrating fictitious 'brotherly relations' which were constantly invented in the here and now, through drinking, gambling and singing, and through rhetorical negation of their involvement in bodily reproduction. Stewart notes that "The idea of reproduction was not so much rooted in an ideology of descent and inheritance of character as in an ideology of nurture and shared social activity" (1997: 59).

Gay y Blasco (2001) furthered the interpretation of the Gypsies' present-orientedness by addressing their approach to the past. Unlike neighbouring European populations who make extensive use of communal memory in discourses to forge their imagined ethnic identities, Gypsies appeal to personalized ways of remembering deceased individuals and show no interest in an alleged collective past. This is related to their particular mode of social organization, which downplays notions of 'community' at the expense of 'commonality' (Gay y Blasco 1997), which is interrelatedness created in the present. Gypsies' presentism is far from being only the flip-side of their encapsulation by non-Gypsies; it is also a reflection of their own notions of belonging and personhood. Gay Y Blasco's attempt to merge social structural marginality with internal values was preceded by the publication of Williams' monograph (2003 [1993]) which provides a more detailed and subtle account of the Gypsy chronotope. In a nutshell, the Manuš, the Romany population described in said monograph, by living among the *gaže*[1] and depending for their persistence on the relationship with the *gaže*, express their distinctiveness through the respect they pay to their dead[2], as encapsulated in practices

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of reminiscing and obliteration (see also Tauber 2006). The Manuš know two kinds of durations: one which is associated with the individual Manuš, 'made up of the ephemeral, the precarious, and the irremediable' (Williams 2003: 22) –which I infer to be 'the timeless present' of the British authors mentioned above –, and another one which "pertains to the perennial, the immutable (…). It is felt through the absolute loyalty to the deceased' (*idem*), and which bears on the realm of the 'community'".

Williams' account provides the key to proving the co-presence of two allegedly incommensurable attitudes towards time among the Cortorari, one pertaining to the individual and the other one to the kinship. In the introductory vignette, I suggested that the short term was associated by the Cortorari with the individual and that the longer term denoting continuity was associated with relatedness and the replacement of developmental cycles. It is beyond the scope of this article to inquire into the myriad complex ways in which these two temporal dimensions entwine all the more so as this has been beautifully described by Williams. Instead I shall focus on what Williams labelled the 'perennial' time and how Cortorari elaborate it culturally, not only through a specific treatment of the past, but also through thoughtful consideration of the future which transpires in their preoccupation with the perpetuation of relatedness. Following Fortes' (1970) initial call for greater attention to practices of kinship over a stretch of time, which became the kernel of Goody's (1971) developmental cycles, I look at how Cortorari conceive of the growth and replacement of generational cycles in conjunction with their notions of personhood, and how their conceptions articulate with a specific stance on time.

Little attention has been paid to how Gypsies approach and represent ideas about generational reproduction, coupling, and marriage. Gypsies' conceptions of the (female) body as polluted and hence their reluctance to face the physicality of reproduction through other means than symbolical (Sutherland 1975: 250ff.; Okely 1983: 201ff.; Gay y Blasco 1999: 87ff.; Stewart 1997: 204ff.) led to a tendency to side-line the idiom of the reproduction of relatedness in Romany scholarship. One noteworthy exception is Gropper (1975), who underscored the focus on marriage as an essential feature of Romany figurations. Hers remains a unique voice in addressing questions regarding the life-cycles of individuals and in emphasizing the need to consider the dynamics and changes entwined with life-histories instead of clinging to the static analysis (63). Williams (1984) dedicated a whole monograph to marriage among the Parisian Kalderash but the thrust of his book is the Levi-Straussian exchange of women (1969)

and subsequently the deployment of horizontal relations. Bearing some affinities with the work on Gypsy marriages – which remains nonetheless underrepresented within the literature –, my article aims to complement such work by addressing marital practices within a broader timeframe.

First, I will approach Cortorari marital practices as uneasy processes unfolding over many years, revolving around becoming and transformations of subjectivities, and punctuated by the birth of children and the transfer of marriage payment in several instalments. Underlying the creating and strengthening of marital bonds is the idea that an individual attains full personhood once she becomes a grandparent. The future orientation of relatedness is articulated both through the local category of *neamo* and through the flow of chalices. The *neamo*–s, aggregates of people comprising the dead and the living, and named after a deceased kin appear to prioritize descent over alliance in people's talk. Yet a closer look at the practical manifestation of *neamo* reveals its capacity for action in marriage arrangements. Similar indeterminacy and boundary transgression between inheritance and alliance characterize the flow of chalices which, despite being circulated from father to the son, is constitutive of marriage practices. I show that Cortorari's engagement with chalices, which they consider to have been passed down from their forebears to them, does not map onto the folk idiom of ownership - as encapsulated in ideas of denying others any rights in one's property - and in so doing prioritizes proprietorship over connectedness. On the contrary, possession of chalices intimates Cortorari's preoccupation with creating interrelatedness both in the present and in the future.

1. Introducing the Cortorari

An ex-nomadic[3] Romany-speaking population, the Cortorari – a name given to them by their Romanian neighbours,[4] which has no equivalent in their own language -, lives nowadays scattered among a few villages in central Romania, Transylvania. They stand out due to their very colourful dress: women wear predominantly red ankle-length checked skirts and flowery scarves on their heads, and men sport black velvet trousers and velour hats. They believe to be all relatives of different degrees of closeness and they intermarry. They derive their livelihoods from an assortment of ways, combining men's copper artefact manufacture with women's pig husbandry, and begging abroad which is practiced irrespective of one's

gender. I carried out my research in the village with the largest population of Cortorari living together in approximately eighty households, e.g. more or less 700 people. Here, the Cortorari's presence is conspicuous not only due to their brightly-coloured attire, but mostly due to their mansions under construction, painted in lively colours and decorated with metal turrets. Although they are fully embarked on the ploughing of money into the continuous shifting of their houses' architecture and decorations in accordance with the latest innovations in construction materials (see Tesăr 2016), Cortorari – the older ones more readily than the younger – make nonetheless a blunt distinction between wealth in houses, which they consider to be of a transient nature, and ceremonial wealth consisting in specific enduring material items, *taxtaja* (chalices)[5]. The latter are concealed from sight and are kept in the custody of Romanian peasant neighbours. Despite their material absence from everyday sociality, chalices permeate people's affectionate talk and orient people's activities. Like Weiner's (1992) inalienable possessions, they are withheld from exchange outside the notional community – where they are constitutive of practices of filiation and marriage.

Marriages, arranged by parents and grandparents for children in their early ages, are central rituals which provide the terms in which Cortorari understand and organize gender differences, mundane political affairs and economic exchanges. The impressive diversity of possible matches is divided– in Cortorari discourse – between two broad ideal categories of marriages: *tokmeala pe skimbate* (marriages through exchange [of daughters]) and *tokmeala in particular* (discrete or side marriage). For the sake of brevity, I translated here the native concept of *tokmeala* as marriage, but, I will discuss this later, *tokmeala* not only conveys the idea of bargaining, haggling or negotiating but it also expresses the idea of the changing nature of persons and relationships in time. *Tokmeala pe skimbate* normally entails the writing off of the marriage payment and further, in case of the dissolution of one marriage, the breaking off of the other. *Tokmeala in particular* evinces a one-way flow of the bride and of the marriage payment, from wife givers to wife receivers. The marriage payment, which consists of both cash and a trousseau, *zestrea*, resembles dowry, yet does not map neatly onto the normative model of the hierarchical agricultural populations (Goody 1973), in as much as the cash component of it is not used as an endowment of the bride but as a pool of resources by the groom's family.[6] Cortorari negotiate the amount of the cash 'dowry' in relation to the monetary value attached to the groom's

chalice. Yet, I suggest here and develop the idea later, the transaction, for which the idioms of exchange and reciprocity fail to account, is represented both as a sequel of former transactions and as a premise for future transactions. These two ideal kinds of marriage conceal a myriad of practical marriages (Bourdieu 1977:33ff.) – some negotiated through exchange yet accompanied by a flow of money (which is requested by one of the parties on grounds of a greater value attached to their chalice in respect to the chalice of the other party), and some other concluded by the unidirectional flow of the bride, yet with no cash 'dowry' tendered.

Not unlike other Romany-speaking populations (see Gropper 1975; Olivera 2012) Cortorari identify themselves as *ame al roma* (we, the Roms). *Al roma* are people born to *roma* parents, who intermarry and whose belonging in its fullest sense is conterminous with fatherhood and motherhood respectively. To infertile men and women, who subsequently remain single[7], belonging is not denied: they are still ours (*amarendar*), yet they are somehow incomplete persons, given that they do not fulfil the life career one ought to: being born and then bred to attain both proper cultural competency and 'anatomical' maturation and, once the person's body is ready for sexual intercourse, move into the groom's parental house, if one were a girl, or bring a bride into one's parental house, if one were a boy, produce progeny of their own and thus attain parenthood, and then as parents, having their children's marriages arranged by one's own parents and ensure that one's children bring forth their own children. The transition from parenthood to grandparenthood is considered the apex of personhood, the highest achievement one can dream of in a lifetime.

Cortorari think the idiom of their society in terms of connectedness and express it through the local category of *neamo* which comprises the living and the dead. Relatedness is encapsulated in a continuum of overlapping bonds which concomitantly tie people together as brothers, sisters, aunts, cousins, husbands and wives, parents-in-law and co-parents-in-law, parents and grandparents, and keep out those who are not or could not be connected to one of the *roma* either by birth or by alliance. It is continuously experienced and created through participating into each other's life (Sahlins 2013), by means of reciprocal help and support, exchanges of goods and salutations, emotional expressions of suffering and joy, and even enmity and grief (cf. Gay y Blasco 2005). A great deal of cultural elaboration is attached to commensality in the creation of relatedness. Commensality, while expected for people from different generations living under one roof, with only one exception which I shall mention in due time, is also an

essential feature of the creation of affinity. The proposal to enter marriage negotiations and consequently start the production of affinal bonds takes the shape of invitations to commensality which from then on will be ritually performed on special occasions, such as the Orthodox Easter and Christmas, or on the occasion of one of the parties' returning home from abroad. A reversal in the constitution and expression of relatedness through partaking in commensality, which intimates the celebration of the capacity for life and growth, is displayed at death, when the kin constitute themselves by means of denial of the symbols of fertility (see Bloch and Parry 1982). At funerals the extant of the deceased person's web of relatedness comes together. People express now kinship with the dead through abstention from eating from the ritual alms (*pomeana*). Moreover, women unbraid their hair, women's braids being otherwise symbols of femininity, and men and women alike observe long periods of mourning, which involves renouncing their brightly-coloured red clothes for darker ones, not washing their bodies for as long as six weeks, and above all, refraining from dancing and making marriage arrangements. Compliance with these precepts is a matter of negotiation and choice; however, the choice whether to pay or not to pay one's respect to the dead is constitutive of the subjective evaluation of the distance of one's ties to the dead.

2. On the Process of Marriage

The *roma* do not have a word for marriage, they take (*lel*) and give (*del*) daughters, or they throw (*šutel*) women in alliances and in so doing the two parties, namely the extended families, become 'fastened' to each other (*panden pes*) and commit themselves to a series of exchanges of gifts and services, and to the performance of commensality and of the respect shown to the dead. Marital bonds are not fixed and irreversible, which means that the threat of becoming 'unfastened' (*pytrel pes*) continuously hovers over them. Ideally, they are made to endure solely by the birth of a son to the new couple. Moreover, marriages are not a-yes-or-no proposition, they are the result of long-term negotiations carried out in secrecy, involving concealment and disclosure of pockets of knowledge about the distribution of chances on the marriage market and also abilities to interfere with other people's arrangements and break them, coupled with the mastery of persuasion skills as conveyed by the local expression of *janel politika* (to know the politics). Intentions to create affinal relations

between two families are publicized through *tokmeala* (negotiation, bargain, and by extension, marriage arrangement), celebrations with live music and energetic dances, where enormous quantities of alcohol and pork are consumed, all paid by the organizers, more often than not the girl's family, and coming close to several thousands of Euros. *Tokmeala* intimates the creation of the *xanamika* (co-parents-in-law) relationship between the two families. *Tokmeala*-s are arranged by grandparents for their grandchildren in their early ages and even when the latter are still in their mothers' wombs (see also Gropper 1975: 141). There is a yearning among *roma* for organizing *tokmeala* for young children, motivated by the parents' wish to secure a future marriage for their children. When challenged, the *roma* acknowledged nonetheless that it was unlikely that a *tokmeala* arranged for children with an age gap as big as seven years, to be seen through to completion, i.e. to produce two actual spouses. The *roma* conclude and break off *tokmeala* on a whim, and in so doing, they continuously create opportunities to manifest as *roma*, i.e. people with a proclivity for dance, pork, alcohol, speech and bargaining, and above all, people who constitute themselves through marital bonds. Sometimes overlapping with *tokmeala* and other times a separate event, the wedding ceremony (*abiav*) – which can nonetheless be altogether left out in times of money shortage or during mourning periods – is the ritual sequence that dramatizes the formation of a couple, legitimized through the spouses' first bout of sexual intercourse. Similarly to *tokmeala*, the *abiav* takes the form of a Pantagruelian feast; however, in contradistinction to the former, the groom and bride take the front stage as main actors of the ritual which takes place, in turn, at their respective parental houses.

The formation of a couple starts with the removal of the bride from her parental home and her relocation into the groom's parental home.[8] Living together communicates the likely success of the marriage process. Displacement and relocation are seen as an undertaking through which the bride (*e bori*) becomes accustomed to the routines of her marital household. She arrives here as a stranger who needs to be domesticated; however, it is not uncommon for the bride to fail to adapt to the demanding domestic chores[9] or take a dislike to her in-laws' lifestyles and as a consequence return to her parental household, with a new *tokmeala* being subsequently arranged for her. The prospect of such decisions of bridal relocation, which are nonetheless highly dramatized by the two families who openly blame each other in the streets either for mistreating the girl or for her misbehaving, are even more openly frown upon if the spouses have slept

together (*soven k-o than*). This is so because the *roma* place a great value on the girl's virginity (cf. Okely 1983: 203; Sutherland 1975: 226f.; Gay y Blasco 1997; Gropper 1975ff.). The girl's virginity is an important asset for her parents on the marriage market. It makes room for negotiations of the cash 'dowry' to the benefit of her parents, whereas the loss of virginity might attract an increase of the marriage payment. Not even the bride's giving up her virginity can guarantee the endurance of *tokmeala*, which is under continuous threat from various contingencies, including disputes between the couple's extended families or frictions between the spouses. A serious menace to the strength of marital bonds is posed by the birth of a daughter to a new couple, and all the more so when her birth follows a first-born daughter. I witnessed the plight of my landlord's youngest daughter whose second birth was yet another daughter. For not only did her parents-in-law threatened to have her a late-stage abortion during her second pregnancy, but they also warned they might break the marriage, if she gave birth to a second daughter. Throughout my stay in the field, there was an air of impermanence hanging above her marriage. At times, it seemed to fade away in light of the stability granted by the *tokmeala pe skimbate* of which she had been part. The arrangement was that her brother Greg would marry her sister-in-law. Should one of the two unions concluded through exchange of daughters dissolve, it generally entailed the dissolution of the other. This precept acted as a safety net for Lina's marriage, which nonetheless started to come apart once the possibility of Greg's being infertile entered their parents' minds. The elaboration of marital bonds and the constitution of the spouses as *rom* (married *roma* man who fathered) and *romni* (married *roma* women who mothered) to each other (see Tesăr 2012a) is tightly linked with their living together and attaching a permanent character to the cohabitation. A new daughter-in-law is constantly coming and going between her marital house and her parental house, and the causes of her displacement are diverse; when she falls ill she is to be looked after by her parents, and the same goes when she becomes pregnant. A lot of the time, her livelihood is being provided for by her parents, who give her pocket money and even food for her whole marital household. The lack of smoothness of a *bori*'s gradual incorporation into her marital household articulates with the timing of the cash and the trousseau 'dowry', both being transferred in several instalments: the bulk of the former is generally paid on the occasion of the birth of a son, while the latter, on the occasion of the marriage of her daughters. Until a new-daughter-in-law comes in the household, the latest comer is excluded

from commensality. The articulation of the idioms of the house with commensality and generational cycles is thus constitutive of the negotiation, arrangement and strengthening of the marital bonds. People become kin, that is, complete people, through eating and living together in the present, intermarrying and having children and grandchildren in the future. The future-oriented kinship transpires both in the manifestation of a local category of relatedness, the *neamo*, and in the *roma*'s engagement with ceremonial wealth– to which I shall dedicate the remaining of this article.

3. *Neamo*: A Category of Relatedness

The *roma* who arrange their children's and grandchildren's marriages express relatedness through the local category of *neamo*,[10] aggregates of people, both dead and alive, connected through both cognatic and affinal ties, lacking manifestation on the ground, and emphasizing patrilineality. All the *roma* claim to belong to an overarching and overstretching *neamo*, a polysemantic term that merges the idioms of common ancestry, upbringing, and endogamy. Then, inside this broad *neamo*, they distinguish several narrower *neamo*-s (imagine them as branches growing from a common trunk) which are named after a male ancestor who lived only four or five generations removed from the Ego. Webs of relatedness overlap across different *neamo*-s in such a way that a person can claim belonging in more *neamo*-s at the same time. The *roma* are not interested in policing borders of these *neamo*-s, they are rather preoccupied with making shifting claims of belonging in one or another. People believe that a *neamo* generator passes on to those belonging to that specific *neamo* personal characteristics, either physical, such as complexion, eyes and hair colour, physiological, such as bodily reproductive capacities and predilection towards certain illnesses, or moral, such as industriousness, skilfulness, propensity towards drinking etc. (cf. Olivera 2012: 206ff; Williams 1983: 164ff.). All these ideas suggest a subtle and complex speculation on *roma*'s kinship temporal orientation. We are confronted here with the possibility of the *roma*'s overvaluation of inheritance and descent (contrary to Gay y Blasco 2001; Stewart 1997). Yet, taking a closer look at the practical manifestation of *neamo*, these ideas recede before us making room for the future-orientedness of *roma* relatedness. We shall see that the category of *neamo* conceals under the appearance of the pre-eminence of ancestors, who have not however lived as long

ago as people claim they did, the concerns with marriage and the future as central to *roma* relatedness.

According to the *roma*, people can fall into two categories of morally different *neamo*-s. In their evaluation, they distinguish between: *neamo*-s *lašo* (good *neamo*) to which *al barvale* (the rich) belong and, *neamo žungalo* (bad *neamo*) to which *al čora* (the barehanded) belong. As a matter of fact, more often than not the latter (the barehanded) are better off than the former (the rich). How is then a person's belonging to one of the two categories acknowledged? When I tried to obtain from *roma* explicit statements about how they assess one's inclusion in either of the two differently morally evaluated kin categories, a witty old man gave me an explanation worth quoting. Half-jokingly, half-seriously, he suggested that I should carry out what was left of my research asking people this single question, "Where is your ID issued?" The old man challenged me to assess the answers people could give to this question. "If one doesn't know where he was born", the man continued, "I can assume he was born in the forest. He is thus *vešalo* (son of the woods), or *čoro* (barehanded)". Conversely, if one can say where he was born and who are his parents, it means that he belongs to a *neamo lašo* (good *neamo*). The *barvale* (rich) are the *roma* who know their relatives, both alive and dead. Here affluence is tantamount to one's breadth and depth of interrelatedness. However *neamo* belonging does not influence everyday interaction. There is only one realm of social life where *neamo* categorical distinctions become meaningful for social action and this is the politics of marriage transactions. There are several issues at stake when a marriage is arranged, the health and the physical fitness of the spouses weighing heavily, in conjunction with the negotiation of the amount of the cash 'dowry' and the value elicited for the groom's chalice. In women, *roma* appreciate long and thick hair, a curvy body and a straight posture in walking. The grooms should be handsome and well-built. In order to persuade each other of the spouses' qualities, they appeal to the personalities of their alleged ancestors, subsequently representing the spouses as belonging to specific *neamo*. When it comes to negotiating the amount of the cash 'dowry', the category of *neamo* offers a lot of space for manoeuvre. *Roma* belonging to a 'bad' *neamo*, who are better off than those claiming belonging to a 'good' *neamo*, are eager to pay large 'dowries' to marry their daughters up. People talk bad of such marriages, and 'the rich' morally condemn their peers who 'took daughters-in-law from the barehanded' and thus demeaned themselves. Some argue that this is quite a recent practice and they scornfully talk of those who were corrupted by

money. Yet there is hardly one who did not conclude a marriage with the 'have-nots'. If challenged on their marital choices, they would maintain that *sa roma san vi kakala* (they are also *roma*) and they would even praise their money-making abilities and the comfort of their houses, and the outmost decorum with which they behave. Moreover, in conversations with people about the state of the marriage market in the past, they would acquiesce they have always concluded marriages between 'upper' and 'lower' *neamo*-s. It thus becomes obvious, when looking at the choices one makes when asserting belonging in a particular *neamo*- that this category of relatedness, which allegedly draws on a vertical expansion of kin ties, offers a space for manoeuvring into arranging marriages. It thus reveals the forward projection of *roma* kinship, an idea which transpires in practices and representations of the possession of chalices, as well.

4. *Roma*'s Wealth (*Averea*), their Ancestors and their Relatives

The presence of the *taxtaja* among the *roma* and the rhetoric surrounding them present an image of the *roma* which is closer to medieval European nobility (cf. Olivera 2012). In *roma*'s discourses, the chalices remind of heredity regalia and the baffling plots weaved around them: machinations for stealing, killings and fights among brothers, matrimonial strategies for keeping them within the family, and even the idea of inherited rank. But does the entanglement of chalices with the *roma*'s lives account for the *roma*'s overvaluation of descent and inheritance, idioms which were said to be played down by the Romany populations (Gay y Blasco 2001; Stewart 1997)?

If asked, *roma* locate their strong desire for chalices and their obduracy not to part with them in the heirloom qualities of these items. The rhetoric which accompanies the flow of chalices is abundant in tropes of the past. They come from the ancestors (*al phure*), they are *demultane* (from the old times), and they have allegedly been in the possession of *roma*, 'since the beginning of the world'. The factual truth is the following: objects made of silver or gilded silver, manufactured by craft guilds from Transylvania during the 17th-18th c.,[11] the chalices came into the possession of *roma* no later than the beginning of the 20th century, as far as I could retrace their biography (Kopytoff 1986). Yet, the *roma* show no interest in recollecting the precise date of their purchase, which they present as having happened in an immemorial, mythical time. In so doing, they pass under oblivion the

historical facts which would be of interest to an art collector. If challenged in their accounts on the origin of these cherished objects, and this is done rather by referring to a specific object than to all of them, the *roma* would remember the story of the purchase of that particular chalice. The time of the purchase is always unimportant and what is recounted is the purchase as an exceptional event fraught with encumbrances. Almost all the stories of the purchase of different chalices shared two features, namely how their previous possessors were exceptional heroic characters; and how the objects were so expensive that the buyer had to incur debts to other *roma* in order to be able to tender the purchase price.

Though the *roma* still buy chalices today, at least two transactions being concluded during my stay in the field, people consider that chalices can gain value only with time spent in the possession of the *roma*. The number of chalices to which the *roma* could gain access is hypothetically huge – and I am referring here to such objects sold at auctions or by the Romanian Romany Gabor Gypsies (see Berta 2013). However, the chalices available for purchase do not make the object of people's strong desires, because they consider that an item becomes priceless only once it has changed several *roma* hands. *Roma* make a qualitative distinction between *taxtaja romane* (Romany chalices) which have a name (referring to a previous possessor or the circumstances in which they were bought) and *taxtaja kinde* (recently bought chalices).The *romane* chalices are valuable because they are imbued with the histories of the people. The *roma*, especially older men and to a lesser degree their female peers, take great delight in recalling the elders who bought the *taxtaja* and who passed them down. This might happen on an ordinary day, when they take refuge from the torrid heath of a summer afternoon under the shade of a tree, or at a funeral or wedding, towards the inebriated end of the ceremony. On such occasions, their talk becomes impassioned and precipitated, accompanied by screams and shouts. The speakers put on quite a show as they throw themselves at the audience, their very performance bringing the ancestors to life and granting them authenticity. They are said to have fought snakes, forged money, ransacked rich houses, outwitted lawyers, crossed the country, tamed dragons, befriended influential *gaže*, and to have been jailed or to have hanged themselves (see also Olivera 2012: 206). The story told about each and every such ancestor differs from one story-teller to another and so does the extent of the knowledge that one has about one or the other ancestor. Figments of the living's overheated imagination, the dead become real and their life stories true, no matter how different they are

compared to previous accounts, they never fail to convince. There are other occasions, in the confines of one's household, when these stories are narrated by the old to the young, in a low whispering voice which commands the trust of the audience in the truth of the speech. But does the value of chalices reside in their being invested with life histories and, furthermore, does the *roma*'s attachment to them denote their interest in descent, inheritance, and genealogies?

In a somewhat counterintuitive move, I will argue that the answer to this question is no. The attachment to chalices is not to be explained by way of an alleged overvaluation of descent by the *roma.* Moreover, we will see that chalices do not sell – not necessarily because these items fall into a particular moral domain of inalienability to which particular Melanesian gifts belong (Weiner 1992) , but for other reasons to be discussed below. In making these claims, I rely both on other authors' ethnographies and mine and demonstrate that the stories about the ancestors are used to create the fame of objects, and to create relatedness among the living.

When the *roma* appeal to extra-ordinary characters, allegedly their ancestors, they forge a mythical aura around these objects, an aura which contributes to their fame and legitimizes their value. In people's talk, chalices appear ranked, yet the valuation of objects is done idiosyncratically. Sometimes age added value to them, other times, the volume and size of the objects mattered, and yet other times, their shape and decorations were praised. Previous possessors and their sensational adventures shrouded these items in mystery. The stories about them are part and parcel of the process of value creation, one that is strenuously and continuously carried out by the chalices' possessors. Elsewhere (Tesăr 2012b: Chapter 5), I show that though chalices appear to have a will and power of their own, it is in fact their possessors' *agency* and energies which produce the power of the objects. In this respect, they can be easily associated with Marx's fetishes (see Graeber 2005: 13). It is my intuition that had there been no chalices among the *roma*, the latter would have nonetheless remembered their ancestors the same way they remember them as possessors of chalices. There is evidence to support this idea. Firstly, there are the elders who are recalled as *neamo* generators; often these ancestors and their descendants were not possessors of chalices. It might also be that chalices are insignia of good *neamo*-s, yet there is no causal link between possession of chalices and the moral category to which a *neamo* belongs. The proclivity for the commemoration of exceptional ancestors is widespread among Romany populations described by various

ethnographies (Olivera 2012: 206ff; Williams 2003: 31ff; Sutherland 1975: 181ff). Secondly, the occurrence of chalices does not evince a lengthier genealogical memory for Cortorari than for other Gypsies. Not unlike other Romanies, the length of the *roma*'s genealogical memory is limited to four or five generations at the most (cf. Gay y Blasco 1999: 142; Williams 2003: 11) , which is a short stretch of time given the speed at which generations succeed one another, the early-age marriages and the short lifespan of the individual.[12] The scholars who approached Gypsies' practices and representations related to the presence of the dead among the living unanimously contend that the personalized ways of reminiscing ancestors could not articulate an interest in the past and descent per se, claiming instead that it is a means of creating relatedness among the living (Williams 1984: 164; Gay y Blasco 2001: 639). Through stories about the ancestors, the living constitute themselves in relation to the dead and, moreover, as kin. While I agree with these scholars, I would like nonetheless to push further this line of reasoning and suggest that among the *roma* the personalized way of remembering the ancestors, with its lack of focus on an objective past characterized by temporal markers, intimates a process of relatedness focused on creating connections among the living and producing children and grandchildren. This will become apparent in the discussion of practices related to the possession of chalices. I suggest that by remembering their dead, the *roma* not only constitute themselves in the present, but also create the future.

5. The Pledge of the Chalices in Matrimonial Transactions

Chalices are normally passed on from the father to the youngest son when the latter begets a son. The possession of a chalice is not modelled on the Western folk idea of property as a relation between a person and a thing, but rather as different kinds of social entitlements (Hann 1998) that different people hold in the same object, in a manner reminding of the feudal law (see Macfarlane 1998). A chalice belongs to en entire line of male descendants, both dead and alive. The rhetoric of flow and movement in which I chose to couch the social life (Appadurai 1988) of chalices has pride of place in people's discourses, and is rather at variance with the static nature implied by their materiality. The chalice does not actually change hands as it is permanently kept tucked away in the houses and granaries of Romanian peasants. Therefore, the lexicon of possession of the chalice abounds in sensorial expressions: one is entitled to see one's

chalice, to touch it or to hold it in their hand. Moreover, one is entitled to bring out and display one's chalice, and this happens on life-cycle occasions, such as marriages or funerals. It is generally the oldest man among the living possessors of a chalice who is entitled to do so, i.e. the grandfather who has the final say in the orchestration and distribution of rights (*dreptul*) in a chalice. Nowadays, *roma* use birth control and possessors of chalices don't usually have more than one son. Conversely, in the past, when the *roma* begot more children than they do today, they were faced with the onerous task of negotiating the inheritance of a chalice among two or more brothers and the conflicts between them were not few; these conflicts remain unsettled to this day, being pursued by their descendants. The non-heir brothers were granted shares (*partea*) in money from the chalice by their parents, and this money was usually invested in a house where the non-heir brothers would move once married. However, there is the shared belief that the compensation share is not commensurable with the value of a chalice, the actual value of the object always being higher than its value in money, and not only non-heir brothers but their descendants as well consider themselves entitled to never-ending claims to compensation. One way of circumventing one's indebtedness towards siblings is to take a bride from a descendant of the non-heir brother without requesting a cash 'dowry'. The conclusion of such transactions always has moral overtones as the preservation of wealth within the *neamo* and the determination of the parties to the transaction not to let the wealth go to strangers are both praised. Conversely, the heir might conclude a marriage with outsiders and in so doing, he surrenders rights in the chalice to the bride's *neamo* in exchange of the cash 'dowry' tendered by the latter. Such transactions entail future (cousin) intermarriages between female descendants on the bride's side and male descendants on the groom's side. Although highly berated (especially by the siblings of the heir) and talked about as a scandalous breach of an unwritten moral law, such transactions involving a payment in cash occur frequently and were also concluded in the past. They bring money which can be passed on as compensation shares, and even the chalice-deprived brothers (and their descendants) rejoice at the sight of it. The idiom of gift exchange and reciprocity is defective in explaining the transaction in which rights in the chalice are exchanged for cash 'dowries', given that the *roma* represent each marriage as a sequel to a previous one and in so doing, they adhere to a broad temporal perspective (Bourdieu 1977: 6) on each marital transaction.[13]

Given this, it becomes obvious that possession of chalices is not a matter of private property and does not overlap with the phenomenological and experiential owning/ownership. The chalice is an indivisible good in which more people simultaneously hold varying rights. Rights, compensation shares, debts are passed on from one generation to another, linking a person to numerous others. It is therefore hard to avoid the conclusion that the refusal to sell is not necessarily grounded in an alleged moral value attached to these items as heirlooms, but rather in the fact this particular piece is imbricated in services and debts, or has other liens attached to it (cf. Guyer 1993: 250).[14] But the question remains, What kind of asset is the chalice? The material presented suggests that while cherished as containers of people's history, chalices are desired not for their heirloom-like qualities, but for their ability to embody the premises of marriage and interconnectivity. I purposefully left for the end of this article the description of one more marital practice involving the chalice, which adds further to my argument.

We have seen that dissolution is the one thing that constantly looms over a marriage. The bride's side is normally in an inferior position in respect to the groom's side and the potential breaking off of a marriage would bring more harm to the former than to the latter. Were a bride released from marriage after losing her virginity, she would theoretically be less likely to remarry successfully unless her parents would be willing to pay a bigger 'dowry'. To prevent any of these misfortunes from happening, the wife givers usually ask to get hold of the groom's chalice as a guarantee for the endurance of their daughter's marriage. The chalice is pledged (*zalog*) for the daughter-in law. "I gave a chalice and I took a daughter-in-law", the spouse takers gloss the transaction, while the spouse givers say that "[their] chalice is placed in our trust". As temporary possessors, the wife givers cannot use it to arrange marriages and they cannot display it as they please. Conversely, divested of their chalice, often not being even allowed to see it, the groom's side is not able to arrange new marriages, their actions and agency are suspended. Temporary possession of a chalice ends with the birth of a son to the new couple as the ultimate guarantee of the matrimonial bonds against any threats of dissolution and as the premise of a new generational cycle.[15]

Economically speaking, the desire of a brother to keep the chalice for himself and consequently pay compensation shares to his brothers seemed clearly irrational. Likewise, one's eagerness to pay a large 'dowry' for marrying one's daughter to a possessor of a chalice seems shocking. Money

is circulated among possessors and non-possessors at great speed and in big amounts - as 'dowries', as compensation shares, as bails- to get back the pledged chalice - and, in the short-term, people do rejoice at the sight of gains or mourn their losses, as the case may be. Yet placed in a broader temporal perspective, the financial gains and losses fade away when compared to the internally culturally elaborated value that is marriage. Annoyed by my constant queries about chalices, a *roma* man summed up the value of chalices better than I could have explained it: "Cătălina, do you know what a *taxtaj* is good for? It brings a daughter-in-law and binds the co-parents-in-law."

6. Concluding Remarks

My paper shows that both possession of *taxtaja* and the manifestation of the category of *neamo* endorse rather paradoxically not a past-oriented kinship in which a person's identity is forged in conjunction with genealogies and past ancestors, but a forward projection, as expressed in the imperative of marrying one's children and grandchildren. Although the lexicon which describes the flow of chalices abounds in tropes of the past and similarly the category of *neamo* bears resemblance to a descent-oriented kinship, they index no less than a future-orientedness of *roma* relatedness. This is connected to notions of personhood whose driving force is the transformation of parents into grandparents. Although the latter orchestrate the distribution of rights in chalices and the flow of these objects, the motivations behind their actions suggest a preoccupation with ensuring the meaningful replacement of generational cycles. The timing of the inheritance of chalices along with the timing of the 'dowry' are marked by the production of children. This article opened with a vignette about the worries of my landlord family about their son being infertile. Were he childless, the family's chalice would be worthless, Greg's grandmother warned me. What better way to convey the idea that the value of chalices does not reside in their history, but in their ability to guarantee the process of marriage which I showed to last over many years and to be contingent on the production of progeny.

Most ethnographies of Gypsies linked the reproduction of their identity with the performative nature of gendered personhood embedded in a present-oriented temporality. Gay y Blasco's (1999) Gitanos' sense of belonging was given by the individuals' compliance with a set of

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moral expectations as to their gender, subsumed under the 'Gitano law'. Likewise, Stewart's (1997) Roms created themselves as persons dissimilar to *gaže* by means of performing activities divided internally along gender lines: men realized their full potential as men at the horse market and at celebrations, whereas women as homemakers. In all these accounts, the generation aspect of personhood is rarely addressed. My article has argued in favour of integrating the idioms of age-sets and life-cycles into depictions of personhood. In so doing, I suggest that bodily reproduction is germane to understanding the process of the Gypsies' social reproduction which I showed to be a temporal phenomenon which allows for the future-orientedness of relatedness to converge with what other authors celebrate as the present-orientedness of the individual.

Roma's conceptions of personhood echo to a certain degree those of the Tallensi described by Fortes (1987). Showing concerns similar to *roma*'s about the succession of generational cycles, in as much as the Tallensi individuals, while being highly sensitive to the gender difference which prescribed both contrasting 'jural' entitlements and different domestic and ritual demeanours (262ff.), were fashioned as persons gradually throughout their lifespan, punctuated by life cycle events. Full personhood was achieved by Tallensi only at death, when one joined the ancestors who were "the dominant supernatural agencies believed to control human existence" (258). And here comes the crucial difference between the Tallensi and the *roma*: the kinship of the former is past-oriented in as much their lineages and descent groups are the expression of a generative source, while the kinship of the latter is future-oriented in as much as the *roma*'s ancestors become performative arguments supporting the strength of a particular *neamo* and the value of a particular chalice, both of them instrumental in the arrangement of a marriage.

Marriages are the central stage of *roma* sociality. The *roma* make and break off marriages at a whim, and there is almost no room for accurately predicting their conclusion or dissolution. When approached as a sequence in time, bracketed off from previous and future events which fashion the transformation of selves and relationships, practices of marriage appear to map onto ideas of living in the present. Yet when addressed in conjunction with the idiom of personhood and consequently placed into a larger temporal perspective, the marital practices evince the *roma*'s preoccupation with the future as the main orientation of the time of relatedness.

NOTES

1   General denomination given by Gypsies to non-Gypsies.

2   Olivera (2012) advances a similar argument as in relation to the endurance of Romany figurations. Whereas Williams (2003) considers that the respect for the dead is what makes Manuš ontologically different from the *gaže* (on the existence of whom the Gypsies' resilience is contingent), Olivera locates the advent of his Gabori in their conception of the *baxt* (444).

3   Cortorari were forcibly settled down at the outset of the communist regime in Romania.

4   The word Cortorari is derived from the Romanian equivalent of tent and literally translate as Tent-Dwellers.

5   For a detailed description of the same class of objects among Romanian Gabor Roma, see Berta (2013). Berta translates the vernacular term *taxtaja* as 'beakers', though I find the word 'chalices' to be a more accurate translation.

6   cf. Sharma 1884.

7   Women are much more likely than men to remain single, given that if a husband happens to be infertile, his wife could be impregnated either by another man or by artificial insemination, a practice which is not disclosed beyond the gates of the couple's household.

8   Only if no son is born to a family, the groom will move into the bride's parental household.

9   All the domestic chores fall on the latest arrived daughter-in-law.

10   The category of *neamo*, which is glossed as *niamo* by the Gabor Roma (see Olivera 2012) and which originates from among Romanians - who have nonetheless a representation different from the Gypsies' -, as *neam* (see Mihailescu 2007), bears similarities with the category of *vici/vitsa* (Williams 1984; Sutherland 1975; Gropper 1975).

11   They were purchased by the *roma* either from the *gaže* or from the Gabori Roma.

12   *Roma*'s average life expectancy is 60+.

13   One should not imagine that the highly schematic flow of chalices (and rights in them) which I outlined here would be the result of a super rational schema on which Cortorari fashion their marriages. We have seen that marriages are unstable and processual, that despite the impressive bargaining (in money and chalices) surrounding them, they are ultimately the result of negotiations carried out among the spouses in regard to their cohabitation and their match. The two broad paths along which chalices flow, i.e. in-marrying for retaining wealth and contracting an outside marriage, are indeed explanations people give for their actions and they do inform actions; and are imbricated in marriage negotiations; but they are also people's outcomes of choice for marriages which had been concluded for different reasons than keeping the chalice or giving away rights in it.

14   The *roma* had other forms of heirlooms, some buttons (*bumbi*) which were women's heirlooms and which they sold with no regrets. This suggests the idea exposed by Stewart (1994) that far from being morally condemned , money is constitutive of Gypsy sociality.

15   When alliances concluded through the pledging of a chalice dissolve before the new couple brings forth a son, the groom's side redeems their chalice in exchange of a sum of money (which might be provided by a new pair of wife-givers) and which I call 'bail'.

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RED GRIVIȚA:
THE BUILDING OF A SOCIALIST NEIGHBORHOOD IN BUCHAREST (1944-1958)

Abstract

This article investigates the postwar change of Grivița neighborhood in Bucharest, Romania, between 1944 and 1958, from a neighborhood traditionally inhabited by workers of the Romanian Railway Company to a space governed by the new socialist ideology. This modification consisted in the reconstruction of the dwellings destroyed during the war, the building of new apartment buildings in socialist style (and the search for the adequate form that the socialist architectural ideology should take), but also in changing the names of the streets and of the institutions, a massive propaganda on radio and written press, an investment in sports activities, a new approach to women's urban needs and a different way in distributing the new dwellings. The socialist authorities considered Grivița as probably the most suitable district in Bucharest to start the reform with due to the large number of communist supporters among the workers of the Railway Company. As early as September 1944, the new authorities started the reshaping of the district and, by 1958, when a new approach towards the city planning was adopted, Grivița represented the district towards which the attention of the authorities and opposition had turned. My study sheds light on the motivations of the reformers and the ideological print of socialist ideology in this large-scale process of urban building, as well as on the administrative resources involved and the reaction of the tenants in the neighborhood to these transformations.

Keywords: housing, postwar reconstruction, socialist urban planning, daily life, propaganda, street naming, socialist neighborhood, sports

Introduction

Griviței Avenue runs from the city center and heads north-west towards the city of Târgoviște. It was named as such to celebrate the conquest of *Grivița* redoubt in the War of Independence in 1878. The Avenue had

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been chosen to locate on its left side the main train station of the city, *Gara de nord* [the Northern Train Station], which was built in 1872.[1] From the train station, Griviței Avenue runs parallel with the railway tracks up to Grant Bridge. On its right side, the dwellings are spread on the streets that join Griviței with today's Ion Mihalache Boulevard. In 1928, across the Grant Bridge, on the left side, a beautiful neo-Romanian apartment building for the workers of the Railway Company was built to house more than 100 families. From this building onwards, all the left side of Grivița Avenue belonged to Grivița Railroad Workshops, built at the turn of the 20th century. The Workshops represented the symbolic center of this neighborhood. It was the place where, in 1933, a communist strike against the salary cuts shook the foundations of the liberal state and launched Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej as the leader of the communists in Romania. The police intervened in force against the strikers and, due to the death toll, later on the communists referred to Grivița Workshops as *Grivița Roșie* [Red Grivița]. On the right side of Grivița Avenue, across Grant Bridge, the old cemetery *Sfânta Vineri* was the burial ground of the first communists, who preferred the red star on their tombs, not the Christian cross. On some lanes of the cemetery there are the tombs of these first communists who were buried starting with the late 1970s.

The cemetery ends at Caraiman street, where the Municipal Company for Low-Cost Housing bought land for the building of a small neighborhood with low-cost standardized dwellings: *Sfânta Vineri*. The project, located on nowadays Caraiman and Trotușului streets was achieved between 1925 and 1936. Although designed as a small neighborhood meant for the vulnerable classes, the houses were bought by middle class tenants. The next land plot was a huge insalubrious pit, known as *Cuțarida Pit*, a ground where mudlarks and beggars found refuge during the night and where good sand was available for producing bricks. The place was depicted by the Romanian writer Eugen Barbu in his novel *Groapa* [The Pit]. Onwards, passing by *Cuțarida Pit*, in 1912, the Railway Company started to develop a housing estate, called *Steaua* [The Star].[2] This small district counted more than 600 dwellings and 2,500 tenants and was designed with primary schools, a high school, the St. George's Church, a maternity and a kindergarten. Traditionally, the streets in this housing estate were named A, B, C, D, as elsewhere in the small districts (*lotissements*) designed by the Municipal Company for Low-Cost Houses. It is in one of these houses, that, during the strike of 1933, the communist leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej sought refuge at the house of an old man

called Moș Disagă. Or, at least, these are the memories of one of the oldest tenants of the neighborhood, who recalls the story as told by his father.[3] Moreover, during the strike, the wounded were firstly taken care of in Saint George's Church. After the War, in 1953, the Party leadership installed a memorial marble plate on the fence where the workers were shot by the authorities. The name of housing estate, *Steaua* [The Star] had no reference to the communist symbol. It was named as such due to the proximity of the *Steaua* Refinery located on the next plot. It was among the buildings bombed and completely destroyed by the Allies in 1944. Further to the north, by the point where Griviței Avenue reached Constanța Bridge (a railway bridge connecting Bucharest to the Black Sea port of Constanța), the district belonged to the families of the Railway Company workers. During the bombardments of April-August 1944, many of these dwellings, industrial sites and public institutions were destroyed, as the Allies intended to annihilate the transportation of resources from *Gara de nord* [the Northern Train Station]. These bombardments compelled many citizens of Bucharest to flee out of the city.

After the coup d'etat of the 23rd of August 1944 and the change of the political regime, the families of the Railway workers returned home.

Furthermore, the leftist workers of the Romanian Railway Company began to occupy important positions in the management of the Company. From these positions they implemented a series of social reforms for the employees of the Railway, aiming to improve the living and housing conditions. With the former Railway worker Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej holding the position of Ministry of Communications (to which the Railway was subordinated) and being a central figure in the leadership of the Communist Party, the program of erecting houses for the workers began to take shape in the first months of 1945. Grivița, the cradle of the railway workers and communists sympathizers, was the place where the reconstruction of Romania's capital city had been decided to start.

The communists promised a district built having in view high quality construction materials, amenities, sports fields, parks, industry, schools and all the necessary comfort, a place where the memory of the dead communists was supposed to be cherished, and a space where women should benefit from the same rights as men. These objectives were strongly in tune with the Soviet practice. As Christine Varga Harris argues, "on the

whole, the well-built separate apartment, appointed with contemporary furniture and folk art and located in a neighborhood with ample consumer amenities and cultural facilities, embodied the more abstract overarching objective of the Khrushchev years – Communism."[4] This article analyzes the way in which the Romanian authorities implemented the reforms and which were their achievements by 1958.

Methodology

Understanding this transformation requires a complex methodology and a variety of sources. The archives of the Railway Company are not available publicly and cannot be accessed. Consequently, the Railway's perspective is to be reconstructed from complementary archives, the most important of which are the Archives of the Municipality of Bucharest and the National Archives of Romania. The blueprints of some of the apartment buildings designed and constructed after 1944 are to be found in these archives. Furthermore, the archives of the *Union of the Romanian Architects* (institution founded in 1952) are available to the public and offer important information about the biography some architects who designed these new projects. But all these sources represent the perspective of the authorities. For balancing the perspective of this research, I took into consideration the archives of *Radio Free Europe*, located at the *Open Society Archives,* in Budapest, consisting mainly of reports sent to Radio Free Europe by various informants. They depict an opposite image of Romania and Bucharest, in general, and Grivița District, in particular. In my research, in order to to understand better the process of housing distribution, I had in mind that the Romanian archives do not comprise the petitions sent by the citizens who desired to move in one of the new dwellings.

Moreover, the communist press, the most important ideological promoter, published regular articles regarding Grivița. *Scânteia* [The Spark / Firestarter] and *Lupta C.F.R.* [The fight of the Railway Company][5], two mainstream journals, covered events from Grivița as early as September 1944. It is important, at this step, to underline what Christine Varga-Harris asserted in her studies, the need of the citizens to learn and use "Bolshevik language": "drawing from the vocabulary of official discourse and creating a 'field of play' through which they could identify themselves as members of 'official society'".[6] The use of "Bolshevik language" in these two journals puts under question the credibility of the interviews with the tenants of the districts.

Thirdly, one of the most important sources of my research are the interviews which I conducted on the streets of the district with various tenants, especially from Steaua *lotissement*. Many of the interviewees brought files and photographs from their own archives to attest their memories. This perspective identifies the characteristics of daily life in these new districts, a perspective which the archives are silent about. Most of the written texts and blueprints in the city archives refer to the projects and technicalities (costs, construction materials, etc.) and offer less information about the ways in which the inhabitants approached and used the space. But oral history puts in the light these aspects of communist era housing projects in Bucharest. It also supplements not only the archives, but also the press releases of the time.

The particularities of Grivița district were not yet a subject of a complete academic study. However, the topic of housing and urban planning in the fifties was investigated by a series of scholars in the last years. Ana Maria Zahariade[7] and Alexandru Panaitescu[8] analyzed the Romanian architecture during the communist era, while Irina Tulbure[9] and Miruna Stroe[10] carefully investigated the connection between architecture and the politics in the fifties. Historians such as Mihai Marian Olteanu[11] documented the institutional and administrative aspects of the process of decision making between 1948 and 1952. Moreover, Emanuela Grama[12] investigated the policies of the fifties, while Mihaela Șerban[13] analyzed the topic from the legal perspective. Although with a focus on the nationalization process from the city of Timișoara, Șerban's book offers one of the most convincing and careful explanations of the legal system that governed all these reforms. While Grama deconstructed the image of the *Old City* and the discourse regarding its place in Bucharest and reveled important files from the Archives about the practice of architecture, power and decision making in the fifties.

All these studies briefly approach the topic of reconstructing Grivița Neighborhood. However, my focus rests on the ideological roots not of the architecture, but of the housing issue itself. Varga Harris's study dedicated to housing during Khrushchev years brings a revealing methodology and theory of understanding not only the Soviet state, but also the housing ideology of the satellite states and the way the beneficiaries and tenants of the district regarded all the reforms. Varga Harris argues that "through practices related to homemaking (like decorating and furnishing) and shared activities "around the house" (like painting corridor or planting flowerbeds), individuals navigated between prescribed norms and lived

experience, and between national aims and personal aspiration for domestic and neighborhood life."[14] One of the directions of the present study sheds light precisely on these practices.

I have limited my research chronologically from 1944 until 1958, as in 1958 a new series of urban policies changed the directions and Griviţa was already finalized by that year. Secondly, the lack of archives leaves a series of questions unanswered: how did the authorities react to the presumably larger number of requests for housing than the number of built apartments? Which were the administrative criteria to be taken into consideration when distributing these dwellings? Who were the reformers who proposed the names of the new streets and how did people react to this re-naming? All these questions are to be answered only when the archives will open.

Theoretical Perspective

The reformers' aspiration to build communism started almost metaphorically from the construction of the house and the neighborhood, while the negotiation of the relationship between individualism and the ideals of communism revolutionized the new urban housing. Christine Varga Harris argued that "mutual preoccupation with housing comprised a terrain upon which state and population endeavored to construct a viable socialist society. Although the separate apartment was at the center of this venture, discourse about house and home also infused larger discussions about Communism".[15] Moreover, Harris proposes in her study a conceptualization of the home

> in a way that rigorously incorporates the spaces bordering it, examining the place of the neighborhood within housing policy and the domestic landscape, as well as ideals for harmony between interior and exterior spaces in terms of design, function, and potential for social intercourse. As a whole, it elucidates the broader parameters of "house and home" as it corresponded with three official mandates: forging the Soviet person, invigorating socialist society, and attaining Communism.[16]

The influence of the Soviet ideology and practice in the housing strategy was crucial to understand the transformation in the Romanian urban policies. One of them was the usage of the social space as a place where the citizens actioned together. In the Soviet example,

in social spaces contiguous to the home, citizens were encouraged to partake in neighborhood initiatives, whether spontaneously created or driven by Party activists. These included tidying the stairwells of communal apartments, planting shrubs in the courtyards of new *mikroraiony*, organizing leisure activities and ensuring public order.[17]

Many of these initiatives are confirmed by the tenants of the new dwellings from Grivița. These endeavors are related to what Harris referred to as "proletarian propriety":[18]

[…] As one group of Party activists declared, "a building is not simply an edifice where they rent apartments. A block or street – this is not simply a row of neighboring buildings. This is a small part of our Soviet society."[19]

It is important to mention also another historian that Varga brings into discussion, Deborah Ann Field, who explored

the interplay between reform and daily life within a broad range of relationships - from personal ones associated with sex, marriage, and childrearing, to social ones like those stemming from habitual interaction among neighbors in communal apartments.[20]

Equally important, the concept of "communist morality" brought forward by Field and explained also by Harris as

an official precept that synthesized individual and collective interests and fused personal actions with their potential social implications – afforded citizens an opportunity to pursue their own interests[21]

offers the key of understanding the interviews from the press. Lastly, regarding the "strict dichotomy between the private and the public in Soviet society during the 1950s and 1960s",[22] both Varga Harris and Field reject this perspective in favor of granting more agency to the citizens. This approach is complementary to the focus on women's perspective and the importance of consumer goods: "household consumer goods and prescriptions for homemaking were laden with ideology"[23] and

Soviet public culture drew a relationship between housing and domestic consumption, on the one hand, and shaping a distinct mentality and way

of life, on the other. Overall, even though the separate apartment of the 1950s and 1960s was in ways akin to Western variants – cozy, efficient, and grounded in the nuclear family - it was not supposed to imitate the capitalist home.[24]

Harris mentions that "productivity in the workplace as contingent upon the structure and quality of home life" and that it brought "long term national goals like modernization, emancipation of women."[25] Regarding this perspective, "continuing mission to liberate women from the burdens of housework, the separate apartment was pronounced a key component of a new type of living."[26]

In conclusion, *novostroika* ("new construction") embodied not just the construction of buildings, but also the construction of the society. As Varga Harris defines it

> novostroika, together with renovated buildings and refurbished neighborhoods, represented a society based on egalitarianism, social justice, and compassion by evoking a tangible contrast between life before the Revolution, with its many hardships, and after, when all want was finally being eradicated thanks to bountiful state provision. In this way, government and Party rhetoric presented mass housing as an articulation of the system as it was supposed to operate.[27]

Administration

The promise for housing reform can be rooted in the journals *Lupta C.F.R.* in 1944 and *Scânteia* in 1945, as the authorities launched a hasty campaign to start the construction of dwellings in Bucharest. A series of apartment buildings constructed starting 1945 can be considered the first communist housing project in Bucharest. In March 1948, the authorities inaugurated a housing project in Grozăvești neighborhood, meant for the workers of the Heating Station; in 1948, the journal *Realitatea Ilustrată* published an article about the new housing project in Tei neighborhood,[28] with dwellings for the employees of *Societatea de Transport București* [The Transportation Company of Bucharest]; in 1946 the authorities also started the Ferentari Housing Estate, consisting of 20 apartment buildings, which were inaugurated one by one up to the mid-1950s. On Dimitrov Boulevard, they also built apartments for the workers of Vasile Roaită Factory, while in 1949, the authorities inaugurated the two apartment

buildings on Maior Coravu Boulevard, with 100 apartments. Besides those in Ferentari, all of them were small in scale. While Ferentari incapsulated the same socialist values, it is Grivița neighborhood that was chosen for the imprint of socialist values due to the prewar crowding of supporters of the Party.

In 1944, Grivița neighborhood was part of the *Nr. 4th Green District* and the General Mayor of Bucharest was Victor Dembrovschi. After the fall of Monarchy and the instauration of the Republic (on January 1st, 1948), the authorities started the administrative and political transformation of the city. In August 1948, the National Assembly named Nicolae Pârvulescu as the Mayor of Bucharest. The next mayors were: Nicolae Voiculescu (February 1949 – December 1950), Gheorghe Roman (December 1950 – December 1951), Anton Tatu Jianu (January 1952 – June 1952), Jean Ilie (July 1952 – March 1953).[29] Later on, in 1950, the four districts of Bucharest (nr. 1 - Yellow, nr. 2 - Black, nr. 3 - Blue and nr. 4 - Green) were dissolved and replaced with 8 *raion*s, following the Soviet model. Grivița neighborhood was part of the Raion number 8 and it was named as *Grivița Roșie* [Red Grivița]. It had a separate Mayor, subordinated to the General Mayor.

During this time three main important laws were adopted, which determined the transformation of the district: the nationalization of the private industry and companies (June 11th, 1948); Decree 92/1950 regarding the nationalization of the private property; and the decision 1302/1953 of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Capital according to which the private space in an apartment or house was limited to 8 sqm per person. This limit was "established as a housing norm on the entire territory of the city of Bucharest and the basic tariff for 1 sqm of living, regarding the brick or stone dwellings with water, sewerage and electric light installation, is set at 1.50 lei for the entire city of Bucharest".[30] Consequently, in Grivița, hundreds of dwellings were seized by the state and the authorities started the evacuation of the families from the houses considered to benefit of too much space or they moved in their houses hundreds of families who paid the rent at the state authorities.[31]

Reports of Radio Free Europe reveal the inequalities determined by the new regime:

> whole families were evicted or forced to live in a single room: The building crisis gives rise to serious social problems. The increased population in the city, resulting from forced industrialization, has caused the housing

shortage to become even more acute. The 1952 housing law does not allow a family (husband and wife and one or two children up to 14 years of age) to occupy more than one room. The family is entitled to an additional room only when the children have passed their 14th birthday. All living space comes under rigorous distribution laws.[32]

The Nationalization Decree 92/1950 and the massive waves of arrests resulted in arbitrary decisions about the houses and left the intimate life of the families in the hands of the authorities. The owners were forced to accept tenants, starting an uneasy relationship with the strangers who moved in. Under these regulations, how did the tenants carry their daily life?

The reconstruction and the new tenants

The project of reconstruction of the new dwellings on the ruins of the affected ones and the design of new dwellings was to be carried out simultaneously with the reconstruction of the necessary amenities from the *lotissement*: kindergarten, nursery, school. Based on the post-war momentum and the economic support of the state institutions, the Railway Company began the restoration of the Grivița neighborhood, but not before describing its landscape:

> what was this boulevard and the neighborhood of the same name, we know. An agglomeration of hovels, unhealthy to the greatest extent, dirty, devoid of the most elemental comfort and permanently constituting an outbreak of infection, of epidemics. The small hovels in which the families of the workers were living were good hosts of syphilis, tuberculosis and promiscuity.[33]

The bombardments of April 1944 only made the situation worse: "whoever stepped last summer through these places will never forget what they saw: there was only a huge pile of ruins, where one could hardly recognize the places where hundreds of families once lived".[34] The discussions about the aesthetic characteristic of the dwellings which were to be built were of no concern for the tenants, more interested in the indoors improvements. According to the editors of the official newspaper *Lupta C.F.R.*

the emphasis was placed on the necessity of the bathroom in the apartment, the more so that those who will live in the houses are workers who, at the end of the day, come home dirty. The bath is not a luxury, but a necessity, to ensure conditions of primary importance for maintaining health. Each apartment will therefore have two large rooms, a spacious hall, bathroom, kitchen, a small entrance, cellar, a garden of flowers in front, a courtyard, electric light and sewage system.[35]

The reformers prepared the first blueprints for the reconstruction based on a report issued by the Housing Commission of the Railway Company. In this report (handed over directly to Gheorghiu-Dej) it was mentioned that out of the total of more than 1,000 apartments inhabited by employees throughout Bucharest, half of them were damaged or destroyed. By the fall of 1945, the Railway Company planned to repair all the damaged houses, but only in the spring of 1946 could this plan be completed.

The conclusion of the editor seems similar to those shared, during the interwar period, by both the Railways directors and the workers' trade unions, from which I quote:

no matter how hard we try to ensure the worker a satisfactory economic conditions, no matter how high the standard of life, it will not be enough as long as it is not provided with a comfortable home that will provide him and his family with the physical and spiritual rest that is so necessary to be a good servant, a good citizen.[36]

The discourse on housing continued therefore the three main characteristic of the intentions that governed the previous regime housing policy: family, repose, and health.

In the absence of clear indications at the end of the forties, the question related to the form that the socialist dwelling was going to take still sought its answer. Was the socialist dwelling meant to be individual or collective? Presenting both the advantages and disadvantages of each of these options the author of the article in *Lupta C.F.R.* stated that the optimal solution would be:

to build two- or three-floor apartment buildings, in which up to 10 families would live. These houses would be able to be as varied in style as possible. Secondly, each one must have a garden, large terraces and shops on the ground floor.[37]

Consequently, the architectural solution had to merge both rural and urban characteristics, and the urban dimension had to consider the design of entire neighborhoods equipped properly: "in the plan on which this *neighborhood* of democracy will be built, spaces must be provided for public gardens and sports grounds, construction of cinemas, a workers' theater and schools."[38] Therefore, the new socialist dwelling combined the functional needs with the social-cultural ones as the multiplication of these dwellings would lead to the rise of a new type of socialist man. Despite the enthusiasm of the author, none of these projections was new. After all, the *Steaua* lotissement had all the appropriate facilities similarly to other lotissements, such as *Vatra Luminoasă* or *Raion* built in the early '30s; the only difference laid in the distribution: the previous social housing reform distributed the houses to the middle class, while the communists claimed they would distribute them to the working class. The majority of the new buildings meant to replace the damaged ones were designed as "villas", with the difference that, compared to the already existing houses, most of them had 4 apartments in each building and a common staircase. Simplified from the neo-Romanian ornaments, the villas are rather characterized by an austerity appropriate to the context in which they were built. Judging by the arch at the entrance, they represent a prefiguration of the Soviet-inspired architecture in Romania. Some of them also have an interior courtyard and balconies. The Railway Company continued to build them and have them in property until 1955, or, according to other sources, until 1962. After that, they were taken over by ICRAL (Întreprinderea de Construcții, Reparații și Administrare Locativă [The Enterprise for Construction, Repair and Housing Administration]), an institution which dealt with all the administration of the buildings in Bucharest.[39] The second housing project was the one on Constantin Buzdugan street.

The urge to construct the new dwellings lead to the edification of 9 apartment buildings in Grivița, located between Lainici and Feroviarilor streets. The architect entrusted with the design was Cristina Neagu, one of the first women architects in Romania. From an architectural point of view, the use of stone for the cladding of the ground floor and the installation of the wooden doors at the entrance gives the composition a rather rustic dimension, while wrought iron balconies and discreet ornaments project an urban and modern image. The solution harmoniously intertwined the two discourses and gave the entire Grivița *Raion* a new shape. The apartments include a living room, a bedroom, a large kitchen, a bathroom,

hall and balconies. In addition, each tenant benefited from a cellar and a space in the courtyard garden, used either as a relaxing space or for various household activities. But the decision makers within the Railway Company did not continue to construct more of these buildings, and the design of a *Democracy District* at the dimensions and characteristics of the one imagined in the pages of *Lupta C.F.R.* did not happen. After the reconstruction of the dwellings in Steaua *lotissment* and the construction of new apartment buildings, the authorities sought to promote the image of these novel projects among the workers. Consequently, they inaugurated a new genre in their own press with an accent on workers and their families who moved in these new apartments: "the welcoming narratives". Which was the communist imaginary of the family and to what extent did the efforts of the new administration turn to the new working classes, almost completely ignored by the old regime, or at least presented as such?

A press report published in *Lupta C.F.R.* in August 1950 mentioned the new tenants of the freshly reconstructed apartments on B street.[40] The press report promoted a discourse characterized by the antithesis between a traumatic past and a radiant present and future. Not by chance, the article in *Lupta C.F.R.* starts with women's perspective on housing, as the editors of the newspaper present the story of Lucreția Pavelescu, mother of eight children, the wife of comrade Gheorghe Pavelescu, a welder at Grivița. Lucreția Pavelescu dramatically recalls her past, in stark contrast to the present:

> we have known the misery in the past, all ten were living in one room, and today, due to the Party's care, we live in an apartment consisting of three rooms, kitchen, bathroom, storehouse and cellar. When I moved to the place I am now living in, I really saw what improvements had been made for the working people and I have only words of gratitude for this great care of the Party.[41]

Are these the worker's words or an interpretation of her words by the editors in order to match the ideological terms used in the official documents? Is this the "Bolshevik language" that Varga Harris theorized? Probably we will never know, but similar statements recorded and narrated by *Lupta C.F.R.* converge to the same message: the reconstruction of the houses affected by the war and the edification of the new apartment buildings had significantly contributed to raising the standard of the workers' lives. Does this interview represent a reliable source for analyzing

the housing issue in the Grivița neighborhood or is it a mere propaganda meant to convince the audience about the direction of the reform?

On Honterus Street, closely parallel to Kiev Street, one of the oldest tenants of the neighborhood does not recall any Pavelescu living in the new apartments, nor her 8 children.

Also, the phone directory for the period of 1958-1965 does not have any mention of a Pavelescu family. Surely, one would not expect that one of the official magazines of the Railway would publish critical remarks regarding the authorities, but this this type of reflection is confirmed by the interviews taken during the field research in the neighborhood. The interviewees, people who moved in the district starting with 1948 or their children confirm many of the aspects that Lucreția Pavelescu mentioned. But more suggestive for this analysis, they also reveal that most of them were Party members, workers enrolled in the Unions, actors from the Workers' Theatre "Giulești" and even one of them became the mayor of the Grivița Roșie Raion.[42]

Streets: Names and reforms

The practice of renaming streets was not new and it was in the hands of the Committee for Nomenclature, subordinated to the Townhall.[43] As early as 1948, the letters which identified the streets were renamed in the memory of the communist history. In *Steaua* lotissement, streets were named Pavlov, Kiev, Comuna de la Paris [The Paris Commune], but also Feroviarilor [(street of) Railway Workers], Acceleratorului [(street of) the Accelerator], Tracțiunii [(street of) the Haulage], names connected to the Railway. The parallel Boulevard, which represents the eastern limit of the neighborhood, was named May 1st.

The daily life in the district meant not just living in the house, be it in the villa or the apartment building, but also in the small urban paths that governed the activities of the people. Grivița slowly transformed in the direction desired by the new authorities. From the privacy of the house to the working place, from the morning call of the Roaită's alarm, located in the courtyard of the Railways' Workshop,[44] until dusk, the daily life in the neighborhood was based on paths influenced by the various structures: political (street deputies, delegates and informants), economic (shops and newly opened factories) or sports (Grivița Roșie Stadium and Children's Park). The analysis of these factors reveals a more reliable image of the

daily life in the district than the one from the blueprints of the architects or the intentions from the discourses of the politicians.

Private life started within the intimacy of the home and relied on the property of the house. However, the property regime was uncertain after 1948, especially with the moving of the new tenants into the nationalized dwellings. The relation between families and the new urban rhythm and ideology dictated by the socialist authorities started from home, where the families made the first renovations. Some residents hung pictures with the communist leaders in the hall of the houses and the rooms began to be arranged with items bought from the shops on Calea Griviței, produced by the planned economy.

The Railway Company dealt with the yearly reparations. Among these tasks was also placing slab stones in the courtyards of the tenants, all of them imprinted with the initials of the Company.[45] These actions were taken at the initiative of a Street Committee.[46] In those years, on Pavlov street and in the entire Steaua lotissement, responsible was a certain Gheorghe Stanciu, a Party member.[47] The Committee, interfering with the lives of the people, would check if the sidewalk was clean, if there was any untrimmed grass. In addition, the Street Committee arranged for Dej's visits to Aurel Vlaicu high school, while the children would visit comrade Dej in his dwelling close by, in Domenii Neighborhood.

Propaganda: The role of radio and written press

In the private space of the house, the affiliation to the district and to the socialist ideology was beginning to crystallize not just with the help of the portraits or furniture, but with the help of a far more decisive media: radio. The socialist press considered that the previous regime had neither granted nor facilitated the working classes the acquisition of a radio machine, presenting the case of one of the dwellers of the district:

> for many years I wanted to have a radio in the house, but it was a dream that could not be realized. Only the privileged benefited from the progress, because the workers were kept in the dark in order to be more easily exploited. But today [...], both my family and thousands of other working families have the opportunity to raise their cultural and political level through their radios.[48]

This testimony, translated by the editors in *Bolshevik* was supposed to convince the readers of the paper about the necessity and the importance of this means of communication.

The testimony was taken one year after the inauguration of the first local radio station, on Pavlov Street, in *Steaua Lotissement*. The radio broadcasts were not only heard through the private radios at home, but also on radio distributors mandatorily installed by the authorities in the houses and on the streets of the neighborhood. The radio meant a first contact with the neighborhood and an important pillar for the construction of the new sense of socialist identity of the dwellers. The program of the radio in a random day in 1951 consisted of the news bulletin describing "the successes of the workers from the Grivița Workshops"; a musical program, performed by the popular orchestra of the *Laminorul* factories; the speech of Comrade Popescu Nicolae, from *Grivița Roșie* who spoke "about how he managed to become a leader in production, helped by the Soviet technical literature" and "a beautiful program of Romanian folk music", performed by the same *Laminorul* factory orchestra. In conclusion, the residents of the Grivița Roșie district had a mediated first contact with the life of the district.

As both radio and written press represent for this case study important primary sources and, as both are mediators between the "actual historical event" and my current interpretation, I can only ask myself: to what extent is the press to be trusted? And what better way of balancing the interpretation than introducing in the narration another mediator, the opposite of a local communist radio, a primary source of information not just for present historians, but for the Romanians behind the Iron Curtain before 1989, namely Radio Free Europe.

The reports sent to Radio Free Europe by various "sources" or "informants", as they were named by the Radio, presented a far more skeptical image about their communist counterparts:

> Grivița Roșie is the only district in Bucharest with radio. The workers of the Railway Company consider this "attention" of the regime as an incubus.[49] In the beginning, there were very few who used them for fear that they might have microphones or other spyware hidden in them.[50]

It is not difficult to understand why. The authorities were increasingly circumspect and were trying by any means to control the access to information. Only that the control of the state apparatus was not manifested

using this technique, but with the "funding" of a new "institution": "street informer (mole)", a very different type of informant that the one passing information to Radio Free Europe. As mentioned before, the street was not only an urban object, but also a way of political and administrative organization: each street had its own deputy who supervised the various activities and was aware of everything that happened on that street. Radio Free Europe's report mention that "each street has its official 'mole'", that is, a trusted person of the Party who regularly reports to the *Securitate*." Radio Free Europe's perspective presented a neighborhood characterized by the relations of mistrust between neighbors, far from the imaginary of the authorities, characterized by a desired unification of the professional and political identities.

The public space started from the garden in front of the house and continued on the carefully maintained sidewalk and later on the street: "the residents are obliged to sweep each portion of the sidewalk and street in front of the house under the control of the street delegates, although they pay separate taxes to the commune for the sweepers, used by the Party in other ways",[51] claims one reports sent to Radio Free Europe. The main problem in Grivița was the lack of paved streets, an issue which the authorities claimed they had solved or, at least, to present it as such. Like in the statement of a worker, lodger of Volga Street in the district interviewed by the *Scânteia* daily:

> The street he lived on, Volga Street, was famous for its mud. In 1930 a flood had turned the street into a lake. […] Today, Volga Street, like all the surrounding streets, has a different look. From narrow, dark streets, they turned into wide, paved streets, with sidewalks, with electric light and a good part of them were channeled.[52]

One of the oldest tenants of the neighborhood, Ms. C[53] mentioned that her father (an old railway worker who supported Dej) had a subscription for the newspaper *Lupta C.F.R.*, but her father mentioned that he never read it due to its propaganda contents. The second woman interviewed, on Pavlov street 25, who moved to Grivița in the 1980s, recalls the radio in the house installed by the authorities and the various programs which she used to listen.[54]

Sports

The life of the neighborhood had begun to be governed by even a much more important factor, sports, widely promoted by the new regime. Almost every issue of the magazine *Lupta C.F.R.* mentioned the results of the clubs, especially the football and rugby teams and all the lodgers attended the matches in weekends. This image was also carefully reproduced in *Scânteia*, which built it in contrast to the old regime, a cornerstone in understanding the new realities:

> Who would recognize now, in the today's lively, clean district the dark slum and misery from the time of the capitalists? Here, not far from the courtyard of the Griviţa Workshops stretched some years ago, the famous Cuţarida Pit, where the unemployed were looking for rest during the night? Today, a big stadium is being built on this place. An iron fence, beautifully painted in blue, surrounds the ground on which the construction of stadium had begun.[55]

The importance of sport increased in the new regime, as a metaphor for communist vigor.

The reconstruction of the dwellings affected by bombings, the construction of new ones, control of the street and public gardens and the inauguration of the park were the first concrete steps made by the authorities. Simultaneously, they started the reconstruction of public institutions in the district such as the nursery, maternity, high school, but also the *Olga Bancic* kindergarten, (re)inaugurated on Kiev Street. The purpose of renovating the kindergarten was expressed by the management of the Union and the directors: "[in order that] the children are no longer left home alone, or on the roads and their parents being concerned with them, this kindergarten has been set up, which is the first step towards caring for the next generations, a concern that until today was so neglected". The program began in the morning and lasted until 16.00, the children received food, specialized medical care and were monitored continuously. After the arrangement of the kindergarten, the Steaua maternity was renovated and Steaua nursery was opened, in a "modest, clean and well-organized house, with cribs and a breastfeeding room".[56] All these facilities represented an improvement in the quality of the services, especially for women. This concern for the ease of women's activities also culminated with the opening of the nearby textile factory.

Women perspective

The opening of a women's factory was, most probably, an attempt to offer work for the wives of the Railway workers and propaganda speculated the contrast between an age of unemployment and discrimination of women and the aspirations for equality promoted by the new regime:

> right next to the blue fence of the new sports park, a beautiful new building rises, in which there is an uninterrupted noise of machines. It is the Grivița textile factory, one of the new businesses in the district. And always, on the door of the company, there is a poster: "we are looking for new workers".

As the editors of the article claim, "these simple words speak louder and clearer than anything about the reality of one of the fundamental rights our regime has given to the working people: the right to work, ensured through socialist industrialization."[57]

This right to work has transformed the urban space as much as the opening of the shops did. The inauguration of the commercial venues on Griviței Avenue was again presented from women's perspective: "the housewives fill the shops every day", the editors of *Scânteia* claim, but they quickly balance this image with the masculine presence at the *Ferometal* store nearby. The economic life was changed by the nationalization of 1948 and by the involvement of the state in the production and distribution of consumer goods. The food crisis of this decade could not be masked despite the press articles who claimed the opposite. However, during the Spring of 1952, meeting with voters, "several speakers made proposals regarding ensuring a greater assortment of goods in stores. Comrade Ion Iliescu, turner at the "Grivița Roșie" Workshops, showed that especially now, the Municipality will have to seriously control how the *Aprozar*[58] units are supplied and how they serve the buyers"[59], a sign that even propaganda understood to publish these requirements in order not to lose credibility in the eyes of readers.

Finally, *Scânteia* covers the elections of November 1952 and presents an encouraging situation, reporting the growth in the economic, urban or cultural fields in Grivița: "Within the district there were established 62 food stores, 19 shops; houses for workers, two public baths, an ice factory; the *Vasile Roaită* hospital, the Caraiman children's hospital and a maternity; in the district an intense cultural life is ongoing; new schools and a boarding school for students, 3 popular libraries were set up, 9,000 radio speakers were installed",[60] and many others.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the new communist housing policies consisted of renaming of the streets and institutions, of an ambiguous architectural style and urban planning, the distribution of the houses to faithful members of Unions and Party, a control of the daily life on the streets, and a radio and written propaganda. The process of construction of new manufactures for women together with sports fields and cultural institutions was tributary to the ideological pursuit of equality and health offered by the regime, an important step forward in comparison with the old regime. Family seemed to play the same role as in the previous one. However, the dramatic conditions of the families who lived in misery until 1945 was resolved at the expense of what, arbitrary, the state defined as bourgeoisie. Many of the families who were suspected of lack of loyalty to the regime were evicted from their rightful houses or forced to live in the same conditions as the vulnerable classes before 1945, crowded in small rooms.

NOTES

1   Initially, the Railway was named *Târgoviște Train Station*, but the authorities changed its name to *Gara de nord* [the Northern Train Station]

2   Initially, The Railway Company signed a contract for the construction of the lotissement with the Municipal Company for Low-Cost Houses to build the dwellings, but soon decided to carry the investment by itself. The construction started in 1912 based on the plans designed by architect Ioan D. Trajanescu and were stopped due to the War. After 1919, the Railway Company funded its own Construction Department which continued the dwellings and other edifices designed by architects Constantin Pomponiu and Maria Cottescu, one of the first female architects from Romania.

3   Interview on nr. 7 Honterus Street, June 2020

4   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House and Home. Soviet Apartment Life during Khrushchev Years*: Ithaca and London, Cornell University Pres, 2015, p. 7-8

5   C.F.R. stands for *Căile Ferate Române*, [The Romanian Railway Company]

6   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 16

7   Ana Maria Zahariade, *Arhitectura în proiectul comunist 1944 – 1989*, București: Simetria, 2011

8   Alexandru Panaitescu, *De la Casa Scânteii la Casa Poporului. Patru decenii de arhitectură în București 1945 – 1989*, București: Simetria, 2012

9   Irina Tulbure, *Arhitectura și urbanism în România anilor 1944 – 1960: constrângere și experiment*, București: Simetria, 2016

10   Miruna Stroe, *Locuirea între proiect și decizie politică* București: Simetria, 2015

11   Mihai Marian Olteanu, "Reconstrucția industrială a orașului București (1948-1952)" in *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană* 13:5-22

12   Emanuela Grama, *Socialist Heritage: The Politics of Past and Place in Romania (New Anthropologies of Europe)* Indiana University Press, 2019

13   Mihaela Șerban, *Subverting Communism in Romania: Law and Private Property 1945-1965*, Lexington Book, 2019

14   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 12

15   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 9

16   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 10

17   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 11

18   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 11

19   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 11

20   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 11

21   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 11

22   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 10

23   Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 15

[24] Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 15
[25] Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 7
[26] Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 7
[27] Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House…*, p. 15
[28] Ada Bârseanu, "Case noi pentru oameni noi", in *Realitatea Ilustrată*, nr. 42/1948
[29] Mihai Marian Olteanu, "Istoria comunismului : politică, societate, economie. Reconstrucția socialistă a orașului București (1948-1952)" in *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană* , Issue 1/2014, p.10
[30] Deciziunea 1302 a Sfatului Popular al Capitalei, în *Buletinul Oficial al Comitetului Executiv al Sfatului Popular al Capitalei,* anul III/ iulie 1953
[31] Decree 92/1950 for the nationalization of some dwellings, available online at https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/g42tinbu/decretul-nr-92-1950-pentru-nationalizarea-unor-imobile, accessed July 2020.
[32] Report sent to Radio Free Europe Communication Railways (1954 – 1958), Radio Free Europe Archive
[33] N.B., "Cartierul Democrației", *Lupta C.F.R.*, December 17th, 1944
[34] Ioan Rădulescu, "Reconstrucția locuințelor muncitorești la C.F.R.", *Lupta C.F.R.*, 29 July 1945
[35] Ioan Rădulescu, "Reconstrucția locuințelor muncitorești la C.F.R.", *Lupta C.F.R.*, 29 July 1945
[36] Ioan Rădulescu, "Reconstrucția locuințelor muncitorești la C.F.R.", *Lupta C.F.R.*, 29 July 1945
[37] N.B., "Cartierul Democrației", *Lupta C.F.R.*, December 17th, 1944
[38] N.B., "Cartierul Democrației", *Lupta C.F.R.*, December 17th, 1944
[39] I.C.R.A.L. is the acronym for Întreprinderea de Construcții, Reparații și Administrare Locativă [The Company for Construction, Reparations and Housing Administration]
[40] Current Ion Inculeț Street. It was renamed after 1989, in the memory of the nationalist politician Ion Inculeț.
[41] ***, "Locuințe noi…", *Lupta C.F.R.*, August 1950
[42] Interview with F.D., born in the fifties in one of the apartments, June 2015
[43] According to the same source, another important communist leader Ilie Pintilie lived on Kiev Street as well. He died in the earthquake from November 1940.
[44] Roaită's alarm was a symbolic communist *lieux de memoir*, connected to the strikes from 1933.
[45] Interview with the tenant of Nr. 7 Honterus Street
[46] All the streets in Bucharest had to have a Street Committee, in close relations with the Municipality and the Party.
[47] According to the memories of the tenant from nr. 7 Honterus Street, Stanciu's daughter became minister.

[48]   ***, "Locuințe noi pentru ceferiști – de vorbă cu familiile muncitorilor ceferiști din cartierul C.F.R. Steaua", *Lupta C.F.R.*, August 1950

[49]   "Pacoste", in the original Romanian text

[50]   ***, *Bucharest's Red District Turns Black",* p. 3, Radio Free Europe

[51]   ***, *Bucharest's Red District Turns Black"* p. 2, Radio Free Europe

[52]   V. Albulescu, "Grivița, azi", Scânteia, 26 November 1952

[53]   Interview on nr. 7 Honterus Street, June 2020

[54]   Interview on Pavlov Street, nr. 25, June 2020

[55]   Mircea Manea, "Deputatul, gospodarul cartierului", in *Universul*, April 25th, 1952

[56]   ***, "În căminul de zi "Olga Bancic", *Lupta C.F.R.*, November 10th, 1945

[57]   Maria Silvestrov, "O fabrică în plină dezvoltare", *Scânteia*, August 21st, 1953

[58]   Aprozar is the accronim for APROvizionare cu ZARzavat [Supplying with vegetables]

[59]   ***, "Sub semnul unității între popor, partid și guvern. Întâlnirea tov. Gh. Gheorghiu Dej cu alegătorii din circumscripția electorală orășenească 373 București", in *Munca*, April, 1956

[60]   ***, "Tovarășul Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej în mijlocul alegătorilor din circumscripția electorală orășenească nr. 373 București (Grivița Roșie)", *Scânteia*, December 20th, 1953

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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 600 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

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international ties, 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 organized and coordinated by NEC in the academic year 2019-2020:

- **NEC Fellowships (since 1994)**
  Each year, the 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 part of 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.

- **UEFISCDI Award Program (since October 2016)**
  The outstanding scientific activity of the NEC was formally recognized in Romania in 2016, when the *Executive Unit for Financing Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation* organized a competition for institutions coordinating ERC projects. New Europe College applied and won two institutional prizes for coordinating, at that time, two ERC grants. A part of this prize was used to create the *UEFISCDI Award Program*, consisting of fellowships targeting young

international researchers, also meant to complement and enlarge the core fellowship program.

- **_The Pontica Magna Fellowship Program (since October 2015)_**
  This Fellowship Program, supported by the VolkswagenStiftung (Germany), invites young researchers, media professionals, writers and artists from the countries around the Black Sea, but also beyond this area (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine), 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 this region. This program is in many ways a continuation of its predecessor, the _Black Sea Link_ Fellowships.

- **_The Pontica Magna Returning Fellows Program (since March 2016)_**
  In the framework of its _Pontica Magna_ Program, New Europe College offers alumni of _Black Sea Link_ and _Pontica Magna_ Fellowship Programs the opportunity to apply for a research stay of one or two months in Bucharest. The stay should enable successful applicants to refresh their research experience at NEC, to reconnect with former contacts, and to establish new connections with current Fellows.

- **_The Gerda Henkel Fellowship Program (since March 2017)_**
  This Fellowship Program, developed with the support of Gerda Henkel Stiftung (Germany), invites young researchers and academics working in the fields of humanities and social sciences (in particular archaeology, art history, historical Islamic studies, history, history of law, history of science, prehistory and early history) from Afghanistan, Belarus, China (only Tibet and Xinjiang Autonomous Regions), Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Mongolia, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan, 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 Spiru Haret Fellowship Program (since October 2017)**

  The *Spiru Haret* Fellowship Program targets young Romanian researchers/academics in the humanities and social sciences whose projects address questions relating to migration, displacement, diaspora. Candidates are expected to focus on Romanian cases seen in a larger historical, geographical and political context, in thus broadening our understanding of contemporary developments. Such aspects as transnational mobility, the development of communication technologies and of digitization, public policies on migration, the formation of transnational communities, migrant routes, the migrants' remittances and entrepreneurial capital could be taken into account. NEC also welcomes projects which look at cultural phenomena (in literature, visual arts, music etc.) related to migration and diaspora. The Program is financed through a grant from UEFISCDI (The Romanian Executive Unit for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding).

- **Lapedatu Fellowships (since June 2018)**

  Thanks to a generous financial contribution from the *Lapedatu* Foundation, NEC invites to Bucharest a foreign researcher specialized in the field of Romanian Studies, who is currently conducting research in one of the world's top universities. He/She is expected to spend a month in Romania and work with a young Romanian researcher to organize an academic event hosted by the NEC. At this colloquium, the *Lapedatu* fellows and their guests will be invited to present scientific papers and initiate debates on a theme that covers important topics of the Romanian and Southeastern European modern and contemporary history. The contribution of the *Lapedatu* family members to the development of Romania will be taken into consideration.

***

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.

<div align="center">***</div>

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