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CONTENTS

FOREWORD FROM THE EDITOR

The current volume brings together twelve studies by former fellows of the New Europe College, which have not been published until now. Drawing from a range of disciplines—history, environmental studies, anthropology, social science, musicology, film studies—these contributions offer a diversity of perspectives that are unlikely to be seen together in a volume, excepting perhaps the yearbook of an institute for advanced study.

Bojan Baća's study of post socialist civil societies questions whether we should consider these entities as a singular phenomenon or as a plurality of distinct experiences. Pantelis Charalampakis delves into Byzantine sigillography to uncover the everyday lives of "ordinary people," offering a piece of vital social history. Augusta Dimou explores pre-national copyright regimes in East-Central and Southeast Europe, revealing how legal frameworks shaped cultural production before the rise of the nation-state. David Do Paço introduces us to the world of Ada Kaleh, a vanished island in the Danube, reconstructing its social fabric across centuries. László Ferenczi applies historical and environmental methodologies to analyse the impact of Cistercian monasteries on landscapes. Victoria Fomina shifts our attention to contemporary Russia, where ecotourism intersects with post-industrial development, revealing the challenges of sustainability and economic revival. Ana Grgić embarks on a quest to recover the presence of women in early Romanian cinema, focusing on the enigmatic figure of Marioara Voiculescu. Irina Kotkina investigates the Soviet search for an iconic national opera, shedding light on the tensions between ideological dictates and artistic expression in the 1930s. Jonathan Larcher examines vernacular video culture in Romania between 1990 and 2010, tracing the evolution of audio-visual commodities and their social significance. Patrick Laviolette's anthropological exploration of hitchhiking narratives in Romania offers a compelling reflection on mobility and storytelling. Lola San Martín Arbide transports us to early 20th-century Paris, where the city's soundscape became a defining element of urban modernity.

Finally, Andrea Talabér unpacks the shifting borders of domestic tourism in interwar Hungary, revealing how political and social changes influenced travel and leisure.

It is our hope that these essays will inspire further inquiry into the many-layered pasts that continue to shape our world today.

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NEC UEFISCDI Award Fellow

Biographical note
PhD, York University, 2018, with the dissertation *From Revolution to Referendum: Processes of Institutionalization and Practices of Contestation in Post-Socialist Civil Society Building, 1989–2006.* His research has been published in various peer-reviewed outlets, including *Sociology*, *Antipode*, *International Political Sociology*, *Theory, Culture & Society*, *Political Geography*, *Acta Sociologica*, and *Europe-Asia Studies*, as well as in several other journals and edited volumes. In recognition of his contributions to the study of civil society, social movements, and contentious politics in Central and Eastern Europe, he received the 2022 Routledge Area Studies Interdisciplinarity Award.

POSTSOCIALIST CIVIL SOCIETY OR POSTSOCIALIST CIVIL SOCIETIES? A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF REGIONAL COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Bojan Baća

Abstract

This paper provides a comparative analysis of postsocialist civil societies in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Rather than treating "postsocialist civil society" as a singular category, the analysis highlights its heterogeneous nature by comparing five regions in CEE: the Baltic States, the Visegrád Group, Former Yugoslavia, Southeast Europe, and the Post-Soviet States. Beginning with a critical review of the extensive scholarly literature on civil society and contentious politics in the region, the paper utilizes public data from leading global indexes – including the *Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index*, *Nations in Transit*, *Bertelsmann Transformation Index*, and *Freedom in the World* – to examine regional commonalities and differences among postsocialist civil societies. Using normative liberal-democratic indicators, the findings highlight varying levels of development in the sustainability, viability, and democratic capacity of civil societies, alongside notable differences in political participation and civil liberties across the postsocialist landscape of CEE.

Keywords*: postsocialism, civil society, social movements, contentious politics, Central and Eastern Europe

Introduction

There is a growing consensus among scholars on the need for a critical reassessment of civil societies in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), on theoretical, conceptual, and empirical grounds. In recent years, a number of works have critically addressed the ways in which so-called *postsocialist civil society* has been defined and assessed, paying special attention to

the conceptual and empirical indicators used to evaluate its strength (e.g., individual participation), density (e.g., organizational composition), and character (e.g., civil/uncivil). Despite the breadth and depth of this theoretically and methodologically diverse body of work, the literature lacks both a critical synthesis and an empirically informed approach to comparing and contrasting regional differences within the postsocialist space of CEE.

In this paper, I first offer a critical overview of the literature on civil societies – and, by extension, social movements and other forms of contentious politics – in CEE.[1] Then, using publicly available data from leading global indexes – such as the *Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index*, *Nations in Transit*, *Bertelsmann Transformation Index*, and *Freedom in the World* – I examine differences between regions in CEE. Countries within CEE possess vast variances in their historical trajectories, regimes of actually existing socialism, and political cultures. These nations diverge in their models of transition and Europeanization, democratization and privatization strategies, and their distinct responses to the historical events of 1989, which included both state- and nation-building for some countries. The goal of this examination is to understand the heterogenous nature of *postsocialism(s)*, rather than treating it simply as a singular designator. As such, I compare and contrast five regions within the postsocialist space of CEE: *Baltic Countries* (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), *The Visegrád Group* (Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia), *Former Yugoslavia* (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia), *Southeast Europe* (Albania, Bulgaria, Romania), and *Post-Soviet States* (Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Russia).

Accordingly, the paper is divided into four parts. I begin with a theoretical discussion of the concept of civil society, followed by an overview of the state of research on postsocialist civil society and contentious politics. I then present empirical findings on regional differences among civil societies in CEE and conclude with a brief discussion of my main findings.[2]

What is Civil Society?

Sociology investigates and analyzes politics in relation to social structure – namely, "economic organization, class and status, community organization and social ties, formal organization and bureaucracy, or

small-group interaction" (Walder 2009: 394). It also maintains a dynamic approach: instead of solely exploring the interaction between politics and stable social structures, sociology also looks at how diverse processes influence and impact the political engagement of citizens (Clemens 2016). However, political sociology does not only look at how these structures and processes affect political actors and stir their political activity through and outside the channels of institutional politics, but simultaneously wonders how the political agency of individuals and collectives impinges on these structures and processes and possibly changes them over time. Therefore, politics – or, more precisely, *the political* – that is of sociological interest "is not simply confined to what takes place within government, political parties, and the state", but refers to "understanding of politics as a potentiality of all social experience […] in the broadest possible sense as the contestation and transformation of social identities and structures" (Nash 2010: 2, 4). Sociological inquiry may identify politics anywhere and everywhere in a society – from the micro to the macro level – but it is important to note that it refrains from uncritically viewing political phenomena and related processes in *a-* or *trans*-historical terms; rather, it investigates its manifestations within historically, geographically, and culturally contingent settings (Kurasawa 2017). Whereas elite-centered institutional politics tend to play out similarly across time and space in liberal democracies, the differences produced by contingencies within societies conversely become mostly visible in situations when official state institutions cannot address grievances and contain discontent of the people who, in turn, engage in direct and/or collective actions to achieve their objectives.

In that regard, the study of popular politics through routinized and institutional(ized) trajectories of political participation depends on the context in which political contestation unfolds, since variations in social relations, cultural values, symbolic frames, political regimes, institutional frameworks, geographic locations, and, ultimately, historical trajectories, among other structural variables, affect the ways in which people articulate their interests, advance their claims, (re)affirm their identities, or, simply put, fight for common goals. For instance, the emergence and proliferation of social movements – as probably the most studied manifestation of popular politics in the social sciences – has been identified as a *historical* category closely tied to high-capacity parliamentary democracies and, by analogy, has been understood as a symptom of democratization processes throughout the world (Tilly 2006: 186–188; Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 11;

Tilly and Wood 2012: 124–144). With the emergence of social movements correlating with the development of the bureaucratized and centralized nation-state – and the accompanying processes of industrialization, urbanization, and modernization – social movements first emerged in Western Europe around the mid-nineteenth century, as the "sustained, organized challenge to existing authorities in the name of a deprived, excluded or wronged population" (Tilly 1995: 144). Social movements thus became the staple of popular politics in a historically contingent societal configuration that eventually came to be known as *civil society*. Put simply, a combination of democratic polity and civil society gave birth to social movements.

Civil society is an autonomous arena for individual and collective *voluntary* participation in public life outside direct state control (Cohen and Arato 1992: 29–174; Habermas 1996: 329–387).[3] As a normative ideal, civil society is an indispensable element of the development and consolidation of democracy, since it "increases the political efficacy and skill of democratic citizens", "empowers the powerless to advance their interests", and "mitigates the principal polarities of political conflict" (Diamond 1999: 21; see also Shils 1991). Scholars draw attention to the political dimension of civil society with respect to its role in ensuring the quality of democracy, as it is seen to *counterbalance* state power – and to a certain extent, market forces – by facilitating associational life; maintaining the public sphere; promoting diverse (and often conflicting) interests; preventing abuse and misuse of state institutions; making the state apparatus more transparent, responsive, and effective; and, eventually, securing the conditions for democracy (Clark 1991; Diamond 1994; Gellner 1994; Hulme and Edwards 2013).[4] Alexander (2006), however, adds a crucial symbolic dimension to this rationalist, and often procedural, understanding of the concept by framing civil society as a *solidarity sphere* that emerges not simply out of self-interest or power relations, but rather through universalistic *moral* feelings for others – that is, out of empathy and sympathy. As such, civil society is structured by a binary moral code and set of dichotomies, some of which have proven extremely important for studying postsocialist civil society and assessing its character: civic/ethnic, civil/uncivil, and political/a(nti)political (Jacobsson 2015; Jacobsson and Saxonberg 2013; Stubbs 2007; Piotrowski 2009, 2015). Such dispositions are not merely products of the market, the state, the family, or religion, but achieve an existence of their own apart from the "non-civil spheres" of the economy and polity. These two spheres, nevertheless, tend to

colonize civil society and reconfigure it in accordance with their internal logic. Civil society often reacts to this "domination of one sphere over another" by "demand[ing] certain reforms". Whatever the motives of this transgression may be, the key lesson here is that active involvement of citizens "mend[s] the social fabric" of a society (Alexander 2006: 34). Civil society, in other words, is a space in which people can exert their political agency independently, directly, and as the "bearers of sovereignty". And this power of citizens to transform social relations, political structures, cultural codes, and economic institutions through collective and/or direct action is of sociological interest. While citizens' motivation may stem from moral concerns, civic responsibilities, political beliefs, or ideological convictions, in the final instance, contention is generated by their actions aimed at counteracting state power outside routinized, institutional venues of participation.

Civil society, by involving citizens in public life, creates a "common polis" which they have a responsibility to preserve (Putnam 1993). Therefore, the basis of popular politics is autonomous "civil power", a power that is, firstly, independent of the political power held by various social groups, political organizations, and regulative institutions and, secondly, codified in symbolic practices and communicative institutions – ranging from civic associations to public opinion – that can, if successful, "[bend] state power to civil will" (Alexander 2006: 150). This power, however, is expressed not only through regulative institutions (such as voting, political parties, democratic offices, and the law), but also through *communicative institutions* "that translate general codes into situationally specific evaluations and descriptions" (Alexander 2006: 70) – namely, through civil society organizations, institutions of public opinion, mass media, voluntary associations, citizens' initiatives, social movements, etc. Civil power, therefore, constitutes the essence of citizens' political subjectivity, grounding itself in the order of rights and morality. It is this "conviction that inspires a social movement and the reference to institutions which protect liberties" (Touraine 2007: 102). When civil power is translated into action, it produces a "social energy" (Hirschmann 1984) that transforms subjectivity into an agency that questions social institutions (Castoriadis 1991) and uses contentious practices to interact with these institutions, and often the state itself, on an equal footing (Rancière 1999, 2010). Social movements – as the most innovative political subjects in civil society (Cohen and Arato 1992: 492–563; Habermas 1996: 370–373) – were, therefore, not born within the formal institutions

of democratic (capitalist) states but have rather emerged *vis-à-vis* the state (and the market) out of the *vibrant* associational life of a *strong* civil society characterized by civil power. This emergence is important for the postsocialist space – as well as to understand civil society as also being a political society – because during the transition it was civil society that provided citizens access to political power outside the structures of representative democracy and, as such, had the potential to transform itself into a revolutionary project (Anderson 1976; Gramsci 1971). This was particularly true for rudimentary forms of civil society in the countries of actually existing socialism. Those who were oppressed, subordinated, or marginalized by the state were organizing in the only space available to them – civil society.

In the scholarly literature, the "social energy" produced by civil power which changes the *status quo* is based on the civic competence/ autonomy often attributed to *active citizens*: the virtuous members of society who do not see voting as the principal duty and responsibility toward their political community but instead remain proactive in public life *in-between* elections. In recent years, different terms have been used to describe how and to what extent these citizens exercise their political subjectivity outside conventional political channels in order to enhance democratic practices or simply right wrongs. For instance, Schudson (1998) speaks of "monitorial citizens" who surveil powerful institutions and organizations and turn to political action when these abuse/misuse power; Norris (2011), on the other hand, talks about "critical citizens" who are dissatisfied with established (political) institutions and work to improve and reform existing channels of democratic participation; Mouffe (1993) envisions "radical citizens" who share political commitment to fight injustices experienced by various marginalized groups; while Isin (2009) points to "activist citizens" who purposively operate outside institutional channels and, in the process, produce new sites of social enunciation, new forms of civic participation, and new modes of political being. The *strong* civil society of contemporary democracies is, therefore, characterized by different motivations for political actions, venues of civic engagement, and levels of political involvement in public life. In all of these accounts, the engagement of socially conscious and politically empowered citizens who articulate their interests, identities, and ideas at the grassroots level, or who engage in collective action to advance their causes is identified as a characteristic of a *civic* type of political culture that is typical of the affluent democracies of North America and Western Europe (Almond and Verba

1989; Johnston 2011). The suggestion is that civic culture strengthens democratic structure, a phenomenon also identified as the congruence of political structure with political culture. In turn, this compatibility empowers the political agency of citizens.

In summary, a constitutive element of democratic regimes with a vibrant civil society underpinned by a strong civic culture, is a socially conscious and politically empowered citizen who has developed the capacity for networking and taking collective actions to influence decision-making. In such conditions – in which "regulatory institutions are the gatekeepers of political power" and "civil power […] opens and closes the gate" (Alexander 2006: 110) – local citizens' initiatives could easily grow into nationwide social movements. Keeping in mind that social movements are a property of a specific historical trajectory of the so-called *core countries*, Tilly (1999: 3, 6) emphasized how not only the genealogy of social movements, but also existing definitions of these movements are tied to "a historically circumscribed form of political interaction" in North America and Western Europe. In other words, Tilly inferred that textbook examples of social movements will proliferate as the dominant form of unconventional political participation only insofar as a "high-capacity, redistributive, relatively democratic state" is actively present.[5] Tilly also pointed to different manifestations of popular politics in other socio-political settings, in particular, postsocialist countries. As such, the empirical reality of civic engagement and social struggles within these countries cannot be easily conceptualized within the narrow frame of reference provided by the historical experience of the West.

Understanding Postsocialist Civil Society and Contentious Politics

I argue in this paper that the "postsocialist condition" cannot be understood simply as a period *after* socialism, but as a complex matrix of externally sponsored, top-town processes of transition to the democratic polity, market economy, and civil society. This condition was a period of ambiguous *in-betweenness* – between the state socialist past and liberal democratic future that was essentially, in Gramsci's (1971: 276) words, a period during which "the old [was] dying and the new [could not] be born". Understood as a state or "condition" of liminality – an *interregnum* – "transition" can be used to describe complex structural

changes that occurred in the nexus of state–market–society after 1989: *political* transition, *economic* restructuring, *societal* transformation, and *cultural* adaptation. In that regard, postsocialist societies today can also be described as *post-transitional*.[6] As such, this unique historical experience brought into being postsocialist civil societies with shared features that are, nonetheless, distinctive from those in the old democracies, postauthoritarian regimes, or even the postcolonial world.

As Tilly and others (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001; Tilly 1999; Tilly and Wood 2012; Tilly and Tarrow 2015) demonstrate, conceptual boundaries and empirical indicators in social movement studies have been informed predominantly by the historical experience of affluent Western democracies. For that reason, social movement studies remain an overly parochial discipline to this very day (Poulson et al. 2014; Sheoin 2016). With social movement scholars disinterested in CEE, the postsocialist space became the exclusive property of *transitologists*, whose research was saturated with ideological biases, eventually resulting in the identification of postsocialist civil society as the "least understood" component within the field (Ekiert and Kubik 2014: 46). Postsocialist civil society was, subsequently, entrapped within the functionalist approach, liberal gaze and underpinning universalism of transitology, investigated through simplistic assumptions of social change based on a flawed modernization theory that treated the entire region as homogenous (Blokker 2005). Moreover, the teleological perspective of democratization theory was "underpinned by an almost Fukuyamaesque triumphalism" that approached the region with an "implicit assumption that the establishment of a flourishing civil society is a given" with the introduction of political pluralism and market economy (Killingsworth 2012: 147).[7] However, it became apparent early on that there was no universal path from state socialism and planned economy to liberal democracy and market economy, but rather a number of divergent national and regional pathways, each the direct outcome of path dependency and path shaping (Stark 1992). In this context, differences between postsocialist civil societies in CEE were virtually neglected, particularly regional differences.

After the collapse of actually existing socialist regimes, "civil society" became "one of the more fashionable concepts" in CEE (Schöpflin 1991: 240). Its importance did not come out of the blue but was instead an outcome of decades-long discursive exchanges between Western academics and East European dissident intellectuals. These dissenting voices were "praised for having developed the 'ferment' of what was

later recognized as a civil society in Eastern Europe", and, due to the prominence of dissidents' work in the old democracies, their normative conceptualization of civil society became "the exchange 'currency' of the East–West intellectual dialogue" (Gagyi and Ivancheva 2013: 8). Namely, these intellectuals were (re)presented in the liberal democracies as the voice of civil society in the authoritarian regimes of CEE, as those who created an autonomous space of freedom from the oppressive party-state that was, unfortunately, denied publicity under state socialism and, as such, was pushed into the obscurity of non-public, essentially private spheres of underground publishing, friendship networks, and clandestine gatherings.[8] Within these spaces of deliberation, civil society came to be understood in *a*political and ethical terms as "the force that protects society from the state and the market" (Piotrowski 2012: 120). Therefore, two defining features of the dissidents' normative conceptualizations of civil society were its *anti-political* and *moral* character. What differentiated this nominally socialist understanding of civil society from its liberal counterpart was its aversion to institutional/party politics and suspicion of collective action (Celichowski 2004; Navrátil 2013: 35–38). Consequently, on the eve of collapse of socialist regimes, civil society came to denote not only an alternative to the oppressive state, but also to prescribe civic autonomy from the state's interference in daily lives.[9]

While interesting for intellectual history, the heuristic and analytical value of this conceptualization was deeply problematic, mainly due to the dissidents' insistence on civic *disengagement* from political life, which effectively narrowed the conceptual and socio-political boundaries of civil society by expunging contentious politics (Baća 2017c, 2018b). Conversely, during the postsocialist transition, contentious politics came to be associated with "uncivil society" (Kopecký and Mudde 2003), while civil society retained the aura of a domain uncorrupted by politics and came to be synonymous not only with liberal values, but "with all things virtuous, progressive, democratic, and just" (Stubbs 2007: 215). Since the seed of civil society was planted by dissident intellectuals, and its prospects for blossoming looked promising during 1989–1991, the scholarly gaze began to shift to more formal aspects of transitional political life and economic restructuring that would create conditions favorable to civil society building.

As structural reforms were set in motion, this dissident-*cum*-transitological understanding of civil society in the region was expected to "catch up" with the concept as defined by its Western neighbors. Moreover, relying

on the historical experience of the old democracies, Western observers expected this embryonic civil society, at the level of empirical reality, to develop *vis-à-vis* a new democratic polity. As such, they *sanitized* their approach, using levels of civic engagement and membership in civic associations as indicators of the strength of civil society. The presence of such indicators represented "healthy" development and pointed to democratic conditions, thus marking a clear "symptom" of transition toward liberal democracy (Petrova 2007; Pietrzyk-Reeves 2008). What was puzzling is that, in theory, the democratization of institutions should have created an environment conducive to the emergence of popular mobilization and social movements, but these were somehow suspiciously absent in CEE (cf. Císař 2017; Flam 2001; Glenn 2003). Consequently, when it became evident that people were withdrawing from public life during the period of postsocialist restructuring, a highly influential "weak postsocialist [or postcommunist] civil society" thesis was developed (Howard 2003; see also Mendelson and Glenn 2002; Petrova and Tarrow 2007) that, until relatively recently, informed much of the research on postsocialist civil society and, in effect, pushed social movement scholars away from looking for social movement phenomena similar to the paradigmatic cases described by Western literature in this space of extremely weak associational life and mass civic disengagement (cf. Císař 2017; Flam 2001; Gagyi 2015a, 2015b). Namely, conventional survey instruments demonstrated that, compared to the Western European average, the postsocialist space exhibited significantly lower levels of social trust and confidence in various civil and public institutions (Howard 2003; Pehlivanova 2009; Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer 1997; Sztompka 1998), as well as low community engagement and participation in voluntary associations (Howard 2003; Nalecz and Bartkowski 2006; Novak and Hafner-Fink 2015; Wallace, Pichler and Haerpfer 2012). Most importantly, participation in protest activities was extremely low, if not almost non-existent (Bernhard and Karakoç 2007; Greskovits 1998: 69–92; Jacobsson and Saxonberg 2013; Novak and Hafner-Fink 2015). Compared to those in other regions of the world, civil societies in CEE were ultimately portrayed as associationally passive and organizationally anemic. Over time, it became somewhat common wisdom to claim that, when compared to the Western European average (both old democracies and post-authoritarian countries), postsocialist societies experienced significantly lower levels of civic engagement (Howard 2003; Karakoç 2013; Kopecký and Mudde 2003; Marchenko 2014) and unconventional

political participation (Bernhagen and Marsh 2007, Hooghe and Quintelier 2014, Kostelka 2014).[10] This assumption was reinforced when research demonstrated that postsocialist civil society remained structurally weak even after some countries in CEE underwent a Europeanization process (Lane 2010), remaining among the least organizationally dense in the world (Bernhard and Karakoç 2007). The conclusion was that postsocialist civil society, as a single entity, lacked civic engagement, which has been shown to be strongly correlated with levels of social trust, political skills, civic learning, active citizenship, and overall democratic values (Dekker and Van den Broek 1998; Mackerle-Bixa et al. 2009; Sissenich 2010); in a word, it was weak.

Scholars pointed to the lack of two fundamental elements for active citizenship and functioning democracy: informal civic education and grassroots pressure mechanisms. Namely, postsocialist civil society had emerged without two key ingredients that strengthen civil society: first, civic engagement as a source – or, better yet, school – of social capital, democratic habits, and civic skills that are necessary prerequisites for a stable democracy (Putnam 2000: 338), and second, active voluntary organizing in order to create political "leverage" and directly influence the political process (Skocpol 1999: 70). The suggestion was that postsocialist civil society remained weak due to a lack of experience with pluralism and/or coalition-building, a result of state socialism, wherein citizens remained voluntarily locked in private spheres and friendship networks which served as zones of comfort. Whatever aspect of civil society was placed under scrutiny – social trust, associational life, civic engagement, or even confrontational forms of civic activism – the picture remained grim. In other words, the state socialist legacy of civic disengagement from public life and the political apathy induced by the postsocialist transformation were interrelated and mutually reinforcing. With no clean break from the socialist past and a transition period that undermined voluntary participation in public affairs, the notorious "weak postsocialist civil society" thesis emerged and was widely accepted as truth in the years that followed.

Since the structural transformations implemented in CEE were not conducive to civic participation, postsocialist civil society had to be built "from above"; or, better yet, "from beyond" – through externally-sponsored institutional engineering. Social movements, as a model of popular politics typical of the old democracies, may have grown "organically" within these socio-political contexts, but international donations in CEE had artificially

created conditions favourable to a different form of social organizing – the so-called *non-governmental organizations* (NGOs).[11] During the transition process, the postsocialist state proved to be weak, so foreign donors seized an opportunity to build a non-profit but competition-based network of civic organizations that would eventually, through external mentorship and capacity-building, become more efficient and effective than state institutions in numerous domains of social, political, and cultural life. In the context of low-capacity postsocialist states, resources provided by Western governments and foundations offered an unprecedented opportunity structure for the creation of a network of (relatively influential) professionalized civil society organizations. Ultimately, an outcome of foreign assistance was a well-developed non-profit "third sector" populated predominantly by professionally-managed advocacy organizations disinterested in participation and mobilization, which, instead of voicing the grievances of the local population, focused on addressing concerns of their donors and providing expertise to the state (Aksartova 2006; Baća 2017c; Carothers 1999; Fink-Hafner 2015b; Flam 2001; Jacobsson and Saxonberg 2013; Kopecký and Mudde 2003; McMahon 2001; Petrova and Tarrow 2007; Piotrowski 2012).[12] In other words, in the context of the "weak postsocialist civil society", the process of NGO-ization created a strong *civic sector*. Rather than fostering the (voluntary) participation of citizens in public life, this process created an enduring structure of professionalized, bureaucratized, clientelist, salaried, and competitive organizations interacting directly with the state.

Therefore, if we factor in NGOs, the picture of postsocialist civil society becomes somewhat different than the one portrayed by survey instruments. A multi-dimensional quantitative study by Foa and Ekiert (2017: 423) demonstrated that the "weak postsocialist civil society" thesis was based on an essentially flawed methodological bias that resulted in scholars' focusing "exclusively on surveyed membership in voluntary associations, at the expense of other dimensions of civic life and types of data", thus "[neglecting] the myriad ways in which citizens organize to defend their interests, reaffirm their identities, and pursue common goals in postcommunist societies". This limited data illuminated just one dimension of civil society while simultaneously obscuring other aspects of postsocialist civil societies, which showed that countries in CEE did not lag behind their Western neighbors (Bernhard et al. 2017). These findings have also been supported by numerous qualitative studies that exposed the richness of social movements and contentious politics in the postsocialist

space (see Biber and Brentin; Ekiert and Kubik 2017; Fagan and Sircar 2018; Horvat and Štiks 2015; Jacobsson 2015; Jacobsson and Saxonberg 2013, 2015; Jacobsson and Korolczuk 2017; Mujanović 2017; Pleyers and Sava 2015). In other words, since most influential research on postsocialist civil society was based on survey data that illuminated individual attitudes instead of the actual behavior of respondents, the numbers of existing associations – not to mention the forms these took and the ways in which they advanced claims – were not captured. These findings were particularly important in relation to the conceptual narrowing of civil society to a civic sector that, in turn, changed how the relationship between nominal civil society and the state was observed – as non-contentious and cooperative interaction. Simply put, external donor-funding created "dense and comprehensive organizational structures [that] operate in a friendly institutional and legal environment, and have some capacity to influence policy making on the local and national levels" (Ekiert and Kubik 2014: 55). Accordingly, it can be argued that while some authors claimed that postsocialist *civil society* was weak in terms of participation and mobilization, others pointed out that its *civic sector* came out of the process of transition as quite strong in terms of organizational density and political capital.

In a socio-political context characterized by low levels of civic participation, Petrova and Tarrow (2007: 79) examined the actually existing challenger–authority relations in CEE and eventually came to the conclusion that civic activism in the postsocialist space occurred through what they labeled *transactional activism*, which was comprised of "the ties – enduring and temporary – among organized non-state actors and between them and political parties, power holders, and other institutions". As an organizational platform that fostered this type of activism, NGOs influenced the state through non-contentious, cooperative, direct-contact activities with decision-makers through lobbying, expertise, and advocacy, rather than by relying on participation and mobilization. In a nutshell, the process of NGO-ization placed postsocialist civil society on a path of dependent development: the professionalization of associational life became not only the most efficient way to influence the state but also replaced some of the state's basic functions in the socialist period (e.g., service provisioning), thus making NGOs *the* mode of civic organizing. Unlike social movements in the old democracies that pursued their interests in the streets, these organizations abandoned participation and contention, instead engaging in strategic networking, inter-organizational transfer of

information, know-how and other resources, as well as problem-solving activities with policymakers. In short, in societies characterized by mass withdrawal from public life, NGOs served as a perfect (funded and thus sustainable) platform for mediating between civil society and the state outside party structures (and, to some extent, kinship networks). In the process, potentially contentious topics were channeled through institutionally mediated venues of participation.

Nevertheless, the reduction of civil society to a civic sector – and its dependence on external sources of funding – had detrimental effects on civil society. Simply put, there is an overwhelming consensus that NGO-ization removed incentives for civil society building "from below", on participatory grounds and through the "organic" creation of a new democratic (counter)cultures (see Aksartova 2006; Baća 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2020; Gagyi 2015a, 2015b; Gagyi and Ivancheva 2013; Henderson 2002; Mendelson and Glenn 2002; Jacobsson and Saxonberg 2013, 2015; Kopecký and Mudde 2003; McMahon 2001; Narozhna 2004; Piotrowski 2012; Stubbs 2007, 2012). The postsocialist civic sector was once even referred to as a "virtual civil society" that existed "mainly in reports and boardrooms of major NGOs and governmental offices in the West" (Kopecký and Mudde 2003: 158). However, more important was the depoliticization of activities happening in the civic sector: the focus on educational, advocacy, and self-help activities, deeply embedded in the (neo)liberal agenda, pushed NGOs away from more radical demands and subversive actions that would challenge existing power relations.

Moreover, the dominant normative understanding of civil society excluded not only instances of the so-called "uncivil society", but also radical and subversive repertoires of contention, whose most prominent manifestation were disruptive social uprisings in the streets (Ekiert and Kubik 2017; Kopecký and Mudde 2003a, 2003b; Jacobsson and Saxonberg 2013; Piotrowski 2009). Despite claims that non-participatory political culture and demobilized civil society were distinctive features of CEE, some scholars identified the strong presence of protest events by impoverished people against unresponsive governments (Baća 2018b; Císař 2013; Ekiert and Kubik 1998, 1999; Greskovits 1998: 69–92; Szabó 1996; Vanhuysse 2006). As such, these demonstrations were predominantly motivated by a growing disappointment with the new elites, due to the increasing socio-economic cleavages that had resulted from the post-1989 transitions and "shock therapies" (Baća 2017c, 2018b; Ekiert and Kubik 1998, 1999; Klein 2007; Szabó 1996).[13] In some cases, protest politics proved to be

highly consequential, including the toppling of authoritarian regimes during the so-called "colored revolutions" (Bunce and Wolchik 2011). Unlike these political uprisings, mobilizations around socio-economic issues were sporadic and episodic. They did not result in "stable formations after the time of contention, especially after the economic demands of the protesters were met" (Piotrowski 2015: 7), and, therefore, social movement scholars remained disinterested in CEE.

Building on this body of work – in particular, some of the rare, early studies of social movements and contentious politics in the postsocialist region (Beissinger 2002; Ekiert and Kubik 1998, 1999; Flam 2001; Glenn 2003; Kopecký and Mudde 2003; Szabó 1996) – a new, empirically-grounded yet theoretically ambitious, research agenda began to emerge relatively recently. A growing number of scholars began to question the dogma of postsocialist, (post)transition societies as weak in participatory terms and yet transactionally strong.[14] These scholars' work stopped solely relying on data from opinion surveys and official NGO registries, in favor of qualitative, in-depth case studies, as well as quantitative historical and comparative research designs to explore the actually existing practices of contestation in CEE. By shifting their focus from NGOs as dominant organizational platforms, these authors began to uncover empirically important and theoretically relevant movement- and protest-related activities. Scholars studying the region argue that the most common type of activism in the region tends to emerge from small-scale, short-term, and often low-key citizens' initiatives without any organizational structure involved, which effectively renders these endemic forms of contention invisible to social movement scholars who were traditionally focused on highly visible mass mobilizations and NGO activities (Baća 2018b; Císař 2013, 2017; Fagan and Sircar 2018; Jacobsson and Saxonberg 2013, 2015; Jacobsson 2015; Jacobsson and Korolczuk 2017; Mujanović 2017; Pleyers and Sava 2015). These insights led some authors to question whether concepts that had previously informed research in the region – most notably, "social movements" and "contentious politics" – possessed enough heuristic, analytic, and conceptual bandwidth to "capture" all forms of contentious practices that took place in postsocialist civil societies. According to these accounts, the defining features of political activism in CEE were its *liminality*, *hybridity* and *ambiguity*, which challenged the dichotomies present in civil society and social movement studies: formal/informal, participation/transaction, coordination/spontaneity, contention/compliance, private/

public, civil/uncivil, everyday/political, and resistance/resilience (Baća 2017b, 2018b, 2020; Fábián and Korolczuk 2017; Fagan and Sircar 2018; Jacobsson 2015; Jacobsson and Saxonberg 2013, 2015; Jacobsson and Korolczuk 2017). Therefore, when accounting for civil societies in CEE, authors who studied contention in the region drew from both social movement studies and resistance studies to identify contentious practices that often lie *in-between* these dichotomous categories. In short, what the state-of-the-art research illustrated is a problem with studying postsocialist civil society that stems not only from methodological limitations, but also conceptual shortcomings in dominant theoretical paradigms and interdisciplinary approaches. Research also demonstrates differences between countries and regions within CEE, something which remains unexplored in a systematic and holistic manner. To appropriately interrogate and understand postsocialist civil *societies* – particularly their regional commonalities and differences – a comparative approach is necessary.

A Comparative Analysis of Regional Commonalities and Differences Among Civil Societies in CEE

In order to compare regional commonalities and differences in CEE, this paper analyzes data from four (bi)annual global indexes that use a range of indicators to assess civil society in CEE: USAID's *Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index* (2003–2018), Bertelsmann Stiftung's *Transformation Index* (2006–2020), along with Freedom House's *Nations in Transit* (2005–2020) and *Freedom in the World* (2013–2020). The time period of focus for analysis was chosen because data for this time period exists for virtually all countries in the region. Throughout analysis, original methodologies, including scales of measurement, were maintained to allow future scholars to compare data presented here with the original data. Nevertheless, based on historical, geographical, and political criteria, the 21 countries of CEE were grouped into five regional categories, with regional averages calculated as the annual mean of the countries within each group: *Baltic Countries* (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), *The Visegrád Group* (Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia), *Former Yugoslavia* (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia), *Southeast Europe* (Albania, Bulgaria, Romania), and *Post-Soviet*

States (Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Russia). Although there are variations among countries within some regions, these regional groupings will serve as comparative categories to identify commonalities and differences between civil societies in postsocialist CEE.

Table 1. Country and region average across four indexes for period of analysis

Region–Country/Index	CSOSI	NIT	BTI	FIW
Baltic Countries	2.46	6.20	9.69	53.46
Estonia	2.06	6.20	9.90	56.00
Latvia	2.64	6.17	9.39	51.38
Lithuania	2.70	6.23	9.78	53.00
Visegrád Group	2.66	6.20	9.56	52.25
Czechia	2.64	6.28	9.98	56.25
Hungary	3.05	5.80	8.79	47.25
Poland	2.24	6.39	9.66	52.38
Slovakia	2.69	6.31	9.81	53.13
Post-Soviet States	4.45	3.45	5.32	24.84
Belarus	5.74	1.64	2.73	12.63
Moldova	4.10	4.55	6.81	34.88
Russia	4.45	2.30	4.45	16.25
Ukraine	3.49	5.30	7.28	35.63
Southeast Europe	3.56	5.37	8.43	45.08
Albania	3.86	4.98	7.71	39.88
Bulgaria	3.26	5.52	8.81	46.75
Romania	3.58	5.61	8.78	48.63

Former Yugoslavia	3.81	5.07	8.31	41.89
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.78	4.47	7.63	35.25
Croatia	3.27	5.28	9.06	49.63
Kosovo	3.86	4.16	7.70	28.25
Montenegro	4.11	5.23	8.10	43.00
North Macedonia	3.72	4.73	7.54	37.13
Serbia	4.24	5.56	8.46	46.38
Slovenia	3.67	6.03	9.71	53.63

As *Table 1* demonstrates, the biggest differences between countries within a region are among the Post-Soviet States, while all other regions exhibit minor – albeit, in some instances, visible – variations among countries.

Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index

The Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index (CSOSI) uses a seven-point scale, with 1 representing the highest and 7 the lowest level of sustainability. It utilizes seven dimensions to measure the civic sector's overall sustainability: (1) *legal environment* governing the civic sector, (2) *organizational capacity* of the civic sector to pursue its goals, (3) *financial viability* of the civic sector's access to various sources of funding, (4) *advocacy* though which the civic sector exercises its capacity to influence public opinion and public policy, (5) *service provision* through which the civic sector exercises its ability to provide goods and services, (6) *sectoral infrastructure* that the civic sector uses to access various support services, and (7) *public image* of the civic sector within broader society. These dimensions are not considered distinct steps of development but are rather analyzed simultaneously to acquire a multifaceted assessment of the civic sector in each country.

For that reason, the CSOSI scores are clustered into three basic "tiers" representing the level of development, and thus viability, of the civic sector: (1) *sustainability enhanced* (1.00–3.00), which entails enhanced development and viability of the civic sector through practices and policies in a friendly socio-political and socio-economic environment;

(2) *sustainability evolving* (3.10–5.00), which entails development and viability of the civic sector that is somewhat affected by practices and policies, but more so by external factors (e.g., stagnant economy, passive government, disinterested media, inexperienced activists); and (3) *sustainability impeded* (5.10–7.00), which entails a civic sector that is significantly impeded by practices and policies, but the overall progress of the sector is mostly hampered by external factors such as a contracting economy, authoritarian polity, media censorship, and/or a low level of capacity of the civic sector itself.

Figure 1. Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index (2003–2018)
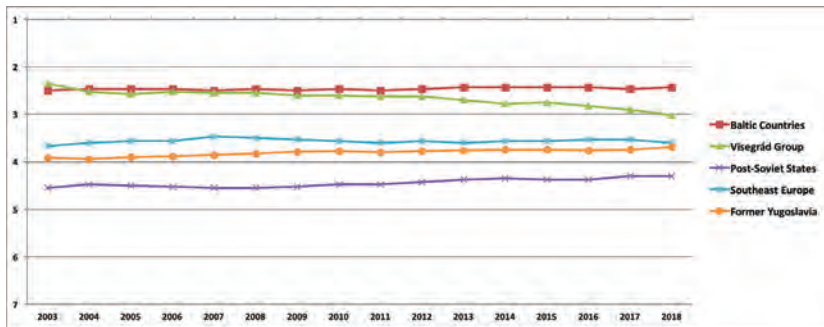
As *Figure 1* demonstrates, postsocialist civil society in CEE, as a whole, is not significantly impeded by a complex combination of negative practices, policies, and external factors. Rather, the civic sector in CEE is somewhat affected by practices and policies, but mostly by external factors, such as a stagnant or contracting economy, passive or hostile government, disinterested or reactionary media, and inexperienced or disinterested activists. An analysis of the trends demonstrates that its sustainability is evolving in the right direction, with the visible exception of the Visegrád Group, which shows a gradual decline to the lower tier, thus indicating a worsening external environment for the development and sustainability of civil societies in this part of CEE. While the sustainability of civic sector in the Baltic States remains high, its neighboring region of the Post-Soviet States remains in the worst position in terms of viability and development, bordering on the lowest tier of the index, where hostile policies and weak practices are not as significant as the overall negative socio-political and socio-economic environment for the normal functioning of civil society.

Conversely, civic sectors in the Former Yugoslavia and Southeast Europe regions remain in the mid-tier, indicating that development and viability of the civic sector is somewhat affected by practices and policies, but mostly by external factors. These regions have the prospect of moving to the top tier of "enhanced sustainability" in the long run, demonstrating that practices, policies, and external conditions that positively affect development and viability of the civic sector have been improving over time.

Nations in Transit

Similar to the CSOSI, the *Nations in Transit* (NIT) report uses a seven-point scale, but with the index operating in reverse order, where 1 represents the lowest and 7 the highest level of democracy. The NIT report provides numerical ratings in seven categories that broadly represent the institutional underpinnings of liberal democracy: (1) national democratic governance, (2) electoral process, (3) civil society, (4) independent media, (5) local democratic governance, (6) judicial framework and independence, and (7) corruption. This paper focuses exclusively on the "civil society" category which examines the democracy level of the civic sector and assesses the legal and political environment that affects the vibrancy, organizational capacity, and financial sustainability of the civic sector. The "civil society" category also examines participation of civil society actors in the policy process. Furthermore, adopting a normative approach, the NIT report focuses not only on independence of civil society from state structures and the vibrancy of the associations and collective actors that comprise it, but also on the civil society's capacity to maintain liberal democratic values, resist anti-democratic actors, and influence policy and media.

NIT report scores are clustered into five "tiers" representing the level of democracy of civil society: (1) *consolidated democracies*, which are further broken down into two democracy scores: a) democracies that embody the best policies and practices of liberal democracy, where civil society is independent, vibrant, and sustainable and where all political and civil rights are protected by the state (6.01–7.00), or, b) democracies that closely embody the best policies and practices of liberal democracy, but face certain challenges associated with corruption (5.01–6.00); (2) *semi-consolidated democracies* (4.01–5.00) that hold high standards for electoral process but, nevertheless, exhibit some weaknesses in their

defense of political rights and civil liberties: civil society is independent and active, but faces some pressures from the state and, thus, has limited organizational capacity and financial viability; (3) *transitional/ hybrid regimes* (3.01–4.00) that are characterized by fragile democratic institutions and minimum standards for electoral process, in which civil society is independent and in development, yet faces challenges to political rights and civil liberties, pressure from the state, and other structural limitations to operations and sustainability; (4) *semi-consolidated authoritarian regimes* (2.01–3.00) that fail to meet even the minimum standards of electoral democracy: the independence, infrastructure, and sustainability of civil society is seriously impeded, especially by the state that is hostile to organizations that challenge its policies; and (5) *consolidated authoritarian regimes* (1.00–2.00) that entail closed societies without genuine political competition and pluralism, in which violations of political, civil, and human rights are consistently present, and where civil society faces excessive government restrictions and repression.

Figure 2. Nations in Transit (2005–2020)
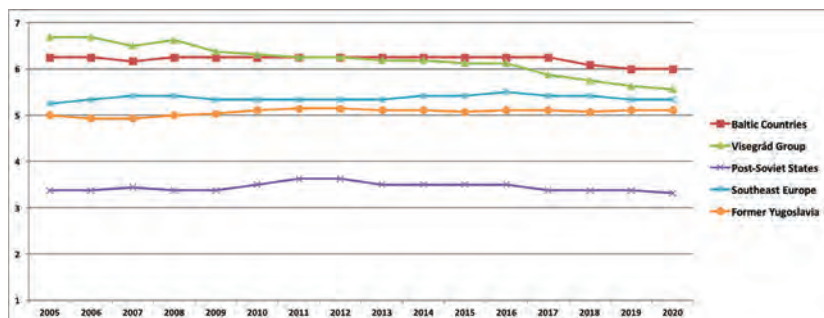
As *Figure 2* demonstrates, when we speak about the level of democracy of civil societies in CEE – with a visible exception of the Post-Soviet States where civil society has characteristics of that in transitional/ hybrid regimes – all other civil societies in CEE have characteristics of consolidated democracies. They are generally independent, vibrant, and sustainable, with political and civil rights protected by the state, yet face certain challenges associated with corruption. However, while the civil societies of Former Yugoslavia and Southeast Europe are locked in their positions, the Visegrád Group is on the decline, dropping one spot

from the highest tier, and civil societies in the Baltic Countries are on a gradual decline in terms of the level of democracy of their civil societies. Simply stated, even in the most democratic parts of CEE, corruption and tightening political factors are constraining the democratic capacity of their respective civil societies.

Bertelsmann Transformation Index

The *Bertelsmann Transformation Index* (BTI) is a biannual global report that uses a 10-point scale: with 1 representing the lowest and 10 the highest level of transition toward liberal democracy and market economy. It offers numerical ratings for 17 criteria that are aggregated into three categories used to evaluate political and economic movement toward these goals: *political transformation* (5 criteria), *economic transformation* (7 criteria), and *governance* (5 criteria). This paper focuses on the "political participation" component that measures both institutional and non-institutional political participation in countries in transition.

As part of the "political transformation" category, indicators for "political participation" are used to determine whether a country is classified as a democracy or autocracy. However, unlike in the NIT report, the BTI classification of a country as an autocracy or democracy is not determined by the aggregate political transformation score, but rather by minimum thresholds in each component of the "political participation" component: (1) *free and fair elections* (<6.00), where a score below 6 implies that free elections are not held or are marred by serious irregularities and restrictions; (2) *effective power to govern* (<4.00), implying that democratically elected leaders *de facto* lack the power to govern; (3) *association/assembly rights* (<4.00), implying that the freedom of association or assembly does not exist, or civil society organizations are suppressed; and (4) *freedom of expression* (<4.00), implying that freedom of expression or media freedom does not exist, or severe restrictions are in place.

Figure 3. Bertelsmann Transformation Index (2006–2020)
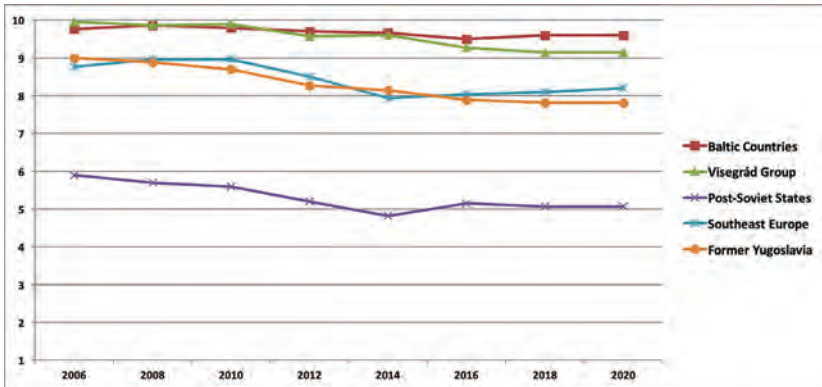
As *Figure 3* demonstrates, the Post-Soviet States once again severely lag behind the rest of CEE, demonstrating many characteristics of the autocratic regime, thus implying severe issues with the electoral process, freedom of association or assembly, and freedom of expression or the media. On the other hand, political participation in the other two clusters – the Visegrád Group and the Baltic Countries on one side, and Former Yugoslavia and Southeast Europe on the other – demonstrate characteristics of democracy. However, declining trends indicate that the situation has been deteriorating in recent years. Whereas the second cluster has been gradually declining over the past decade due to the rise of so-called *stabilitocracies*, the Visegrád Group has been on the decline in recent years, attributable to illiberal democracies.

Freedom in the World

Freedom in the World (FIW) is an annual global report that uses 100-point scores to assess political rights and civil liberties enjoyed by individuals and collectives, where 1 represents the lowest, and 100 the highest level of liberal democratic values. While both laws and actual national practices are factored into scoring decisions, greater emphasis is placed on practical implementation. This paper focuses on civil liberties, comprised of 17 indicators. The highest overall score that can be awarded for civil liberties is 60 (or a score of 4 for each of 15 questions).

The civil liberties questions are grouped into four categories: *freedom of expression and belief* (4 questions), *associational and organizational rights* (3 questions), *rule of law* (4 questions), and *personal autonomy and individual rights* (4 questions). Within the FIW report, the status of the country – "free", "partly free", or "not free" – is determined by a combination of an overall score awarded for political rights and the overall score awarded for civil liberties, after being equally weighted. Here, only the "civil liberties" component is utilized to determine whether a country falls into the designation of "electoral democracy", meaning that it possesses an overall civil liberties score of 30 or higher.

Figure 4. Freedom in the World (2013–2020)
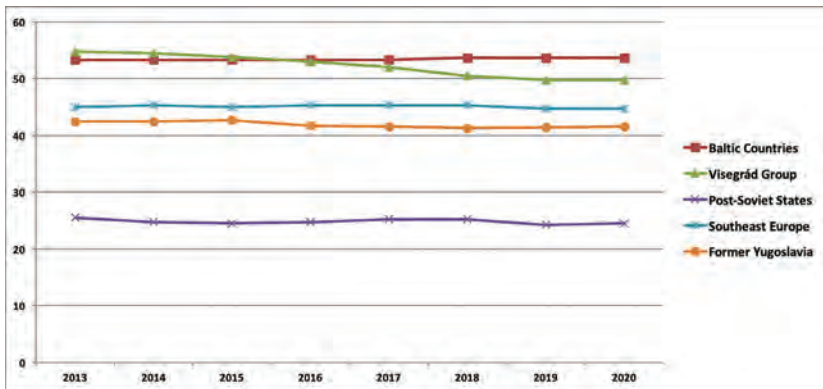
As *Figure 4* demonstrates, although the Visegrád Group appears on a recent decline, it remains among the top scores, along with the Baltic Countries. These regions are followed by Former Yugoslavia and Southeast Europe in the next tier, with the Post-Soviet States in the last, scoring below 30 points. Thus, the civil liberties score of the Post-Soviet States is characteristic of a non-electoral democracy. Overall, just as the previous three graphs have done, this figure clearly demonstrates that, according to normative liberal democratic indexes there is no singular designator of postsocialist civil society in CEE. Instead, we must recognize the presence of three distinct postsocialist civil societies within CEE, each demonstrating different levels of development in terms of sustainability, viability, and democratic capacity of respective civil societies, as well as of political participation and civil liberties.

Conclusion

This paper offered a critical overview of scholarly literature on civil society and contentious politics in CEE in order to identify several common misconceptions about the so-called *postsocialist civil society*. Using public data from leading global indexes, including the *Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index*, *Nations in Transit*, *Bertelsmann Transformation Index*, and *Freedom in the World*, it presented a descriptive statistical overview of regional differences and commonalities in civil societies across CEE. This analysis demonstrated that instead of one singular entity, the scholarly community should recognize the presence of three distinct *postsocialist civil societies* in CEE. According to normative liberal democratic indexes, in terms of development of sustainability, democracy, political participation, and civil liberties, the Baltic Countries and the Visegrád Group rank first, Former Yugoslavia and Southeast Europe second, while the Post-Soviet States rank third. This finding demonstrates that some regions in the postsocialist space of CEE do not lag (significantly) behind their Western neighbors.

Embracing the view that there was no universal path from state socialism and a planned economy to liberal democracy and a market economy, and that path dependency and path shaping led to a range of divergent national and regional trajectories across CEE, the findings presented in this paper demonstrate that these divergent pathways have significantly influenced the development of civil society. Ultimately, these diverse trajectories have resulted in three distinct stages of civil society development across the region. The findings of this paper reveal several distinct realities of postsocialist civil societies in CEE, thereby demonstrating the limitations of the longstanding notion of the "weak postsocialist civil society". It is no longer analytically useful to treat postsocialist civil society as a monolithic entity. Instead, we must recognize various *postsocialist civil societies,* with different levels of civic engagement, non-institutional political participation, social activism, associational life, social trust, civic skills, and overall democratic values within the heterogenous space of CEE.

Endnotes

[1] The concept of contentious politics denotes "what happens when collective actors join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities, and opponents around their claims or the claims of those they claim to represent" (Tarrow 2011: 4). Understood as such, contentious politics "involves interactions in which actors make claims bearing on other actors' interests, leading to coordinated efforts on behalf of shared interests of programs, in which governments are involved as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties" (Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 7). Only when such actions are sustained collectively and thus "based on dense social networks and effective connective structures and draw on legitimate, action-oriented cultural frames", can we speak of *social movements* (Tarrow 2011: 16; see also Della Porta and Diani 1999: 20–22; Tilly and Wood 2012: 35–37).

[2] This paper was written in the first half of 2020 and forms part of a pentalogy of papers on postsocialist civil society and social movements developed during my postdoctoral research. Four companion pieces have since been published (see Baća 2022, 2023, 2024a, and 2024b).

[3] What constitutes civil society is still open for debate. However, despite the theoretical preferences or ideological convictions of scholars who tend to narrow or stretch the conceptual boundaries of civil society, contemporary interest in civil society focuses predominantly on associational life and civic engagement. The lowest common denominator among academics and activists is that civil society refers to uncoerced associational life distinct from the family relations and institutions of the state and market (Chambers and Kopstein 2006).

[4] Therefore, throughout the paper, I am discussing civil society as a societal realm distinct from state institutions, economic relations, and the intimate sphere of the family. Yet, as I will show, civil society is no way completely isolated and immune to influences coming from these spheres.

[5] As Gagyi (2015b: 19) pointed out, 1968 was "the inspirational moment" of both American and Western European scholarship on social movements, precisely because "the affluence of post-war Western societies made it possible for the first time in history for entire populations to participate in material welfare". This context of affluence and, consequently, the emergence of "new social movements" can hardly be generalized throughout space or time.

[6] Some can be also designated as "post-conflict societies", especially Yugoslav successor states.

[7] Transitological explanations did not take into consideration the complexity of social, political, economic, and cultural transformations taking place in the concrete historical and geographical conditions at the local, national, and regional levels.

[8] Gagyi and Ivancheva (2013: 9) show that "what is nowadays called 'the 1989 concept of civil society' was named differently by each prominent dissident: 'anti-politics' (Konrád), 'independent life of society' or 'life in truth' (Havel), 'parallel polis' and 'second culture' (Benda), 'new evolutionism' (Michnik), etc.".

[9] Especially because civil society under state socialism in the 1970s and 1980s was equated with the dissident movement and "was originally understood as a self-organizing alternative society (a 'parallel polis', as Václav Benda put it in 1978) in opposition to totalitarian rule" (Rupnik 1999: 60). Flam (2001: 3), on the other hand, argues that, in reality, these civil societies were nothing more than "dissident subcultures".

[10] Howard (2003: 63) pointed out that "for all types of organizations except labor unions, the postcommunist mean is much lower than the means of [older democracies and postauthoritarian regimes]". Moreover, this was also the case for more conventional forms of political participation, such as voting.

[11] While these are known in the West as "non-profits", they are more commonly referred today as "civil society organizations" (CSOs).

[12] This is essentially a process of the professionalization of collective actors within the third sector, whereby groups moved from grassroots mobilization to rank-and-file organizations that were economically dependent (Piotrowski 2015: 9). During the 1990s, US-based foundations provided most of the funding, but during the 2000s EU funds became an integral part of the process of Europeanization. Many civil society actors in CEE saw the EU accession process as a political opening, which they could use to try to influence domestic policies.

[13] The findings of these authors demonstrated that strikes and other socio-economically motivated protest actions accounted for the largest political mobilization in CEE, and were most commonly initiated by trade unions and professional organizations. They did not occur often, but, when they did, they tended to have more participants than other forms of protest.

[14] Namely, the official NGO registries rendered visible just one model of associational life, but simultaneously obscured others, thus giving, at best, a partial view of postsocialist civil society. Therefore, focusing on ideal types in the research on postsocialist civil society led to systematic privileging of formal actors and some forms of action, while neglecting important activities that took place in less structured form(at)s.

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"ORDINARY PEOPLE" AND THEIR PROFESSIONS: THE CONTRIBUTION OF SIGILLOGRAPHY TO THE STUDY OF BYZANTINE SOCIAL HISTORY (6TH-12TH CENTURIES)

Pantelis Charalampakis

Abstract

Sigillography is nowadays an indispensable tool for the study of Byzantine society. And yet, only the pieces related to the Church, the State and the aristocracy have been approached and sufficiently examined. Through a systematic collection and study of the seals issued by professionals, this paper discusses occupations that were not directly related to the public or ecclesiastic sector but were practiced by free-lancers, "lesser figures" within the Byzantine Empire, from the sixth to the 12th century. Combining various sources such as seals, inscriptions, literary texts and official documents, the main emphasis will be on fundamental issues of research, as well as on methodology.

Keywords: Byzantium; social history; professions; free-lancers; seals; inscriptions; iconography; ethnicity; linguistics

The aim of this paper is to present the topic I have been working on thanks to the New Europe College fellowship for the academic year 2020–2021, and to show the potential for future research, as a preface to my forthcoming monograph.[1] In this context, and considering that the cataloguing process is still in progress due to the large number of specimens (seals) dispersed in many countries, special attention will be put on the theoretical aspect of my work. In particular, I will try to familiarize the reader with the theoretical approach of the issue, the questions that have arisen, and the methods used to systematically collect and study the material.

Byzantine lead seals from the 6th to the 12th centuries are the main source for this study. These two chronological boundaries were chosen because the former marks the earliest seals that can be confidently attributed to individuals as freelance professionals, and the latter marks the time after which lead seals became very rare and were used only by the upper class of Byzantium, apparently because the cheap and easy to find wax prevailed over the more expensive and difficult to find metal. The pieces come from the collections of museums and other institutes, from private collections, and from auction catalogues or other sources related to the antiques market. Most of them are already published, but I am also working on some unpublished specimens.

For the readers' convenience, and also to avoid loading the paper with bibliographic titles, the references to seals are, whenever possible, links to the Dumbarton Oaks and Harvard Art Museums online catalog of Byzantine seals, instead of the standard printed editions.[2]

The background

The study of the Eastern Roman Empire, what we conventionally call Byzantium today, began in Renaissance and post-Renaissance Europe after the fall of Constantinople. At that time, intellectuals were mainly interested in the editing of texts and in history as a sequence of events. And now, centuries after Hieronymus Wolf's *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* (1557),[3] Byzantine Studies has made not only significant, but unimaginably great steps forward. Every scholar and every "school" in every country has contributed, in one way or another, to paving the way to an understanding of this well-known and yet so mysterious medieval world.

In the 20th century, and now in the 21st century, it is not only the quantity of newly discovered sources or the advances in technology that have helped specialists to advance their research. It is also, and perhaps above all, the new perspectives and interpretations of what we already have before us. It is in this spirit that great efforts have recently been made to discover the origins of the famous Byzantine system of provincial administration, or to determine the self-consciousness of the Romans – or, as we shall call them from now on, the Byzantines – to mention just a few topics. On the other hand, it is true that more often than not the availability of sources guides our research and limits our perspectives. In the case of Byzantine social history, scholars have touched on almost every aspect of

it, and new ideas are being introduced every day. However, research is based mainly on literary sources: legislative and other official documents, historical works, hagiography and, to a lesser extent, epistolography and poetry. The study of Byzantine professionals, in particular, boosted after the discovery of the so-called *Book of the Eparch* by the Swiss scholar Jules Nicole in 1891.[4] The *Book of the Eparch* is either an official document or a draft of such a text, a manual prepared for use by the Eparch of Constantinople, who was, in modern terms, the mayor of the city. It contains instructions for the guilds of various professions active in the city. Naturally, this document has aroused great interest among Byzantinists, who now have the opportunity to study the Byzantine professions closely from a first-hand source.

And yet, neither the *Book of the Eparch* and other legal documents (especially from the early period), nor the multitude of literary sources come directly from the professionals themselves. Scholars of Modern Studies rely on archival material (business correspondence, vouchers, invoices, etc.), but almost nothing of this kind has survived from the Byzantine period. There are, however, two categories of sources directly related to the professionals: the inscriptions and the seals. The inscriptions are, for the most part, funerary texts inscribed on stone, and they mention the name and occupation of the deceased, sometimes the date of death, age, spouse's name, and origin. There is no systematic study of the funeral monuments of professionals. Surprisingly, the same is true for the seals directly related to the Byzantine working class, and this is the subject of this paper.

So far, there are only four studies (short articles) on seals issued by Byzantine professionals.[5] We still lack an overview of the material and a more systematic and synthetic study of these professionals through their seals, published and unpublished, as well as through auction catalogues. It must be stressed that a study of lead seals alone cannot stand on its own; it is essential to examine, compare and, if necessary, combine information from other sources, such as literary texts and official documents, from historical works to epistles and private contracts, laws, monastic typika, etc., as well as inscriptions on stone or metal other than lead. In short, this is a rather complicated subject that combines a variety of sources.

What is a seal and who needs it?

Before going into the details of the research topic, it is important to briefly explain what these seals are and how they are used. This information is important because it is related to the next question: who needs seals, or more specifically, who needs to seal a letter or other document?

People have been using seals for millennia. At first, the seal was a symbol of personal power and authority, but also a tool in the hands of the state mechanism, used for practical purposes. Finally, the evolution of human society, combined with a number of other factors, such as the access of more and more people to literacy and written forms of communication, made it necessary for professionals and other individuals to use seals to protect the contents of their writings or to certify their authenticity. As far as Byzantium is concerned, in short, people needed seals to do three things: a) to secure a non-visible letter; b) to certify the authenticity of an open, visible letter; c) to seal a package intended for the market.

How were these seals used? Unlike modern ones, seals in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages were very different. There were two types of sealing practices, using either a metal disc or wax. The latter, which is not a durable material, has unfortunately not survived (although occasionally people still use this method of sealing). As for the first type, we know of tens of thousands of metal disks made of gold, silver, or lead that were issued by the people of the time. The gold seals were reserved exclusively for the emperor; the silver seals were used only by certain local rulers in the late period; and the lead seals were used by everyone.

These seals were metal discs of small diameter, like a modern coin, on which the owner placed images and/or text. Making a seal was simple, but still required a special procedure. First, the person interested in having a seal had to find a technician to make a boulloterion. The boulloterion was an iron, plier-like instrument with two touching edges that were flat on the inside. There, the craftsman (either the same person who made the instrument or another) would carve an image, text, or whatever the client wanted on the flat surfaces, creating a negative of the future print. The next stage would be the production (by the same person or another) of small metal disks with an open channel running through them. The disks were produced in large quantities, in molds.[6] Whether or not these disks were easy to find in the right size, they would not have been expensive.

The boulloterion, however, seems to be an expensive thing, and the more exquisite the work, the higher the price.

In short, the sealing procedure was as follows: the person had to roll the paper, tie it with a thin cord, then pass both edges of the cord through the channel of the blank disk. The disk was then placed horizontally between the two flat surfaces of the boulloterion, the lower part of which touched a solid surface, and the person, holding the instrument firmly with one hand, struck the upper part with a hammer. The lead, being a soft metal, would allow the surfaces of the disks to receive the imprint of the negatives of the boulloterion and thus, after releasing the disk from the instrument, you would have not only printed both sides, but also secured the letter, because the strike would have pressed the channel and closed it around the thread. When they wanted to open a letter, they would either cut the thread or pull the lead disk (and that is why usually at least one of the channel holes is broken with an opening to one side of the disk).

Byzantine seals and the seals of Byzantine professionals

Seals are one of the instruments used by scholars for the study of Byzantine administrative, political, ecclesiastical, prosopographical and, more recently, social history. Although the first works on such seals appeared as early as the 18th century, only sporadically have scholars (notably G. Schlumberger, V. Laurent, and G. Zacos) attempted to approach them systematically. With the development of Byzantine Studies, and because these seals are first-hand sources, their importance has increased significantly in the last four decades. This is also due to the amount of publishing activity, the many archaeological expeditions and excavations, the old and new collections that are now available to the public, the auctions that are available online, and so on.

And yet, despite the importance of seals for Byzantine Studies, from the available material (which is estimated to be over 100,000 specimens), only those seals related to the Church, the State, and the aristocracy have been approached and sufficiently studied. Lower-class Byzantine professionals who made seals have been occasionally mentioned in various academic publications, but we still lack a systematic collection and study of all this material. Scholars have not done much research on this topic (there are only four short articles on professional seals – see above) for several reasons, which I will try to summarize here.

First, there is the traditional assumption that all Byzantine seals were issued by important people, either state officials or members of the clergy and aristocracy, and in any case by wealthy and notable people. Second, there is a selective approach to the sphragistic material: precisely because the seals of such professionals are considered less important compared to the seals of well-known military commanders or aristocrats known through literary sources or patriarchs, etc., scholars have not paid the necessary attention to them.[7] A third reason has to do with archaeology: professionals who used seals for their correspondence are more likely to be found in urban centers, or at least in busy places. Of course, there is always the possibility that they worked in more remote or isolated or less busy places. But in general, craftsmen and merchants had to be among many people in order to work. Let us not forget that in those days it was difficult to travel long distances, so it is more likely that a craftsman who had enough work to need correspondence and seals would be in a busy place; the same for a doctor, a butcher, and so on. Even if a small, isolated village had a butcher, for example, we cannot imagine how he would write letters, or who would write them for him, and why he would need seals. Besides, the problem is that most of the busy places, i.e. the Byzantine cities, are literally under the presently inhabited cities, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to uncover the layers underneath. Fortunately, there are still some major Byzantine cities that are not covered by later layers and have been (or are being) systematically excavated: Corinth, Pergamon, Cherson, Gortyna, Justiniana Prima, to name just a few of the most important. Apart from the big cities, there is a lot of research going on in smaller places, such as fortresses and monastic complexes, where it is less likely to find seals made by professionals (to my knowledge, no such seals have yet been excavated in fortresses or monasteries).

After collecting as many seals of professionals as possible, it is surprising to see that only a few professions are mentioned on the seals of their owners. There are still many professions known from other sources that have no known seals. It is possible, of course, that these people did not own a boulloterion for one reason or another. But most likely, if not certainly, it is because we have not yet discovered their seals. Such occupations are, for example, the τοξοποιὸς (bow maker),[8] and the ἐργολάβος (the head of the workshop; contractor; businessman).[9]

What can a seal tell us about Byzantine professionals?

Byzantine seals of this kind, issued by professionals, although more modest in appearance and therefore less talkative than others (for example, those issued by high military officials or members of the aristocracy), still provide us with ample information about the owner's name, origin/ethnicity, spoken language, religious attitude, occupation, level of literacy, wealth status, artistic preferences, etc. The most important of the information that can be gleaned from lead seals made by experts is summarized and categorized below. It should be noted, however, that not all of this information appears on the same seal; some things we may see on one piece, some things on another.

1) Name / origin / language

The name of the person may give a clue to the origin/ethnicity of the seal's owner. Alternatively, this information can be deduced by looking at the language of the seal's inscription. For example, the person may have a Hebrew, Syriac, Turkic, or Arabic name, but the inscription is in perfect Greek. In this category is placed the seal of a certain Solomon, pragmateutes (merchant), of the late 10th century, which shows a bird and a Christian invocation inscription.[10] Also the seals of Phouretzes, pragmateutes, dated in the late eleventh or early 12th century, with the image of the Theotokos on the obverse.[11] It is possible that Phouretzes was of Persian or Arabic origin. An interesting seal was issued by a certain Baianos, notarios (notary, lawyer; scribe): although it bears Christian symbols, the name shows an Asiatic origin, perhaps from the tribe of the Avars (we know of Avars with this particular name). What is most surprising, however, is the early date of this seal, probably in the first half of the 8th century.[12] It means that a foreigner – or a descendant of foreigners – had received a proper education in Byzantium, enabling him to work as a lawyer or a scribe. But there are other, more pompous cases, such as an unpublished 11th-century seal from the Dumbarton Oaks collection, which shows a Christian image on one side, accompanied by a Greek inscription, and on the other side inscriptions in Karshuni (Arabic language written in Syriac) giving the Hebrew/Christian name and patronymic of the owner, his place of origin (from a small settlement near Aleppo), as well as in Greek giving his occupation of καταλλάκτης (money changer).

2) Religious attitude (preference)

The religious attitude is related to the iconography on the seal, usually shown on the obverse. For example, we may find Christian or pagan symbols; iconoclastic or non-iconoclastic motifs; a preference for a particular holy figure or another motif, and so on. A significant example is the seal of Stephanos, anagnapharios (fuller, textile worker), dated in the first quarter of the 10th century, which shows two cypress trees.[13] This unusual motif is – rarely – attested on other seals, but the two trees or branches are always placed on either side of a human figure, while here they stand alone. The most common motifs, however, are those of the Christian cruciform invocative monogram, the cross, as well as images of the Theotokos or a saint. A good example is the early (6th century) seal of Iohannes, notarios, which shows Saints Peter and Paul holding a staff-cross in the middle.[14] It happens, however, that we also encounter some pagan motifs, especially in the early centuries: see, for example, the eagle and the star that decorate the seal of a certain Sirikios, physiologos (physician),[15] whose name could be Persian or Armenian.

3) Literacy

The level of literacy is also very helpful because it provides information about two people: the owner of the seal and/or the boulloterion maker hired by the professional in question. Some of the features we take into account when studying the inscription of a seal are whether the text is in meter, whether there are spelling mistakes, dialectal forms and idioms, etc. (see also below). In general, seals made by Byzantine craftsmen have short and simple inscriptions, except for the invocation, which usually only mentions the name and profession. Nevertheless, this small amount of evidence is enough to draw certain conclusions, especially when the specimens are studied in groups. Among the individual cases, it is worth mentioning Baianos (see above), whose name is misspelled (Βαηαιου, in the genitive, instead of the correct Βαϊανοῦ, although the name should have been in the dative (Βαϊανῷ), either because this is how he said or wrote it to the craftsman, or because the craftsman – scribe, unfamiliar with such an exotic name, heard it.

4) Wealth status

Last but not least, the seal can reveal some information about the wealth of its owner as well as the skills of the craftsman. For example, if the inscription is well written and carved, without mistakes, and/or if the decoration is well executed and rich in detail, it means that the owner had a good and skilled technician, i.e. an expensive technician. The opposite can also happen: if the seal looks very bad, with mistakes and not well executed work in general, the owner did not have enough money (or perhaps did not want to invest in a good technician). Let us compare two examples, both dating from the same period (late 11th/ early 12th centuries): the first belonged to a merchant named Ioannes; on the obverse there is a patriarchal cross with fleurons and a circular inscription. It is a common motif, in vogue since the early 10th century, and this one in particular is not even well executed.[16] The second seal, which belonged to the doctor Manouel Liparites, bears not only a metrical inscription but also the unusual phrase "Heed the example of this life" and shows a standing figure, looking up and raising his hands in prayer, surrounded by two seated figures, a goat and a snake.[17] The difference between these two specimens is striking: one follows an old motif and is poorly executed, the other bears a metrical inscription, an unusual and richly detailed image, as well as this didactic phrase. No wonder that the second craftsman needed much more time and effort to carve all this, and we can assume that the price for the work was higher.

Linguistics: language and idioms

Aside from the occasional spelling error or other peculiarity in the inscription, errors that can be attributed to either the owner or the craftsman, there are other elements in inscriptions that indicate variations in spelling or even evidence of local idioms. Several such examples have been discovered by scholars, especially in stone inscriptions. But as for inscriptions on seals, there is no study of the morphological, phonological, and other characteristics of medieval Greek.

Seal inscriptions, like stone inscriptions, usually, if not in most cases, reflect the language spoken in everyday life, without the special touch of medieval poets, historians, or other educated authors who, like today, spent time and effort to make their texts look more presentable,

more classical, more conservative, and, in their minds, more correct. Non-official (i.e. not state-sponsored) inscriptions, however, show us the language spoken in the streets and shops, in the homes and military camps, with all the mistakes of an uneducated person (either the owner of the seal or the craftsman, or even both), the idioms and different spellings. This is the language of the inscriptions on the seals of Byzantine professionals. There are four main categories, which will be explained below, not in any particular order. It goes without saying that whatever observations are made on the material in question (the seals issued by professionals), a comparison with samples from other groups of people with seals, such as clerics and monks, and low-ranking civil and military officials, will be made at a later stage.

1) Various forms of the same noun, e.g. μακελλάριος, μακελλάρης, μακελλίτης.

2) Various spellings of the same noun, e.g. πραγματευτής, πραγματεπτής, πραματευτής.

3) Phonetic substitution of Lambda for Rho, e.g. σαρδαμάριος instead of σαλδαμάριος.

4) Official and unofficial terms (?). Although in Antiquity the Greek word for merchant was ἔμπορος, in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages it was replaced by the word πραγματευτής, and it is only occasionally used – the same word or its derivatives – in some documents of a more official character.

5) Syntax. A very common phenomenon attested on seals of professionals is the use of certain cases or a combination of cases that are against the norm and certainly wrong from the grammatical point of view and the syntax of the Greek language. For example, instead of dative (invocation) – dative (name) – dative (occupation), they more than often use dative (invocation) – genitive (name) – genitive (occupation) or even another combination involving either nominative or accusative.

Freelancers or state-employees?

From the beginning, this research has inevitably led to a number of questions that have already been formulated, in one way or another, in previous works on the subject. I mentioned above the traditional scholarly view that there were no freelancers in Byzantium: everyone worked for the state.

Let us return to the previous questions: who needs seals in Byzantium and who can use seals in Byzantium. As the direct successor of the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire was naturally a state based primarily on an elaborate bureaucratic mechanism. Thus, after the emperor, the greatest need for seals came from the state itself and its thousands of officials, from high-ranking prefects and military commanders to lowly clerks and scribes. Then came the church and the various religious foundations and institutions. And finally, the nobility. It is understandable, however, that many professions require correspondence, and professionals need seals for this, for example, merchants, notaries, doctors, etc. There is no known law in Byzantium that says who can and who cannot own and use a boulloterion and seals. Nor is anything like this ever directly or indirectly implied in any source, at least none that has been discovered yet. Nevertheless, scholars have assumed in the past that only state officials and other persons, the church, and the aristocracy had the right to own a boulloterion. This is a misconception that can be refuted by a closer look at the sources themselves. Of course, it is true that not everyone needs a seal. But even if they did, another question would be who has the financial means to own and use a boulloterion. This financial aspect (also mentioned above) must not be neglected, and it must be remembered that although the materials themselves (lead, iron) may be cheap or easy to find, it is also a question of who and how the tools and disks are made, and the cost of acquiring the processed objects.

On the basic question of whether these professionals were freelancers or employed by the state: in Roman times, things were clearer about their status, and we know that they were freelancers. But in Byzantium the whole question becomes more complicated because of the limited sources and the intervention of the state in every aspect of the economy. It has long been known, probably since the discovery of the so-called *Book of the Eparch* in the late 19th century, that the state exercised considerable and strict control over every activity within its borders, and especially over transactions and activities related to the economy. Hence the question of whether the professionals were freelancers whose activities were supervised and to a greater or lesser extent controlled and restricted by the state, or whether they were themselves servants and officials employed by the state. This last question does not, of course, apply to all existing professions, and for this reason my research is limited to those attested on seals.

There are a few points we need to keep in mind: first, that although we know of four Taktika[18] and even more descriptions of the state mechanism and its employees in other texts, the professions in question are not mentioned in any of these sources; second, that the Byzantines were very fond of showing off with their honorific titles and, as we know very well, civil servants and state officials, as well as aristocrats, were very fond of displaying them on their seals. With very few exceptions (no more than five so far), the seals of the professionals that I have collected for my research do not show any honorific titles; third, that literary and official documents give us the idea that these people were not civil servants, but freelancers. To cite just a few examples, the Pandektes informs us of the salaries of private notaries; in the novella of 966, issued by Basil II, we learn of the merchants, natives and foreigners, who gather for the open markets; in private contracts and notarial deeds from southern Italy or other parts of the Empire, several professions are mentioned as being practiced by freelancers; through private letters exchanged between Jewish families, we learn that many Jewish merchants were active in the Byzantine city of Attaleia in the 1020s – and these could not have been state employees; the Emperor Leon VI advised his generals to take good care of the merchants because the state needed them. The evidence from these sources (and many others) will be discussed in detail in my forthcoming book.

Other questions of no less importance are whether state employees were allowed to have occupations in addition to their primary occupation, or whether the clergy were allowed to have such occupations. Textual sources as well as recent research have shown that there was no consistent legislation on these matters, although from time to time the state discouraged or even forbade certain categories of people from practicing secondary occupations at the same time as their primary ones. Last but not least, there is the question of the position of women.

The women

An essential and equally important topic related to professions in Byzantium is the place of women. Having discussed many seals issued by men, it is natural to wonder where women fit into all of this. Unfortunately, no seals by female professionals have yet been discovered. Considering the low percentage of seals made by women in general, this may or may not be a coincidence (perhaps we have not been lucky enough to

discover such pieces yet), but we have to work with what is available, which is not promising. Does the absence of seals mean that women were not allowed to do such work, or is it just a matter of time and luck to discover their seals? In fact, women in Rome and Byzantium were allowed to work because they were allowed by law to have their own property under special circumstances, for example, as widows. Famous is the case of Danielis, the very wealthy widow whose land holdings and wealth impressed even the emperor himself in the 850s; it is said that she even helped him financially.[19]

Moreover, we know from literary and epigraphic sources that women practiced professions mostly related to production and the market, but also medical ones, such as nurses and even doctors. On the other hand, it seems that, depending on their social status, they should not be engaged in professional activities. When Emperor Theophilos learned that the merchant ship that had so impressed him in the harbor belonged to his wife, the Empress, he flew into a rage, ordered the ship and all its cargo destroyed, and forbade the Empress to engage in shipping and trade, an activity that apparently amused her quite a bit, apart from the financial benefits. And yet the Empress was not the only woman involved in shipping.[20]

Be that as it may, apart from textual evidence and despite the absence of seals, we can see women working on reliefs and other images, such as those from 3rd-century Italy, where a woman is selling poultry (eggs and meat); in another, the man is cutting the meat while the woman does the accounting, and because of her seated position, clothing and hairstyle, it has been suggested that she was the owner of the business, not an employee.[21]

The variety of non-ecclesiastical occupations and professions held by women in Byzantium is reflected in Eleni Margarou's recent book (in Greek) entitled *Titles and professional names of women in Byzantium*.[22] The author has done a great job with the sources and has collected almost all known occupations and professions, which she has summarized in a table. Among the dozens of names, we will only mention γαλακτοπώλισσα (milk seller), ἐπιχειρηματίας (businesswoman), ἰάτραινα, ἰατρίνη, ἰατρομαῖα (doctor; gynecologist), καπήλισσα, ταβερναρία (tavern owner or tavern worker), κρεοπῶλις (meat seller), λαχανοπῶλις (vegetable seller; grocer), ναυκλήρισσα (ship owner), ξενοδόχος, πανδοχεύς, πανδόκισσα (innkeeper), πραγματεύτρια (merchant), τζαγκάρινα (shoemaker), χάλκισσα (coppersmith),

59

etc. Another important term denoting a female occupation, not attested in Margarou's book, is ἐργαστηριάρχισσα (the head of the workshop).[23]

The professions

Although not every known profession practiced in Byzantine times is attested on seals, we still count quite a large number of them. Apart from those listed below, I will only mention those of ξενοδόχος (innkeeper), βεστιοπράτης (clothing merchant), ταβουλλάριος (solicitor – see above), σηρικοπράτης / ὁλοσηρικοπράτης (silk merchant or silk worker), etc.

Chrysoglyptes (goldsmith)

It has long been known that the Byzantine state controlled the most precious metals and other goods (such as silk and porphyry), and of course gold was no exception. In this respect, there are no seals of freelancers working with gold. However, there are seals of two (so far) known chrysoglyptai. Both seals mention the honorific title of the person, and one of the inscriptions also mentions a second office (occupation) of these imperial (βασιλικός) chrysoglyptai, leaving no doubt that they worked for the state. Despite the fact that they are not freelancers, I have included them in my study for comparison with other professions working with metals.

The first seal was issued by a certain Ioannes, who used the image of St. John Chrysostom for the obverse, not only because he was his namesake, but also because he used the word for gold (χρυσός), alluding to his profession and art, but also to his honorific title: χρυσός – χρυσογλύπτης – Χρυσοτρίκλινον – Χρυσόστομος.[24] As for the second seal, it was issued by a certain Euthymios, who chose to portray Saint Euthymios, who bears the same name.[25] We see how people in the Middle Ages used their imagination in a very clever way to make their seals look as presentable and smart as possible, just as people do today with modern business and introduction cards.

Chalkoprates (coppersmith)

The next profession is the coppersmith or copper handler or copper merchant. A lead seal of Theophanes, chalkoprates, was discovered in Sudak, Crimea.[26] To my knowledge, this is the only published seal of this

profession. The chalkopratai in particular are not among the professions directly mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch*, perhaps because they were not considered as important as the others for the state economy in general. In the *Book*'s first paragraph on the argyropratai (see below), it is clearly stated that these dealers in precious metals and stones should not buy copper or other cheap materials that should be traded by "others". Obviously, these "others" are the chalkopratai.

Argyroprates (silversmith; jeweler; money lender)

The term argyroprates had three meanings that were somehow related, but they certainly referred to different professions. What is certain is that all three required a lot of communication with suppliers, partners and customers, and it is not surprising that these professionals used seals. The argyropratai, together with the merchants and the notaries/lawyers/solicitors, count the most specimens in my database. Some of these persons must have issued a lot of seals, because as many as four specimens per person have been recorded, and they come from different places in the Empire.

Some pieces only mention the invocation, the name and the profession of their owner, like the seal of Ioannes, argyroprates, servant of Theotokos, from the 7th century, from the library of the Romanian Academy, Orghidan collection 266/O.8091/L.266 [Figs. 1a and 1b].[27]

Figs. 1a and 1b. (photos by the author)

Surprisingly, we know of the seals of at least two clergymen, diakonoi, who were at the same time argyropratai. In this case, the term has the meaning of moneylender, an occupation that the state discouraged the clergy from practicing and later even prohibited by law. It seems, however, that in the 6th/7th century these diakonoi found a way to make money and even used seals to advertise their double (yet illegal) occupation. Let us note here that three seals issued by Paulos are known, and one of them was discovered on Mount Elaion in Israel.[28]

Other seals, or rather sealings of Byzantine argyropratai, seem to have served a different purpose: a rectangular lead plate, perhaps a former round disk that was once cut to change shape, bears on one side a cruciform invocative monogram of the Theotokos and the Hebrew name Mose (either in the genitive or dative, or even in the nominative if we consider the phonetics), and on the other side the name Thomas (either in the genitive or dative) and the occupation argyroprates.[29] This obscure inscription can have two meanings: a) it was the seal of Mose argyroprates, son of Thomas, or b) Mose and Thomas are two different people, without family ties, but business partners as argyropratai (besides, the fact that the lower part of the inscription is missing allows a reconstruction of the noun in plural). John Nesbitt was the first to draw attention to Byzantine seals bearing the names of two people, which he interpreted as partners in some kind of business.[30] The second option seems more plausible if we look at the second example, which is also rectangular, has one blank side, and on the other side we see the name Thomas and the occupation argyroprates.[31] Both pieces are dated between the last quarter of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 9th century. A closer look shows that the inscriptions mentioning Thomas / argyroprates are copies of each other, almost identical. This means that at some point Thomas used his own seal and identified himself as argyroprates. And since it is rather impossible to assume that the other inscription mentions Mose, the son of Thomas the argyroprates (the Byzantines used the title or occupation or office of their father or spouse or another close relative only when that person was someone important), it seems more plausible that Mose and Thomas were both argyropratai. It is also possible that the other side of the second specimen also had the monogram and Mose's name, but its surface was scratched clean for whatever reason. This hypothesis becomes even more plausible when we look at another seal that mentions Georgios and Ioannes, both argyropratai[32] and apparently business partners, as Nesbitt has convincingly described these pairs of people.

Ampelas (vine-grower, vine-dresser)

Although the word ampelas is mentioned in many literary sources, there is only one known lead seal belonging to a person with this occupation: he is Theodosios Alexopoulos, ampelas, from the 12th century.[33] This seal provides us with a lot of information, since it shows the name and surname of the person, the profession, as well as a certain level of literacy, since it bears a metrical inscription. Ampelas here is an occupation and not a surname (see below), which has already been mentioned.[34] It should also be noted that although in most Byzantine texts the word ampelas means the worker in a vineyard, in this case Theodosios Alexopoulos must have been the owner of the vineyard, producing grapes and/or wine – a worker would have not afforded a boulloterion, even if he needed it.

Saldamarios (grocer)

There is only one known seal of a saldamarios, a grocer, dated to the second half of the 10th century.[35] The saldamarioi are mentioned in the thirteenth chapter of the *Book of the Eparch*. They were allowed to have their shops at any place in Constantinople and to trade in almost any kind of food (except fresh meat), as well as other processed goods or wooden and metal things (with a few exceptions, such as soaps and perfumes, which were reserved for other trading professions).

Makellarios (butcher, fresh meat seller)

The fresh meat, which was not allowed to the saldamarios, was handled by the makellarios. This term had several meanings or its meaning changed according to the time. In Roman times there were many terms, each for a particular occupation with specific tasks. In Byzantine times, however, all of these old terms seem to have been abandoned, with the exception of makellarios. Although there is a lot to write about this profession, I will limit the presentation to two observations: a) that three out of six makellarioi in my database, all dated in the second half of the 10th century, chose to illustrate their seals with animals: a dog, a lion [Figs. 2a and 2b: Library of the Romanian Academy, Orghidan collection 332/O.8143/L.317], and a griffin.[36] This, of course, could be explained by the general tendency of people in that period to use animal figures on their seals, but the fact that half of the makellarioi I have discovered

so far chose this theme, perhaps points to another interpretation: that the images are related to their occupation with animals, that is, their seals worked again as visiting cards, advertising the owner's profession. b) There is a very interesting specimen, from the first half of the 11th century, discovered in Silistra and today kept in the Regional Historical Museum of Dobrich. On the obverse there is an image of St. Nikolaos, and on the reverse the inscription Nikolaos, basilikos (i.e. imperial) makellites, in the dative.[37] If the reading is correct, then this butcher worked for the palace or some other state institution, probably in Constantinople. Alternatively, he was not a butcher, but the person who handled the orders for meat at the palace or wherever he worked.

Figs. 2a and 2b (photos by the author)
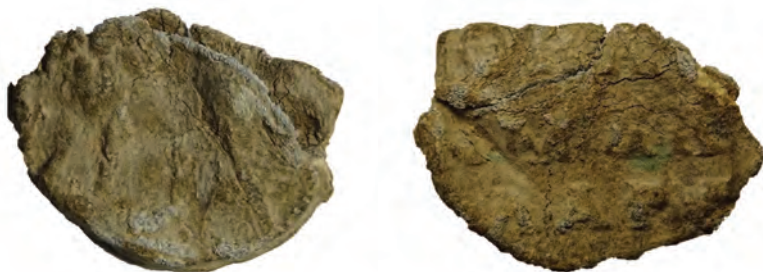
Magkipos (baker)

Only one seal of a magkipos from the 10th century is known [Figs. 3a and 3b: Library of the Romanian Academy, Orghidan collection 95/O.7906/L.83]. The editor saw a letter R at the end of the second line, which he interpreted as basilikos (imperial), and therefore assumed that the seal should be registered together with other offices related to the palace.[38] Close examination of the specimen, as well as a high-quality photograph, shows that the letter is an N, which corresponds to the name in the accusative (Συμεῶναν μάγκιπα) [Fig. 4: detail].

Figs. 3a and 3b (photos by the author)

Fig. 4 (photo by the author)
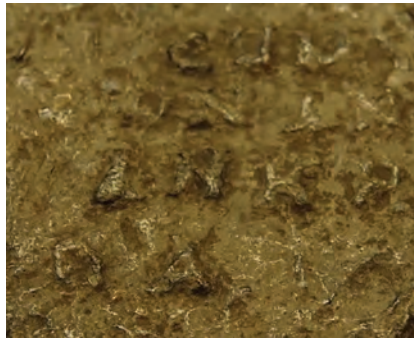
Anagnapharios (fuller; textile worker)

The anagnapharioi – textile workers; cloth bleachers – are another occupation not mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch*. There are, however, brief mentions of them in other sources. The seal of Stephanos, which shows two cypress trees, has been presented above. Another seal of an Anagnapharios was issued in the first half of the 10th century by a certain Basileios, and on the obverse there is a duck and a stick with a bell on its back.[39] Constantine, who was active around the middle of the 10th century, chose a patriarchal cross for the obverse of his seal.[40]

Pragmateutes (merchant)

One of the most important professions for my research is that of the pragmateutes, the merchant, because of the large number of seals discovered in many places or kept in various museums and other collections. Two of these professionals, Solomon and Phouretzes, were introduced above. I have also already referred to the question of terminology and the use of the words pragmateutes and emporos. In fact, it seems that the first term was used almost exclusively among the professionals themselves, and it is only on very few inscriptions that we encounter the second term.

Another topic that will be discussed in detail in my forthcoming book are the seals of merchants with geographical names, as well as those with composite words, such as "kokkinopragmateutes" (the merchant of red pigments for painting textiles), an occupation closely related to other professionals, the oxybaphoi (purple dyers; these, however, were probably working exclusively for the state). Last but not least, special attention should be paid to the seal of a certain Nikolaos, whose surname was included in the inscription but has not survived due to the state of preservation of the specimen.[41] This Nikolaos was imperial spatharokandidatos and pragmateutes, that is, he had an honorific title that was usually given to people closely connected to the palace and the state administration in general, as well as to members of important families. Given the low status of this title in the mid-11th-century hierarchy, he may have been a former state employee who decided (for prestige?) to keep his title on his seals even after changing professions and becoming involved in merchandising. Alternatively, he could have been a state employee who was charged with buying or selling goods on behalf of the state. There is one factor that limits our choices: the fact that by this late period the term had lost any meaning other than that of a merchant, or, more generally, someone who buys and sells goods.

Mousikos (musician)

Although the word mousikos can be either an occupation or a family name (see below), there is a – unique – seal from the 6th century with two monograms which its editor interpreted as Marinos or Marianos (name) and mousikos (occupation).[42] Both words are in the genitive. If the interpretation of the second monogram is correct, this person could indeed have been a musician, since there were no family names in the 6th century.

Iatros, Physiologos, Physikos (medical doctor)

The medical doctors have issued some of the most beautiful seals in my database of specialists. Two of them (those of Sirikios and Manouel Liparites) have already been presented above. There were three terms for the physician: iatros, physiologos, and physikos, all of which are used in literary texts. On the seals, I have only come across the first two.

As with other professions, the question of whether these professionals were state or private physicians applies to this group as well. Furthermore, we do not know whether they worked in a hospital, which was usually attached to a monastery. Although there is no clear answer to this question, we can note that the doctors attached to the palace were called "basilikoi iatroi".

Nouns or names?

When one looks at nouns indicating occupations in a source, whether literary or epigraphic, the first automatic reaction is to think of the occupation itself. It happens, however, that over time people transform these appellative nouns into occupational names. This phenomenon, which occurs in almost every language, results in a large number of people having family names that are identical to the nouns describing their occupation or, most likely, that of an ancestor.

Recent research has shown that family names first appeared in Byzantium in the second half of the eighth and very early 9th centuries. Although most of these names appear to be nicknames attributed to iconoclasts by iconophiles, many of them eventually became family names.[43] Of course, occupational names are common in Byzantium, but they do not appear until the 11th century. The reasons for this significant delay between the appearance of family names and the spread of occupational names are probably to be found in the class structure combined with the nature of the sources from this period. It seems that the first people to adopt family names in Byzantium were members of prominent clans or distinguished individuals establishing new dynasties. It is understandable that these members of the upper class, not necessarily rich but certainly influential and involved in either politics or the military, did not practice humble occupations. The second reason is the nature, quality and quantity of the information we get from the original sources. No official records with lists of names (e.g. inhabitants of villages, taxpayers, members of guilds,

etc.) have survived from the 8th and 9th centuries, but there are many monastic documents from the 11th to 14th centuries that contain such lists of names. Moreover, historians, chroniclers and other writers of the early period were mainly interested in the protagonists of historical events. It is easy to guess that most of these people belonged to the palace and the people connected to it at the highest level, the highest military ranks, members of prominent families, and so on. Only occasionally are people of humble origins mentioned. A similar observation can be made for the hagiographic texts. Even if some lower-class citizens had already adopted surnames in the 8th and 9th centuries, the chances of reading about them in the (available) sources are still small.

Knowing that before – but certainly during – the 11th century, and of course later, it is possible to encounter an occupational (family) name, researchers must be very cautious if the source does not make it clear whether it is a noun or a name. For the sake of brevity, only a few Byzantine occupational names are listed here, with their direct or closest English equivalent family name in brackets: Ἀμαξᾶς and several similar ones (Carter, and possibly Cartwright / Wainwright), Βαρέλης/Βαρελλᾶς (Cooper), Ζωγράφος (Painter), Κεραμεὺς (Potter), Κηρουλάριος (Chandler), Μακελλάριος (Butcher), Μυρεψὸς (Spicer), Ξυλουργὸς (Sawyer; Wright), Οἰκοδόμος (Mason),[44] Πραγματευτὴς (merchant, trader),[45] Ῥάπτης (Taylor), Χαλκεὺς (Smith). Other Byzantine family names are Μουσικός (musician), Τραπεζίτης (banker; moneylender), etc.

In this respect, the material from earlier periods is easier and safer to handle. As for later centuries, however, in many cases it is difficult to say whether the word indicates a profession or a family name. Sometimes it happens that the inscription already contains a first name and a surname, so that the noun we are interested in most likely indicates a profession. In other cases, the structure of the inscription may help. Either way, the issue of recognizing and distinguishing the noun from the name must be treated with caution.

One noun equal to three nouns

Confusing a noun/occupation with a family name / occupational name may be a problem associated with the late period, but in the early centuries of Byzantine history there is a similar difficulty: it happens so that some

terms may have double or even triple meanings. A few examples will illustrate the aspects of this problem:

The noun πραγματευτὴς means both the person who takes care of a service, institution, foundation, etc., and the merchant, as a synonym of ἔμπορος. The first meaning is older, attested in Hellenistic and Roman times. Gradually, the second meaning became more common until it spread throughout the empire and the first meaning was finally abandoned. For inscriptions dating from the early centuries, however, scholars may still have to figure out which of the two meanings is hidden behind the noun.[46]

The μακελλάριος in Byzantium was both the butcher and the seller of meat. There were also other terms used to indicate the butcher's specialty with regard to the animals with which he dealt. In the post-Byzantine period, this noun (as well as its synonyms, σφαγέας and χασάπης) acquired another, quite different meaning in the Greek language: that of the bloodthirsty person, the murderer, which can be interpreted from the metaphorical use of the action of a professional butcher. The same use is attested in English. Another meaning of μακελλάριος in Greek is that of φρουρὸς (watchman), and this is difficult to explain.[47] What is certain is that it does not apply to the two synonyms mentioned above.

Ἀργυροπράτης was the silversmith, the jeweler in general, dealing with all precious metals and stones, but also the moneylender, an equivalent of ἀργυραμοιβὸς and τραπεζίτης, the banker.

Ἀμπελάς could be the owner of the vineyard, the worker in the vineyard, or someone involved in the trade of grapes without necessarily being the producer.

Epilogue

Despite the limitations of space, the number of questions, unresolved issues, and new ideas and approaches presented above shows how familiar and yet unfamiliar Byzantinists are with the professionals who worked within the Byzantine state. Sigillography has great potential, and it has already pointed in new directions that will reveal more aspects of the life of the Byzantine working class and ultimately contribute to the study of Byzantine social history.

Endnotes

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[2] All the links were last accessed and confirmed as working on 20 January 2025.

[3] Until the sixteenth century, what we now know as "Byzantine" was called "Roman". H. Wolf was the first to use the adjective "Byzantine", which was until then ascribed to people originating from Byzantion / Constantinople, in a broader sense, naming Byzantine every citizen of the (Eastern) Roman Empire.

[4] Nicole's publications have been reprinted, together with a useful introduction and commentary, in Dujčev 1970. See also: Christophilopoulos 1935 [2000]; Koder 1991; Kolias, Chrone 2010.

[5] Shandrovskaja 1999; Jordanov 2008; Seibt 2019; Stavrakos, Tsatsoulis 2019.

[6] A digital presentation of a Byzantine boulloterion, accompanied by photos of and information on the original, can be found here: https://harvardartmuseums.org/art/291105. Sometimes, for commercial seals, they were using an instrument with a single printing surface. An example of how to use this type of boulloterion in: Montinaro 2013, 372–374 and 420, plate II. Many seals of this type – one-sided only – have been discovered in Romania and published or re-published in Chiriac, Munteanu 2014, Chiriac, Munteanu 2023, and Paraschiv-Grigore 2020, where also an image of a pliers-like boulloterion in p. 24. It must be noted, however, that, in their great majority, such sealings do not reflect the activity of individuals / freelancers. Several moulds for blank discs have been discovered in Corinth, Greece, as well as in Bulgaria, with most of them kept at the museums of Veliki Preslav and Shumen. See, for example, Jordanov, Zhekova 2007, fig. 684.

[7] The same practice is being followed against iconographic seals or specimens showing only monograms or anonymous inscriptions: usually scholars neglect them, and publish only the very best pieces of a collection.

[8] Grégoire 1922, no. 308.

[9] Inscription kept at the Museum of Veliki Preslav, Bulgaria. This inscription related to building activity, here the term has probably the first or the second meaning.

[10] DO BZS.1951.31.5.3080; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.3080/view.

[11] DO BZS.1951.31.5.3099; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.3099/view. DO BZS.1958.106.1464; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1464. DO BZS.1958.106.1465; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1465/view.

[12] DO BZS.1955.1.731; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.731/view.

[13] DO BZS.1955.1.4506; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.4506/view.

[14] DO BZS.1951.31.5.1935; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1935/view.

[15] DO BZS.1958.106.4549; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.4549/view.

[16] DO BZS.1958.106.778; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.778/view.

[17] DO BZS.1951.31.5.406; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.406/view.

[18] On the taktika, see Oikonomides 1972. The term taktikon has two meanings, so I make it clear that I am referring to the texts describing the hierarchy, not to the military manuals.

[19] On Danielis, see Boeck 2015, 119-127, with references. A high quality image of her can be seen in the Madrid illuminated manuscript of Ioannes Skylitzes' work here: https://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae ID=28764.

[20] Mavroudi 2012, 73-74, with references and an alternative interpretation.

[21] On such reliefs and female occupations mentioned in inscriptions, see Holleran 2013.

[22] Margarou 2000.

[23] Trapp 2001, 596.

[24] Stavrakos, Tsatsoulis 2019.

[25] DO BZS.1951.31.5.851; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.851/view.

[26] Shandrovskaja 1999 [2019].

[27] Laurent 1952, no. 266.

[28] Paulos: a) Germer-Durand 1911, 173, no. 1; b) Schlumberger 1884, 440 and Konstantopoulos 1917, no. 244; c) Zacos, Veglery 1972, no. 962. Theodoros: Metcalf 2014, 976. On the clergymen, their side-occupations, and Byzantine legislation, see Papagianni 1983, 152–153.

29 Zacos, Veglery 1972, no. 2209B.

30 Nesbitt 1977.

31 DO BZS.1958.106.2024; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.2024/view.

32 DO BZS.1955.1.4520; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.4520/view.

33 DO BZS.1951.31.5.254; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.254/view.

34 Sometimes, the Byzantines were using on their seals two and even three family names. But this applies only to members of the aristocracy, who wished to emphasize on their glorious lineage.

35 DO BZS.1951.31.5.2339; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.2339/view.

36 Dog: a) DO BZS.1951.31.5.2339; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.2339/view; b) DO BZS.1951.31.5.3146; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.3146/view. Lion: a) ZACOS 1984, no. 933; b) LAURENT 1952, no. 317 [fig. 2]. Griffin: a) DO BZS.1947.2.1496; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1947.2.1496/view; b) DO BZS.1951.31.5.2285; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.2285/view.

37 Seibt 2019, 343, no. 3b, fig. 3.

38 Laurent 1952, no. 83.

39 DO BZS.1958.106.2677; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.2677/view. A similar type of bird with the stick and the bell more clearly visible: DO BZS.1951.31.5.2580; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.2580/view.

40 DO BZS.1947.2.418; see https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1947.2.418/view.

41 Cheynet, Bulgurlu, Gokyildirim 2012, no. 11.7.

42 Koltsida-Makre 1996, no. 435.

43 On the origins of family names in Byzantium, see Patlagean 1984; Cheynet 1987; Stephenson 1994; Kazhdan 1997; Seibt 2002; Kountoura-Galaki 2004.

44 According to an alternative yet less popular theory, the name Mason derived from Thomas / Tommaso.

45 In this era, it is rather unlikely to encounter the term πραγματευτὴς with the meaning of caretaker, steward, which is reflected in the English family names Bailey and Stewart.

46 For example, in Feissel 2006, 20, no. 63; 47, no. 158.

47 On μακελλάριος, its various forms and meanings, see Demetrakos, 4441; Kriaras 1985, 289 (with the meaning of φρουρός); Caracausi 1990, 353; Trapp 2001, 962.

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REGULATING CULTURE BEFORE THE NATION STATE: COPYRIGHT REGIMES OF EAST-CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST EUROPE IN THE AGE OF EMPIRE (LATE 19TH CENTURY – 1914)

Augusta Dimou

Abstract

The article examines the institutionalization of copyright from the late 19th century until approximately World War I in the two multi-ethnic empires of Southeast and East-Central Europe (Habsburg und Romanov), before their ultimate demise and eventual replacement of the former by nation states in the first decades of the 20th century, and analyses the rationale of their respective copyright regimes during the imperial era. It does so with two objectives in mind: firstly, it advances the thesis that multi-cultural, pluri-lingual and multi-lingual formations such as imperial states were faced with a different set of challenges when it came to devising their own copyright regimes (than the more or less ethnically consolidated, monolingual nation states of Western Europe that pioneered copyright legislation), and moreover that this circumstance constituted one of the principal reasons, why the empires of Eastern Europe kept away from the structures of international copyright regulation that developed in the late 19th century. Secondly, it argues that the imperial copyright legislations constituted a legal tradition that remained an important point of reference also in the later development of national copyright legislations in the region.

Keywords: author's rights, intellectual property, intellectual property rights, copyright legislation, legal transfer, legal and commercial regimes, internationalization of copyrights, Berne Union, East-Central and Southeast Europe, regulation of culture, late imperial period

Introduction

When thinking about the protection of creativity and creative professions in the modern era, one of the first connotations to come to mind is the lowercase letter "c" encapsulated in a circle (©). In the contemporary world, copyright stands representative for the legitimate and genuine vindication of the author and his/her work. Much less evident is the fact that copyright is a legal institution with a historical trajectory, moreover an institution that has also been subject to historical change, whereas the notion of copyright often rests on several explicit or implicit assumptions about the nature of the creator and the creative process, the content, meaning and scope of what constitutes: a work, intellectual and/or artistic labor, originality, autonomy, author, audience, value, taste, fair remuneration, canon, access, property, ownership, private and public etc., as well as the ways all these notions and activities are causally related to one another in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu). Historically, modern copyright has been the outcome of both intense negotiation and confrontation between interested parties and participant stakeholders in the field of culture and media industries, and will most likely continue to be an apple of discord both in the near and distant future.

Intellectual Property (IP) is the generic term applied to designate creations of the mind such as literary and artistic works, inventions, designs, symbols, names, and images, which, when protected by law, are formally categorized as copyrights, patents, trademarks, designs, trade secrets, and geographical indications.[1] IP designates a legal right granting authors and creators of original works the exclusive prerogative to determine the use and distribution of their intellectual labor. Framed as the intersection between private and public interests, the development of intellectual property rights (IPRs) reflects the diachronic wrangling that occurs in order to balance and regulate the access and distribution of knowledge between creative labour, commercial interests, and the common good. The consolidation and expansion of intellectual property rights was a complex process that partook, shaped, and was reciprocally shaped by major social, economic, cultural, philosophical and technological transformations, which starting from the late 18th century helped decisively reconfigure the structures of modern European societies.

IPRs establish a limited-time monopoly (e.g., the current term of protection for intellectual works in the EU amounts to 70 years p.m.a[2]), after whose expiration works usually enter the public domain and can be

used by everybody. In contradistinction to this general principle, and in order to accommodate educational and other public and/or civic needs, IPRs can likewise be legally restricted as in the case of provisions of fair use.

IPRs define essentially a legal relationship between creators, mediators and the public (the so-called "end users"). They represent a bundle of social, cultural and legal operating and activity-regulating norms and rights, which create, define and distribute roles, relationships and practices throughout the cultural and scientific fields.[3] As a legal instrument therefore, copyright fulfils multifarious tasks: it protects the individual output of authors; provides for predictable relationships between creators and third parties; legitimizes specific group interests in culture and the cultural industries and finally helps govern and operate complex cultural, social, economic and political interests.[4] The institution of IP is the principal mechanism via which intangible goods enter the market of commodity exchange.[5] Finally, copyrights are territorial rights; they come into being inexorably linked to the nationality of a work, or that, of its creator. Evolving since the late 19th century, international copyright law provides supranational rule standardization and harmonization, and in so doing, properly sets intellectual works "into motion." By these means, it activates the legal mechanism that allows for the international and transnational traffic and cross-border exchange of intellectual goods, devised as a streamlined, legally authorized and structured, predictable and uniform trading process.

More than a simple legal institution, therefore, IPRs are multifunctional and polyvalent managing instruments that stand concurrently for: a set of collective rules of operation, a symbolic order, a legal instrument, a power, commercial and legal regime, but also for a metaphor and a narrative of social and cultural order.[6]

Contrary to common belief, copyright is a fairly modern institution (initiated in the late 18th century) and its evolution cannot be traced back to one singular, causal, or linear development,[7] but was rather the result of the entanglement of forces and processes that abetted likewise the rise of industrial capitalism and modern mass society. Consequently, its development is intricately related to processes like the consolidation of the modern nation state, the unfolding of technological revolutions, the dissemination, application and commercialization of technological innovation, the urbanization, stratification and democratization of societies, as well as the expansion of communications, the advance, industrialization and commercialization of print and audio-visual culture, the alphabetization and massification of society, the nationalization and

internationalization of commercial exchange and markets. The gestation and consolidation of modern copyright was the work of stakeholders, but it presupposed the synergy and convergence of multiple, complex processes related to 1) technological innovations (movable type, lithography, photography, phonograph, radio etc.), which provided for the capacity to infinitely reproduce intellectual works via mechanical means, 2) changes in aesthetic doctrines (the assertion of the idea of a unique "original" and its derivative copies, which was closely related to the above mentioned capacity to reproduce works mechanically on a large scale), 3) the rise of the figure of the author/creator as a uniquely inspired and solitary genius, giving expression to his/her unique individuality, 4) changes in legal thought (the rise of the doctrine of intellectual property/geistiges Eigentum/propriété intellectuelle), including the professionalization, diversification and specialization of the legal profession, 5) the expansion of literacy and reading publics (the passage from the limited cohort of the savants of the *Republique des Lettres* to universal literacy), 6) the passage from aristocratic to bourgeois society, the rise of the middle classes and the multiplication of their consumption practices, the eventual inclusion of the lower classes and women in participatory politics, as well in practices of reading and entertainment, 7) the codification and proliferation in the modern era of vernacular languages and cultures in contradistinction to the previous prevalence of learned/ancient/dead languages (Latin) as mediums of communication, 8) the professionalization of the arts and the rise of new art forms related to audio-visual means, 9) modern colonialism and overseas expansion, 10) social and physical mobility.[8]

The current article discusses the institutionalization of copyright from the late 19th century until approximately World War I. within the framework of the two multi-ethnic empires of Southeast and East-Central Europe (Habsburg and Romanov) before their ultimate demise and progressive replacement of the former by nation states in the first decades of the 20th century, and analyses the rationale of their respective copyright regimes during the imperial era. It does so with two objectives in mind: firstly, it advances the thesis that multi-cultural, pluri-lingual and multi-lingual formations such as imperial states were faced with a different set of challenges when it came to devising their own copyright regimes (than the more or less ethnically consolidated nation states of Western Europe that pioneered copyright legislation), and moreover that this circumstance constituted one of the principal reasons, why those imperial formations kept away from the structures of international copyright regulation that

developed in the late 19th century; secondly, it argues that the imperial copyright legislations constituted a legal tradition that remained an important point of reference (naturally along with other influences) also in the later development of national copyright legislations in the region.[9]

From privilege to modern copyright. Historical background

Although the "print revolution" of the Renaissance had encompassed a large part of Europe (Germany, Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, England, Bohemia, Poland),[10] the remarkable industrialization and commercialization of the print of the late 18th and particularly the 19th century, unmistakably changed this geographic configuration, shifting the epicenter of industrialized printing towards Western Europe. For these reasons, both the institution of modern copyright and the movement for international copyright protection were initiated and steered by a group of West and Central European countries (Britain, France, Germany) with variable self-interests, which, having completed earlier the passage from feudal to modern capitalist society, developed a vested interest in the industrial organization and commercialized diffusion of their cultural industries, and saw themselves confronted earlier with the need to regulate the roles of the various stakeholders in the knowledge economy and cultural production. Not by coincidence, at the same time, those same countries represented also the major producers and exporters of specialized and general literature to the world.

Starting in the 18th century (GB: *Statute of Anne* – 1710, France: revolutionary laws of 1791 and 1793) and progressively in the course of the 19th century (for example the German copyright laws: Baden – 1810, Prussia – 1837, the first all-German copyright law – 1871) a number of states in Europe and the Americas developed local/national copyright laws. This period (the *Sattelzeit* in R. Koselleck's terminology) also reflects the slow transition from the previous system of regulation of the printed word based on granted (royal or religious) privilege to the novel paradigm represented by modern copyright law.[11] Although "piracy" and illicit reproductions had been a "real" problem in the early modern period, by mid-19th century the European states with a stake in the book trade had managed, through various means, to bring such processes largely under control, at least in much of the European continent. It had become common for states to regulate the exchange of prints and intellectual goods

through bilateral copyright agreements, which usually formed part of more generic commercial treaties; in the rule, they were based on the principle of simple or formal reciprocity. By 1886 an intricate network of bilateral treaties was in place between European states and some Latin American countries. France was the champion of the bilateral system, followed by Belgium, Italy, Spain, United Kingdom and Germany.

The effects of industrialization, intensification and extension of the trade with print industries, as well as of global migration flows and colonial expansion, and the concomitant need to secure investments in international and transnational terms, caused stakeholders to seek additional, more efficient and assertive instruments of cross-border regulation. It was precisely this "globalization" of the late 19th century that gave rise to the quest for the multilateral regulation of the same trade beyond the habitual form of bilateral treaties. The second half of the 19th century was indeed the birth hour of the international system of intellectual property management that remains in place today. The *Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property* (1883) and the *Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works* (1886, hereafter BC), along with their revision and/or supplementary treaties[12] constructed the foundation of the current global system of intellectual property protection.

It was the *Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale* (ALAI),[13] a non-governmental, interest group founded in 1878, that was instrumental in bringing together the forces of publishers, authors, lawyers and diplomats, and in fact became the driving motor behind the creation of the Berne Union. The Berne Convention was subsequently established in September 1886. It was founded on blueprints from ALAI's preceding lobby work and a concurrent initiative by the German Publishers and Booksellers Association (the *Börsenverein des deutschen Buchhandels*, i.e. the association of the German publishing industry), initiatives that eventually resulted in a series of preliminary congresses and conferences held in Berne between 1884–1886.[14] The creation of the *Berne Union* (hereafter BU)[15] was neither a simple nor evident task;[16] nonetheless, its constitution signified a breakthrough in the international and transnational governance of IPRs through the establishment of a uniform and comprehensive legal framework of regulation.[17]

Much of the world, including many of the existing states and empires of the 19th century, refrained from taking up any international commitments vis-à-vis the BU. Although attentive observers of international developments, the multi-ethnic empires of Southeast and

East Central Europe abstained from membership in the BU, motivated largely by political, but also by economic considerations. In the course of the 19th century, both the Habsburg and the Romanov empires had developed, in one form or another, elementary legal provisions for the protection of authors. Representatives of both empires had participated either in preliminary meetings and congresses of the ALAI and/or in some of the preliminary diplomatic conferences leading up to the creation of the BU, mostly as observers. Rather than international copyright regulation, however, their principal concern remained focused on the cultural relationships within their own realms. The continental empires of Eastern Europe were not only multi-ethnic, but also pluri-lingual. In the late 19th century, their political realms wavered between different, often contradictory legitimizing projects whose boundaries were continuously negotiated, such as: 1) legitimation based on the traditional dynastic aura, but also on modern forms of political participation; 2) the application of censorship and control in the public sphere coupled with periods of political relaxation, including information and press freedom; 3) the desire and need to provide for mass education (in the spirit of the Enlightenment, but also to satisfy the claims of rising ethnic groups) and the quest to hold the political project of empire together. These complex sociocultural and sociolinguistic conglomerates constituted multicultural und pluricultural communication spaces,[18] where language, social milieu and identity remained in a perpetually fluid and dialectical relation to one another on the level of everyday communication and exchange. At the same time, they also operated in a state of potential tension and conflict inherent in the structural asymmetry between the usage and the prestige of different languages,[19] but also in the discrepancies between real and invented hierarchies, status and factual political representation of the different ethnic groups.

Although opinions on whether to join the BU or abstain from its international regime varied among different stakeholders (publishers, authors, politicians, lawyers), the Eastern empires seemed to pursue a different set of priorities in the late 19th century. These can be summarized as follows: 1) The intention to build up and solidify the publishing sector as a branch of the home industry; 2) The maintenance of low copyright protection levels in order to ensure broad access to knowledge and know-how, predominantly of West European origin. This mainly concerned the right of translation and was related to the quest for broad alphabetization and the desire to keep production costs and book prices

low; and 3) The intention to facilitate communication and maintain an equilibrium within the imperial plurilingual and multilingual realms. This was related on the one hand to the fact that the empires functioned de facto through the operationalization of multiple levels of formal and informal translation activity, and on the other to the need to manage (ethnosocial) difference effectively and in ways that buttressed the imperial project. While such management by no means excluded phases and expressions of imperial nationalism/patriotism (for example, as articulated in the cult of the emperor or the suppression and/or instrumentalization of ethnic strive), the East European empires had nevertheless to grapple with the tension between national and supranational identity in an age of expanding political participation. The necessity to devise a copyright regime considerate of different needs, and capable to regulate and balance, also politically, interethnic relations remained a distinct and diachronic trait of East and Southeast Europe throughout the 20th century, particularly in countries that retained their multi-ethnic structure well into the late 20th century, such as the Soviet Union, communist Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Although they often followed different trajectories, the three continental empires of the East demonstrate also related patterns in the way they handled copyright in their multi-ethnic, pluri-, and multilingual realms. The imperial past left partially its mark on later developments, for example the copyright legislations of Austria-Hungary and Russia formed legal matrices or orientation points upon which later national copyright laws were founded. This was not really the case in the Ottoman Empire, where the notion of copyright was introduced quite late and the 1910 copyright law was barely applied in practice.[20] The social and cultural legacies of the empires also had a long-lasting impact, and they provided the structural patterns that influenced long-term the conceptualization and the dynamic of the relationship between creative elites, the state, market and the public.

The Habsburg Empire

The Habsburg Empire's first legal act regulating copyright was the imperial patent (kaiserliches Patent) of 16 October 1846 "zum Schutz des literarischen und artistischen Eigentums gegen unbefugte Veröffentlichung, Nachdruck und Nachbildung."[21] The law had a series of precursors in the German-speaking world such as the copyright laws of Prussia (1837),

Bavaria (1840), Braunschweig (1842), Saxony (1844) and Württemberg (1845).[22] Enacted under the influence of the politics of the German Confederation (Dt. Bund), it reckoned literary and artistic works to be the property of their creator, but it also restricted property rights. Literary and artistic works were protected 30 years p.m.a. and performing rights 10 years p.m.a. for unpublished works. Translation rights were reserved for one year, after the expiration of which translation was free.[23] Musical and photographic works were left unprotected.

A new decree issued in 1859 awarded authors of dramatic and musical works the exclusive right to deliver permission for public performances of their works, even if the works had been published. Protection lasted the authors' lifetime plus 10 years p.m.a., provided that the author had expressly made such a reservation on the cover page of the printed work.[24]

Austria actively participated in the context of the German Confederation for an amendment of the copyright law (Frankfurt Entwurf), an effort that ultimately affected it little due to the disintegration of the German Bund. A new copyright law ("das Gesetz betreffend das Urheberrecht an Werken der Literatur, Kunst und Photographie")[25] was issued in 1895, and represented the first copyright law of a local making. This new law also retained the major trends of the previous legislation: 1) very short terms of protection for translations and 2) controlled and limited reciprocity in international relations. Consequently, an author retained the right of translation for 3 years, whereas translations were protected for 5 years. After 8 years, therefore, translation was essentially free in all languages. Foreign works were protected only when, and to the degree stipulated by official state treaties, while the option of protecting foreign works on the grounds of formal reciprocity statements, as had been provided previously through the Patent of 1846, was removed. This impairment was lamented by different authors' and publishers' organizations, and was the main reason for the partial revision of the law in 1907, which in the absence of state treaties and when the preconditions for reciprocity existed, allowed the ministry of justice to issue a relevant decree.[26] The Habsburg Empire's copyright regime of the late 19th century opted for a middle course, clearly favoring the public, while paying respect to the monarchy's particular multilingual and plurilingual setting.[27]

The regulation of translation rights diverged significantly from the evolving Bern Union norms. The 1846 Patent envisioned protection for one year, and the 1895 law for maximum of 8 years, while the 1886 BC protected the exclusive right of translation for 10 years from the

publication of the original; both the original and its translation were protected. The Paris Act of the Berne Convention in 1896 extended the duration of the right of translation, equalizing it with that of the original work, the sole precondition being that a translation had to appear 10 years after the publication of the original. Finally, the Berlin Act of the BC in 1908 dropped all reservations and fully equated translation rights to the original. Differences between the two regimes also prevailed concerning the protection of the original: both laws of the Habsburg Empire limited protection to 30 years p.m.a., whereas in the case of the BC the 50 years' term of protection p.m.a. became union norm after 1908.

The reluctance to provide for longer terms of protection and to keep up with the BU standards has among other things been attributed to the Austrian government's disinterest towards copyright issues, a kind of tardy reflex by an inert, slow-moving and antiquated bureaucratic state unable to keep up with the spirit of its age.[28] This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that several professional actors with a stake in the commercial organization of culture and copyright, such as the organization of the Austrian-Hungarian Book, Art and Music Retailers (österreichisch-ungarischer Buch-, Kunst-, und Musikalienhändler), were by contrast endorsing an amendment of the copyright law and petitioned the government to this end.[29] Several professional organizations, representatives of musicians, the Union of Viennese applied crafts, the journalists' and writers' union "Concordia" et al., all had equally supported the entry of the Monarchy into the BU and so did apparently the music retailers.

Opinions therefore on whether to join the BU were split and the issue fervently debated among affected stakeholders. Apparently, considerations for the educational needs of the non-German nationalities in Austria, and the wish to avoid raising costs for the imports of foreign educational materials, were the principal reasons for eschewing BU membership.[30] Moreover, the fact that Hungary was disinclined towards BU accession, an attitude heightened by the local inclination towards free translations, played an important role in determining the Austrian attitude on the matter, and blocked the issue.[31] It was only in 1887 that the Austrian and Hungarian governments signed a treaty, which secured for both halves of the Monarchy reciprocal protection for works of literature and art.

In an effort to sound out stakeholder expectations in the empire's various cultural and educational establishments, the minister of justice conducted in 1900 a survey among diverse institutions, including the

academies of science and arts in Vienna, Prague, Cracow and Lemberg, various literary societies, artists' associations and writers' unions inquiring into their opinion on whether the Monarchy should join the BU or not. The ministry received approximately 50 answers, divided in almost three equivalent thirds, which expressed a positive, negative and neutral (entry only after modification of the Austrian legislation) stance. Resistance to a potential BU membership was strongest in the eastern territories, particularly in Galicia. The academy of sciences in Cracow, for example, feared that Austria-Hungary's entry into the BU would endanger the literary connections between the Austrian and the Russian part of partitioned Poland.[32] Moreover, it could be observed that the warmest advocates of a BU membership came predominantly from the German-speaking organizations and associations, in spite of the fact that the Monarchy represented a multiethnic and polyglot environment. Until 1900 only the Czech writers' association *Máj* was committed to the same stance.[33]

Consequently, the Monarchy's reluctance to join the BU must be seen in correlation with the nationality question and the challenges it posed for a state consisting of 11 main ethnic groups, and territories, where nine languages were spoken. There were significant divergences between the German and the non-German nations, and the government feared that a change in the copyright regime might jeopardize "the ideal end goal of all literary and artistic work, that is, its permeation into the broadest population strata."[34]

The Russian Empire

Copyright law in Russia, as elsewhere, was closely linked to the development of printing, an industry that developed with considerable delay in the case of Russia and only acquired social significance in the early 18th century. From the late 16th century until Peter the Great's reign in the second half of the 17th century, printing in Russia was almost exclusively reserved for religious books and, as in the West, was strictly controlled by the monarch.

The printing prerogatives granted until the early 19th century had been rights accorded to publishers, not to authors. By 1825 the private publishing industry had expanded significantly in size and output challenging the capacity of the censor to maintain control over the production and dissemination of both genuine and pirated works of

literature. As a result, the first copyright law was issued in April 1828 aiming at preventing the unauthorized publication and dissemination of works.[35] It consisted of five articles in a censorship statute issued by the tsar, which gave an author or translator the exclusive right to reproduce, publish and disseminate a work and confirmed his/her right to receive payment for the work's use and reproduction. Copyright was automatically vested in the author or translator upon creation of the work, and there were no formalities attached. Protection lasted the author's life plus 25 years p.m.a. The statute postulated the freedom of translation, that is, it guaranteed the translator's right to his translation, while all works were free to be translated by any person without the original author's consent.[36]

The following consequent amendments to the law were introduced: 1) Decree of 1830, which emphasized that author's rights were proprietary in nature and could be assigned, devised or transferred. If the author's successor in rights published a new edition of the work within 5 years of the expiration of the original 25-year term of protection, his rights in the work were extended for another 10 years. 2) In 1845, the Council of State extended the protection of copyright law also to musical works, and the following year likewise to works of fine art. 3) The most significant modification was the extension of the term of copyright protection in 1857, when the Council of State, acting on behalf of Pushkin's widow, extended the duration of copyright protection to the lifetime of the author plus 50 years p.m.a.[37]

Russian civil legislation was recodified in 1887, when the copyright law was separated from the censorship statute for the first time. As legislators deemed copyright law to pertain to property law, they included it in the section of the new code dealing with proprietary rights and relations. Similarly to the earlier statute, the 1887 law declined protection to foreign authors, whose works were first published abroad and maintained the principle of freedom of translation, introducing just a small exception regarding scholarly works. Thereby, works whose writing required scholarly research/labor were excluded from the principle of unauthorized (free) translation, on condition that the author explicitly reserved this right in advance, and had a translation published shortly (i.e. within 2 years) after the publication of the original. "All other works by Russian subjects were in the public domain with respect to translations; anyone could produce a translation without the author's permission or the payment of royalties."[38]

Having had a negligent impact for the greatest part of the nineteenth century, the discussion on copyright picked up between 1880 and 1915,

for three main reasons: (1) the creation of the Berne Union; (2) Russia's withdrawal from bilateral treaties with France and Belgium; and (3) the incipient process of canonization and nationalization of writers by Russian educated society in approximately the same period. Debates were fought in essence around identity issues: they voiced, on the one hand, internal concerns such as the contents of Russian identity, and on the other, external preoccupations such as Russia's positionality in the world. When such abstract themes boiled down to concrete topics, they revolved primarily around the issues of translation, the length of the term of protection of authors' rights, and the protection of authors' personal (and potentially embarrassing) writings post mortem.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by progressively distancing itself from tsar and the church, Russian educated society was rearranging its allegiances with the symbols of Russian nationality. It espoused a more abstract notion of Russian culture predicated on the literature of Russian classics and the social values of the intelligentsia, which it sought to inculcate to newer generations thereby integrating them into a unified Russian culture. Copyright debates were fought by invoking the names of great literary figures, and both supporters and opponents framed their positions around those canonized authors and their works. When it came to issues like more or less extensive copyright protection and/or Russia's accession to the BU, the rival sides claimed to be speaking in the interest of Russian society and expressed their concerns within an existing discourse on backwardness, whereby Russia's position in Europe and among world civilizations was at stake.[39]

The realization that the existing copyright regime was becoming increasingly outdated and insufficient was the major motivation for the passing of the 1911 copyright statute, which was modelled after the German 1901 copyright law. The 1911 copyright law was a piece of modern and mature legislation as it incorporated several contemporary trends in copyright law, demonstrating concomitantly also a strong tendency to provide answers to local needs and priorities.

A significant divergence from previous practice "was the rejection of the concept of copyright as 'property.' The law merely asserted that copyright was sui generis and subsists in literary, musical, artistic, and photographic works."[40] The tradition of protecting only the works of Russian subjects or works published on Russian territory was continued; works published abroad were in the public domain and could be freely translated; a change was introduced concerning foreign works in the original language

published in Russia (i.e. reproductions), where the consent of the foreign copyright owner was now mandatory. Music by foreign composers could not be performed without the copyright owner's permission.[41]

Under the previous law, only scholarly works by Russian subjects were accorded limited protection against free translation. The 1911 law extended this limited protection to all works published in Russia or by Russian subjects. An author could hold the exclusive right of translation to his work, if he printed such a reservation on the work's title page or preface and if a translation was produced within 5 years of the original publication. Compliance with those provisions secured an author the exclusive right of translation for a term of 10 years.[42]

Like Austria-Hungary, Russia followed closely the movement for international copyright protection, but did not participate in the drafting or the signing of the Berne Convention. Rather, in the second half of the 19th century, Russia preferred concluding short-term bilateral treaties with major west European states (France, 25 March 1861, Belgium, 18 July 1862 etc.), which permitted a flexible maneuvering regarding the use of foreign cultural goods. Resistance to bilateral and multilateral conventions stemmed, on the one hand, from the limitations they would place upon Russian theaters, and their capacity to produce foreign musical and dramatic works requiring authorial permission and the payment of royalties. On the other hand, it was due to the massive consumption of foreign literature in Russia and the financial drain that would accompany the payment of royalties to foreign authors. Nevertheless, it was also not uncommon for Russian institutions to remunerate foreign authors for the use of their work.[43]

The last copyright law in pre-revolutionary Russia was modeled after German legislation and the conceptions of Russian civil law specialists (Spassovich, Annenkof, Scherschenevich and Karnicky). Rejecting the property paradigm, the law defined copyright as an exclusive right, investing the author with the prerogative to publish, circulate and reproduce his work through all possible means.[44] The justification for the new law brought together a series of interesting themes. It emphasized the social role of the author and of knowledge, and underscored the importance of moral rights, which featured prominently in the 1911 legislation:

"In that regard, not only pecuniary interests have to be protected as real rights, but [it also needs to be considered that] the author is a social

worker, a propagator of ideas, therefore works are the reflection of common aspirations and they emanate from the social milieu upon which they exercise a great influence; the legislator has therefore the task to set the rights of the author in harmony with the interests of society. […] Next to the material and pecuniary elements contained in the right to sanction, [the law] will also consider personal elements. And it is permissible to say that the commission has largely safeguarded them in the project [of the law] by protecting fully all unpublished works against unauthorized publication, by preserving copyright against any enforcement procedure, by abandoning to creditors nothing but the copies published and offered for sale, and finally by interpreting strictly any assignment to the publishers and by delimiting the publishing contract."[45]

The law was debated in the literary [authors'] society of St. Petersburg as well. The majority of its members defended the freedom of translation and spoke against Russia's entry into the BU. More surprisingly, however, the society spoke against the prolongation of copyright's term of protection p.m.a., and advocated the restriction of author's rights from the 50 years' current valid standard to 25, maximum 30 years p.m.a.[46]

Attempting to explain to west European audiences and the readership of the journal *Le Droit d'auteur*, the official organ of the BU's International Bureau, the rationale behind the Russian authors' programmatic positions and "false" consciousness, E. Semenoff, an intellectual, publicist and French lobbyist promoting the cause of international copyright in Russia, offered the perfect definition of intelligentsia:

"M. Semenoff explains that the very widespread notion according to which the unauthorized translation is not a counterfeit, is due to a special mentality, idealistic and at the same time very basic. According to the Russian tradition, the author has to accomplish a holy mission, that is, free propagation of ideas, knowledge, literature, worship of the principle of freedom in the name of civilization and public education. This conception dominated above every other consideration such as thinking about fees to be paid when establishing a publications' budget, considerations about food, clothing, shelter, even the remuneration of the author's work itself, appeared totally secondary, purely bourgeois and mercantile; the notion that one could call these appropriations [i.e. free translations] theft, piracy, all this appeared incomprehensible."[47]

The 1911 copyright law was based on west European principles of copyright law. It was largely predicated on the 1901 German copyright

law and incorporated aspects of the 1901 German Verlagsrecht (publishing law), but also included provisions that were homegrown. They related to specific, local concerns with copyright regulation and in some cases, such as the protection of oral culture and folklore, they even set a precedent for future developments in international copyright. Summing up, the law's most distinctive features were: 1) departure of Russian copyright law from a property-based notion of copyright; 2) departure from a doctrinal justification of copyright based on natural rights, and an implicit justification based on positive law and/or copyright as a *sui-generis* right; 3) continuation of Russia's own, idiosyncratic path with respect to translations; 4) strong emphasis on moral rights, including the intention to empower the author vis-à-vis the publisher; 5) the innovative – for the times – pioneering step to grant protection to oral works and musical improvisations, related to Russia's rich heritage of folklore and traditional culture.

For different reasons, the 1911 Russian copyright law was an important highlight in the development of author's rights in Eastern Europe, and will be for these reasons presented here in greater detail. It was the first self-reliant, comprehensive modern copyright law among the Slavic populations of Eastern Europe. It represented a forerunner regarding the mode of reception of copyright law in the region and it also became itself a model and point of reference for the drafting of other national copyright laws such as the Bulgarian copyright law, for example.

The law did not provide an exhaustive, but rather a representative list of protected works, such as literary, written and oral works, discourses, lectures, reports, and conferences, musical works including musical improvisations, artistic works, photographic and similar works.[48] Authors' rights were granted to all works published in Russia by all authors and their right-holders independent of nationality, and for all works published abroad by Russian subjects and their right-holders independent of their nationality. Protection lasted the author's lifetime plus 50 p.m.a. When no other conditions were stipulated by the author and in the absence of heirs, copyright extinguished with the author's death.

The law sought to protect authors from unfair exploitation by stipulating limits for contracts on future works to a maximum duration of 5 years (art. 9), even if the contract was issued for a longer period or contained no time specification. The law provided also for an amplitude of free uses: the use of an existing work for the purposes of creating a new, essentially different one was no infringement; nor the creation of copies as far as they

served an exclusively personal use, and did not contain the signature or the monograph of the original author (art. 3). Works of art procured by churches, royal palaces, governmental institutions and public corporations could be copied freely and without authorial authorization, liable only to the consent of a competent authority (art. 54). Exchanges between genres, such as the reproduction of a painting in the form of a sculpture, and the other way around, was not considered a violation of artist's rights. It constituted no infringement: the reproduction of isolated works of art in independent scientific studies, or works destined for pedagogical use, provided that the reproductions served exclusively the purpose of explaining the text; the reproduction of public works of art located in streets, squares and other public spaces through an artistic genre different than the one employed in the original; the utilization of separate parts of a work of art for industrial and artisan products (art. 56). Altogether, there were generous exceptions to protection for public, scientific and educational uses and industrial applications, for example, the reproduction of entire photographic works on industrial and artisanal products did not constitute an infringement (art. 62).

The law sought to protect authors against creditors, prohibiting that copyright became subject of sequestration without the author's consent during his lifetime and without the consent of his heirs post-mortem. Publishing and/or other authorial rights ceded by the author to a third person through contractual agreement, could be restrained in order to satisfy debts only within the limits of the contract (art. 10).

One of the truly novel aspects of the 1911 copyright law was its treatment of folk art. Russian legislation was the first worldwide to extend copyright protection to popular art and oral traditions, which also testifies to the significance of folklore in the Russian context. This circumstance provides for an interesting East-West comparison. The appropriation of traditional stories, poems, songs etc. by the literary and publishing establishment took place in Western Europe as well, only in an earlier period. As convincingly laid out by William St. Claire for the case of Great Britain, text enclosure signified the individual appropriation and lock-in of popular texts, in order to serve diverse printing and publishing models and formats.[49] Inserted in copyright protected anthologies, the popular repository was privatized in order to be commercially utilized. Folklore, oral culture, primitive art, codified as archaic forms of collective expression and deemed somehow irrelevant to the modern commercial copyright regime, which was tied to the figure of the individual author,

were left completely outside of the radar of West European copyright. The eastern part of the continent, by contrast, was still involved in a process of nation-building, where stabilization and codification of language and culture were largely ongoing developments, and where the literary canon was only slowly emerging. Here the systematization of popular texts assisted in the first place the codification of national culture(s). Consequently, the same process served a different logic and different priorities in East and West. The centrality of culture in the engineering of the nation, supported the perception of folklore as the depository of the collective, and for that reason, both folklore and oral culture needed to remain broadly accessible to all as commons and in the form of open access. Therefore, Russian legislation accorded to authors of collections of popular songs, melodies, proverbs, children's tales, stories, popular legends and similar creations of popular/folk poetry, which had been preserved through oral tradition, and to authors of collections of drawings and other products of popular/folk art, 50 years' copyright protection for their compilations from the date of publication. This right, however, did not restrain others from editing and publishing the same works in an original form and collection (art. 13).

Particularly noteworthy in the 1911 copyright legislation was the inclusion of provisions on moral rights, specifically the rights of paternity, integrity and divulgence. Indication of the author's name and the source used was mandatory for all legally borrowed excerpts (art. 19). A prominent position was reserved for the right of integrity, with the aim to prevent the unauthorized modification of an author's work and to limit arbitrary changes by intermediaries (i.e. publishers). The person to whom copyright was assigned was prohibited from introducing changes, additions and/or omissions without the consent of the author and/or his heirs, apart from those changes that were completely indispensable and which in good faith, the author himself would not have been able to refuse (art. 20). Violations and injuries of authors and authors' rights obligated to compensation for the damage incurred (art. 21). If copyright injury occurred inadvertently and in good faith, the perpetrator was obligated to compensate the author and his heirs, however only to the limits of the profit incurred.

The right of divulgence was safeguarded in article 27, which prohibited the public reproduction of an unpublished work, or the publication of its contents, without authorial authorization. It also prohibited the transformation of a prose narrative into a dramatic work and vice versa without the authorization of the author and/or his heirs.

The law maintained the freedom of translation for foreign works, excluding only cases where bilateral treaties between Russia and foreign countries stipulated otherwise, and even in those cases, foreign citizens could not enjoy more extensive rights than those of Russian subjects as stipulated by local copyright law. Further, the law prohibited the reprinting of a foreign work (in the original language) without the rightsholder's authorization. Authoritative here were the laws of the country of first publication, provided that the foreign law's duration of protection did not exceed the term of protection stipulated by Russian law (art. 32).

A minor change was introduced concerning the translation of domestic works. The author of a work published in Russia, as well as a Russian subject having published a work abroad and their heirs, enjoyed an exclusive right of translation of their works in other languages, under the condition that they had reserved this right either on the work's cover or preface. The exclusive right of translation belonged to the author for 10 years from the moment of original publication, provided that he initiated a translation of the work 5 years from the original's publication (art. 33). A translator retained the copyright to his/her translation. This right, however, did not impede others from translating the same work independently.

Journals, reviews and other periodical publications could borrow from other similar publications, information/accounts related to daily news coverage. Articles from periodical publications could be reproduced only in the absence of a relevant interdiction by the author. Continuous reproductions from one and the same publication were prohibited (art. 40).

Chapter VII of the law was dedicated to the publishing contract and contained a series of stipulations regulating the relationship between the author and the publisher, mostly to the advantage of the author. Indicatively: publishers were prohibited from relinquishing copyrights to third persons; a work had to be published 3 years upon delivery of the manuscript, otherwise the author could cancel the contract; if no other indication was given, the exact amount of copies that made up an edition had to be mentioned; the author had the right to make a new edition after 5 years; the author had the right to publish a complete edition of his works, containing also works, whose copyright had been ceded to third persons, after 3 years from initial publication for literary works, and after 10 years, for musical works; the right of publication of dramatic, musical or dramatic-musical works did not include cession of the right of public performance nor that of adaptation of musical works to instruments of mechanical reproduction (art. 65–75).

Concluding, it is worth mentioning that the legislator's philosophy was even reflected in the language in which the law was drafted. Consciously defying the language of property (the verb "to own" was mentioned but once), it perpetrated a concept of author's rights, which was antithetical to the property doctrine. As a matter of fact, the noun "property" was mentioned but once in the whole text, and paradoxically enough in a formulation that related to "common property" and was meant to denote the common ownership of rights by heirs.

Both directly and indirectly, the 1911 Russian law became one of the prime channels of legal transfer, and therefore a supplementary transmission pathway for German copyright legislation and copyright doctrine into Eastern Europe in the beginning of the 20th century. German influence in the field of copyright law was felt even stronger in the interwar period, where it became a source of inspiration, but also a matrix for a series of copyright laws in the region. Several reasons explain the preponderance of German influence: 1) the broader impact of German civil law and strong radiation of German philosophy and legal scholarship, 2) the more "paternalistic" character of the German copyright law, which intervened more actively into market-governed relationships and regulated closer the relationship between author and publisher, and which, 3) as a model, corresponded better to the needs and tasks of East European societies and their perceptions concerning the function that copyright was supposed to fulfill in the field of culture. Russian copyright law, which represented the inaugural copyright legislation in the Slavic world, was most probably authoritative [the thesis needs to be qualified further through research in the history of concepts] for the codification and introduction of expert terminology in many Slavic languages. The Russian denomination "avtorskoe pravo," which designates simultaneously both author's rights and the legal field of copyright law, was conceptually the exact equivalent of the German "Urheberrecht" and French "droit d'auteur" terminology. The majority of Slavic languages barely made use of the term "intellectual property/propriété intellectuelle" that was initially strongly advocated by French legal circles,[50] and which had indeed a stronger influence on the genealogy of laws and copyright terminology of several Romance-speaking countries such as Spain, for example.[51]

Predicated upon the particular role played by authors (i.e. the intelligentsia) and their self-perception as the genuine and sole guardians of Russia's cultural heritage, copyright was codified concurrently with efforts to create a unified Russian culture through the canonization of

Russian classics. Public and expert opinion were witness to heirs' efforts (see here the appeals of the Pushkin family, debates within the Tolstoy family and others) to control the uses of the literary estate of prominent Russian authors. Such incidents created awareness of the potentially detrimental influence of heirs on literary heritage, who could use their legal monopoly to prohibit the dissemination of works or conclude exclusive deals with publishers that led to massive price increases, thereby making books inaccessible to the larger public. Maintaining the broadest possible access to Russian cultural heritage also motivated the reluctance towards a protracted term of protection post mortem (though in the end the 50-year term prevailed), and the discussion on the appropriate form of copyright protection regarding diaries and other intimate writings not destined for publication, and their alleged public or private nature.[52]

Multiple motives lay behind the specific mode that copyright was codified in Russia, and several of these features were formative also in the case of other copyright legislations of Eastern Europe. Most importantly, the 1911 law rejected the idea of property as the justification for copyright protection; copyright was codified as a right *sui generis* and the outcome of positive law. Through the conspicuous presence of moral rights and a clear focus on the person of the author, the 1911 law underscored the importance of authorship for Russian development. As noted by Mira T. Sundara Rajan, "[t]he concept of copyright in Russian law was unusual in its readiness to embrace the idea of protection for the non-economic interests of authors."[53] Through the restriction of translation rights, the law aimed at "unifying Russia's diverse people through a common literature, as well as the goal of improving literacy. This policy made sense in view of the international status of the Russian language: its use extended throughout the Russian Empire, but did not reach significantly beyond Russia's borders."[54] The translation policy affected adversely not only foreign, but also Russian authors and authors writing in the minority languages of the Russian Empire. The 1911 regulation of translation for domestic works tried to accommodate some of these concerns, granting domestic authors some limited rights over translation, while sticking to the freedom of translation for foreign works. Altogether, Russia's attachment to the freedom of translation was justified on the grounds of the public good and served the "domestic goal of promoting national unity and greater literacy through the diverse regions and cultures of the country."[55]

How to make sense of the imperial copyright regimes in the late imperial period? Philosophically, copyright has been historically

predicated on two foundational master narratives, which simultaneously constitute two major moral justifications for copyright: 1) the notion of *the right to individual property* emanating from a conception validating the individual labor invested in the creation of intellectual works, respect for labor, the inviolability and sanctity of property, 2) an *utilitarian notion* of copyright, where the author's monopoly right is founded upon the desire to provide creators with a stimulus in order for them to continue creating useful works for the benefit of society. Copyright as framed in the era of classical liberalism of the 19th century was predicated on the figure of the individual author as an ingenious and singular creator and righteous proprietor, a conception that kept up with the dissolution of the social and economic bonds of corporate society, and mirrored rather the individualization, bourgeoisification and commercialization processes taking place in industrial and industrializing societies. Conscious of the need to keep their own internal socio-cultural and political equilibria, the empires of Eastern Europe eschewed copyright models founded on the logic of pure commercialization, which could potentially endanger balances, real and symbolic, of the empires' raison d'etre. Without discounting the realities of politically and ethnically motivated censorship, the Eastern empires apparently chose a middle path, which while honoring and protecting the individual author, nevertheless maintained an ardent approach to culture as a collective and public good. Such a concept served better the complex ethnic and linguistic structures of their societies, facilitated and perpetuated the situational and strategic, sociocultural usage of languages, and moreover sanctioned flexible boundaries and passages between different linguistic idioms. Besides, in some cases, such a copyright regime did not overtly antagonize the processes of ethnocultural consolidation that were taking place simultaneously, yet in an asymmetrical manner in different regions and among different ethnic groups. Translation was a key issue in this constellation. Between the property and the utilitarian models, the Eastern empires tended rather towards the second, and accordingly devised copyright regimes, where the purposes of commercialization and public good were constructed not as antithetical, but largely as complementary goals; for these precise reasons, they had to evidently and declaredly, be kept in balance, sometimes even to the detriment of the commercializing logic.

Endnotes

[1]   See here the official website of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), What is Intellectual Property? (wipo.int). For a general orientation see Rehbinder, M., *Urheberrecht*, C. H. Beck, Munich, [15]2008; Ulmer, E., Schricker, G. (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Comparative Law*, Vol. XIV: Copyright, Brill, Tübingen/Leiden/Boston 1990; UNESCO Culture Sector, *The ABC of Copyright*, UNESCO, Paris 2010; Hofmann, J., (ed.), *Wissen und Eigentum. Geschichte, Recht und Ökonomie stoffloser Güter*, (bpb Schriftenreihe, 552), Bonn, 2006; Bently, L., Sherman, B., *Intellectual Property Law*, Oxford UP, Oxford, [4]2014.

[2]   P.m.a stands for *post mortem auctoris*, which indicates the duration of the term of protection after the author's death. Works are usually protected for the life time of the author plus a certain amount of years p.m.a., during which the copyright monopoly is usually exercised by the author's heirs.

[3]   Siegrist, H., "*Geschichte des geistigen Eigentums und der Urheberrechte. Kulturelle Handlungsrechte in der Moderne*" in *Wissen und Eigentum, Geschichte, Recht und Ökonomie stoffloser Güter*, Hofmann, J, (ed.), Bonn 2006, pp. 64–80.

[4]   See Siegrist, H., "*Strategien und Prozesse der „Propretisierung" kultureller Beziehungen – Die Rolle von Urheber- und geistigen Eigentumsrechten in der Institutionalisierung moderner europäischer Kulturen (18.-20. Jh.)*" in *Wissen – Märkte – geistiges Eigentum*, Leible, S., Ohly, A., Zech, H., (eds.), Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2010, pp. 3–11.

[5]   Borghi, M., "*Writing Practices in the Privilege- and Intellectual Property-Systems*" in https://case.edu/affil/sce/authorship/Borghi.pdf, pp. 3–4 (last accessed 15 July 2022).

[6]   Siegrist, H. and Dimou, A. (eds.), *Expanding Intellectual Property, Copyrights and Patents in Twentieth-Century Europe and Beyond*, CEU Press, Budapest/ NY, 2017, p. 3.

[7]   A good overview of the historical evolution of intellectual property can be found in: Hesse, C., "The Rise of Intellectual Property, 700 B.C. – A.D. 2000: an Idea in the Balance," in *Daedalus*, vol. 131, No. 2, On Intellectual Property (Spring 2002), pp. 26–45.

[8]   As should become evident from the above, the evolution of copyright related in multifarious ways, directly or indirectly, to all those convolute processes, which is precisely the reason why it is so difficult to narrate its history from one single perspective only, and also why it is necessary to approach the topic of IP from an interdisciplinary angle.

[9]   For readers with an interest in a condensed, *longue durée* presentation of copyright regimes in Southeast and East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries, discussed from the perspective of breaks and/or continuities, see Dimou, A., "Urheberrecht und Kultur im kommunistischen Südost- und

Ostmitteleuropa. Grundzüge und Thesen zur historischen Entwicklung einer rechtlichen Institution – eine Langzeitperspektive," in *Kulturpolitik in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa (1945-2015)*, Höhne, S., (ed.) (Osteuropa Interdisziplinär 1), Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2019, pp. 141–177.

[10] In the early modern period, parts of Eastern Europe regulated knowledge production and the printing trade along the lines of the widely diffused system of privileges. Developments in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the early modern period and until the 18th century followed European wide trends, Poland was, for example very close to switching from a regime of privileges to a more modern copyright regime in the late 18th century, a development that was for different reasons frustrated. See Katarzyna Gracz, "Opposing the Expansion of Copyright Law: Social Norms in the Quest against ACTA and the "Commodification of Knowledge and Culture Project" in Siegrist, H., and Dimou, A., (eds.), *Expanding Intellectual Property*, pp. 289–293; On early printing, see Rial Costas, B. (ed.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe, A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities*, Brill, Leiden, 2013.

[11] The literature on the passage from the system of privileges to modern copyright is voluminous, exemplarily see on the German case, Gieseke, L., *Vom Privileg zum Urheberrecht. Die Entwicklung des Urheberrechts in Deutschland bis 1845*, Otto Schwartz Verlag, Göttingen, 1995; Deazley, R., Kretschmer, M., and Bently, L. (eds.), *Privilege and Property, Essays in the History of Copyright*, Open Books Publishers, Cambridge, 2010.

[12] The Berne Convention was amended in the following Revision Conferences: 1908 Berlin Act, 1928 Rome Act, 1948 Brussels Act, 1967 Stockholm Act and the 1971 Paris Act.

[13] On the history of the ALAI see *Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale (ALAI), Son histoire – ses travaux 1878–1889*, Préface, par M. Louis Ratisbonne, Statuts et liste des membres, les congrès par M. Jules Lermina, Résumé par M. Eugène Pouillet, Paris: Bibliothèque Chacognac, 1889.

[14] On the official history of the Berne Union, see Bogsch, A., *The First Hundred Years of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works*, WIPO, Geneva 1986; also Cavalli, J., *La genèse de la Convention de Berne pour la protection des œuvres littéraires et artistiques du 9 novembre 1886*, Imprimeries réunies, Lucerne, 1986. More recent treatments Löhr, I., *Die Globalisierung geistiger Eigentumsrechte. Neue Strukturen internationaler Zusammenarbeit 1886-1952* (kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft Bd. 195), Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2010.

[15] On the *Berne Convention* see Ricketson, S., *The Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works: 1886–1986*, Centre for Commercial

Law Studies, Queen Mary College, London, 1987; Ricketson, S., Ginsburg, J., *International Copyright and Neighboring Rights. The Berne Convention and Beyond*, vols 1–2, Oxford UP, Oxford ²2006.

[16] Cf. Boytha, G., "*Urheber- und Verlegerinteressen im Entstehungsprozeß des internationalen Urheberrechts*" in *UFITA*, No. 85, 1979, pp. 1–37.

[17] In time, the BU also developed relevant administrative structures like the set-up of an international office (the *Berne Bureau*), acting as a coordinating center and clearing house for information pertaining to copyright issues in the different member states.

[18] Wolf, M., *Die vielsprachige Seele Kakaniens. Übersetzen und Dolmetschen in der Habsburgermonarchie 1848 bis 1918*, Böhlau, Wien/Köln/Weimar, 2012.

[19] Ibid., pp. 366–369.

[20] This is argued by M. Birnhack when examining the impact of the Ottoman legislation in the territories of Palestine, see Birnhack, M. D., "Hebrew Authors and English Copyright Law in Mandate Palestine", in *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, 12 (1), 2011, pp. 206. More broadly, idem., *Colonial Copyright, Intellectual Property in Mandate Palestine,* Oxford UP, Oxford, 2012. Most recent explorations into the Ottoman copyright law see Yilmaztekin, H. K., "The Legislative Evolution of Copyright in the Late Ottoman Empire", in *Journal of Intellectual Property Law and Practice*, vol. 17, issue 1 (January 2022), pp. 45–53.

[21] It translates as imperial patent "for the protection of literary and artistic property against unauthorized publications, reprints and reproductions."

[22] Murray, G. H., Österreichische Verlagsgeschichte 1918–*1938*, Bd. I Geschichte des österreichischen Verlagswesens (Literatur und Leben, Neue Folge Bd. 28/I), Böhlau, Wien/Köln, 1985, p. 25.

[23] S. Gerhartl, *"Vogelfrei" – Die österreichische Lösung der Urheberrechtsfrage in der 2. Hälfte des 19 Jhs. oder Warum es Österreich unterließ, seine Autoren zu schützen*, University of Vienna, Wien, 1995, pp. 12–13.

[24] Ibid., p. 18.

[25] The Law Regarding Copyright in Works of Literature, Art and Photography.

[26] W. Dillenz, "Warum Österreich-Ungarn nie der Berner Übereinkunft beitrat", in Wadle, E., (ed.) *Historische Studien zum Urheberrecht in Europa. Entwicklungslinien und Grundfragen* (Schriften zur Europäischen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte, vol. 10), Duncker & Humblot, Berlin, 1993, p. 181.

[27] Gerhartl, *"Vogelfrei"*, pp. 29–31.

[28] Ibid., p. 26.

[29] Ibid., pp. 22–26.

[30] Dillenz, "Warum Österreich-Ungarn", pp. 179–180.

[31] Ibid., p. 183. Also *Le Droit d'auteur*, year 24, no. 4, 15 April 1911, p. 54.

32   Dillenz, "Warum Österreich-Ungarn", p. 182.
33   Gerhartl, *"Vogelfrei"*, p. 57.
34   Ibid., p. 61f.
35   M. A. Newcity, *Copyright Law in the Soviet Union*, Praegar Publishers, New York, 1978, pp. 5–6.
36   Ibid., p. 7.
37   Ibid.
38   Ibid., pp. 7–8.
39   Herceg Michael Westren, "The Development and Debate over Copyright in Imperial Russia, 1828–1917," *Russian History* vol. 30, No. 1–2 (Spring–Summer 2003), p. 170–171.
40   M. A. Newcity, *Copyright Law in the Soviet Union*, p. 9.
41   Ibid.
42   Ibid., pp. 9–10.
43   Ibid., pp. 12–13.
44   "*Partie non officielle, Études générales, Le droit d'auteur en Russie*", in *Le Droit d'Auteur*, 15 August 1908, year 21, no. 8, p. 93.
45   Ibid., p. 94.
46   Ibid., p. 95.
47   Ibid..
48   "*Russie, Loi concernant le droit d'auteur du 20 mars 1911*", in *Le Droit d'Auteur*, 15 July 1911, year 24, no. 7, pp. 87–91.
49   Cf. William St. Claire, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, Cambridge UP, Cambridge, 2004.
50   In fact, the issue of the appropriate terminology and appellation constituted a major point of discord on the way to the creation of the Berne Union.
51   Even today the term "propiedad intellectual" is more in use in the Spanish-speaking world than the term "derecho de autor."
52   Westren, "The Development and Debate over Copyright," 157, 161, 168, 171, 182. See here also the inspiring and insightful discussion by Ekaterina Pravilova, *A Public Empire: Property and the Quest for the Common Good in Imperial Russia*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2014, esp. part III., 215–261.
53   M. T. Sundara Rajan, *Copyright and Creative Freedom: A Study of Post-Socialist Law Reform*, (Routledge Studies in International Law, vol. 6), Routledge, New York, 2006, p. 77.
54   Ibid., p. 81.
55   Ibid., p. 86.

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ONCE UPON A TIME ADA KALEH: INTRODUCTION TO THE DANUBE SOCIETY, 17TH-20TH CENTURY[1]

David Do Paço

Abstract

This paper collects, reevaluates, and analyses data from linguistically different historiographical and archival materials about the economic, social, political, and cultural history of the Ada Kaleh Island from the late 17th century to the present. It explores Ada Kaleh's history through the light of the Habsburg-Ottoman relations as well as of anthropological studies on the former islanders conducted in recent decades. This essay argues that orientalism, nationalism, and military issues still significantly distorted Ada Kaleh's history. In this essay, I demonstrate Ada Kaleh was significant marketplace and a rhizome of a trans-imperial and trans-Danubian East- and Central-European society. I also envision Ada Kaleh as the symbol of the denial of the Ottoman contribution to European history. This paper eventually addresses methodological and historiographical issues about writing the history of Muslims in early modern and modern Europe.

Keywords: Ada Kaleh, Habsburg Empire, Ottoman Empire, Danube River, diaspora studies, international relations, nationalism, orientalism, capitalism, socialism

"Then let them run, or drown like rats"
(Ion Gheorghe Maurer)

Between 1964 and 1972, the construction of the hydroelectric dam downstream of the Iron Gates on the Danube River was a significant collaboration between Romania and Yugoslavia. It symbolized the political autonomy and energy independence of the two countries towards the USSR. It also led to a dramatic 40-meter rise in the water level of the Danube and the sinking of several islands, including Ada Kaleh, which was

dismantled in 1968 and engulfed in 1970. With Ada Kaleh disappeared the traces of a Danube and Muslim society that was maintained and prospered on the island since the 18th century. Ada Kaleh underwent successive changes of sovereignty, the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, and the affirmation of nationalism and its ethnoreligious justifications. Erasing Ada Kaleh implied canceling the Ottoman history in Central and South-Eastern Europe. This is claiming that there would have been no place for Ottoman memory and with it for the Muslim communities along the Danube. Nevertheless, for decades, Ada Kaleh's memory has been persisting; the fortified sandbank has been the object of special academic attention for almost 20 years.[2]

The history of Ada Kaleh is part of the history of lost Danube societies and a history of "Old Europe". The Danube territories of Bulgaria, Romania, and Serbia were the first form of social organization that preceded Mesopotamia and found its apogee in the Neolithic. The Iron Gates area presents numerous archaeological testimonies of this period, like the Serbian site of Lepenski Vir and the Romanian site of Schela Cladovei located about thirty kilometers downstream from Ada Kaleh. During these last decades, Old Europe's historians openly developed a counter-model to the rampant orientalism reactivated with force during the "Balkan wars". They emphasize the antiquity of the settlement, the existence of a relatively unified society, matriarchal, non-Christian and shaped by Mediterranean migrations. If the site of Ada Kaleh was inappropriate for the development of an Old European village – although it perfectly corresponded to the amphibian nature of this society – Eratosthenes mentioned the island as Yernis, and archaeologists confirm the ancient existence of a Roman fort in the 2nd century. Ada Kaleh was part of the history of the Danube as an element of the *Limes*. It was Tajan's bridge towards the conquest of the Dacians, and the latter's incorporation and romanization.[3]

More broadly, the history of Ada Kaleh informs the renewal of the history of Habsburg-Ottoman relations, which have surfed mainly on the wave of the artificial concept of the "clash of civilizations". The Danube border has long been wrongly reduced to the history of armed conflicts between Christian-ruled and Muslim-ruled societies. The emergence of a settlement in Ada Kaleh was partly the result of war. However, anthropology has, on the one hand, shown that there was nothing less evident than the association between an island society and its alleged isolation. On the other hand, the study of circulations in Central and Southeastern Europe has for the last decade brought to light the existence

of a trans-imperial society that maintained and adjusted according to or despite the movement of political and confessional borders. Ada Kaleh held a geographical and historical position of great interest that can in some way make it appears as a Gibraltar or a Tabarka of the Danube, a pivot between the Habsburg dominions, Rumelia and the Ottoman regencies of Transylvania and Wallachia, if not the rhizome of a trans-imperial society.[4]

Finally, the history of Ada Kaleh is a history of Muslims in early modern and modern Europe. It copes with strong methodological issues. In 1997, Mark Mazower made Ada Kaleh the "paradigm of forgetting" that would have characterized the treatment of minorities in 20th-century Europe. The engulfment of Ada Kaleh indirectly contributed to the denigration of Ottoman history, if not to its *damnatio memoriae* as the history of the trade diasporas of the region often reflects. This *damnatio memoriae* goes along with denying the ethnic cleansing of Muslims during the conquest of the Danube and Tisza rivers' Ottoman eyalets between 1684–1699 and 1717–1718. There is no doubt that if Ada Kaleh had not been an Ottoman stronghold with a bazaar and a mosque, but a traditional village of Orthodox Christians erected because of the persecution of a tyrannic pașa, the question of the preservation of the island and its inclusion into regional or national histories would have been asked more strongly, at the time of the construction of the Iron Gates Dam. The history of Ada Kaleh is a economic, social and political history of Europe. Numerous and different iconographic documents testify to a disappeared society. Studying Ada Kaleh is more specifically investigating the history of Muslims in Europe, but not as a charming anecdote or exception.[5]

Our knowledge about Ada Kaleh is mainly based on a few original research regularly mentioned, quoted, and largely plagiarized. The American historian Allen Z. Hertz is, until today, the scholar who produced the most reliable knowledge on 18th-century Ada Kaleh. Based on original Habsburg and Ottoman materials, his dissertation defended in 1973 at Columbia University shows the military and geopolitical importance of Ada Kaleh for central European powers. More recently, the unpublished theses of Mari Iancu or Daniela Tudosie are also essential contributions to the island's history in the 20th century and the making of the Adakalehzi diaspora. Other scholars produced original and solid analyses as the 19th-century Hungarian linguist and turkologist Inác Kúnos. I should also mention Philippe-Henri Blasen's remarkable and richly documented study of the pașa Mustafa Bego, who ruled Ada Kaleh for over six decades. I will further discuss the monograph of the Iman of the island Ali Ahmet,

published first in Romanian and German in 1936, which is a panegyric of the local entrepreneur Ali Kadir. Despite another form of nationalist bias, Turkish historians as Yıldırım Ağanoğlu also strongly contribute to a better understanding of the Ada Kaleh society, its demographic evolution, social life, and administrative status based on Ottoman documents, although their works are still largely confidential.[6]

Maps, engravings, postcards, and photographs from the 19th and early 20th centuries are available on social media and must be collected, categorized, and analyzed. They produce a public and decentralized history of Ada Kaleh. They are as valuable for historians as for analyzing contemporary representations of Ottoman Europe. I should mention the private collections of Christian Ellensohn and Gheorghe Bob, and the works of Iosif Berman (I. B. Urseanu), who followed the Romanian reporter Filip Brauner (F. Brunea-Fox) in his investigation; several are already published. Ada Kaleh was a tourist destination from the interwar period to the Cold War where people came for a cheap Oriental experience. Many of the photographs must, therefore, also be considered in the light of a population that was both an actor and aware of why they were visited. They performed an expected Orient that was perhaps not their own. Nevertheless, from the intersection of iconographic and more traditional materials, it is possible to develop a relevant interpretation of the history of Ada Kaleh.[7]

"The key to the Danube"

Like many territories in Central Europe, Ada Kaleh underwent successive sovereignty changes following the imprudent invitation that Southeast European rulers to the Ottoman sultan to get involved in their local political struggles. Ada Kaleh's history illustrates that the rise of the Ottoman Empire rested on brief alliances between dynamic and asymmetrically diverse households; a common fact in early modern Europe.[8]

In the 15th century, known as Saan, the island was an outpost of Orşova and the kingdom of Hungary. The battle of Maritsa in 1371 and then that of Kosovo in 1389 had seen the kingdom of Hungary gradually involved in the Ottoman wars. In 1429, the regent of Hungary and Prince of Transylvania, John Hunyadi, militarized the Danube River border from Belgrade to Severin. He entrusted the positions to the Teutonic Order's Knights regiments based in Transylvania's cities. The Knights settled on

Saan in the ruins of the old Roman fortress. However, in 1432, Murad II's army swept away this position, and the island remained in an unclear border zone for a century.[9] In 1521, the entry of the Ottoman army in Orşova and the incorporation of Saan into the paşalik of Vidin followed Suleyman's military capture of Belgrade. After the battle of Mohacs in 1526 and the election of the prince of Transylvania, John Zsapoliayi as king of Hungary – and with Suleiman's support–the island's military functions decreased. The partition of the Hungarian kingdom in 1541 confirmed Saan's incorporation into the Ottoman lands. In 1660, the Ottoman derviş Evlyia Çelebi mentioned "the long island" (ada-yı kebîr), but did not consider it that important also he provided a lengthy description of Orşova. However, local populations exploited the site. It was suitable for fishing and was the first place where people could cross the Danube near the Iron Gates.[10] Over the early modern period, Ada-yı kebîr kept hence the pastoral function common to many islands on the Danube River and described in 1519–1520 by Selim I's lawyers: "there are some islands and lakes in the above-mentioned scales [of the Danube]. In winter, when the Danube is frozen, the unbelievers from Wallachia and Moldavia used to move their sheep to the lakes and islands and winter them there."[11]

The two-year occupation of the Iron Gates by the Habsburg troops (1688–1690) was challenged in 1689 by the reconquest of Orşova by the prince of Transylvania Imre Tököly mandated by Suleiman II "to clear the Danube as far as Belgrade". However, Tököly had to leave Orşova very quickly to join the Ottoman army at Niš. In 1690, General Luigi Ferdinando Count of Marsigli urged the *Hofkriegsrat* to close the Iron Gates because of the improvement of the Ottoman fluvial fleet. Marsigli informed Leopold I that he built and armed flying bridges[12]. In his *Stato Militare dell'Impero Ottomano*, he specifies:

> In 1690, as the Ottoman fleet appeared more numerous and better organized, I argued that it was necessary to oppose its progress by taking a position at the Cataracts of the Danube River on the small island. I had it fortified and called it *La Carolina* to honor Archduke Charles, now Emperor. This advice had its effect; the Turks could not fail to attack it. However, the accident that made Belgrade surrender made them abandon it after having closed the passage of the Danube for a long time during the same siege of Belgrade.[13]

La Carolina was not Ada-yı kebîr, but "a much smaller island less than two hundred meters upstream", as Hertz mentioned. However, the maps that Marsigli transmitted to the *Hofkriegsrat* designated Ada Kaleh as what Marsigli named "the island proposed for fortification, which the short amount of time does not permit, for its great size demands a considerable undertaking."[14] In October 1690, the Ottoman army took possession of Ada-yı kebîr and fired on the Habsburg Island that Marsigli fortified. After Belgrade's retrocession, the Ottomans laid the foundations of the fortress of Ada-yı kebîr, where 400 janissaries took a position.[15]

Fig 1. Map.[16]

Plate II 1690
Description of the New Fort which is on the Island near Orşova
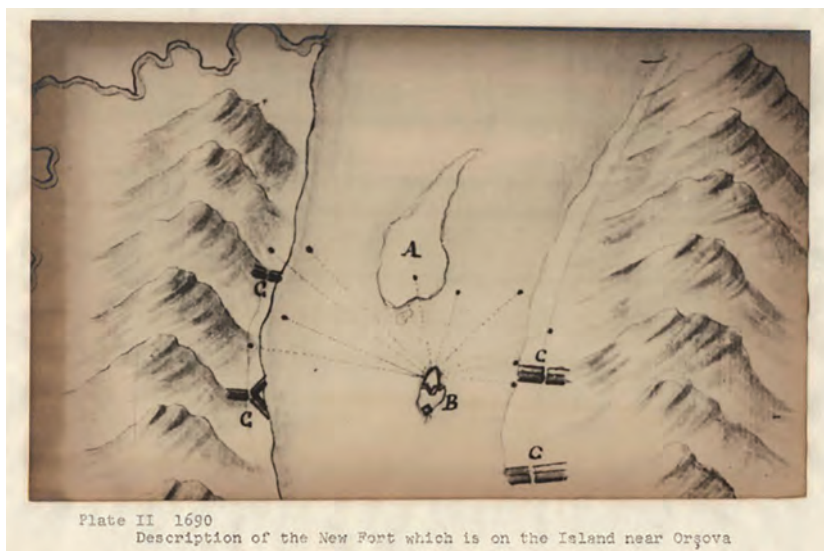
With the Treaty of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci) in 1699, Ada-yı kebîr became a refuge for Muslim populations driven out of the Danube and Tisza valleys by the Habsburg armies. Between 1684 and 1699, the conquest of the eyalets of Bude (Buda), Eğri (Eger), Varat (Oradea), Temesvár (Timișoara), Újvár (Uivar), and Kanije (Nagykanizsa) generated extreme violence against the Muslims. If the prisoners of war could receive protection because of the value of a possible ransom, others were massacred during the capture of the cities as in Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, *Érsekúj*vár) in 1685 or evacuated and deported as in Lippa (Lipova) in

1688. The Imperial troops left the Muslims the choice of conversion or departure. Many went to Serbia and Bosnia. Some communities moved to strategic places in the Ottoman lands, notably at the Safavid border. Some remained on the Danube and joined the refugees and the Ottoman fort in Ada-yı kebîr. Their role was to protect the Ottoman Empire against the incursions of the Habsburgs and hajduks. Moreover, Ada-yı kebîr was close enough to the former Ottoman territories to allow for the hope of return throughout the century.[17]

Nevertheless, the new invasion of the eyalet of Temesvár in 1716 and the new capture of the city of Belgrade in 1718 – that the treaty of Passarowitz (Požarevac) confirmed in 1718 – entailed the annexation of the Banat, the eyalet of Belgrade, and Ada-yı kebîr by the Habsburg administration. The Habsburg domination continued until 1739, a period during which Habsburg engineers built a modern fortress. Under the supervision of Prince Eugene of Savoy, Ada-yı kebîr took the name of New Orșova. Eugene implemented Marsigli's plan. The island now controlled possible crossings of the Danube by the Ottoman troops and access to the Iron Gates from the east. In Serbia, it was also a period of severe de-Islamization and new expulsions of the Muslim populations. However, as the President of the *Hofkriegsrat*, Eugene of Savoy was responsible for the diplomatic and commercial relations with the Ottoman empire. He was fully aware of the interest represented by the economic networks developed by the Ottoman subjects in the region since the 16th century, and wished to maintain them and take advantage of them. Between 1718 and 1739, the period of the emergence of the Habsburg-Ottoman trade, The New Orșova became one of the Habsburgs' front posts for merchants from the Ottoman empire. The fortress served as a quarantine facility before taking the ferry to Orșova in the Banat.[18]

In 1738, during the new siege of Belgrade, the Ottoman army recaptured the island. One of the fortress' gates kept this inscription:

> Open is the way of glory/ To him who was glorious in deeds/ Similar to those of the old times of heroes./ His heart was pure and high-thinking,/ His will was great and powerful./ The defeater and the ruin of the enemies, The benefactor and protector of the people,/ His glory was doubled when he conquered this fortress,. And the frontiers of his country were enlarged/ Greatly as powerfully running torrent.? God save him from all evil. Because he has done much good in the world,/ He whom we are remembering today,/ That is to say Mahmud Khan. 1739.[19]

New Orșova then took the name of Ada Kaleh (the Fortress Island). Under the new Ottoman rule, the island incorporated the sanjak of Vidin. It connected to the Ottoman mainland with a floating bridge via the former Habsburg bastion of Fort Elisabeth (Sans-ı Kebir), built on the Serbian bank during the previous Habsburg occupation. The bridge remained until the Serbian army destroyed Sans-ı Kebir in 1878. It embodied the Sultan's sovereignty over the island and was a convenient facility for crossing the Danube's right arm.[20]

Nevertheless, for the *Hofkriegsrat*, Ada Kaleh was still perceived as an essential location to protect the Banat and especially the entrance to the Iron Gates. The fortress should allow the control of navigation on the Danube, which was one of the significant projects of Joseph II, and one of the reasons why he joined Catherine II in her war against the Ottoman empire and against his own administration. In 1789, Belgrade fell again, and Ada Kaleh came back under Habsburg military control before being returned to Selim III by the treaty of Sistova (Svishtov) in 1791. In 1790, the Habsburg cartographer Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly produced a map of Wallachia showing a new bridge connecting Ada Kaleh to Orșova. However, the existence of this bridge was improbable. The cartographer made a mistake in reporting the location of the bridge between Ada Kaleh and Sans-ı Kebir on the map. He could also have made it on purpose to claim the Habsburg sovereignty over the island. However, the peace and trade conference held in Sistova was the one that pushed the idea of freedom of trade and the commercial integration of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires the furthest. The meeting of Francis I with the governor of Ada Kaleh in Orșova in 1817 still showed the importance of the island and embodied the transition to a formal period of cooperation.[21]

Introducing Ada Kaleh as a crossroads would nevertheless be a cognitive bias. The crossroads metaphor validates academia's dependence on imperial visions and ethno-confessional assignments. Also, 18th-century Ada Kaleh was almost systematically mentioned only as a mono-confessional garrison of men. The irritation of Selim I's administration towards the shepherds who crossed and grazed their flocks at Ada Kaleh when the Danube was frozen, or the sentinels who "watched not so much the road as the river, and especially the Serbian and Wallachian smugglers" described by the French historian Victor Duruy in 1860, testify to a society that appropriated a trans-Danubian regional area.[22] At some points, empires were still outsiders, and their determination to establish borders continually clashed with the practices of locals who

appropriated and transformed territories according to their own economic and social agendas. Also, whether Habsburg or Ottoman, the garrison of Ada Kaleh regularly dealt with the semi-nomadic populations. They could control their movement or take advantage of them. The Romas from Orșova traded with the fortress of Ada Kaleh. The hajduks could occasionally serve as trading partners or auxiliary troops. Around 1800, the pașa of Orșova Recep Aga was even regularly accused of taking advantage of the disorder and supporting the incursions of the "bandits" to Wallachia and within the sanjak of Vidin.[23]

A co-ruled island and its political autonomy

Ada Kaleh entangled successively and then simultaneously several levels of protection. The island was claimed by the Habsburg and the Ottoman rulers, but its sociopolitical life strongly depended on cross-border and multiconnection local authorities, families and households' rivalries between Orșova, Belgrade and Vidin. During a decade, Ada Kaleh was even an autonomous territory with its own agenda.

During the Ottoman period, both the pașa of Vidin and the Habsburg military governor of Orșova developed economic and military cooperation on the Danube border of Belgrade between the Habsburg and Ottoman authorities in the mid-eighteenth century. As Benjamin Landais demonstrates, this cooperation was nothing but the norm. It aimed to protect both parties from the actions of the hajduks. It also aimed to prevent food crises, thus maintaining social peace on both sides of the border.[24] Besides, the voivode of Wallachia paid a part of the tribute due to the sultan in kind to provide the Ada Kaleh with food, in order to sustain the Ottoman garrison and its people.[25]

Also, in the second half of the 18th century, the border post of Mehadia, located on the Cerna River upstream from Orșova, was particularly active and attended by Ottoman merchants who crossed the Danube through the bridge between Sans-I Kebir to Ada Kaleh before taking the ferry to Orșova. After 1739, the lazaretto of Ada Kaleh moved to Mehadia. The first stop of the Ottoman merchants' trade was Temesvár. Some merchants continued their journeys to Vienna. The testimonies collected by the Habsburg administration in Vienna in 1767 from these merchants show that they were wealthy and influential.[26] The fortress of Ada Kaleh accommodated part of them and organized the transfer of their products

via Mehadia, which could sometimes take several days. The reception of these merchants and their numerous servants implies the existence of a whole local economy to accommodate and cater to them. The market gardening activity of the island was probably developed at that time to feed the soldiers and travelers visiting the fortress. This economy implied the presence of a much more diversified population than just soldiers like agricultural workers.[27]

Ada Kaleh belonged to Ottoman social geography that did not comply with the Danube border. It stood first and foremost at the heart of the circulation of Ottoman merchants that, throughout the 18th century, led to a form of commercial integration of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. This phenomenon is invisible to researchers who fanatically insist on focusing on ethnicity and confessional affiliation. The obsession with the identity that characterizes the first generation of scholars in Greek trade diaspora studies has cast a shadow of ignorance over the complexity of the region's phenomena. Muslim, Jewish, Armenian, or Greek merchants from Vidin, Moscopoli (Moscopole), or Alaja (Alanja) conducted Ottoman trade through Ada Kaleh. These traders connected Ada Kaleh with Istanbul, Sofia, Temesvár, Pest, and Vienna. It was not uncommon to find these merchants in Leipzig, Nuremberg, or Warsaw.[28]

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the political and military elite of Ada Kaleh was deeply involved in trans-regional trade. Chiosa Mustafa Ağa was part of the Bosnia elite and took advantage of the annexation of Orșova to the Ottoman empire in 1739. He defended the Ottoman border and maintained an excellent commercial relationship with the Banat and Wallachia. In 1788, facing the Habsburg invasion, he retreated to Ada Kaleh, ruled by his brother-in-law Ibrahim Ağa. In 1791, the family returned to Orșova, and Chiosa Mustafa Ağa progressively left the command to his son Recep Ağa. The latter was born in Rudăria in the Țara Almăjului in 1770 and was mainly known for his good relationships with the Catholics of the sanjak of Orșova and the Orthodox of Belgrade. The church of Tufari represents him and his brother as community benefactors. As a pașa of Orșova until 1806 and of Ada Kaleh from 1806–1814, he had a very successful career. He also knew how to associate the hajduks and the Vlachs with his government, even if it had to impact the western territories of Wallachia. From Orșova and then Ada Kaleh, he played a significant role during the First Serbian Uprising.[29]

Ada Kaleh was indeed directly concerned with the revolt of the renegade janissaries (*dahijas*) against the pașa of Belgrade, Hacı Mustafa

Şinikoğlu. In the last decade of the 18th century, several *dahijas* found refuge in the neighboring sanjak of Vidin, where they served the dissident paşa Osman Pazvantoğlu. The defiance of the latter towards the paşa of Belgrade and the voivode of Wallachia strengthened the strategic and military role of Ada Kaleh. In 1799, the janissaries took over Belgrade and opposed both the representatives of Selim III and the Serbian nationalists. Their authoritarian policy led to the first Serbian uprising in February 1804. The Semlin (Zemun) conference of May 1804 acted the expulsion of the *dahijas* from the city. They thought they could find refuge in Ada Kaleh, where Ibrahim Ağa made them prisoners. Indeed, the paşa of Ada Kaleh informed Recep Ağa, who informed the restored government of Belgrade of the presence of four of those responsible for the "massacre of the 70 Serbian notables" and held responsible for the uprising. In July, a detachment went from Belgrade to Ada Kaleh and asked Ibrahim Ağa to behead and disperse the members of the Janissary bodies. The Semlin Conference gave all authority to the new paşa of Belgrade, Bekir Paşa, and put at his disposal 1,500 Serbian militiamen to do so. Far from being an act of national liberation and the compensation for the sufferings of an Ottoman "occupation", the massacre of the *dahijas* was quite a banal Ottoman event: a punitive measure taken by the paşa of Belgrade and supported by the local Muslim authorities towards Muslim political dissidents, and executed by the Serbian militia.[30]

Recep Ağa positioned Ada Kaleh in a complex system of loyalty to Istanbul, Đorđe Petrović (Karađorđe), and Tudor Vladimirescu. In 1813 Recep Ağa conquered Fethülislam (Kladovo) and Negotin and turned Ada Kaleh into the political center of a trans-Danubian province. On the one hand, the paşa of Ada Kaleh was an important ally as an influential Ottoman commander favorable to the Orthodox minority. On the other hand, the rise of Recep Ağa's family challenged the regional balance of powers as soon as the paşa of Ada Kaleh took control of Fethülislam and Negotin and monitored the navigation on the Danube and impacted the trade of Rusçuk (Ruse). In 1814, with the support of the voivode of Wallachia, the paşa of Rusçuk managed to arrest Recep Ağa and judge him for treason. However, Adem Ağa succeeded his brother as the paşa of Ada Kaleh and received Miloš Obrenović's support. This unsuccessful alliance led to the family's retreat to Vidin in 1816, and internal Ottoman rivalry put an end to the political rise of Ada Kaleh.[31]

The island's history intersected with the Serbian, Hungarian, and Romanian national fabric throughout the 19th century. After the death of

Recep Aga, the island slowly lost its political autonomy. While Ada Kaleh remained an Ottoman territory until 1920, the Habsburg administration progressively controlled it. Due to a long tradition, strong connection, and economic interests in the Hungarian trade, the Muslim islanders were much more welcoming to Hungarian refugees than Ottoman janissaries. The stay of Lajos Kossuth in Ada Kaleh in 1849 is even part of the island's mythology. After the Hungarian Diet voted for independence in 1848, and the subsequent repression of the Austrian Empire, Lajos Kossuth and his supporters found refuge in Ada Kaleh, where the governor of the fortress Mustafa Bego received them. Mustafa Bego acknowledged Kossuth as a head of state in exile but also nourished the memory of the Hungarian struggle for national independence.[32] The memory of Kossuth's visit was commonly built and maintained by the Muslim islanders and by the Hungarian nationalists as an anonymous Hungarian "Fellow of the Carpathian Society" reported it in 1881:

> It was near here that Kossuth, that ardent aspirant after political freedom, and the hero of the "War of Independence", fleeing from his pursuers, crossed the Danube and sought protection in Turkish territory. Before crossing the frontier, he threw himself down for the last time on the soil of his beloved Fatherland for which he had risked so much and fought so hard, pressed on it a sobbing, passionate kiss, and planting his foot on Turkish territory, became, as he himself so touchingly described it in the memories of his exile, "like a wrecked ship thrown up by the storm on a desert shore". A Turkish officer greeted him courteously in the name of Allah, led him to a place which he had kindly caused to be prepared for him to rest in for the night, under God's free heaven, and asked for his sword with downcast eyes, as if ashamed that a Turk should disarm a Hungarian. 'I unbuckled it', [Kossuth] writes, 'and gave it to him without uttering a word; my eyes filled with tears, and he, wishing me sound rest, left me alone with my sorrow'.[33]

In 1880, a commemorative inscription in German, Osmanli and Hungarian was placed in Ada Kaleh in memory of the welcome given to Kossuth by the still living paşa.[34] It was as much a statement of the gratitude of the Hungarians as it was the basis for the reincorporation of the island into the kingdom of St. Stephen.[35]

Indeed, relations between Austria-Hungary and Ada Kaleh were far from peaceful. From the late 1860s regular Hungarian troops were stationed in the fortress, and from 1877 the Austro-Hungarian army

properly occupied the island. The initial intention of the Habsburg administration was even to expel the island's population so much so that in March 1878 the Adakalehzis petitioned Francis Joseph and asked for permission to stay, or compensation for their agricultural properties and lost economic activity. During the war, Ada Kaleh became a refuge for Muslims forced out of Serbia and Bulgaria and between 1878 and 1913 its population almost doubled. Vienna anticipated a humanitarian crisis by advocating the relocation of the entire population of the island to Bosnia. Despite some attempts to organize the evacuation of the fortress and a confusion between the Habsburg and Ottoman administrations, the population refused to move, and the Treaty of Berlin settled the case. Nevertheless, in 1879 and 1905, the Hungarian occupation and the limited resources of the island led several families to ask for permission to emigrate. Ironically, this time both Istanbul and Vienna tried to dissuade them and sought to avoid an uncontrollable migration dynamic in the whole region. The problem could only increase since in 1905 18 new families from Rumelia fled the persecution and took the road to the stronghold. In 1906, the Divan finally organized the transfer of 69 families to Istanbul and Konya to release the demographic pressure on the island and release the tensions between its inhabitants.[36]

From 1878 to 1913, Ada Kaleh was properly co-ruled by the Habsburg and Ottoman authorities. The independence of Romania acknowledged in 1878 brought a new actor onto the Danube geopolitical scene. For Vienna and Istanbul, it remained more than essential to control "the key to the Danube" even outside of any legal framework. Also, in 1913, the Hungarian writer Zsigmond Szebők introduced the administrative specificities of Ada Kaleh in his novel *Dörmögő Dömötör*:

> Ada Kale belongs to Turkey […]. Ada Kale […] is inhabited by Turks, only the army is Hungarian, because, although the island belongs to Turkey, since Serbia gained its independence, it has nevertheless fallen so far away from the motherland, as a button that had been cut off the coat. So, Hungary undertook its defense.[37]

In 1878, Article 14 of the Treaty of Berlin explicitly confirmed that the "village of Adacali" belonged to the Ottoman Empire. However, even the international law did not agree on the island's fate, since Article 47 of the same treaty gave the new Danube Commission the responsibility of settling "the question of the sharing of waters and fisheries". On the one

hand, Article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin delegated the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Vienna, which also constituted a new legal framework for Ada Kaleh. On the other hand, if freedom of trade was guaranteed and migrations were under control, there was no reason to question what Vienna and Buda(-pest) claimed. The Danube Commission could only be satisfied that Ada Kaleh got the status of a free port. Nevertheless, in 1894 the Hungarian turkologist Inác Kúnos reminded that an Ottoman consul based in Orșova represented the islanders, and this consul directly reported to the Ottoman ambassador in Vienna.[38] On 1 December 1911, *The Sun Pictorial Magazine* introduced Mustafa Bego – son of the previously mentioned character – as "decidedly the boss of the island" and emphasized its autonomy.[39] However, in 1913, and again in reaction of the migration crisis generated by the Balkan wars, Budapest recognized Ada Kaleh as a Hungarian municipality under the name of Újorșova (New Orșova). Like Orșova, it was part of the comitate of Krassó-Szörény. This was the unilateral decision of Budapest, without the consent of Vienna or Istanbul.[40]

A diverse Muslim society in Modern Europe

It is nevertheless possible to have a better idea of what Ada Kaleh and its population looked like in the 19th century. The citadel, the mosque, the derviș mausoleum, the bazar and the kemerfs became the *topoï* of the western travelers' orientalism. They nevertheless hosted a changing, diverse and dynamic Muslim society.

Fig. 2. Map of Ada Kaleh under the Hungarian occupation
(by the author)
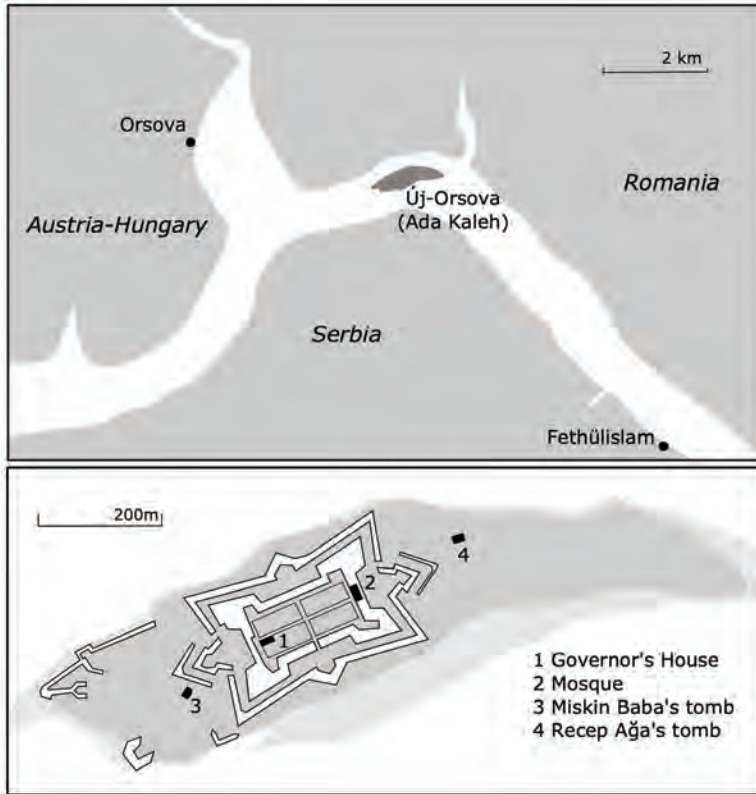
From the mid-19th century, the island was regularly described and became an orientalist cliché.[41] In 1860, during his trip from Paris to Bucharest, Duruy stopped in Orșova and from the pier, he described what he could see of the Ottoman Ada Kaleh:

In the middle of the river, surrounded by a circle of high mountains, the New-Orșova, or, as the Turks call it, 'the citadel of the Island' (Adakaleè), raises its old fortress whose ramparts pierced with loopholes bathe their feet in the Danube. Two massive towers, a house of a nice appearance and the elegant minaret of its mosque, surrounded by a green mass of plum trees, surmount them. Under the sparkling sky, striped with long clouds

119

that the setting sun reflected by the moving waves of the river, this island is a charming and mysterious aspect.[42]

Since the 19th century, the citadel, the mosque, the governor's house and the luxuriant vegetation were recurrent topoi of the description of the island. Contrary to Duruy, Jerrold crossed the Danube and gave a more precise idea of the island:

> The bazaar, with its little café tables under the acacias, its red-bricked paths, its low houses washed with brilliant blues and greens, its group of men and boys, its shop-keepers standing in their doorways fingering their "Tespis," or strings of beads, is a true and interesting glimpse of the Orient. The plain mosque, above one of the battered walls has little to show beyond a magnificent carpet covering its floor space, though outside is a picturesque roofed-in well, grown closely round with a wealth of vari-coloured convolvuluses, admiring which, in company with a Japanese visitor, I learned that in Japan as in England the flower is known as 'the morning glory.' A series oof embayed arches under the walls, all of the same crumbling red brick, known as the Kemerfs, suggest something of the security of the place in the old days when it was a powerful fort. Its military importance is still acknowledged by a small Austrian garrison being kept it. Despite this evidence of changed authority, it remains essentially Turkish.[43]

The streets had a commercial function; from the 18th century, they transformed the citadel into a bazaar. While hiking through Orșova heights, Duruy reported that "it looks like an immense caravanserai composed of a series of hallways opening on gardens, and whose roofs are dominated by a line of chimney pipes in reddish bricks, built in the shape of minarets."[44]. In 1913, Szebők wrote that:

> Most of it is occupied by the fortress, and inside the fortress, its streets, houses, and shops […]. The merchants sold their goods not in glass-door shops, but in an open bazaar. There they were squatting, under tent-like carpets, on soft Oriental carpets. There they were selling all kinds of sweets, trinkets, beautiful Oriental rugs. It was a real Turkish world.[45]

Visitors' focus on Ada Kaleh changed with the island's status. Before 1878, political buildings attracted the attention of travelers, such as the governor's house – built by Recep Aga – described by the Göttingen naturalist Carl Heinrich Edmund von Berg:

> His residence is very simple and in terrible shapes, like everything else in the fortress. It is located at the island's upper end, with a high floor for the stables that form a simple quadrilateral. To get up there, there was a path we find in our mountain villages to go to the stables, wooden warehouses with paving stones of the worst kind, full of holes and dirt between them. In front of the house were gathered several officers in very worn uniforms and non-regulatory dress, for example, barefoot, as well as many servants.[46]

After 1878 and the slow loss of political importance of Ada Kaleh after 1816, visitors partly, but not exclusively reported on Islamic places of worship. The mausoleum of Miskin Baba, protector of the city, was infrequently mentioned. For example, in 1934, Brunea-Fox described it as a

> grey and modest mausoleum, located right next to the pier, would not stop you for a moment from contemplating it if you did not know that this tall, rectangular stone, without any inscription, honors the memory of a just man venerated by the inhabitants for his life of integrity, for his extraordinary deeds.[47]

The mosque was located at the eastern end of the fortress and is nevertheless represented in many photos of the 20th century. Built on the bastion of the eastern gate of the fortress, it dominated the city. In 1860 the French engraver Dieudonné Auguste Lancelot – who traveled with Duruy – gave it almost the function of a lighthouse on the Danube. The mosque of Ada Kaleh was characterized by its baroque style, which connects it to central European material culture, so much its architecture differs from the mosques of the Balkans. It is most likely that the mosque was the former Franciscan church built by the Propaganda Fide during the Habsburg occupation in 1717–1738. It had the shape of a Christian Basilica topped with a "v" roof and not a dome. To reinforce the symbolic belonging of Ada Kaleh and its mosque to the material culture of central Europe, some iconographic sources represent the minaret as a simple chimney on the mosque's roof. Photographs from the early 20th century confirm, however, that the minaret was an architectural element by itself that rested on the southern wall of the mosque. The minaret was thus accessible from inside the mosque, and the adjoining nature of the two monuments confused an observer looking at Ada Kaleh from a little too far away. The sacred space was also composed of an external fountain for ablutions.[48]

There would be something vain in trying to establish the ethnic composition of Ada Kaleh. The Habsburg and Ottoman soldiers who occupied the fortress originated from different parts of their respective and asymmetrically diverse empires. Under Ottoman rule, islanders originated from the neighboring provinces with Hungarian, Slavic, Turkish, and Wallachian backgrounds. Not all of them were Muslims. An orthodox chapel is mentioned and was common in central European trading areas. In the 19th century, the Roma community from Orșova and the hajduks and the Vlachs settled temporarily on the island. The detachment of Hungarian soldiers followed the Hungarian occupation without mentioning their linguistic background. It would be reasonable to argue that they were Catholic, but even that is not obvious. The Hungarian army might have established the Orthodox chapel.[49]

However, we should take seriously what all travelers wrote: Ada Kaleh was something else, mainly because Muslims were an essential part of the population. But Islam is a very diverse and dynamic world too, and Ada Kaleh reflected at least a part of this diversity. The census of 20 May 1913 helps us to get a more precise idea of the population. Ada Kaleh comprised 637 inhabitants divided into 171 households, and a third of the population was not born on the island (*Muhajir*). However, the new islanders mainly were women from neighboring territories and especially from Vidin for a third of them, but also from Niğbolu (Nikopol), Fethülislam (Kladovo), Turtukaya (Turtakan), Rusçuk, or Orșova. The Census gives us access to three generations of mobile women along the Danube. Also Hacer Hanım was born in Lom in 1856. She married the imam Hafız Mustafa Efendi and in the mid-1870s moved in Vidin, where in 1879 they had a daughter Mirat Hanım. Around 1900, the family moved to Ada Kaleh, where Mirat married a local carpenter. In 1913, Mirat had had a boy and a girl – Miraç and Emine – respectively born in Ada Kaleh in 1907 and 1911. Other women moved without their family, like Ayșe Hanım from Vidin, born in 1883. She moved to Ada Kaleh in 1900 after marrying merchant İsmail Nazmi Efendi. They had 5 children and 3 of them were receiving education when the census was conducted. Some families moved from Vidin like the shoemaker Hasan Ağa and his wife Hatice Hanım. They also had 5 children, the last one born in Ada Kaleh, the oldest in Vidin. Few came for Bosnia or Constanța. Others from diverse provinces of the Ottoman empire as far as Erzurum or Süleymaniye in Kurdistan.[50]

In the March 1878 petition sent to Vienna, the islanders introduced themselves in two categories: shop owners who lived in a house with a

garden, and farmers who lived in the Kemerfs. The 1913 census shows that the 70 boatmen represented the first professional group on the island, far above the 24 traders, the 13 coffee sellers who officiated on the ferries – and 6 other coffee makers on the island – , and the 12 cigarette manufacturers. Ada Kaleh had 2 imams and 1 muezzin, 1 teacher but 53 pupils, and diverse apprentices. The census also provides information about Mustafa Bego. He married Zekiye Hanım and they had at least one son also named Mustafa Bego, born in Ada Kaleh in 1868. The latter was a trader and lived with his wife Sıdıka Hanım, also from Ada Kaleh, and their five children. The two eldest were born in 1900 and were twins. The boy was a pupil, and the girl remained without any official occupation. The agricultural professions and fishing concerned only a few people, but poly-activity and women's occupations were not documented by the 1913 census. Zehlia Hanım was, for example, a 35-year-old single mother who lived in the Kemerfs with her 14-year-old daughter Zehra, with no official occupation. They probably worked as daily workers and horticultors.[51]

The islanders living in the Kemerfs represented 28% of the households and showed a profile that did not match traditional categories. Zehlia's case mentioned above is undoubtedly one of many examples of poverty. A single mother, she was living symbolically outside of the community. In Ada Kaleh's patriarchal society she was also blamed for her allegedly immoral behavior. 19th-century rural historians could associate Zehlia to a prostitute by her status within the community and the physical place where she lived. Another single mother, Ayşe Hanım, lived in the Kemerfs with her children, Gülzar and Sadryie, and two brothers from Tutrakan in Dobrudja with whom she had no legal or official family bond. The two brothers, Islam Efendi and Ilyas Efendi, were 23 and 13. They were educated, and respectively worked as cigarette maker and barber. What appeared as a form of concubinage might have explained the physical exclusion of the household from the community more than the relative economic poverty of its members. The census also shows few cases of single fathers as Ibrahim Ağa, who lived in the Kemerfs with his son Hasan. However, as an ağa he was regarded as a respectable man, undoubtedly because of his former military occupation. He was 48 in 1913, and defined himself as a daily worker (*Amele*). His 10-year-old son was a student. The poverty of the people who lived in the Kemerfs was not that obvious. Moreover, the already mentioned imam from Vidin Hafız Mustafa Efendi was living in the Kemerfs with his wife, although their daughter, who married an Adakalehzi, was living in the fortress. The fact that one imam

lived in the Kemerfs and another in the fortress invites us to describe Ada Kaleh as composed of two distinct communities. Marriage made it possible to move from one community to the other.[52]

World War I finally challenged the trans-imperial identity of Ada Kaleh. The Corfu Declaration of 1917, which denied the existence of Islam in the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the population exchanges between Bulgaria and Turkey left little chance for the inhabitants of Ada Kaleh to find their place in Yugoslavia or Bulgaria. In 1920, Ada Kaleh's fate depended on the Treaty of Trianon. This was de facto recognition that the island had become a Hungarian dominion, even though, in 1923, Turkey continued to claim sovereignty over it. Istanbul/Ankara and Bucharest claimed to be responding to the islanders' wishes. The Romanian diplomat Constantin Diamandi explained that:

> At the same time, the Romanian government, spontaneously, on the amendments to the Constitution, in order to show a special solicitude to the Romanian subjects of Islamic religion, granted, at the request of our president of the council, a right of parity to the leaders of the Islamic religion in Romania to appear by right as members of the Romanian Senate.[53]

This constitutional reform amplified the respect for religious tolerance guaranteed by the signatory states of the Treaty of Berlin. Indeed, after the conquest of Dobruja and the incorporation of its northern part into Romania, the Ottoman Empire obtained from the international community the guarantee of the public practice of Islam. In 1910, King Carol I ordered the construction of a new mosque in Constanța that he inaugurated it in 1913 with the Ottoman ambassador. After World War I, Romania was the region's most favorable Christian-ruled state to Islam. However, the Romanian military presence on the island since 1919 probably left no choice to the Adakalehzis.[54]

The tobacco age: Ada Kaleh as a brand

From 1923 until the island disappeared, Ada Kaleh's inhabitants went from being a legal majority to a legally protected minority. Some of them left for Istanbul or Thrace. The repression or the fear of the repression of Islam undoubtedly motivated these departures. However, Muslim families from Bosnia continued to settle in Ada Kaleh – and Dobrudja –, where they could benefit from legal recognition of the religion and protection of

their religious practices. Carol I's politics of difference towards Muslims permitted the relatively smooth incorporation of Ada Kaleh into the kingdom.[55]

Ada Kaleh even legitimized the Romanian monarchy, primarily through the figure of Miskin Baba and his history told by Ali Ahmet in 1936. Ahmet's book illustrated a rich series of studies on the history and economic development of Ada Kaleh, specific to the interwar period. Coming from a wealthy family from the Khanate of Bukhara, Miskin Baba received in a dream the command of Allah to leave his possessions and distribute his fortune to the poor and then to leave for an island in the middle of the Danube. It was at this price that his soul could rest in peace. Miskin Baba arrived in Ada Kaleh in 1786. He distinguished himself by teaching Islam and his thaumaturgical power: he cured the sick and restored fertility to women. He also contributed to the Golden Age of Ada Kaleh as a contemporary of Recep Aga and Mustafa Bego. He was buried in 1857 and became the tutelary figure of the local Muslim community. Ali Ahmet claimed Miskin Baba appeared in a dream to the most pious inhabitants of the city, and the saint would have predicted the visit of Carol II of Romania, which indeed occurred in 1931 – three years before the first mention of the prediction by the imam. The island's memory thus played its part in legitimizing the Romanian dynasty in the hearts of the city's inhabitants again.[56]

Despite its growing political insignificance, Ada Kaleh knew a specific economic development in the interwar period. The fortress was a famous tourist destination where European travelers came to enjoy artificial and cheap fragments of "the East", a certain idea of what was the Ottoman Empire. In 1911, Jerrold noted that "Ada Kaleh has taken on the ways of a 'show place' and is on the look-out for strangers."[57] As early as the 1930s, the island welcomed more than 15,000 tourists annually and was a favorite destination for school trips in Romania. This touristification was a chance to maintain the island's memory as Ali Ahmet did. Ada Kaleh's imam played an essential role in the commercial promotion of his island:

> The stores have names like "Oriental Bazaar" or names similar to those in Istanbul: "Kapali Cearși", "Bezestan", and others […] As for products, pipes, water pipes, household items, children's toys, bracelets, earrings, and rings, all labelled "Ada-Kaleh", are purchased. There are two restaurants; coffee shops are every few steps. Two factories produce the famous Rahat (Turkish delights) of Ada-Kaleh.[58]

The material culture keeps the traces of these metal boxes with oriental ornaments and intended to contain jam, Turkish delights, or tobacco. However, the duty-free status also fostered tourism in Ada Kaleh and generated poor working conditions for the islanders.[59]

During this period, Ada Kaleh became strongly dependent on the tobacco industry. The island maintained and developed a craft and then the industrial activity of cigarette production. Adakalehzi worked for several brands including *Regia Monopolului Statului* and *Musulmane*. The islanders describe them as poor quality, as F. Brunea-Fox: "I do not appreciate cigarettes and island shit! They are not to my taste". In 1934, in his article "Ali Kadri 'Sultanul' din Ada Kaleh", F. Brunea-Fox offered a radically different perspective on the interwar Ada Kaleh craft industry, the condition of life, and social inequality on the island despite the significant fiscal advantages granted by the Romanian government in 1924 and confirmed by Carol II in 1931. The Romanian policies towards Ada Kaleh followed the former privileges granted by the Ottoman sultan to the islanders, especially the regular delivery of tobacco.[60] However, the industrial production of cigarettes and the increasing social inequality and poor redistribution of massive benefits generated social tensions and anger against the successful entrepreneur Ali Kadri. F. Brunea-Fox introduced the situation this way:

> So, when the Ada Kaleh delegation visited the newsroom to provide us with the first sensational clues about Ali Kadri's miraculous existence, I suddenly got the picture. Down – we have to repeat – six hundred Turks in skin and bones; up – the "Sultan" Ali Kadri, the chairman of the *Musulmane* joint-stock company, the 'royal privilege' escamoteur, the owner of the restaurant, several cafés, the formidable business 'Brasseur', the owner of the twenty-four-room palace, the friend of politicians, etc. etc. Notice that even the nouns used in the last line contrast not only linguistically but also socially. To go from 'skin and bones' to 'castellan' requires at least a revolution [...]. Hundreds of people live like troglodytes in the undergrounds of the ancient and charred fortresses with which the island is sown; on the same patch of land surrounded by water stands a sumptuous palace like in fairy tales, inhabited by a single man [...].
>
> Almost 650 souls are like slaves to the interest of a fool, are lesser-known details. Not many ears have heard the echoes of their grievances. By nature, and because of other psycho... gendarme complexes, the Turks of Ada Kaleh are not prone to vehemence. If some of them had not learned from the Severin truck drivers, from the Orșova porters, the value of vigorous protests, it is sure that the voice of the workers' demands would remain unheard.[61]

A decade was enough to make Kadri's fortune. In 1924, the Romanian government allowed the Ada Kaleh community to import two wagons of duty-free tobacco. Kadri delivered the petition to the government and took advantage of the situation by organizing the import, the transformation of tobacco into cigarettes, and their commercialization. The economic focus of Ada Kaleh also shifted from Orșova to Severin, better connected with Bucharest and more suitable for industry. Kadri diversified his activities in Băile Herculane, Severin and Craiova. While the legend perpetuated by the imam Ali Ahmet claimed that Kadri was among the poorest inhabitants of the island, "the sultan of Ada Kaleh" comforted his success and social position with three successive marriages. In 1931, after the prolongation and extension of the fiscal privilege, the inhabitants of Ada Kaleh set up a corporation, but access to the banks depended on Kadri's connections, and Kadri imposed himself as the principal investor. Then he could control the newly established *Muslumane*, the joint-stock company he ruled with his clique. Every year, the company distributed modest dividends to the islanders, but since none had access to the accountability of the company, none could contest Kadri's governance and money diversion. Ali Ahmet even introduced Kadri as a benefactor of the island comparable to Miskin Baba to comfort his legitimacy and make his fast change of social condition accepted by the believers. However, despite Kadri's extorsion, *Musulmane* progressively transformed Ada Kaleh with a new square, paved alleys, new houses and schools, partial access to electricity.

> The capital of Ali Kadri and his consorts on the board of directors: brothers, relatives, straw men; the capital resulting from almost ten years of trafficking thousands of kilos of sugar bought tax-free but sold to merchants on the other side of the Danube at fabulous profits; the capital resulting from tons of coffee, tobacco, spirits, even from the beads, the various oriental objects "made in Ada Kaleh"![62]

Kadri turned the island into a brand and contributed to restoring Ada Kaleh to its former role as a free port; the success of *Musulmane* created a dense curtain that maintained the illusion of a fabulous and universal success in Bucharest. It also prevented the islanders from asserting their rights and limiting their economic dependence on Kadri.[63]

National integration and community erasure

During the interwar period, Ada Kaleh knew also an economic and cultural romanianization, but its real impact is hard to assess. The ethnic diversity of the Muslim community remained strong until the evacuation of the island. In the 1960s, Albanian, Anatolian, Bosnian and Tatar Muslim ways of life coexisted, mixed, and reciprocally influenced. This was particularly obvious regarding women's outfits. Niqab, çarşaf, modernized traditional costumes, or modern outfits simultaneously coexisted in Ada Kaleh. Besides, from the 1930s, Muslim men began to marry Christian and Jewish women. After 1944, Muslim women could marry Romanian men too. In 1953, 30% of Muslim men married Romanian, Hungarian or Serbian women. In 1957 and 1965 they were more than 40%. In 1967, during one of the last ethnographic campaigns led in Ada Kaleh, the Romanian scholar Liviu Marcu reported the testimony of a 17-year-old saleswoman:

> Nowadays people have gone modern, they don't consider religion when they get married; if they get along, they get married. Only the old people care about it. Since the war, things have changed, and young people marry for love. Nowadays, everyone works, so that even wealth no longer matters.[64]

The war fostered the secularization of Ada Kaleh society, especially the freedom to choose a partner, divorce, or live in concubinage. Besides, there was no polygamy in Ada Kaleh. The preservation of a system of vendetta transferred from Albania, Bosnia and Serbia – and in complete opposition to the *shari'a* – also testified to the development of a mixed Islam specific to the Slavic societies of Southeast Europe. Ada Kaleh was a society of the Danube. Its socio-economic dynamics did not fit in with how political, religious, and scientific institutions perceived it. However, it was also a society full of resources that adapted to the different powers that pretended to govern.[65]

Broadly, Adakalehzis supported and took advantage of the Romanian state. After World War II, Ada Kaleh's pupils went to secondary school in Orșova or Turnu Severin, in Romanian institutions. They were Romanian speakers. The son of the last imam himself confessed that he could not read the Koran because it was in Arabic. The role of the memory of Miskin Baba in the legitimization of the Romanian royal power – in particular of the person of Carol II – explains in part the hostility of the islanders

towards the communist regime. However, the association of Islam with Romanian nationalism and the defense of the kingdom was not questioned in 1944 when the Imam of Ada Kaleh – certainly Ali Ahmet – joined the Catholic and Orthodox priests of Orșova to bless the Romanian troops ready to leave to reconquer Transylvania, after the sudden opportunistic and radical shift of Bucharest. The most explicit symbol of Ada Kaleh's romanianization was certainly that throughout the 20th century, the island turned its back on the territories it was part of for centuries. After the war, the proximity of Ada Kaleh to the Yugoslav border forced Belgrade to place barbed wire along the right bank of the Danube. This went as far as a curfew was implemented from 08.00 p.m. on the northern arm of the river, restricting the water sports activities developed by the village boatman, Ahmed Engur. The testimony of Ahmed's wife, Mioara Engur, received by the British journalist Nick Thorpe, even compared the island to a camp from which it was impossible to escape.[66]

After World War II, supporters of the socialist regime relayed on F. Brunea-Fox's reportage and claimed a significant improvement in the Adakalehzis' condition of life. For example, in 1961, the Romanian journalist Ilie Purcaru compared the inhabitants of Ada Kaleh to savages living in kemerfs before the installation of the new regime, which certainly reflected the way Bucharest perceived the islanders, but only concerned a quarter of the islanders in 1913. The memories of the last generation of islanders show the relative disinterest of the communists and the lack of communication between Ada Kaleh and Bucharest. The cooperation between Belgrade and Bucharest put an end to the island's history. In 1966, the project to build the first Iron Gates dam accompanied a plan to move the island of Ada Kaleh to the island of Șimian, near Turnu Severin. Between 1962 and 1965, the Institute of Architecture in Bucharest assessed the island's material heritage and proposed to transfer several buildings to Șimian. Several ethnologic missions also recorded the social practices, the language, and the music of the last inhabitants. The transfer to Șimian was to be accompanied by a significant improvement in the community's living conditions, which benefited from the free electricity the dam would supply. At first, the project seemed sincere since the tomb of Miskin Baba was moved to the island. Nevertheless, the project stopped there. In 1968, Ada Kaleh was dynamited and then submerged in 1971.[67]

After 1968, the dispersion of the Adakalehzis generated certain forms of diasporic practices. In the absence of refuge, the population of Ada Kaleh dispersed. Turkey offered hospitality to the islanders, and

some settled again in Istanbul or Thrace. However, the families of Ada Kaleh essentially followed the economic and migratory circuits already established and moved to Orșova and Turnu Severin, sometimes with the hope of seeing the project of the island of Șimian succeed. A Muslim community – certainly Tartars with ancestors from Dobruja – took a part of the mosque's carpet to install it in Constanța. Others joined the Muslim community of Babadağ close to the Danube Delta.

Fig. 3. Ada Kaleh Carpet in the Carol I Mosque in Constanța, 10 July 2020 (photo by the author)

The memorial reinvention of Ada Kaleh – both memorial and physical – is an expected feature of the diaspora.[68] This process of atlanticization promotes the memory of a lost paradise and properly of an island that would have been like an Islamic paradise. Gheorghe Bob is a former island inhabitant who established one of the most important private collections of postcards and photographs. He cultivates the memory of a paradisiac garden that he tries to duplicate in his new home. In 2019, one of the Norwegian President's Medals went to Silvia Michaela Diaconu's

architectural project entitled "The Enchanted Gardens of Ada Kaleh". Diaconu translated into an architectural language the photographs, testimonies, and objects she collected to restore a representation of a lost paradise. As the ethnographer Bercovici indicates about Bob: "it is very important to point out that this person is part of the small number of Romanians who lived on the island and that, despite his ethnicity, he is the most active islander in the task of recovering the memory of Ada Kaleh". At some point, it won't be irrelevant to consider that the memorial association of Ada Kaleh with a "lost paradise" could be the ultimate form of Orientalism from which the history of the island suffers.[69]

Ada Kaleh's Muslim memory is indeed not that obvious. Of course, the mosque Carol I in Constanța keeps and exhibits the carpet of the former Ada Kaleh's mosque, but the carpet does not fit and is fragile, expansive to restore, and bulky. The Muslim community in Constanța would have nothing against getting rid of it. The oral memory of Miskin Baba strongly depends on the legend written by Ali Ahmet and maintained by the last imams of the island. It is not more religious than municipal.[70] The mausoleum was transferred into Șimian, but it is also slowly disappearing by lack of care. The last islanders are much keener to identify themselves according to their professional activities and the impact the tobacco industry had on their respective lives than their religious belonging. The boatman Ahmed Engur watched the demolition of Ada Kaleh from the bank of Orșova, and according to his testimony, the mosque and its minaret were the first buildings to be dynamited. The mosque determined the status of the city and demolishing the mosque first was for the Romanian authorities the most straightforward way to say that Adakalehzi civic community did not exist anymore. Engur's feelings were particularly hurt when the community moved the graveyard from Ada Kaleh to Șimian: "Everything was moved, bones and grave-stones and everything went to Șimian, but no one knows who is who now. We moved them piece by piece, but the authorities mixed them all up. Now people say there are bones lying all over the island."[71]

This is a family memory, nothing more. Thorpe's interview emphasizes the sadness of the few remaining practices of remembrance that remains. The journalist wrote: "Down in Orșova, Erwin[72] sometimes takes former inhabitants of the island out in his boat, right over the place where the island lies, deep beneath the waves. Do they pray? I ask. 'No, they just sit quietly. Or scatter flowers on the water."[73]

131

There is a discrepancy between the increasing academic interest in Ada Kaleh's history and the resignation of the inhabitants. There is no Adakalehzi diaspora, meaning no community of dispersed people who try to maintain a specific linguistic and religious bond and who is animated by the hope of returning to a homeland. Scholars have the memory of the last inhabitants at their disposal, already very old for most of them. The transmission and the adhesion of the younger generations to the legacy they received remain still today to be explored. However, Ada Kaleh is now an opportunity for scholars to challenge culturalist and nationalist narratives in central Europe. It is a political opportunity to illustrate the environmental and cultural impact of non-democratic top-down policies. It is also a literary and artistic opportunity: historians do not own the past alone, and Ada Kaleh seems to be a fantastic source of creativity, and artistic inspiration, such as Atlantis was.

Conclusion

The history of Ada Kaleh is an invitation to go beyond a Habsburg-Ottoman history exclusively seen as a confrontation between empires and religions. Early modern Ada Kaleh played a significant role in the circulation of civilians in the Danube area. The islanders were soldiers, refugees, shepherds, farmers, occasional itinerant merchants, or wealthy international traders. The island was characterized by the Habsburg fortress incorporated into the Ottoman military system after 1738, but also by a lazaret, a market, and a local production of fruits and vegetables. The rise to power of Recep Aga illustrated the complex entanglement of community solidarities and clientelism between Orșova, Belgrade and Vidin. It also showed how Ada Kaleh was in a strategic position in the Habsburg-Ottoman relations, the Ottoman Empire, and the competition between the local political authorities. The pașa of Ada Kaleh could control the navigation on the Danube River and determine access to the resources of this trade.

Such a complex system of solidarity between empires, communities, and households also invites us to go beyond national narratives on the region. The pașas of Ada Kaleh and Orșova provided essential support to the legitimate political authority in Belgrade and its allies, i.e. the Orthodox elite. Ada Kaleh loyalty was rewarded by the Serb national leaders when Recep Aga was opportunistically challenged by the pașa of Rusçuk and

the voivode of Wallachia. Ada Kaleh also provided Lajos Kossuth and the Hungarian independentists with recognition and support. Mustafa Bego received Kossuth as a head of state. At some point after 1878, the Hungarian government regarded Ada Kaleh as Mustafa Bego's property and as an autonomous province in the Ottoman Empire. It was only after the death of the iconic paşa that Ada Kaleh was incorporated into the comitate of Krassó-Szörény for a very brief period. The relative religious toleration of the new Romanian state and the island's military occupation during World War I turned Ada Kaleh into a Romanian island. Again, the political and religious authorities played their part; they reinvented the island's past to meet the expectation of the new regime.

Finally, the history of 20th-century Ada Kaleh goes way beyond that the dominant and naïve Orientalism that public narratives vehiculate. The fiscal paradise that Ada Kaleh was benefited only to few people and maintained the islanders in poverty while social inequality rapidly increased. Despite the interwar tourist rush, Ada Kaleh's population was progressively marginalized to the extent that no choice was left to the islanders when Bucharest and Belgrade implemented the Iron Gates Hydroelectric Dam's plan. Few missions recorded the memory and heritage of the island, and few efforts were made to transfer the island to Șimian and preserve this part of European Ottoman history. The economic, social, and cultural resources of Ada Kaleh seem to have been exhausted so much that it is barely difficult today to evoke an Adakalehzi diaspora.

Endnotes

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THE LANDSCAPE IMPACT OF CISTERCIAN MONASTERIES: PERSPECTIVES FROM HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHICAL, LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL DATA, AND GIS ANALYSIS

László Ferenczi

Abstract

After an introductory review of the traditional historiographical narratives, and their deconstruction, the paper discusses the impact of the Cistercian economy on the landscape through the lens of topographic, landscape archaeological, and environmental data, focusing on the problem of manorial farms (granges) and drawing on examples from different regions (the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, Bohemia, Wales) that were – in some respects – marginal to the expansion of the Cistercian order. In addition to administrative and logistical considerations, environmental conditions (soil, relief) are highlighted as determining factors in the site selection strategies of abbeys and granges. Two conflicting narratives are outlined: one that sees the monks settling next to villages (as an adaptive strategy), and the other that emphasizes their preference for settling in areas where land reclamation is possible by using advanced techniques of farming (heavy plough) and water management. As a methodological intervention, the use of GIS techniques is presented, underlining also the necessity to systematically integrate environmental data in discussions on the problems of regionalization (diversity-unity) and marginality related to the expansion of the Cistercians in different parts of Europe.

**Keywords:** landscape impact, grange economy, soil, GIS, Cistercians, marginality

The problem of unity and diversity

Noting that political boundaries have changed frequently and considerably in our region, a recent overview[1] emphasized that "a history of monasticism in the core areas of east-central Europe cannot be properly considered

without adopting a broader historiographical approach". Another study pinned down the conflicting or divided loyalties of the religious orders that affected "their self-understanding and theoretical conception", emphasizing that they cultivated "a pan-European identity that allowed them to symbolically transcend all the geographical, political, and cultural bonds in medieval Europe. On the other side, however, they were centrally within the contemporary mainstream of secular and external developments and as such were not only prone to individualistic tendencies, but actively supportive to the building of regional identities and cultural traditions. A broad range of historical evidence, both written and archaeological, reveals that in the regions, the orders often developed a 'diversitas' that seemed to fragment rather than unify the universal form of their life."[2]

In the case of the Cistercians (and here more specifically their economic activities and impact on the landscape), such considerations are particularly relevant. Among the various medieval religious communities, they were portrayed as the *first order* – the first example of a centrally organized religious *ordo*.[3] They established a corporate institution under a central administration with headquarters in Citeaux, called the 'general chapter', that introduced normative rules and internal supervision,[4] based on five branches headed by the arch-abbeys of Cîteaux, Clairvaux, La Ferté, Pontigny and Morimond. (Fig. 1) These branches – especially those of Clairvaux and Morimond – spread out into different geographical and political regions, covering most of Europe. The rapid, dynamic and centrally coordinated expansion of the Cistercian order during the 12th and 13th centuries was a unique phenomenon, spectacular enough to attract the attention of contemporaries. The scale of this process was such that it sometimes provoked reactions comparable to those of our modern times; in 1152 a construction ban had to be introduced to temporarily halt new projects and during the early decades of the 13th century the general chapter also introduced measures against the excessively growing process of incorporating female religious communities into the order. It is not by chance that historians often compared the Cistercians to modern multinational companies, for example, as a "franchise institution".[5] Although such comparisons may sound anachronistic, the adaptive strategy of this complex international network is an interesting economic-historical problem that lends itself to comparative research beyond national boundaries and local historiographies.

Fig. 1. Filiation lines of the Cistercian network
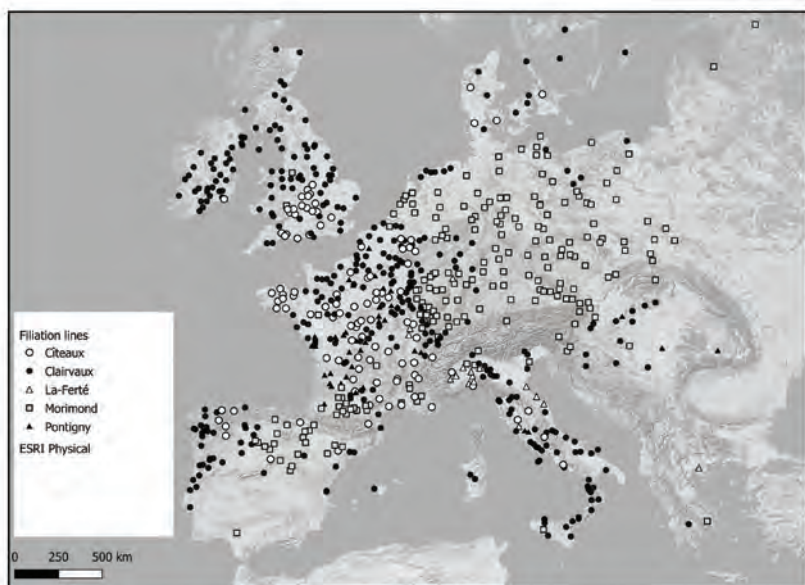
Traditional works on the history of the order (*Ordensgeschichte*) typically did not consider explaining the broader socio-economic, or religious historical contexts that influenced the histories of individual houses and estates. Mostly linked to subsequent generations of monks and clerical scholars, traditional scholarship typically displayed a narrow sphere of interest, reflecting antiquarian and archival approaches studying the self-representation of the order. Driven by admiration and piety, most of these authors focused on the role of the founding fathers, describing the origins of the order, the early normative texts (issued by the general chapter), and literary production (the works of monastic chroniclers). This explains partly their bias to interpret Cistercian practices as uniform, as well as their inability to recognize diversity and regional differences.

The perspective of art historical/architectural and literary studies

Initially, art historical and architectural research also helped to reinforce this view. Architecture, as the 'vertical' element of the anthropogenic landscape, has been seen generally as an instrument for expressing the spiritual idea and message of the reform. Although there were considerable differences in the grandiosity of the individual building projects, the general quality of the built heritage and the systematic arrangement of the buildings (around the cloister, in the outer courts, within the monastic precincts) reflected uniform principles of design, the so-called "Cistercian style", which has been described as "gebaute Unanimitas".[6] The disciplinary character and design of the landscape in the immediate vicinity of the monastic sites was yet another aspect of materiality that reflected the ideological reform to follow the Rule of Saint Benedict more closely, i.e. emphasizing not only contemplation, but also action (physical work). The best known textual source to illuminate how the Cistercians perceived this space is the *Descriptio Positionis seu Situationis Monasterii Clarae-vallensis*, commonly referred as the *Description of Clairvaux*.[7] The anonymous Cistercian author eloquently described the idealized environment around the monastery – the valley of the River Aube, fishponds, orchards, workshops, mills – and explained how the river served the agricultural and industrial activities of the community. His text is also famous for its use of water as a metaphor for spiritual work,[8] and for expressing the monk's overwhelming joy in seeing the beauty of nature as God's work. Discussing this source, Elizabeth Freeman wrote: "It seems that Cistercians saw in the natural world correlations with the divine harmonies that they hoped for in paradise. Following this, the 'taming' of the land from secular to religious uses was akin to the soul's journey back to God."[9] This emphasis on the spiritual power of the landscape due to "God's work" (nature) seems to deliberately downplay the significance of "people's work", i.e. the monks' efforts to transform the landscape. This may seem paradoxical, but also understandable from the point of view of Cistercian theology and monastic *humilitas*. Furthermore, the comparison of narrative sources from earlier and later periods reveals an interesting trajectory in the use of narrative *topoi*, which reflects the shifting spiritual focus of Cistercian communities. While earlier sources often emphasize the horror of the *desertum* and *eremum* when describing the site of the abbeys,[10] the 13th-century foundation histories tend to refer

to them as pleasant place, *locus amoenus*.[11] In contrast to this, the motif of transformed, tamed landscapes appear in connection to the distant world (in the context of *weeding and planting the lord's 'vineyards'*). Although this motif can be found already in the letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, it is characteristic of later literary products (sermons), which manifest the efforts of the Cistercians in the early 13th century, who turned their ideological and institutional power against the Cathar heretics in Southern France.[12]

"Rodungsorden" as a socio-economic paradigm and its critique

In addition to the institutional, architectural, and literary achievements of the Cistercians, the intellectual gravity of the reform movement was also translated into the economic sphere. Apparently, neither the symbolic-figurative language of narrative sources, nor the normative regulations of the general chapters reflect realistically the – often very spectacular – transformation of Cistercian landscapes through economic management. Various economic and social historical studies appraised the pragmatic attitude and interest of the monks, forging the literary motif of the "taming the wilderness" into a paradigmatic socio-economic model, a "frontier thesis", that explained the economic conquest of the frontiers, settlement expansion, monastic colonization and the emergence of urban economies as connected phenomena. Known also as *grands défrichements*, this paradigm was advanced by George Duby and Richard W. Southern, who argued that "the age of medieval rural prosperity is the age of land reclamation" and that the Cistercians developed an economic system, which responded to the alimentary needs of the 12th century and to the increasing pressure on land by the more effective exploitation of local natural resources and by drawing new lands into agricultural production.[13] As Bruce M.S. Campbell sums it up, the "widespread and well-documented process of reclamation and colonization" was a physical expression of the demographic and economic expansion of the 12th and 13th centuries.[14]

The portrayal of the Cistercians as a "Rodungsorden" (i.e. an institution that played a significant role in woodland clearance and colonization), and as puritan frontiersmen, expert managers, and technological innovators became a widely accepted point of reference in scholarly works and beyond.[15] Isabel Alfonso has demonstrated that the idea of the "Rodungsorden" was still very much present in the scholarship of the 1980–1990s.[16] As a general model, however, it could be contrasted with

local data, bringing up the question of whether the monasteries significantly transformed the landscape or simply adapted to local conditions. Indeed, this became a central controversy,[17] as the accumulation of data from systematic and critical investigations of the archival sources (in the form of case studies or regional studies), as well as the results of archaeological surveys led to a gradual revision of earlier assumptions.

Views about the monks' excellence in technological innovation and their role as rural entrepreneurs and cultural 'missionaries' in less developed regions have been challenged, including, for example, their pioneering role in introducing new techniques of agricultural cultivation (the three-field system) in Scandinavia,[18] their impact on upland management in Wales[19] or their role in introducing water technology in Ireland.[20] It has also been argued that land clearance may have been more often the initiative of the tenants of the abbeys rather than the Cistercians, and either did not occur on a significant scale or was largely unrecorded.[21] Such reviews have effectively argued on the basis of archaeological evidence, pointing out that the emergence of technologies, management techniques, or the colonization process of marginal landscapes either preceded the settlement of monastic communities, or that clear evidence of monastic agency was simply lacking. There now seems to be a consensus among historians of religion,[22] historical ecologists[23] and economic historians[24] that the Cistercians' eminent role in the reclamation or conquest of wastelands was rather self-proclaimed, and that their impact on the landscape has been overemphasized.[25]

The contribution of archival research concerning monastic farms

Research into local monastic archives has significantly contributed to this "revisionist" trend, by systematically collecting topographical data about monastic lands, identifying the location of monastic farms and other properties, delineating their boundaries, and studying their economic functions. The grange system was the cornerstone of Cistercian estate organization, as the Cistercians introduced this new element into the traditional bipartite management model of medieval estates, which were divided into manorial demesne and tenanted lands. They managed their most important lands as grange farms, involving members of the monastic community known as lay brothers. Comparative analysis revealed some

variation in the number and size of such farms,[26] but most granges featured exceptionally large arable fields, often measuring around 100–300 hectares. Consequently, the focus of economic production was typically on crop farming, as evidenced by the terms *grangia* or *grangia frumentaria*, referring to the barn where grain was stored. However, one must also acknowledge the bias present in historical data: arable land and crop farming were generally the most significant sources of revenue, leading to the size of arable land being recorded in relevant documents such as land transactions and litigations. In contrast, other properties – such as meadows and woodlands – were often not described in detail. As a result, it is frequently difficult to assess the significance of other agricultural practices compared to crop farming based solely on written sources.

An important finding of historical topographic research is that the establishment and management of the grange system were often intertwined with the history of pre-existing, traditional manorial farms. The locations of these farms and villages influenced the site selection of granges, but in a manner contrary to what traditional research suggested. The monks did not seek solitude and virgin ground; instead, earlier manorial sites were often utilized and converted into granges, while others continued to operate according to traditional manorial arrangements.[27] For example, among the farms donated to the Abbey of Ebrach (Bavaria, Germany), those deemed unsuitable (due to size or location) were left unchanged, while only the suitable ones were converted into granges. In the case of the Welsh monasteries (Strata Florida, Whitland), an in-depth study of the historic landscape revealed that the granges "preserved the vestiges of the early medieval clas-church estates," specifically highlighting the "pre-conquest territorial elements based on the cwmwd-maenor-tref system."[28]

Regarding the spatial distribution of grange farms, the literature frequently cites a well-known normative rule: the general chapter prescribed a maximum geographical distance within which the abbey farms had to be located, specifically within a day's journey from the abbey (approximately 20–25 km), as this allowed the lay brothers to return to the monastery.[29] From a managerial perspective, control over more valuable or labor-intensive resources—such as animal farms and industrial sites—was considered a priority, so these resources ideally needed to be located in close proximity to the abbeys.[30] The results of topographic studies typically confirm this organizational principle, as many granges were indeed often situated centrally. This pattern can also

be observed in the case of abbeys founded in the medieval kingdom of Hungary, such as Klostermarienberg (now in Austria) and Szentgotthárd. Interestingly, the more distant farms of Klostermarienberg, Szentgotthárd, and of the Abbey of Topusko (in Croatia) were typically referred to in the sources not as *grangia*, but as *praedium/predium* or *curia*.

It is also important to note the divergence from this pattern in the case of distantly situated granges. It has been argued that some of these farms could have functioned as administrative centers for those parts of the estates that could not be conveniently accessed due to their remote locations.[31] In this capacity, these granges were quite similar to the dependent houses of Benedictine abbeys, where small groups of monks typically resided. On the other hand, their administrative function was often linked to their significant economic role. The configuration of the road network was typically an important factor in the site selection of such granges. Some were characteristically located along the main roads and in the vicinity of towns, providing access to urban markets and "symbiotically" connecting to other urban properties of the abbeys within the town.[32] In the case of the Cistercian estates in medieval Hungary, the granges of Topusko and the "satellite" properties of the Abbey of Petrovaradin/Pétervárad (in Kelenföld, near the castle of Buda) and Pilis (in Čakany/Pozsonycsákány, near Bratislava) seem to illustrate this pattern.

Overall, the mixed character of the Cistercian lands (with villages, traditional manors, and granges) does not seem atypical, contrary to what antiquarian research has suggested. This character is well documented in several regions of Western and Central Europe, including Germany,[33] Bohemia,[34] and Poland.[35] According to the foundation charters and later documents, the economy of the Hungarian abbeys also relied predominantly on revenues collected from villages and manorial holdings. As a general pattern, topographic data underscores the economic significance of the ancient countryside – referred to as "Altsiedelland" in German scholarship – which is the part of the countryside that had been colonized earlier. In the German lands, the abbeys "were by no means founded in the deepest wastelands but were actually established on the edge of older settlement areas, from where they were involved to varying degrees, but always decisively, in the transformation of the cultural landscapes they encountered."[36] Similar observations have been made regarding French abbeys, which were located "near previously settled areas, built their estates on pre-existing economic units, and often removed existing settlements and populations to create artificially

isolated zones."[37] In addition to this geographical context of settlement, the generally weaker social background of the monasteries in Central Eastern Europe – particularly the shortage of lay brothers – explains why the monks had to increasingly rely on tenant labour. The mixed character of monastic lands, which included villages, typically centrally located grange sites, and more distantly located traditional manors, further illustrates the pragmatism of Cistercian estate management. However, upon examining the local topographical context, it is evident that grange farms were often directly adjacent to the villages of the tenants, existing in a "symbiotic" relationship. The practical differences in the management of granges and other manorial farms may have been insignificant, as it is plausible that the operation of those farms identified as *grangia* in the documents also depended on the labour services of tenants.

Landscape archaeological research and environmental perspectives

Landscape archaeological research employs a combination of various non-destructive recognition techniques (e.g. airborne laser scanning, ground penetrating radar, magnetometer surveys, paleoenvironmental research) alongside more traditional methods (e.g., interpretation of cartographic materials, aerial photography, field surveys, and architectural surveys) to gather data about the changes in past landscapes. Landscape archaeological studies also integrate the results of archaeological excavations and scientific (environmental) investigations to reconstruct human-nature interactions and the anthropogenic impact on past environments. In a narrower sense, landscape archaeology focuses on past land-use patterns, in contrast to settlement archaeology, which focuses on archaeological phenomena related to the settlement core, and historical ecology, which examines the chronological changes of anthropogenic interaction with nature. Notably, landscape archaeological knowledge, – specifically regarding relict landscape features associated with past land-use –, is intimately linked to historical-topographical reconstructions of monastic landscapes.

C. James Bond's book on monastic landscapes and his concordance table of 'field and documentary evidence for features on estate manors'[38] highlight the differing availability of historical and landscape archaeological data for topographic reconstructions, illustrating how our

understanding depends on the varying preservation of evidence. Notably, archaeological and landscape archaeological data seem particularly relevant regarding industrial activities, as these are rarely documented in the written record. This bias can partly be explained by the fact that such activities were usually centrally located near the abbey and that those lands were typically not contested, meaning they were rarely mentioned in litigations or transactions, which constitute the bulk of the surviving archival materials. [39] The role of animal husbandry – labeled as the "other economy" – also remains largely obscured, as "in contrast with the abundant literature devoted to cereal agriculture, only a scattering of data exists…". [40] More generally, the management of rural resources is less traceable in the archival record than activities related to urban spaces (i.e., trade). A detailed analysis and evaluation of agricultural practices are only possible where suitable administrative records are available, providing in-depth information on the history of land management and particularly crop production (see, for example, the studies on Peterborough, [41] Canterbury,[42] or Chaalis[43] abbeys). Such records are especially important for assessing temporal changes in estate management, such as the adoption of different economic regimes in response to environmental factors.

The main contribution of landscape archaeological studies is that they balance out the conservation bias of historical sources. Furthermore, a landscape-level assessment of environmental conditions is essential for understanding how the environment may have influenced the spatial configuration of management patterns. Stephen Rippon's study of the estate of Glastonbury Abbey (Somerset Levels, SW England) exemplifies multidisciplinary research that combines landscape archaeological and environmental data with the analysis of archival records. Rippon explains the segmentation of the local landscape according to different management regimes in response to environmental conditions. The Glastonbury manors featured both wetland and dryland components, and differences in demesne land use were reflected in the written records. "Fen-edge manors had, on average, 64% arable land, 28% meadow, and 5% pasture, whereas the wholly dryland manors averaged 69% arable, 12% meadow, and 10% pasture. Meare, by contrast, had 46% of its demesne sown as arable, 41% meadow, and 12% pasture, though in practice, the area available for grazing was much larger due to the common moors and heaths." Rippon suggested that while earlier studies "recognized that wetlands can provide fertile arable land, they were particularly suited to meadow and pasture," and that "the essentially wetland manors had diverse cropping regimes,

including a significant proportion of legumes, as well as wheat and, to a lesser extent, oats." [44] In conclusion, this diversity – revealed by the excellent historical records of the abbey – cautions against deterministic and simplistic assessments regarding land management preferences in different environments. However, the lack of such data often prevents us from offering interpretations of similar complexity.

Soil topography and water management – aspects of site selection of abbeys and grange farms

In addition to the previously mentioned factors – such as the pre-existing settlement network, the location of earlier farms, the road network, and administrative/logistical concerns – the landscape character (including terrain, dominant land use/land cover, access to water, and soil properties) should also be considered in the site catchment of abbey sites and monastic farmlands. In the case of centrally located grange farms, fertile alluvial soil could be the primary factor explaining site location, which is typical for river valley environments. A scattered distribution of grange farms could sometimes be attributed to high relief terrain and dense woodland cover (e.g., near royal forests). It is likely no coincidence that there is no evidence of centrally located grange farms around the abbeys of Topusko, Pilis, and Zirc, as these abbeys are situated in landscapes characterized by hilly terrain, low hills, and plateaus segmented by small rivers. Pilis and Zirc were adjacent to royal forests. These abbeys only had a few – distantly located – manorial farms (with large blocks of arable land), which were situated in landscapes where environmental conditions were more favourable for agricultural cultivation. Topusko's granges tend to be located along main roads that traverse the region and connect the abbey with important urban centres. In the case of Plasy Abbey (in Western Bohemia), both archaeological and historical data can be considered in connection with the scattered location of granges. It has been argued that even though the Cistercians received a large area of uncultivated land (woodland), they began establishing their granges by relocating existing villages, which proved to be a resource-efficient and time-saving solution. Although the relocation of settlements is poorly substantiated by the available historical data (i.e., there is no solid evidence of systematic relocation), the topographic reconstruction of Cistercian farmlands indeed

suggests that the farms occupy areas of better-quality soil, while the adjacent settlements are situated on poorer soil.[45]

More generally, soil quality has been considered one of the underlying distinguishing factors between the ancient countryside and newly settled lands in Western Europe. According to Oliver Rackham, the ancient countryside can be characterized by more dispersed, segmented patterns of settlement and greater diversity of soils, whereas the newly settled "planned" countryside is marked by open fields (champion landscapes).[46] In the case of Western Poland, Richard C. Hoffmann also emphasized the significance of soil and observed that more fertile micro-regions (with loess and black earth soils) were characterized by a dense network of small hamlets. After the Mongol invasion, the wooded, formerly empty areas were also settled, however, the impact of the demesne economy remained limited ("demesne farms were small or absent, so lords had little need for forced labor"), as the emerging landscape took the form of large open-field villages.[47]

The comprehensive historical topographical data on the Welsh Cistercian monasteries, collected by David H. Williams, are particularly useful in demonstrating the importance of soil in the site selection of monastic farmlands. His gazetteer of Cistercian lands provides a convenient starting point for comparative analysis, to create a digital map of Cistercian lands and grange sites, combined with the Ancient Parishes of England and Wales, 1500–1850' database,[48] (Fig. 2). The estates of Strata Florida, Neath, Margam, and Tintern were selected for demonstration because detailed landscape archaeological surveys were also available,[49] and their larger estates are better suited for illustrating the contrast in environmental conditions between grange sites and other monastic lands on a broader scale. To assess soil quality, the Predictive Agricultural Land Classification (ALC) map was used.[50] Figure 2 illustrates that many of the grange farms were established in the more fertile coastal zones and along the low-lying areas of the river valleys. As shown by the ALC categorization (coloured areas represent higher quality, Grade 1–3 agricultural lands), crop farming was feasible at most grange sites there. This is not surprising; as noted by C. Platt, lowland granges focused predominantly on arable farming, while upland areas were used extensively as pasture.[51] It is also noteworthy that the location of certain granges correlates strongly with high-quality agricultural land, suggesting that these sites were chosen or acquired by the Cistercians for their better soil quality. In sum, soil topographic data can serve as indirect evidence to identify those granges where crop

farming had greater potential. Other sites, such as the upland granges of Strata Florida, were more likely used for animal husbandry (sheep and cattle), as supported by historical data. According to data from the Domesday Book, the region was underpopulated before the arrival of the Cistercians: "restraints imposed on agriculture by the terrain were clearly among the reasons for this scarcity, but the distribution of soils also played a role." The belt of low-lying land along the valley of the Severn River is characterized by medium loam soils and was three times more populated than other parts of the country. In contrast, "there can be no doubt of the great importance to the uplands' economy of pasture, and especially of cattle-rearing. As in northern Britain, there was a predominance of 'horn over corn'."[52]

Fig. 2. Granges and estates of Margam, Neath and Tintern abbeys, overlaid on the Agricultural Land Classification map (Classes 1 to 3) of Wales
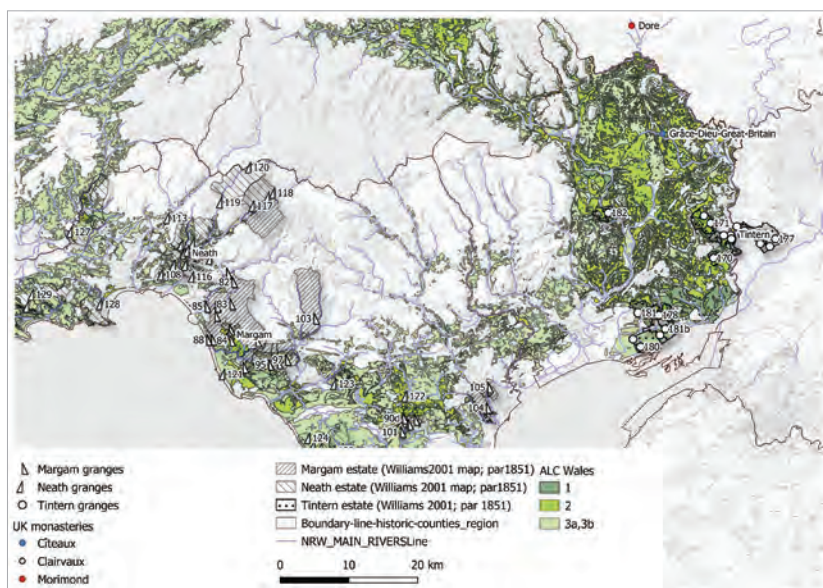
The soils of the floodplains were rich in organic matter, but difficult to work. Environmental conditions destined the monks to undertake extensive melioration, reclaiming land by building dikes across their land to drain

excess water. As Rippon summarizes, "a particular feature of monastic communities was their ability to manage and exploit water, and their role in the reclamation of wetlands, reflecting the increasing intensity with which the landscape was being exploited during the High Middle Ages, is relatively well known" and "Cistercian water management demanded an unparalleled understanding of the hydrometeorologic and hydrogeologic controls on water budgets and quality"[53]

Two hypotheses may be particularly illuminating regarding the Cistercians' preferences. One is termed the "sophisticated geography hypothesis," or "reversal of fortune," which suggests that initially unfavourable conditions turned out to be valuable (high risk-high reward). The other considers the "distributed-ness" of the landscape concerning technologies and technological innovation, arguing that specific technologies provided access to specific environments, resulting in landscapes becoming "distributed" among different socio-economic agents.[54]

The aerial photograph (Fig. 3) of the area surrounding the Cistercian Abbey of Meaux (Yorkshire, UK)[55] aptly demonstrates the point that "landscapes are environmental ramifications of technologies."[56] The fields to the north of the abbey have preserved traces of ridge and furrow cultivation, a technique based on the use of the asymmetric heavy plough, which was an invention of the Middle Ages that predates the Cistercian era. The use of this technology (Fig. 4) apparently contributed to agricultural expansion during the Cistercian reform era, as the heavy plough enabled the cultivation of heavier (clayey) soils and facilitated the turning of sods into high ridges, thus aiding in the drainage of excess water – particularly important in areas with a more humid climate.[57] Traces of this cultivation typically survived because the arable land was later abandoned, enclosed, and converted to pasture. When overlaid on a map of soil classes in the UK (Fig. 5), the geographic distribution of 756 aerial photographs documenting ridge and furrow cultivation shows a rough correlation with areas dominated by heavy (clayey) soils, confirming the widespread application of this technique across the country. Unfortunately, modern land use has severely compromised the preservation of such features, and their current distribution reflects historical conditions only fragmentarily.[58] However, other examples similar to those around Meaux highlight the importance of agricultural activities in Cistercian sites and the potentially significant role of monastic management in spreading this technology in certain (micro)regions.

Fig. 3. Medieval ridge and furrow, N of Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire
(Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography, n. FU44; 17
June 1951, © copyright reserved)

Fig. 4. The formation of ridge and furrow (source: available under
Public Licence at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ridge_and_furrow#/
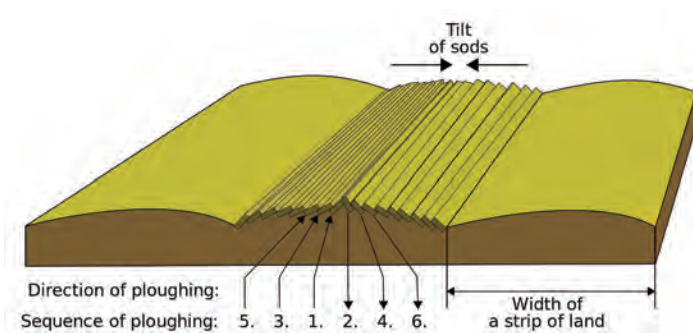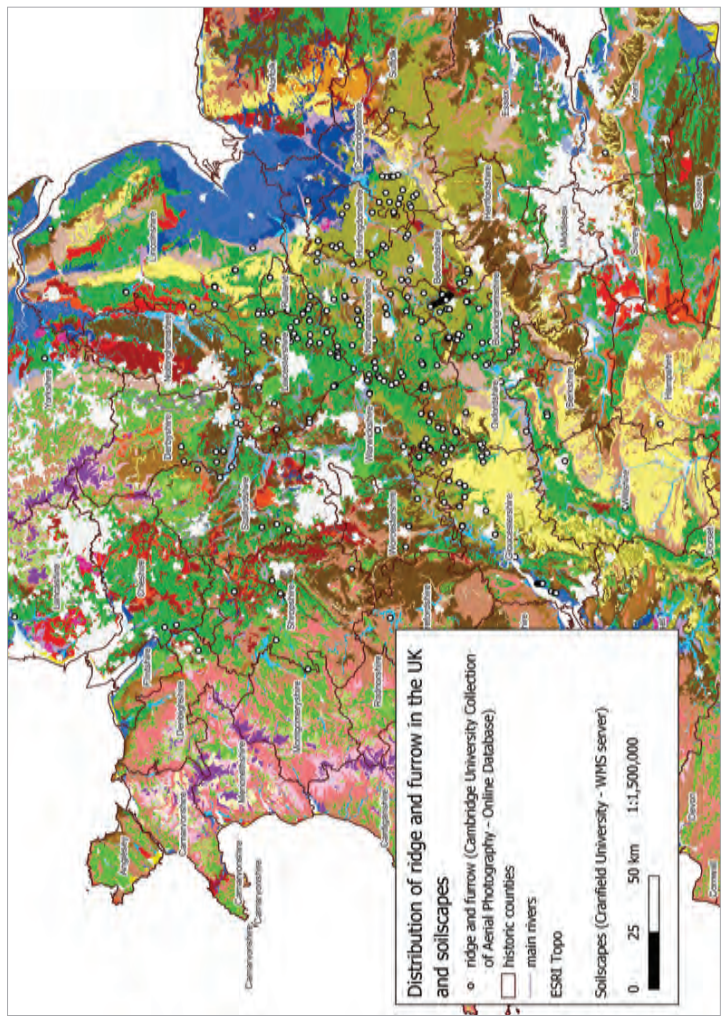media/File:Ridge_and_furrow-en.svg)

Fig. 5. The distribution of aerial photos documenting ridge and furrow topography (source: derived from interrogation of the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography (CUCAP) database available at: https://www.cambridgeairphotos.com/)

The example of Meaux is particularly illustrative due to the narrative context preserved in the monastery's chronicle,[59] which describes in detail how the site of the abbey was selected. Following negotiations with the founder, a delegation was sent to inspect the future site of the abbey (on a small hill, surrounded by wetland), In fact, this was a formalized, institutionalized process known as "site inspection" (*inspectio loci*), according to the normative rules of the order. Although the Chronicle of Meaux incorporates symbolic elements – depicting Adam as an "expert," a masonic monk from Fountains Abbey, who sticks his staff in the ground and announces that the "place shall in the future be called the door of life, the vineyard of heaven" – such procedures certainly had practical goals as well, including an on-site assessment of soil quality. The Chronicle mentions that prior to this event, Adam toured the lands and possessions of the count's estate, and only then did he choose the site for the monastery.

Deciding whether the Cistercians were truly the "first agriculturists who brought intellect and science to bear on the cultivation of the soil" or whether this is merely "fulsome praise"[60] is often complicated by the lack of convincing evidence regarding whose technology and agency are documented in the landscape record. Distinguishing the impact of Cistercian management from the activities of their tenants has already been noted as a problematic issue. Based on what has been presented so far, systematic landscape archaeological analysis – compiling topographic evidence about monastic lands, identifying relict landscape features, and studying environmental factors such as soil, relief, and vegetation – provides an opportunity to reflect on the "distributed-ness" of the landscape and to study the impact of monastic economies comparatively.

Unlike surface traces of past cultivation, the management of watercourses and the creation of ponds were much more striking elements of monastic landscape transformation. Monastic pond systems had a distinctive character.[61] Watercourses in the vicinity of monasteries and granges needed to be regulated to avoid damage to industrial and agricultural assets, particularly mills, croplands, and pastures. Thus, the construction of ponds served not only for food (as fish was an essential part of the monastic diet) but also as part of complex water management plans, including drainage and irrigation works, to regulate the natural water table and protect sites from extreme weather events. Landscape archaeological studies of the morphological characteristics of pond systems indicate that multiple pond systems were particularly typical at monastic sites and granges.[62] Although R.C. Hoffmann highlighted that "recent

scholarship is no longer convinced that the Cistercians, whose waterworks became the stuff of later legend, were notably any more innovative than their lay neighbours and kin," many of the examples he draws upon are connected to Cistercian monasteries and their granges (such as Lac d'Annecy, Maubuisson, Vauclair in France, the Yorkshire monasteries in the UK, and Waldsassen and Altzelle in Germany). He concludes that the late medieval period witnessed a more active construction of ponds, with numbers increasing in Central Eastern Europe as well.[63] Since the most economically active period for the Cistercians in Central Eastern European regions was in the 13th and 14th centuries, the Cistercians (and other monastic orders) could have significantly contributed to this trend. Although the scope of their activities remained local, concentrated around the abbeys and granges, monastic waterworks sometimes preceded larger projects carried out later. Such was the case with the construction of the Třeboň fishpond system in the 16th century in the largest wetland area in Bohemia, along the Lužnice River, north of the Rožmberk Castle estate and the Cistercian Abbey of Víssy Brod.[64] The Opatovický Canal (along with a mill) was part of this system, and its construction is dated to the end of the 15th century, though it underwent modifications during the construction of the Golden Canal at the beginning of the 16th century. Historical and landscape archaeological evidence suggest that its origin dates back to the 13th century, and it was part of a Cistercian grange belonging to the Abbey of Zwettl – hence the name Opatovice (Abbot's village).[65]

Concluding remarks – the uses of a comparative landscape archaeological approach and GIS

Returning to the problem of regionality (and diversity/unity), it is important to reiterate the contribution of landscape research. The terms 'landscape'/'Landschaft' and 'region' are not necessarily interchangeable concepts, although they often appear to be so in the literature. The reconstruction of a 'monastic landscape' or 'Klosterlandschaft' typically implies an inventory-like, synchronic view of its anthropogenic and natural-physical qualities. However, in the context of regionality the interpretation of a monastic landscape should be more complex and chronologically layered. It can be defined not only as a synchronic phenomenon (the space comprising monasteries or estates that form a 'homogeneous' group according to certain criteria or qualities – physical or

otherwise), but also as a diachronic one. The concept of 'region' is similarly understood in both static and dynamic terms,[66] and this ambivalence must be kept in mind when discussing the problem of regionality from an economic-historical perspective. Both the static (physical landscape environment) and the temporally dynamic understanding (economic processes) of diversity and unity are relevant.

Ideally, such an approach should focus also on studying medieval socio-economic processes and estate management at the landscape level, which is, nonetheless, a very challenging task. The underlying problem is that the history of estate management practices is represented by a heterogeneous mosaic of data available in different types of documents related to different estates or administrative units (e.g., financial accounts, land registers, management accounts),[67] and/or there is a lack of quantifiable information. Although archaeological and architectural investigations can provide proxy data relevant from a historical-ecological perspective,[68] these issues often preclude a long-durée approach and systematic comparative study of the continuities and discontinuities of processes. As Richard C. Hoffmann emphasizes, "regional variation and local diversity come to light best where especially good documentation allows close study to probe behind the general pattern of anthropogenic change."[69] However, comparative perspectives are problematic not only in a chronological/diachronic context but also in a spatial/synchronic one. Moving away from the complexities of local data necessitates simplification and generalization, which may overlook important details (as discussed, for example, in the case of Glastonbury).

Beyond the descriptive, synchronic level of analysis, comparative studies have the potential to identify historical drivers and agents of socio-economic transformations (economic historical trajectories that lead to success or failure), as well as the incidental consequences or side effects of these processes.[70] From a landscape perspective, one should fully agree with the premise that "the very nature, extent, and durability of the Cistercian settlement afford an invaluable and hitherto underestimated resource for our understanding of later medieval environments."[71] The marginal character of Cistercian landscapes is a key theme that received considerable attention due to the historiography outlined above, influenced by traditional narratives about the settlement strategy of the monasteries and the "frontier thesis" as an economic-historical paradigm. Marginality can be considered at both a local scale (as landscapes dominated by mountains, forests, fens, marshlands are agriculturally peripheral

environments), and a larger scale (as geographic regions that were peripheral from the perspective of settlement colonization and Cistercian expansion).[72] In local contexts, marginal landscapes are associated with extreme risks, and are viewed as sensitive, fragile, and metastable systems.[73] For instance, Kenneth Addison mentions the turbulent impact of the14th century crisis (the Black Death),[74] and his characterization of marginality also emphasizes an ecological view in connection to an optimal niche or habitat, i.e., considering landscapes with crop-based agriculture as optimal and more resilient to the crisis.[75] Studies revisiting the traditional narratives on Cistercian colonization and the frontier thesis point out that Cistercian estates often had diverse ecological backgrounds as their typical situation at the margins of the "ancient landscapes" could be economically advantageous during critical times. Some Cistercian monasteries were better prepared to respond flexibly to the crisis (e.g. to the labor shortages during the late 14th century) by reorganizing their holdings through a series of land transactions.[76] The success of these mitigation strategies had long-term consequences, influencing their later economic development. For example, at Strata Florida Abbey, part of the estate situated in the upland region (suitable for animal husbandry) was already considered invaluable in the 15th century.[77] In addition to physical landscape characteristics, however, sensitivity or resilience is understood also as a social issue.; i.e. the social and institutional "landscapes" or backgrounds could also influence and constrain the success of adaptation strategies. This is to underline the complexity of studying resilience, both from environmental and social viewpoints, as landscape geographical marginality (of "frontier zones") intersects with social geographical ones (of "frontier societies").[78]

My final remarks concern the use of GIS, which has become an essential tool for conducting landscape-level, macroscale, comparative analyses, thereby reinforcing top-down perspectives on the problem of regionality. Fig. 6 provides a simple demonstration of this, showing the results of a spatial statistical evaluation of current land-use patterns within buffer zones of 20 by 20 km around the abbeys. Percentages of land cover types based on CORINE Land Cover data can be used, for example, to filter for heavily urbanized or forested environments, as well as to illustrate landscape level differences in agricultural regimes (pastoral or crop farming). Based on this quantification of modern land use, large-scale differences can be assessed, groupings or categorizations can be established, which can be further refined by incorporating data on terrain, soil hydrology and other

factors. Apparently, in addition to the detailed analysis of site selection strategies based on a combination of different environmental parameters (as illustrated above) GIS based approaches can elevate the comparative analysis to another level.

Fig. 6. Cistercian abbeys in Western Hungary with 20x20km buffer zones showing Corine Land Cover data - CLC statistics, pie chart for Ábrahám Abbey (Dombóvár, Co. Tolna)
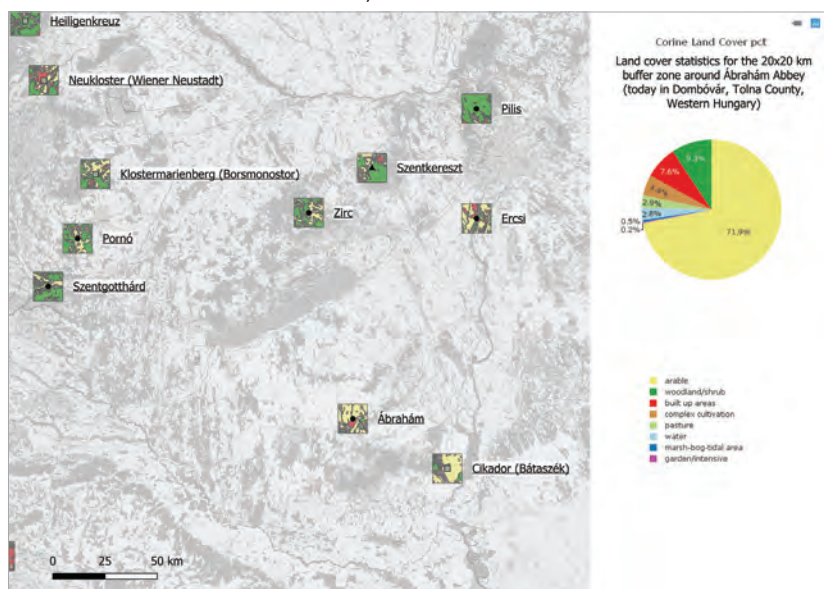
Based on GIS capabilities, different disciplines developed systematized approaches, such as Landscape Character Assessment (LCA), and Historic Landscape Characterization (HLC). While these approaches effectively combine different types of information, they also illustrate the above-described epistemological problem of generalization in comparative analyses, which can lead to a loss of focus on details.[79] From the perspective of cultural heritage management and planning, this is not so much of a concern, as the application of GIS primarily serves the purpose of inventorying cultural heritage assets and providing a digital platform for the visualization of such data, as demonstrated by recent projects focusing on the Cistercian landscapes in Central Europe.[80] In this context,

the main added value of GIS lies in its potential to integrate topographic data about the various elements of the historic landscape, including those – such as granges, mills, fishponds, hollow-ways –, that often receive little or no attention in current heritage management and protection policies. The ratification of the European Landscape Convention has not significantly improved this situation and many of these features remain unprotected. In cultural heritage projects, cartographic representations and gazetteers are produced with GIS, handling a large amount of spatial data, which can be utterly complex and frustrating for non-professionals, when presented on printed maps. As a skeleton of knowledge, these inventories would be incomprehensible for the general visitor when printed out as interpretive signs to be placed at points of interest – as the most conservative visual demonstration tool. However, GIS may serve also as a planning and design tool to better "animate" this body of spatial data, helping professionals in the creation of more immersive experiences, based e.g. on augmented or virtual relity technologies, when creating educational paths, walking trails. Thereby, the task of "mapping" should reach beyond the physical landscape itself. As the visitor experience often lacks interactive engagement and emotional connection, heritage interpreters are encouraged to prepare "deep maps" of the landscape – similar to Clifford Geertz' thick description –, "to record and represent the substance, grain and patina of a particular space, through juxtaposition of and interweavings of the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the factual and the fictional, the academic and the aesthetic".[81]

Endnotes

1   Jamroziak 2020.
2   Müller 2015: 345.
3   Berman 2000; Freeman 2002.
4   Oberste 1994.
5   Davidson 1995.
6   For a comprehensive survey of art-historical studies and on the contemplative character of Cistercian architecture cf. Kinder 2002; Untermann 2001a, Untermann 2001b.
7   Matarasso 1993.
8   Smith 2017.
9   Freeman 2002b: 141–146.
10 Hoffmann 2014: 104.
11 Freeman 2002b, ibid.
12 Kienzle 2001: 150.
13 Southern 1990: 225.
14 Campbell 2000: 11.
15 The Wikipedia article is illustrative on the popularization of this idea: "The most striking feature in the reform was the return to manual labour, especially agricultural work in the fields, a special characteristic of Cistercian life. The Cistercians also made major contributions to culture and technology in medieval Europe: Cistercian architecture is considered one of the most beautiful styles of medieval architecture; and the Cistercians were the main force of technological diffusion in fields such as agriculture, hydraulic engineering."
16 Alfonso 1991.
17 Puls and Puls 1996: 42–43.
18 Christiansen 1994.
19 Fleming-Barker 2013.
20 Rynne 2000; Lucas 2006: 195–200.; Lucas 2010: 980.
21 Campbell 2000: 11.
22 Constable 1996: 120
23 Aberth 2013.
24 Hoffmann 2014; Loveluck 2013; Pollard 1997.
25 Bond 2000.
26 See e.g. Wichert 2000: 71–72; Pollard 1998: 173–174.
27 Alfonso 1991 discusses how Cistercian practices maintained – to some extent – the feudal character of manorial organization.
28 Bezant 2009: 7.
29 See e.g. France 2014: 118–119.

30   This is exemplified by the so called *Rinthof* in case of the Bohemian abbey of Plasy (Charvátová 1993: 134), and similarly by the *grangia pecudum* in case of the German abbey of Kamp (Janssen 1983: 218). The industrial farm of the Pilis monastery in Hungary was also a few kilometers away (at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta) Cf. Laszlovszky et al. 2014. The central location of industrial facilities is noted also by Benoit 1994.

31   Referred in the German literature as *Ferngrangie*, see e.g. Gahlbeck 2009: 544 (in connection to some granges of Lubiąż.)

32   There are several case studies illustrating this pattern, see e.g. Picart 1994 on Preuilly (France), Reimann 1998 on Dargun (Germany), Söder 2010 on Eberbach (Germany). For a comparative survey on economic functions see: Schich 1998.

33   See e.g. works of Weiss 1962 on Ebrach, Rösener 1974 on Salem, Ribbe 1976 on Zinna; and Mossig 1978 on Eberbach.

34   On Plasy Abbey see Charvátová 1993.

35   Hoffmann 2014: 129-130.

36   Hardt 2014: 576.

37   Oram 2020:

38   Bond 2004: 23.

39   Benoit 1994.

40   Biddick 1989: 1.

41   Ibid.

42   Mate 1984.

43   Higounet 1965.

44   Rippon 2005: 106–107.

45   For Topusko cf. Ferenczi 2006; for Plasy cf. Charvátová 1993: 123; For a large-scale soil map of the region see Seel 2018: 10., most recently see Ferenczi 2024, 78.

46   Rackham 1986.

47   Hoffmann 2014: 131.

48   Kain and Oliver 2020.

49   See Procter 2018 on Tintern, and Roberts 2014 on Margam, Neath and Tintern.

50   Provided by the Welsh Government: https://lle.gov.wales/catalogue/item/PredictiveAgriculturalLandClassificationALCMap/?lang=en; It has been suggested that the fundamental composition of soils probably did not change much - in northern France cf. Comet 1997: 23. Thus, modern typologies or classifications could be relevant for assessing medieval conditions.

51   Platt 1965: 71.

52   Liebermann 2010: 29–32.

53   Addison 2006: 224.

54 On the sophysticated geography hypothesis see Acemoglu et al. 2002, especially p. 1260: "with the arrival of 'appropriate' technologies, temperate areas became more productive". See also Michael 2000, especially Chapter 3. on heterogeneity / ditributedness in the environment and technological implications in regard to that.

55 'Cambridge air photos' database, Department of Geography, Cambridge University. Available at: https://www.cambridgeairphotos.com/search/

56 Lekan and Zeller 2014: 353.

57 See on this technological issue specifically Hopcroft 1999 (2002): 28–31, reviewing Marc Bloch's idea and more recent literatures.

58 For example, Catchpole and Priest 2012: 31 found that 12% of ridge and furrow recorded in 1999 has been already destroyed or badly damaged: https://research.historicengland.org.uk/redirect.aspx?id= 6950%7CTurning%20the%20Plough%20Update%20Assessment%202012 (Last accessed: 13 July 2020).

59 Burton 2012.

60 Pollard 1997: 166.

61 Aston (ed.) 1988.

62 Preliminary fieldwork has been carried out by the author so far at the monasteries of Pilis (2012–2013), Szentgotthárd (Hungary), Klostermarienberg (Austria), and Plasy (Bohemia) (2020). For similar phenomena in case of Pauline monasteries in Hungary, see Pető 2018.

63 Hoffmann 1996: 660. Ibid.: "eighty-seven new building projects are recorded between 1347 and 1418. Large and complex hydraulic works were again undertaken by Czech lords between 1450 and 1550, resulting by the latter year in an estimated 26,000 artificial ponds covering thousands of hectares" For data on Bohemia cf. also: Přikryl 2004; Although systematic data is not available, similar tendencies are suspected in case of medieval Hungary. See: Ihrig (ed.): 35; Ferenczi 2018: 242.

64 See on this Hoffmann 1996: 667; Lhotský 2010: 53.

65 Nováková 2005.

66 For theoretical points on regionality as a socially constructed space / "Gesellschaftliche Raumlichkeit", see e.g. Butlin 1992; Werlen 1993.

67 Röhrkasten 2014

68 Astill 1993.

69 Hoffmann 2014: 133.

70 Kehnel 2007.

71 Addison 2006: 212.

72 Cf. Pollard 1998: 11–12.

73 Addison 2006: 232–233: "Certainly, in occupying marginal landscapes by choice, the Cistercians also inevitably exposed their system to greater economic and environmental risk, sensitivity, and (inevitably) fragility."

[74]   Ibid.

[75]   The ecological definition of niches, and marginality – as outlier groups – is, however, not as straightforward as it seems. Hirzel and Le Hay 2008, p.1 explains that "The concept of the ecological niche relates a set of environmental variables to the fitness of species, while habitat suitability models (HSMs) relate environmental variables to the likelihood of occurrence of the species. In spite of this relationship, the concepts are weakly linked in the literature, and there is a strong need for better integration." Besides, there are no sharp boundaries, but rather zones of transition and there is a different understanding of marginality in socio-ecological systems, as biophysical factors are superimposed by technological and sociological ones. Cf. Callo-Concha et al. 2014: 59–60; Renes 2015: 4 warns that historical explanations on marginality are rather simplistic, in as much as "Many regions that we now regard as peripheral were in fact connected to systems of exchange on different scales."

[76]   Janssen 1983.

[77]   Bond 2005: 57.

[78]   Regarding Cistercians in frontier regions / frontier societies, see e.g. Jamroziak 2008; Jamroziak and Stöber (eds.) 2013.

[79]   From this point of view, the relevance of HLC has been criticized by Austin 2007.

[80]   „Sharing Heritage" Projekt „Vielfalt in der Einheit – Zisterziensische Klosterlandschaften in Mitteleuropa": https://sharingheritage.de/en/projects/cistercian-landscapes-in-central-europe-2/ (Last accessed: 13 July 2020).

[81]   Pearson 2010: 32.

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177

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ECOTOURISM AND POST-INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE RUSSIAN PERIPHERY

Victoria Fomina

Abstract

This paper draws on the case of Komsomolsk-na-Amure, a planned city built in the 1930s in the Khabarovsk Region, to explore interwoven moral imaginaries of industrialization and nature in Russia's Far East. Widely celebrated in the Soviet press as 'the City of Youth' built by communist volunteers who traveled from all over the USSR to construct an urban socialist utopia in the taiga, Komsomolsk's mythos has historically been defined by the trope of triumphant subjugation of the unruly wilderness. In the 1960s, as love of one's region and its natural splendor became central to Soviet patriotic visions, Komsomolsk's hinterland witnessed a rapid development of ecotourism, designed to provide residents with local recreational alternatives to distant resorts in the Western part of the USSR. The city's enterprises, including shipbuilding and aviation plants, played a key role in financing and maintaining the ex-urban summer camps, sanatoria, and ski resorts. However, economic decline and massive depopulation since the 1990s have left the city's (peri-)urban infrastructures in ruins. By exploring attempts to revive these leisure enterprises on a commercial basis in the post-Soviet era, I illuminate the challenges associated with the market-oriented transformation of what were once considered state-provided services, and analyze the potential trajectories of profit-generating nature tourism for the development of sparsely populated and hard-to-reach places like the Khabarovsk Region.

Keywords: Russian Far East, post-socialist transition, deindustrialization, ecotourism

Introduction

Over the past two decades, ecotourism has emerged not only as a rapidly developing sector of the global economy, but also as a new paradigm for envisioning a "sustainable future" in locales hit hard by recession and the long-term trend of deindustrialization. Coinciding with a growing global awareness of the urgency of environmental conservation and biodiversity protection, ecotourism's numerous advocates – from international financial

institutions to national governments and NGOs – celebrate the practice as an effective alternative to extractive industries and polluting manufacturing that can benefit local communities, improve the quality of life in developing regions, and help protect fragile ecosystems by supporting projects that promote responsible consumption (Carrier and Macleod 2005; Fletcher and Neves 2012). Inherent in the ecotourism paradigm is an attempt to address the pressing issue of human-induced environmental degradation by redefining the relationship between nature and value production. "While extractive industry creates value by transforming natural resources into commodities that can be transported to their point of consumption, conservation, by contrast, seeks to commodify resources in situ, necessitating particular mechanisms to generate value sans extraction," observe Fletcher and Neves (2012: 64). Such a redefinition of nature as a valuable resource in its own right is imagined to serve the environmentalist cause by incentivizing conservation over other forms of land use (ibid.) and by promoting a moral framework that juxtaposes the virtues of ecotourism as a "sustainable" and "responsible" economic model with ecologically "dangerous" and therefore morally problematic industrial production. Such a Manichean view of ecotourism and industrial development, however, has little traction in many post-industrial communities, which see ecotourism development as an opportunity to supplement their declining incomes, but are unwilling or unable to give up hope of reviving their local manufacturing sector. In this essay, I draw on the case of Komsomolsk-na-Amure – a formerly "closed" military-industrial complex in the Russian Far East – to explore the promises and limitations of ecotourism in the context of Soviet-era planned cities. By exploring the historical entanglements between the varied imaginaries of nature and industrial development in the Russian Far East (RFE) during the Soviet and post-Soviet eras, I aim to shed light on the tensions involved in attempts to transform nature tourism from a state-provided service into a market for profit. I argue that in those regions whose remote geographic location and underdeveloped transportation networks make them unlikely candidates for conversion into international ecotourism hubs, the development of nature tourism remains highly dependent on the home market and its economic performance, as well as the stability of the national middle class. In what follows, I draw on the case of the children's holiday camp industry around Komsomolsk, which entered a phase of decline in the 1990s, to illuminate the key role of industrialization in the development and maintenance of the nature tourism industry in the Russian periphery.

The imagery of vast natural expanses and mesmerizing wilderness has historically played a central role in the construction of popular representations of the Russian Far East. The imperial-era mythology of Eastern Siberia and the Amur Region strongly drew on the promise of bountifulness, with 19th century explorers and enthusiasts of colonial expansion depicting the region as an "inexhaustible source of wealth," rich in fish, sables, arable land, and precious metals (Bassin 1999: 21). Soviet representations of the Far East largely depicted the region as a frontier zone to be domesticated and incorporated into socialist modernity through the construction of railroads, electricity grids, and new urban settlements. The 1930s cinematographic and literary representations of the Far East and the Arctic drew heavily on militaristic metaphors of subduing the hostile, yet spectacular wilderness in order to carve out space for the new socialist society (Shulman 2007; Kaganovsky2017; Widdis 2000). During the Soviet era, the Russian Far East underwent rapid urbanization and demographic growth, driven both by expansion of imperial-era cities and establishment of new industrial centers such as Komsomolsk-na-Amure and Magadan. These proud new cities, along with other high-profile construction projects such as the Baikal-Amur Mainline, represented both the industrial successes of the Soviet state and the triumph of man over nature. The triumph, however, proved to be short-lived. Since the 1990s, following rapid deindustrialization, the retreat of the socialized state, and mass outmigration from the region, the temporarily subdued "wilderness" started to reconquer its territory, subsuming the numerous abandoned military garrisons, defunct summer camps, and geological exploration outposts scattered throughout the taiga. In the post-Soviet era, the Far East reemerged in the Russian popular imagination as a kind of *terra incognita*, harboring natural splendors and empty spaces waiting to be (re)discovered. This untamed image is reinforced by the Far East's status as Russia's most sparsely populated region: despite occupying more than one-third of Russia's landmass, only 5.6% of the country's population lives there, and this modest number is steadily declining each year.

Concerned about the depopulation and economic decline of this strategically important frontier region, the Russian federal government has implemented a number of policies aimed at increasing the region's attractiveness for investment and migration. Since 2015, the Russian government has sought to address the RFE's demographic problem by transforming it into "a territory of advanced development," or TOR, by investing in economic modernization and providing subsidies to

incentivize young professionals and businesses to relocate to the area. At present, extractive industries, including mining, oil, gas, timber extraction, and fishing, remain the bulwark of the Far East's economy, while manufacturing, mostly concentrated in the Khabarovsk and Primorie regions, accounts for only 5.1% (Min and Kang 2018, 55). The economic programs promoted under the TOR initiative aim both to support existing industries (especially manufacturing) and to revitalize the region's economic development by promoting (eco)tourism enterprises, which can supplement income from the declining industrial sector. For the purposes of this paper, I will use the terms "ecotourism" and "nature tourism" interchangeably to refer to any form of tourist activity (whether for sport, nature observation, pleasure, or education) that involves visits to wilderness and/or peri-urban areas. By analyzing the complex relational nexus between the environment, industrial production, and development in the Russian periphery, this essay traces the shifting practices of leisure and the transformation of nature in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, as well as the ways in which the rearticulation of these imaginaries can potentially reconfigure the struggling economies of former company towns.

Conquering and inhabiting nature

From its inception, representations of Komsomolsk-na-Amure have been inextricably linked to images of the boundless and impassable taiga that surrounds it. The city was founded in 1932 and was designed to foster the region's industrialization with a shipbuilding plant, an aircraft factory, and several metallurgical industries. Built with the participation of thousands of volunteers from the Communist Youth League, or *Komsomol,* the city's name was meant to commemorate the heroic feat of the Soviet youth. The fast-growing construction projects in the USSR's underpopulated Eastern borderlands required a steady supply of workers. The chronic manpower shortages in the region were partly remedied by widespread usage of prison labor provided by the expanding network of Gulag camps (Bone 1999). From the late 1930s onwards, the Soviet authorities actively encouraged the promotion of the region in the all-Union press and public culture with the goal of incentivizing migration to the frontier (Shulman 2007). The first years of Komsomolsk's construction became the subject of numerous newspaper articles, works of literary fiction, documentary books and films, theater plays, songs, and poems. These artworks often

portrayed the city's builders as fearless pioneers engaged in a deadly struggle with a merciless nature, transforming the vast wilderness around them into a habitable environment (Widdis 2000). These romanticized narratives of the city's creation and celebration of its *pervostroiteli*, or 'first-builders' formed the cornerstone of the local memory canon, which has long outlived the Soviet state (Fomina forthcoming).

Over time, as the city's urban infrastructure expanded significantly, the combative attitude of its builders and residents toward the great outdoors gradually gave way to a more contemplative and sentimental stance, one that mixed concerns about conservation with a desire to explore and experience the awe-inducing beauty of the taiga. This moment also coincided with the general paradigm shift in the USSR's approach to the environment, from the grandiose ambitions of the Stalin era to transform ecologies in accordance with the needs of Soviet society to an acknowledgement of the problem of resource overexploitation and a call for a more responsible and harmonious relationship with nature (Coumel 2013). The Khrushchev era witnessed a strong renaissance of the conservation and nature protection movement, including the establishment of the Nature Protection Commission (1955), the creation of different scientific associations engaged in conservation activities, and a shift towards greater coverage of pollution and environmental degradation issues in the Soviet press (ibid.).

The Soviet turn to environmentalism was accompanied by a reassessment of the role of nature in the national imagination. During the 1960s, love and knowledge of one's region and its natural splendor became central to Soviet patriotic visions, which promoted educational excursions and tours designed to cultivate a love and responsible attitude toward the environment. Although the relationship between conservation initiatives and nature tourism was not without tension, as the massive influx of visitors into previously "virgin" or underpopulated terrains created new dangers of anthropogenic pollution and human-caused wildfires, the Soviet environmental activists made considerable efforts to turn tourists into "fighters for nature" through promoting ecological education and the culture of "responsible" contact with nature (Roe 2016: 2). Beginning in the 1960s, the Soviet Union witnessed a rapid expansion of domestic tourism infrastructure managed by a variety of official bodies, including trade unions, which played an important role in subsidizing travel vouchers for their members (Assipova and Lynn 2014: 2018). Much of the government's efforts in the postwar period were specifically focused on

sponsoring children recreation and adolescent tourism, both to shape the new generation of loyal and healthy Soviet citizens and to demonstrate to domestic and foreign audiences the Soviet Union's ability to provide a happy childhood for its children (Tsipurski 2014).

Although the process of infrastructure development for travel and recreation was characterized by a strong geographical unevenness, with much smaller scale infrastructure development in the remote parts of the USSR characterized by low population density and extreme climatic conditions (Shaw 1991: 126), since the 1960s Komsomolsk's hinterland witnessed a rapid development of ecotourism, which aimed to provide residents with local recreational alternatives to distant resorts in the Western part of the USSR. The city's enterprises, including the Amur Shipbuilding Plant (ASZ) and the Yuri Gagarin Aircraft Factory, played a key role in the creation of ex-urban summer camps, sanatoriums, and ski resorts. Most of the summer camps and tourist bases created in the region during the Soviet era belonged to different factories that were directly responsible for their financing and infrastructure maintenance. Examples include the *Korabel* (1937) and *Delphin* (1990) summer camps of the Shipbuilding Plant, the *Kosmos* (1969) and *Shargol* (1975) summer camps of the Aircraft Plant, the *Amurchenok* (1964) and *Amurkaia Zhemchuzhina* (Amur Pearl) (1979) camps of the local metallurgical plant, owned by the *Amurmash* machine-building plant in Amursk, a satellite town of Komsomolsk founded in 1958. Along with the construction of camps, the practice of organized excursions into nature organized as part of *kraievedenie* initiatives – the popularization of the study of history, geography and ecology of one's region – were rapidly developing. In 1956, a regional branch of the Children's Excursion Tour Station (CETS) was opened in Khabarovsk. The Station coordinated children's expeditions, hikes, and camping trips throughout the region, often giving preference to the development of itineraries that had educational potential, such as hikes to remote settlements and villages with the aim of collecting oral histories and documenting material culture, geological and archaeological expeditions, and reconstruction of the routes of the 19th and early 20th century explorers of the region. In the late 1950s, about 45,000 students of the Khabarovsk region were involved in the work of the CETS, and the popularity of the movement continued to grow in the following decades (Davydova 2019).

Post-industrial developments

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ensuing deindustrialization, Komsomolsk – whose entire economy revolved around the military-industrial complex – experienced a dramatic decline. After 1991, the city's industrial production suffered a major decline. Throughout the 1990s, Komsomolsk became a site of enduring protests and strikes, often supported by the local administration and industrial leaders who hoped to stall the pace of privatization and secure the subsidies from the federal center necessary to prevent the complete meltdown of the city's economy (Evans 2014). These protests often explicitly targeted the Kremlin, whose policies were popularly blamed for the city's economic crisis. The recovery of the Russian military-industrial complex by the late 1990s, coupled with the government's growing concern about the rapid depopulation of the Russian Far East, has led to the provision of new subsidies to the city's industries. While these measures have allowed Komsomolsk to escape the grim fate of the so-called "monotowns" – or single-industry cities, many of which have become ghost towns since the 1990s (Rockhill-Khlinovskaya 2015) – the city's continued to face declining demographics and shrinking industrial output. From 319,000 residents in 1990 to 239,386 in 2022, the city's population has decreased significantly – a trend that is likely to continue in the near future as Komsomolsk's younger residents find it increasingly difficult to envision a future in a city struggling with decaying infrastructure and an aging population.

The economic turmoil that the city has experienced since the 1990s has had a devastating effect on the local children's tourism industry, as the factories that once owned and sponsored the pioneer camps have found it increasingly difficult to finance the upkeep of these sites. Although some of the summer camps and tourist complexes managed to continue operating throughout the 1990s, by the end of the 2000s, many had ceased to exist. The city's oldest summer camp, *Korabel*, which had been in operation since 1937 and was owned by the Amur Shipbuilding Plant, was "conserved" in 2010 because the factory could no longer afford to pay for its upkeep. Conservation, as opposed to outright closure, involves a commitment to protect the existing infrastructure of the site so that it may reopen in the future. The camp's territory continues to be fenced off and guarded against uninvited intruders – whether they are local residents visiting abandoned campsites in search of evocative photographs or teenagers looking to throw a party. While such conservation practices may

protect camp property from looting, vandalism, and accidental destruction by unsupervised visitors,[1] it proves powerless against the ravages of time. A series of photo reportages from *Korabel* and several other preserved camps by local journalist Dmitrii Nikolaev[2] documents the deplorable condition of the foreclosed camps: buildings with partially collapsed roofs, mold-infested walls, and rotting wooden floors. As this decay spreads, each day of the "conservation" thus increases the cost of the necessary renovations while diminishing the hope of reopening the camp.

Many of the camps that were transferred from the factories to city ownership met an equally grim end. Struggling to find the money to maintain the camps, the city administration was forced to auction them off. Some were subsequently acquired by private entrepreneurs who hoped to revive the operation of these sites on a commercial basis, but with little success. Such is the case of *Kosmos*, one of the largest camps in Khabarovsk region, located in the taiga hills about 38 km from Komsomolsk. The camp, which covers an area of 123,000 square meters and has 18 residential buildings as well as several outdoor swimming pools and sports fields, was built in 1970 for the children of employees of the aircraft factory and used to accommodate up to 800 children per stay (Kakarov 2015). Until 2014, *Kosmos* was jointly funded by the Yurii Gagarin Aircraft Factory and the Komsomolsk city administration. However, after the massive floods that hit the Khabarovsk region in 2013 severely damaged the camp's infrastructure, the aircraft factory declared that it could no longer contribute to the camp's upkeep. The city administration, unable to raise on its own the approximately 30 million rubles needed to finance the extensive repairs and modernization of the camp, which lacked a centralized power supply and had to run on an expensive diesel power plant, unsuccessfully attempted to transfer the camp to the regional government's balance sheet (Scherstobitova 2014). After failing to secure support from the regional budget, the city administration decided to "conserve" the camp, as it could not be reopened due to safety regulations, but since conservation also entailed significant costs, it eventually decided to auction it off. In June 2015, the camp complex was sold to a private entrepreneur, who intended to transform the camp's territory into a recreational tourist base, mainly aimed at adult visitors.[3] However, these plans did not materialize and the camp remains abandoned to this day, slowly being eaten up by the encroaching nature.

A similar fate awaited the *Amurskaia Zhemchuzhina* camp, located in a picturesque Ommi village near Amursk. The camp was built in 1979 by

the Amursk-based metallurgical plant *Amurmash* to serve as a children's vacation camp in the summer and as a recreational base for the plant's employees in other seasons. Nikolayev (2018) reports that in 1997, when the *Amurmash* factory was struggling with a lack of orders, it incurred a substantial debt for energy consumption and was forced to transfer the camp to the Amurskaia Thermal Power Plant (TPP) in lieu of the forfeited payments. Unlike *Kosmos*, *Amurskaia Zhemchuzhina*, which covers an area of 6.3 hectares, had a greater potential for commercial use, as it was originally designed as a large recreational complex for the entertainment of both youth and adults, with (in addition to the usual summer camp dormitories, sports fields, and swimming pools) a movie theater and disco hall, a well-equipped an indoors gym, roller and running tracks, and a football field. For the next 17 years after the transfer, the camp was run by the TPP on a commercial basis and even managed to generate enough profit to transform it into a separate open joint-stock company. By 2021, however, the camp's profitability began to decline due to the decreasing ability of local residents to pay and the growing cost of maintaining the Soviet-era infrastructure. In 2014, *Amurskaia Zhemchuzhina*, no longer able to cope with shrinking revenues, was forced to declare bankruptcy and shut down. In the same year, the camp complex was acquired by Khabarovsk businessman Fyodor Petrov. In 2018, as part of his investigative series on the fate of closed camps, Nikolaev published a short interview with Petrov, in which the camp's new owner described his plans to resume the camp's functioning. According to Petrov's estimates, renovating the camp would require about 40 million rubles, which he hoped to raise from private investors and the regional government.[4] Neither seems to have materialized, as in 2021 the camp was sold again, this time to an Amursk businessman who bought it along with a nearby (also abandoned) tourist base, *Rosinka*, in the hope of transforming these territories into a large recreational complex.[5] As of July 2022, neither site has resumed operations.

The examples of *Kosmos* and *Amursakaia Zhemchuzhina* illustrate the difficulty of transforming the industry of children's tourism rooted in the logic of the planned economy, into a profit-making enterprise in the post-Soviet era. One of the key factors hindering the development of the sector is the continuing demographic decline in Komsomolsk, caused both by the steady outmigration of its residents to other parts of Russia and by the so-called "demographic hole" of the 1990s – the sharp drop in birth rates in the early years of the post-socialist transition, which in the following

decades had a ripple effect on the educational system, as the shrinking cohorts of children and then students inevitably led to the downsizing of kindergartens, schools, and universities. This situation has also created a serious challenge for the children tourism industry. While the general economic downturn and the willingness and ability of families to finance their children's camp vacations can be partially remedied by the regional government's subsidy program, which reimburses part of the cost of the stay, the steady decline in the number of young people of the relevant age proved much harder to counter. Commenting on the upcoming auction of *Kosmos* and the camp's future after the sale, the mayor of Komsomolsk at the time, Andrei Klimov, admitted at a press conference that children's tourism was generally considered "unprofitable" by businessmen and that the camp was unlikely to be used for its intended purpose.[6] By 2022, only three extra-urban summer camps continued to operate in Komsomolsk – *Burevestnik* and *Amurchenok*, which remain registered as municipal property and are financed by the city, and *Zaslonovo*, which is owned by the Far Eastern branch of the Russian Railways Company.

The news of *Kosmos*'s sale, posted on Komsomolsk's city forum *komcity.ru*, provoked a flurry of angry comments from local residents, who saw it as a continuation of the market reform policies that throughout the 1990s have led to the privatization, sale, and subsequent foreclosure of the city's cultural and educational institutions, from houses of culture and sports complexes to kindergartens. While some commentators have pointed the finger at the Aircraft factory, shaming it for abandoning its social obligations, others have accused the city administration of trying to write off an important element of public infrastructure. Inevitably, many have interpreted the closure of the beloved and once popular local youth summer camp as just another sign of Komsomolsk's decline in the post-Soviet era. As one commentator put it, "As for *Kosmos*, I think its history is now over, and so is the history of the USSR's achievements in developing the city's industrial-ecological, social, educational, and wellness [*ozdorovitel'nyi*] potential."[7] The juxtaposition of Komsomolsk's current infrastructural decay with the city's rapid development during the Soviet era is also a common trope in discussions of the videos and photo images of the abandoned camps around Komsomolsk circulating on social media. Sometimes jokingly referred to as "traces of a more advanced civilization," these "ruins" function as material symbols of the infrastructural decline that former industrial frontiers like Komsomolsk have experienced since the collapse of the USSR. As such, these decaying

objects have a strong potential to fuel nostalgia for the Socialist era, which is remembered as a time of optimism and rapid development.

New ecological opportunities?

The imperial Russian, and later Soviet, project of colonizing the Far East was marked by an ongoing tension between the desire to transform the local environment into a suitable habitat and the concern to minimize the ecological damage caused by these transformations. Mark Sokolsky (2016) argues that both tsarist and Soviet governments saw the solution to this dilemma in the "rationalization" of nature management, hoping that a scientifically informed approach would allow for economic and urban development in harmony with the distinct, local ecology. Soviet attempts to reenact rationalized development, Sokolsky (2016, 35) argues, resulted in dramatic contrasts in the treatment of different territories, with some sites designated as "protected areas" and enjoying the highest forms of protection from anthropogenic impact, while others were "sacrificed" to the needs of the industrial economy. While the accelerated industrialization of the Soviet Far East helped to urbanize the region and significantly improve the living conditions of its inhabitants, it also came at a high ecological cost. In the late Soviet era, Komsomolsk – along with Khabarovsk and Yuzhno-Sakhalisnk – was included in the list of the 50 most polluted cities in the USSR (Pryde and Mcauley 1991). The dramatic decline in industrial production since the 1990s has partially remedied the situation, if not in the city itself,[8] at least in its surrounding areas, creating new opportunities to capitalize on the region's natural landscape. Building on the Soviet legacy of nature conservation, three additional nature reserves *(zapovedniki)* have been established in Khabarovsk since the 1990s. Today, a significant portion of the region's territory is covered by some form of protected natural area, and the region boasts numerous cultural heritage sites, six nature reserves, one national park, and 25 wildlife sanctuaries *(zakazniki)*. Observing the growing global popularity of ecotourism, local authorities have attempted to replicate its success, hoping that Khabarovsk's vast expanses of untouched taiga could make the region an attractive destination for domestic and international travelers.

The development of the region's potential as a major hub for ecotourism was given special attention in the regional government's programs. The government program "Development of Domestic and International

193

Tourism in Khabarovsk Region (2013–2020)" concludes that despite the region's high potential for attracting tourists due to its high concentration of natural reserves, the growth of this sector in the region's economy has been extremely slow – a trend that is attributed to the poor and unevenly distributed transport and hotel infrastructure, which leads to high-priced tours and low quality service standards.[9] The program proposes to revitalize the region's tourism industry through the development of the so-called "cluster" approach, which envisages the unification of already existing, locally popular, urban and peri-urban destinations that are deemed to have "high marketability" potential into packaged tours (Mirzekhanova 2015). The creation of "clusters" implies the use of public-private partnerships to ensure the improvement of existing services and the development of new services for tourism-related infrastructure – from hotels and restaurants to ethnographic museums and transportation networks on land and on the Amur River – around specific sites and territories. The program called for the creation of three such clusters: 1) "Khabarovsk agglomeration," selected for its proximity to the Chinese border, as well as for its rich architectural and historical legacy and high potential for "cultural" and "educational" tourism; 2) "Severnyi – Sikhote-Alin'" cluster, located on the territory of the Vanino and Sovietskaia Gavan' municipal districts near the Gulf of Tartary, in close proximity to the Okhotsk Sea, and featuring numerous thermal streams proposed to serve as a basis for health and ecological/sports tourism (fishing, hunting); 3) "Komsomolsk agglomeration," which has a unique intersection of different types of flora, fauna, and echinofauna, as well as a ski industry, is envisioned as a site for "extreme nature" and ethnographic tourism. In 2019, the regional Ministry of Culture worked with the Khabarovsk-based *Guberniia* TV channel on a project called "Khabarovsk Region – a Territory of Big Discoveries," which aimed to showcase the natural reserves and indigenous settlements in various, often remote, parts of the region through a cycle of documentary series. In 2021, a Ministry of Tourism of Khabarovsk Region was established as a separate institution with the goal of promoting the region's numerous natural reserves as a popular destination for Russian and foreign visitors.

The 2013–2020 program, like numerous other governmental documents related to tourism development, justifies its concern for the local travel infrastructure with statistics that place tourism among the most profitable industries in the global economy, accounting for up to 10% of GDP in many states. While this reference to global experience may suggest an ambition to replicate the success stories of the international

tourism sector domestically, in practice the regional government's plan for the sector is rather modest, especially when it comes to assessing the region's potential to become a global tourist destination. Of the three proposed tourism clusters, only the "Khabarovsk agglomeration" is imagined to have the potential to attract foreign tourists and visitors from outside the region, while the other two clusters are suggested as sites for intraregional tourism.[10] Such an approach reflects the harsh reality that the Khabarovsk region, despite its spectacular natural beauty, has a hard time competing for inbound tourists with the nearby Southern resort Primorskii Region, which is located next to the Sea of Japan and is more easily accessible via the port city of Vladivostok, which has a large number of cultural and historical landmarks as well as a better developed transportation infrastructure. The 2021 Russian National Tourism Rating[11] ranks the Khabarovsk Region 42nd (out of 85) – in drastic contrast to the neighboring Primorskii Krai and Sakhalin oblast that were ranked 6th and 20th, respectively. This focus on not only domestic, but specifically intraregional tourism, which seems entirely justified given Khabarovsk's remote location away from major international airport hubs and underdeveloped transportation networks, thus challenges the idea of making tourism a more ecologically sustainable alternative to industrial production. Rather than becoming a new driver of the region's economic development, the tourism sector, which is primarily oriented toward the domestic market, is bound to remain heavily dependent on the state of the local industrial economy.

While the children's summer camp industry proved unsustainable in the context of post-Soviet market reforms, the sports tourism sector has enjoyed some visible successes. The most emblematic example of this success is the *Kholdomi* ski resort, which opened in 2004 in the mountainous area of Solnechnyi Raion, about 40 km Northwest of Komsomolsk. The resort quickly became very popular among the region's residents and was twice awarded "The Best Skiing Resort in the Russian Far East" by the Moscow-based International Congress of the Skiing Industry in 2006 and 2007. In 2016, Kholdomi was included in the "Komsomolsk" Advanced Special Economic Zone (ASEZ) program, which is designed to incentivize economic investment in the region through temporary tax exemptions and other privileges, such as reduced rents for land, simplified inspection procedures, and favorable loan rates. The ASEZ paradigm was introduced in the wake of the 2014 Western sanctions in response to Crimea's annexation, as an ambitious model to stimulate

the development of production and industry in the Russian Far East (Min and Kang 2018). Established in 2015, the Komsomolsk ASEZ includes several development clusters in the city of Komsomolsk, its satellite city of Amursk, and the Solnechnyi municipal district, aimed at supporting and further developing local agriculture, food production, metallurgy and timber industries, manufacturing, and tourism and recreation.[12] Since its inclusion in the ASEZ, Kholdomi has been able to attract significant investments (more than 432.9 million rubles) in the development of its infrastructure (mainly new ski trails and ski lifts), which should increase its traffic to 2,000 visitors per hour (the goal was to receive 240,000 tourists per year).[13] Currently, the resort has 17 ski trails of varying difficulty, a two-story hotel, and several wooden lodges. Outside of the ski season, which lasts from November to the end of April and sometimes early May, the resort remains open during the summer, offering its guests climbing walls, a bathhouse complex, and a rope park. Despite the fact that skiing and snowboarding remain relatively expensive hobbies, Kholdomi' s steady development reflects a growing interest in forms of nature' and extreme tourism in the region among the emerging middle class in the Khabarovsk region. Despite Kholdomi's undeniable success and economic importance for the region as a major sports tourism hub, the feasibility of such a model of private investment-driven commercial enterprises to replace Soviet practices of organized leisure activities became a subject of bitter debate in the local media after a tragic fire at the complex in July 2019. In order to supplement its income during the summer season, Kholdomi has been running a children's camp on its territory since 2015, which is designed to accommodate up to 250 children per stay, offering accommodation in both cottages and makeshift tents. On the night of 23 July 2019, several tents caught fire due to a malfunctioning portable heater, resulting in the deaths of four children. The subsequent investigation revealed massive mismanagement and violation of safety regulations by the camp authorities, who admitted more children than could be accommodated in the cottages and made the decision to house some of the children in the tents.[14] This incident has revived discussion about the state of the children's camp industry in Komsomolsk, with many commentators pointing out that it was the foreclosure of the numerous camps designed specifically for children that led to the rise of ad-hoc organized camps in places like Kholdomi, which lack adequate infrastructure to host large groups of younger visitors. Although the Kholdomi camp was permanently closed after the tragedy, the complex continues to operate successfully

as a ski resort. While Kholdomi demonstrates the economic potential of privately owned, commercial tourist sites that can create jobs and generate revenue for regional budgets, it also illustrates the limitations of such a model, which cannot be extended to the organization of children's tourism on a private, for-profit basis and must therefore be subsidized by state or local enterprises.

Concluding remarks

The argument for developing ecotourism as an alternative to declining industrial production in the post-Soviet era is not entirely without merit, and there are some successful local examples of such enterprises in the Russian Far East. In the early 1990s, a private international crane breeding reserve was established in Amurskaia Oblast near the village of Muraviovka. Melinda Herrold-Menzies (2012: 800), who has researched the history of the park's development over several decades, reports that the residents and local government of the village of Muraviovka were initially strongly opposed to the establishment of the park, viewing the park's foreign donors from Japan, Korea, the United States, and Canada, as well as their Moscow-based partners, as "colonizers" seeking to take over local land and resources. However, local attitudes changed dramatically over the next decade and a half, as the park became a contributor to the local economy and a provider of some services previously provided by the Soviet state, including infrastructure development, the establishment of an environmental summer camp for local youth, the donation of equipment to village schools, and the establishment of an organic farm that provided employment opportunities (ibid.).

While ecotourism can provide a viable economic alternative for small settlements like Muraviovka, replicating the success of such a model on a larger scale in former industrial centers with higher population densities is hardly possible. Although the Khabarovsk Region possesses a large number of natural landmarks capable of attracting both domestic and international visitors, its geographical location and poor transportation infrastructure limit its ability to turn (eco)tourism into a critical industry. Moreover, the very thing that makes the region a suitable place for the development of so-called "extreme" nature tourism – a high concentration of beautiful but difficult to access natural landmarks – severely limits the

pool of potential tourists to experienced and adventurous explorers who are up to the challenge of traveling to "uncharted" territory.

The development of nature tourism in and around Khabarovsk is inextricably linked to the Soviet industrialization project, which, despite inflicting substantial damage to local ecologies, also made previously inaccessible areas accessible to large groups of visitors through the construction of roads and tourist bases. These developments were made possible by the logic of the centrally planned economy, which viewed nature tourism as a state-provided service designed to increase the well-being of Soviet citizens, rather than as an industry expected to turn a profit. The dramatic decline of Komsomolsk's peri-urban infrastructure since the 1990s, and the failure of attempts to revive the numerous closed summer camps and recreational complexes in the context of the market economy, point to the challenges of operating a tourism industry in sparsely populated, peripheral areas far from major transportation hubs and networks. Yet, in contrast to settings where such remoteness results in ecotourism operations that cater primarily to transnational (Western) tourists invested in encounters with "unspoiled" or "pristine" nature, or conservation projects that seek to banish humans from the wilderness, the paradigm of leisure tourism that has emerged in post-Soviet Russia eschews these modes of radical displacement in favor of a *modus vivendi* between industry and ecology as the way to an economically and ecologically sustainable future.

Endnotes

1. In practice, however, even these measures have often proved insufficient. Thus, in 2016, despite the presence of a guard, a conserved *Dzerzhinets* summer camp near Khabarovsk suffered a massive fire allegedly caused by the teenagers who have sneaked into its territory (*Guberniia*, 6 April 2016).

2. "Fotoreportazh iz Pionerlageria 'Korabel,' g. Komsomolsk-na-Amure," 2 July 2016, https://gorotskop.livejournal.com/74016.html (accessed 19 June 2022).

3. "Zakonservirovannyi Detskii Ozdorovitel'nyi Lager' 'Kosmos' v Komsomolske-na-Amure," 23 July 2015, https://gorotskop.livejournal.com/19885.html (accessed 10 June 2022).

4. "Istoriia Odnoi 'Zhemchuzhiny.'" *Dal'nevostochnyi Komsomol'sk*, 11 October 2018, https://dvkomsomolsk.ru/2018/10/11/istoriya-odnoj-zhemchuzhiny/ (accessed 10 July 2022).

5. "Novaia Zhyzn' Zabroshennogo Pionerlageria," 15 January 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PhLmvzYmcyU (accessed 10 July 2022).

6. "V 2015-m Godu Munitsipalitet Nameren Prodat' Lager' "Kosmos," *Komcity.ru*, 15 January 2015, http://www.komcity.ru/news/?id=18783 (accessed 10 July 2022).

7. 17 January 2015. My own translation. Source: http://www.komcity.ru/forum/news/?id=49547&exclude_count=1 (accessed 11 July 2022).

8. In 2021 Komsomolsk was included in the list of Russia's 35 most polluted cities.

9. "Postanovlenie ot 26.06.2021 g. o Gosudarstvennoi Tselevoi Programme Khabarovskogo Kraia "Razvitie Vnutrennego I Viezdnogo Turizma v Khabarovskom Kraie (2013–2020 gody)".

10. The program also discusses the potentiality of establishing a fourth cluster dedicated to the development of cruise tourism industry along the Amur River that is imagined to have a high potential for attracting international tourists.

11. The yearly rating is compiled by the tourism magazine *Otdykh v Rossii* in collaboration with the Centre for Informational Communication "Rating" research group: http://www.travel.khv.ru/pages/218 (accessed 10 July 2022).

12. "Plan Perpektivnogo Razvitiia TOR 'Komsomolsk,'" https://erdc.ru/upload/ППР_ТОР%20Комсомольск_актуализированный.pdf (accessed 20 July 2022).

13. TASS, 23 July 2019, https://tass.ru/info/6692721?utm_source=google.com&utm_medium=organic&utm_campaign=google.com&utm_referrer=google.com (accessed 13 July 2022).

14. "Pozhar v 'Kholdomi.' Troe Vinovnykh v Gibeli Detei Poluchili ot 4 do 9 let," https://aif.ru/society/law/pozhar_v_holdomi_troe_vinovnyh_v_gibeli_detey_poluchili_ot_4_do_9_let (accessed 23 September 2022).

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CHERCHEZ LA FEMME! LOCATING THE WOMEN IN EARLY ROMANIAN CINEMA, ARCHIVAL FRAGMENTS AND THE CASE OF MARIOARA VOICULESCU

Ana Grgić

Abstract

Through an analysis of primary archival materials, early press, and personal archives, this article aims to understand the contribution of the Romanian theatre actress and director Marioara Voiculescu to early attempts at local filmmaking in Romania and to reconstruct her filmmaking activities in 1913. Given that all films from this period are now lost, this article engages in a methodology of "cinema archaeology", and studies archival ephemera and the cultural context of the time to provide a fresh perspective on these early filmmaking endeavors. By shifting the focus to Marioara Voiculescu, I reflect on the experience of conducting archival research in the face of material loss of women's film histories, and more broadly on the spaces and roles that women were able to occupy with the growth of popular culture and media.

Keywords: early cinema, archives, women film pioneers, cinema archaeology, Romanian cinema, popular culture.

> "Of the seven films I worked on with Leon Popescu's company, six burned to my satisfaction, and I can only express my regret that the seventh still exists." – Marioara Voiculescu (*Cinema*, 16 November 1926, p. 912).

While conducting research in archives across the Balkan countries for my book-length study on the development of early cinema and visual culture in the Balkans (Grgić 2022), I came across the names of several women involved in early filmmaking practices. Although there is very little information available and further research is necessary to elucidate their roles and contributions, secondary sources and early press I consulted

at the university library in Sarajevo revealed that Paulina Valić and Maria Goller were the owners of the first permanent cinema theatres in the city prior to the Great War. Similarly, the film scholar Dijana Jelača (2017) brings to light the film work of Marija Jurić Zagorka, the first Croatian woman journalist, writer and author of two silent feature film scripts through an analysis of early press, film advertisements and scripts. In Greece, Eliza Anna Delveroudi (2015) examines the writings and contribution of Irida Skaravaiou, the first Greek woman film critic and journalist to the development of early film culture. At this time, while researching the beginnings of Romanian cinema, I also came across the mention of Marioara Voiculescu in secondary sources, who may have authored or co-authored eight screenplays, and directed or co-directed six fiction films sometime in 1913 (see Mihail 1967: 16–22; Căliman 2000: 33–35; Rîpeanu 2004; Rîpeanu 2013: 604; *Istoria Filmului Romanesc* 2014; Mitarca 2015: 526). At first sight, this preliminary evidence pointed to the fact that Voiculescu may have assumed the role of director and scriptwriter on these early film projects, which would make her the first woman to direct a film in Romania and the wider Balkan region. Yet, these secondary sources were incomplete and fragmentary, and the majority did not make recourse nor direct references to primary archival materials. Her role seems to have been neglected and diminished, whether due to historiographic ideologies or the predominance of patriarchal narratives.

I was confronted with an arduous task ahead, that of locating and collating available archival materials scattered across several collections and archives which might hold more clues to Marioara Voiculescu's role and involvement in these early filmmaking endeavors. For early cinema researchers, an archive represents both a space of infinite possibilities and Herculean endeavors, which more often than not becomes a tedious and painstaking task of searching through piles of documents for countless hours in the hope to come across a serendipitous discovery. Among the first findings was an interview with Marioara Voiculescu published in the specialist film magazine *Cinema* in November 1926, more than a decade after her involvement in these filmmaking activities, which, to my disappointment, hardly included any details about her film work during this period, and to my surprise and dismay, revealed her bitterness surrounding the film collaboration with Leon Popescu. In this interview, Voiculescu states: "I personally made small attempts without knowledge and without a director. Of the seven films I worked on with Leon Popescu's company, six burned to my satisfaction, and I can only express my regret

that the seventh still exists." (*Cinema*, 16 November 1926: 912). Although at first sight this statement may represent a dead end and a closure, it also opened up a rich space for hypothesis and further research. Firstly, the collaboration resulted in a dispute, but what had led to this? Secondly, it seems that one of the films may have survived the fire in Leon Popescu's theatre which housed the film negatives, and was still preserved in someone's collection in 1926. Thirdly, there was no director at the time Voiculescu was working on these films, which opens the possibility of collective authorship and direction, given that she was a theatre director and her troupe was engaged to provide the script and creative means for the film projects.

In what follows, I unpack my archival findings in order to shed more light on the three hypotheses mentioned above, and to provide a novel perspective on this particular moment in history through a comparative reading of primary archival materials. Before doing so, I provide an overview of recent scholarship at the intersection of early cinema studies and feminist history, and a brief context of early cinema development in Romania, in order to situate this case study of Marioara Voiculescu and to acknowledge her role as a Romanian woman film pioneer.

Lost and found women film pioneers

Recent cinema and media scholarship suggests that women were not only present, but also influential in early cinema across the world, yet historical knowledge of their activities remains fragmented and elusive. This is due to the overwhelming material loss of early cinema heritage, the tendency to focus on auteurism in the writing of film history,[1] the lack of funding and interest to study early cinema history particularly in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, and finally the difficulty of accessing institutions and archives. Therefore, contemporary researchers need to reckon with such material challenges and acknowledge the methodological limitations, when attempting to study women's roles in and contributions to the growth of early popular culture and media. Feminist film and media scholars, such as Giuliana Bruno (1993), Jennifer Bean and Diane Negra (2002), Lauren Rabinovitz (2005), Jane Gaines (2018) and many others have increasingly employed new historiographic materials and methods, which move beyond textual analysis and readings, in order to adequately acknowledge the contributions of early cinema women pioneers and creatives to the

development of the medium. These feminist historiographies chart new avenues for research in the field of early cinema scholarship and expand the existing debates on nationalist ideologies, stardom, authorship, visuality and identification in cinema and media studies. However, the majority of recent enquiries studying contributions of lost and marginalized women cinema pioneers and creatives are mostly limited to North American and Western European contexts. In the scholarship on local and national silent cinema histories of the Balkan countries, very few women appear and are relegated to the footnotes of history (see Mihail 1967; Kosanović 1985, 2000; Slijepčević 1982; Škrabalo 1998; Sava 1999; Căliman 2000; Rîpeanu 2004, 2013; Țuțui 2008). An exception is a monograph dedicated to the internationally famed Slovene actress Ita Rina, which focuses on her onscreen performances and star persona (Nedič et al. 2007). More recently, new research has emerged on diverse aspects of film spectatorship, film culture and women's contributions to early cinema in the Balkans (see Balan 2015, Delveroudi 2015, and Jelača 2017). Yet much work remains to be undertaken to understand the complex relationship between the new visual medium, the modernizing processes, visual culture and gender dynamics in the region. Though often invisible in the majority of film historiographies and absent from film canons, visible traces of women creatives persist in archives, and even when women are strikingly absent from archives, the traces of their presence and role in society survive in the press.

Although Marioara Voiculescu achieved considerable success and recognition in the theatre world, she received the "Emeritus Artist" award by the Romanian state, founded her own theatre company in 1912 and was considered one of the best stage actresses of early 20th century,[2] described as "sacred monster", frequently compared to famous European performers Sarah Bernhardt and Eleonora Duse (Berzuc 2009: 13), her film activities remain under-acknowledged. Her contribution to early Romanian cinema has received scarce attention in local film historiographies (Mihail 1967; Sava 1999; Căliman 2000; Rîpeanu 2004, 2013) and almost none internationally.[3] This is likely due to the fact that all of the films she had worked on are lost,[4] but also because a more systematic and comparative reading of available archival materials pertaining exclusively to her theatre and cinema activities have not been undertaken. My aim was to understand the context surrounding Voiculescu's involvement in early Romanian cinema and establish connections between the world of theatre and cinema, the development and reception of the new visual

medium and the socio-cultural context through a comparative reading of available primary sources. To this end, I have consulted the following documents: the press of the time, the journal dedicated to theatre and arts *Rampa*, and several daily newspapers (*Seara, Viitorul* and *Adevărul*), the specialist trade press *Curierul cinematografic/Cinematographic Courier* from 1916, Marioara Voiculescu's collection preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy, archival documents at the Romanian Film Archive and the Romanian National Archives, and photographic collections of the National Theatre in Bucharest. By shifting the perspective from Leon Popescu as the key to the reading of these early filmmaking endeavors to Marioara Voiculescu, in particular her agency as a theatre star and her professional experience as a theatre director, may shed new light on this moment in Romanian film history.

Collective authorship

Marioara Voiculescu was an adored star and dominated the Romanian theatre scene in the first decades of the 20th century (Berzuc 2009: 13). At the age of 14, she entered the Conservatory of Dramatic Art in Bucharest and trained under the veteran Romanian theatre actress Aristizza Romanescu and the head of the National Theatre, playwright, writer and poet, Alexandru Davila. She debuted on stage at the National Theatre on 13 January 1904 in the main role of *Casta Diva* (*Chaste Goddess*), written by the well-known poet and playwright Haralamb George Lecca. Theatre critics and audiences admired Voiculescu's passionate and frantic temperament, which matched the dramatic intensities of the heroines she played and commanded attention (Berzuc 2009: 13).

With the dissolution of the "Modern" theatre directed by Alexandru Davila, Marioara Voiculescu assembled her own theatre company in the summer 1912, bringing a group of talented actors, such as Tina Barbu, Ion Manolescu, and Bebe Stănescu, under her wing. This initiative was followed closely by *Rampa* and a front-page article which appeared in mid-July 1912, written by M. Gheorgiu demonstrates Voiculescu's fame and reputation as an able manager and very promising future director:

> I saw Mrs. Voiculescu at work, on stage, in the last days of Mr. Davila as manager, that is after the return from abroad, and I was surprised by the fact that now shows me perfectly well the other face of her qualities: the

stage director. They were rehearsing *Frou-Frou* and since Mr. Davila was busy in another part of the stage, Mrs. Voiculescu was leading herself the actors' play with a self-confidence that amazed me back then, a thing of proof for her future endeavors. Another fact that adds weight to her future theatre is her ascendant over the other actors. I have seen more than once the actors from Mr. Davila's company going to "Marioara" (as they intimately call her) first, to complain about any doubts they had. In our country, her attempt to make theatre is unprecedented, and, I believe no other European capital can brag about a woman-manager, except for Paris where the famous tragedian Sarah Bernhardt and Rejane built themselves a theatre each, immediately after leaving La Comedie Française, theatres that are most visited by the art lovers of Paris. (*Rampa*, 16 July 1912, trans. Paula Mahalean)

News of rehearsals for the company's first production, *Fedora*, made the front page of *Rampa* and were accompanied by a full-figure image of Marioara Voiculescu, and "a talk with the distinguished director of the troupe" (*Rampa*, 5 August 1912). Here the journalist, writing under the pseudonym Fulmen,[5] expressed her admiration for Voiculescu's theatre work and having been invited to the rehearsals, highlighted that: "I promised not to miss them from two reasons: the great sympathy I have for the first Romanian theatre company woman manager and the wish to keep our readers informed on the current interesting events from the backstage and details from the venue which prepares future nocturnal triumphs." (*Rampa*, 5 August 1912) A month before the season opened, a column follows the preparations for the opening and the theatre company's repertoire, noting that: "The young director is so hardworking and so beloved that the artists have never rehearsed more fondly than under her direction" (*Rampa*, 14 August 1912). On 20 September 1912, a week after the opening of the play *Fedora* by Marioara Voiculescu's theatre company, *Rampa* announced the publication of the "elegant" and illustrated volume *In the Spring of Life*, written by the "great playwright" Voiculescu, in which she recounts memories from the beginning of her career. The same advert appeared in each issue of the newspaper until the end of September, and confirms her notoriety and status as a stage actress and writer, and now a theatre director who commands attention.

The initial film productions across Europe and the Balkans were often collaborations between ardent entrepreneurs, film lovers and theatre professionals. For example, in neighboring Serbia, the initial film productions were result of a collaboration between a wealthy restaurateur,

cinema theatre owner and producer Svetozar Botorić, and a well-known theatre actor, writer and director Ilija Stanojević and a troupe of actors from the National Theatre in Belgrade (Grgić 2022: 223–226). A few years earlier, in 1909, Voiculescu had performed a season at Leon Popescu's theatre "Liric" in the play *Stane de Piatra*, by German dramatist Hermann Suddermann, with another young actor Ion Manolescu (Voiculescu 2003: 35). Thus, it is quite likely that Popescu and Voiculescu were well-acquainted by 1913, both were extremely active within the Bucharest theatre scene, Popescu as producer and owner, and Voiculescu as a star performer.

A lot has been written about the founding of the production company *Filmul de artă Leon Popescu* and the attempt to create a functioning film studio for the production of Romanian films, while Voiculescu's role in the filmmaking process was diminished (Mihail 1959; Mihail 1967: 15–23; Cantacuzino 1965: 14–18; Fernoaga & Cantacuzino 1971: 60–63; Țuțui 2010: 91–104; Țuțui 2011: 16–19; Rîpeanu 2013: 456–457). Voiculescu's astonishing theatrical career, critical acclaim of her performances and her extreme popularity among the audiences, as well as her strong business character certainly contributed to the decision to be involved in the making of first Romanian films with the producer Leon Popescu.

Leon Popescu and Marioara Voiculescu signed an agreement to make Romanian films, in which Popescu would ensure the technical means, that is the film studio and the laboratory and the technical crew, while Voiculescu would furnish the creative means – the script, directing and the actors –, receiving a fixed amount for this contribution, calculated per meter of film shot (Mihail 1959: 12; Mihail 1967: 17; Căliman 2000: 31–32). A handwritten document written by Marioara Voiculescu conserved in the Voiculescu collections at the Romanian Academy, donated by her son, confirms that she signed a contract with Leon Popescu to make seven films. In addition, this testimony reveals that Marioara Voiculescu had travelled to Paris and met with the representatives of the Pathé production company, and hired French photographers-chemists, a cinematographer and young actor.

A typed manuscript preserved at the Romanian film archive, written by the film scholar and director Jean Mihail in 1959, also corroborates this alternative perspective on the beginning and development of the film studio and the attempt to make local films. This oral testimony recorded by Mihail points to more involvement by Marioara Voiculescu:

Once in the French capital, Marioara Voiculescu proposed to Gaumont, a world-renowned company, to install a film studio in Romania. Having succeeded in convincing one of the main directors of the studios to come to our country to find out about the talent of our actors, the charm of the Romanian landscape, Marioara Voiculescu returned to Bucharest, accompanied by that director, also bringing an experienced technician, the camera operator Chenier from Gaumont, and a young French film actor who performed in Paris under the pseudonym of Jean Barnier, both under contract. After driving through the picturesque countryside of the Olt, Jiu and Prahova valleys, and attending a series of shows from the French theatre repertoire, the Parisian company representative showed delight in what he saw and accepted the proposal made by the Romanian actress, especially since French cinema was widely shown on cinema screens in the country, but made a condition – which was natural – that the financial contribution of the Romanian state be equal to that of the French company. The conditions set by Gaumont – Marioara Voiculescu told us – were so reasonable that any country in the world would have accepted them without hesitation. But the bourgeois-landlord regime had until then shown its indifference to the making of a national cinema, as it had shown this indifference in other fields: literature, Romanian music and painting, and true – Romanian artistic values. Therefore, the grim official of the time had not accepted offers from the Parisian company. In this atmosphere of disinterest, distrust, patronized by the governors of the time, Leon Popescu and 'Marioara Voiculescu Theatre Company' still started the preparations for their first film … (Mihail 1959: 13–14, my translation)

The above passages were completely omitted from the published book, which underwent revisions and redactions by another Romanian film scholar, Ion Cantacuzino in 1967.[6] From the above passages, we can infer that Jean Mihail had interviewed Marioara Voiculescu about these filmmaking activities, likely between 1957 and 1959, and while the above information cannot be verified, it furnishes a more nuanced picture of this collaboration. It also demonstrates that Voiculescu, who was frequently travelling between Paris and Bucharest for research and acquisitions for theatrical work, was a lot more involved in the attempt to establish a viable film production company and studio of Romanian films. Though a possibility remains that Voiculescu may have embellished the story, it is also as likely that given that she had a reputable and prolific theatrical career already, she would have invested just as much energy and time to make this attempt in cinema a success. According to secondary sources, although neither had any previous film experience, the direction would

be assured by Marioara Voiculescu, a fellow actor Constantin Radovici (who achieved success earlier at the Burgtheater in Vienna) and the writer Haralamb Lecca, who had also worked as a theatre director at the National Theatre in Iași (Mihail 1967: 18; Căliman 2014). Therefore, both the primary and secondary sources point to these initial film productions resulting from collective authorship among the theatre directors and actors from the Romanian stage, with Marioara Voiculescu likely in the leading role, given her previous experience as a stage director.

The film studio was constructed in the courtyard of Leon Popescu's theatre "Liric" situated on Walter Mărăcineanu square in Bucharest. Although there are only plans conserved in the archives of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, which Popescu deposited to obtain permission for the film studio (Figure 1), there is a short description written by a journalist who visited the set at the time: "It is a real modern factory for making films, with the necessary workshops, with an operator, a developer, painters and so on. A special stage for cinema, with sets, props, furniture, costumes, etc. Finally, everything that makes up a 'movie factory' […]" (cited in Mihail 1967: 17). Yet, Jean Mihail noted that a technician Tudor Posmantir, whom he interviewed after the return from a film stage in Berlin, visited Popescu's studio and described it as a rudimentary improvisation with inadequate technical means for film production, and without experienced technicians and a film director (1967: 18). Similarly, Marioara Voiculescu declared that she had suggested to Leon Popescu to hire a foreign director at her expense and he refused (*Cinema*, 16 November 1926: 911).

213

Figure 1. Plan of the "Factory for cinematographic films",
The Archives of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

The available archival documents preserved at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry reveal some details about the creative and technical staff employed at the film studio following an inspection in March 1913. The report stated that the film studio had been in operation since January 1913, and that it employed seven people: four foreigners (a French workshop supervisor, a French and an Italian mechanic, and an Italian specialist worker), and three Romanians (two functionaries and one specialist worker). This much seems to be corroborated by secondary sources. A French cinematographer, Franck Daniau (who had previously worked on *Independența României/ Independence War* in 1912), and two more assistant camera operators – Alphonse Chagny and an Italian by the name of Demichelli[7], and a French editor, Paula Cambon – were hired (Mihail 1967: 18; Caliman 2000: 32–33). Mihail noted that a French technician called Indigue was hired to install the film laboratory (1959, 12) though no other details are known, as well as a Romanian chemist Gh. Ionescu-Cioc, who already had a laboratory for making intertitles, to

complete the installation of a film laboratory and be responsible for filming newsreels for the "Leon Popescu Journals" (Mihail 1967: 17). Mihail also added that another Romanian technician hired for the job, N. Barbelian, had no filming experience (1959: 13).

Though most of the Romanian scholars have argued that there were few qualified cinema operators and technicians, the quality of Franck Daniau's cinematography is visible in the surviving copy of the *Independence War*, an earlier collaboration with Leon Popescu (Grgić 2022: 230–233). Romanian film scholars argued that it was precisely because of the success of the *Independence War* that Popescu invested in the creation of a film production company and studio (Mihail 1967: 15; Căliman 2014). The majority of early cinema activities in the region were transnational and cosmopolitan endeavors, such as the case of the Manakia brothers who travelled and worked throughout the Ottoman Empire and Romania as photographers and cinematographers, or the Hungarian cinematographer and entrepreneur Louis Pitrolf de Beery, who worked on first Serbian fiction films, and edited a weekly film magazine in Bulgaria as the Pathé representative (Grgić 2020). In the Romanian case, given the connections between Paris and cultural circles in Bucharest, in particular theatre personalities, it was not unusual for cross-border collaborations to occur and for the local entrepreneurs to hire foreign cinematographers and technicians who had filming experience, given that in the region filmmaking activities were sporadic and inconsistent.

There is little information about the production of the seven films, except for a semi-anecdotal account in *Rampa* of how the actors of the Marioara Voiculescu theatre troupe were seen walking around various parts of the city center dressed elegantly (Mihail 1967: 19). Following the screening of *The Sins of the Fathers* starring the Danish star Asta Nielsen, Marioara Voiculescu stated in a brief interview that she was in the process of working on a film adaptation of *Fedora*: "[i]f we manage to create a work of art, the film will be shown." (*Rampa*, 30 April 1913, trans. Paula Mahalean). Aside from this brief account in 1913, I did not come across other interviews or columns about Marioara Voiculescu's work on the film projects in the press. However, this small fragment illuminates on several fronts: Voiculescu was writing screenplays for films in 1913 and she was in the process of adapting a theatre play for the screen which she had performed earlier on stage.

Uzina

Leon M. Popescu

ține la dispoziția Cinematografelor toate filmele jucate de compania D-nei Marioara Voiculescu, cu concursul D-lui Const. Radovici:

Fiica de pescar;
Amor de marinar;
Remușcarea;
Amorurile unei princese;
Spionul;
Bastardul;
Urgia Cerească;
Viorica;
Detectivul.
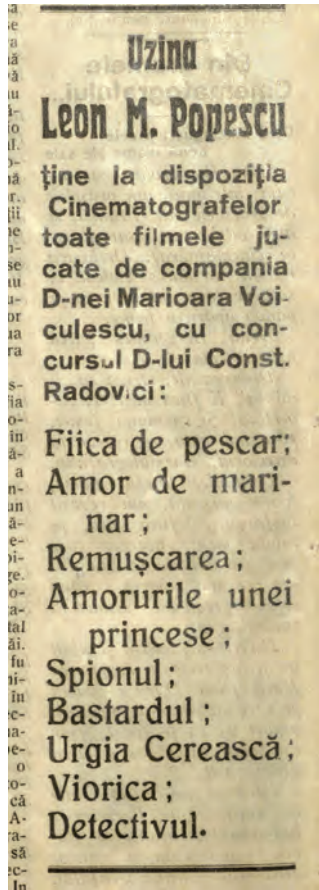
Figure 2. The Cinematographic Courier, Issue 1, 4 January 1916.

What can film fragments narrate?

Early cinema scholarship has increasingly employed methodologies advanced by New Cinema History and Foucault-inspired *media archaeology*, in an effort to move beyond textual analysis and readings of film-works, and instead focus on studying the film's context, specifically, the spaces of cinema production, circulation and reception. Indeed, the Early Cinema movement, which has roots in the 1978 FIAF conference

in Brighton, rediscovered pre-1906 cinema and marked a historical turn in cinema studies, by challenging cinema's origins and "firsts", and acknowledging forgotten film pioneers and films, but more importantly shifting the emphasis from textual analysis to a non-text approach.[8] Giuliana Bruno's work on the Italian woman film pioneer Elvira Notari (1993), where only film fragments have survived, employs an interdisciplinary and intermedial approach to map Notari's contributions to early Italian cinema, and in doing so it addresses the challenge posed by feminism to the study of film. In her work, Jane Gaines acknowledges the *unknowability* of the past, as well as the "methodological disillusionment" and limitations of historiographic projects when studying women's contributions to early cinema (2018: 1–15).

Although none of the films have survived today, according to secondary sources, the Popescu-Voiculescu collaboration resulted in the production of several films in 1913: *Amorurile unei printese/The Loves of a Princess*, *Pacostea* (also known as *Razbunarea/Revenge)*, *Spionul/Spy*, *Viorica*, *Detectivul/Detective*, *Dragostea marinarului /Love of a Sailor*, *Fiica de pescar/Fisherman's Daughter*, *Remușcarea/Remorse*, *Studentul/ The Student*, *Zapacilă se însoară/The Marriage of Zapacilă* and *Voiaj pe Dunăre/Journey on the Danube* (Căliman 2000: 32–35; Rîpeanu 2004: 23–27). Two issues of the *Cinematographic Courier* published on 4 and 18 January 1916 corroborate the fact that several films produced with the Marioara Voiculescu theatre troupe and Constantin Radovici were available to cinema theatres for screenings: *Fiica de pescar*, *Amor de marinar*, *Remușcarea*, *Amorurile unei prințese*, *Spionul*, *Bastardul*, *Urgia Cerească*, *Viorica* and *Detectivul* (Figure 2). These were all productions of the "Leon Popescu Factory". Even though the exact film titles or number of films which were produced, developed and edited during this period cannot be confirmed with absolute certainty, the *Cinematographic Courier* offers some visual evidence of their existence, content, and mise-en-scene.

Figure 3

Alongside announcements of the latest foreign films, large photographs and drawings of international film stars, articles on different aspects of film art, the same publication reproduced several small, grainy images from the films *Viorica*, *Detectivul* and *Amor de pescar*, in an effort to showcase and market the films. Judging from the size of the reproductions, these are likely images reproduced from actual film frames. Unfortunately, the photographic reproduction and printing on newspaper has visibly affected their quality and legibility. All of the captions accompanying the image reproductions mention the name of Marioara Voiculescu, which points to the use of her stardom in the promotion and marketing of the films. This is particularly evident in the image of Marioara Voiculescu in full frame, with her head leaning slightly to the side as she holds what appears to be a mirror to her face, under which the caption reads: "Our great artist, which starred in the series of films produced by the Leon Popescu Film Company" (Figure 3).

The four images which illustrate the film *Viorica* show: an interior scene of a couple embracing in a dramatic fashion – the woman is played by Marioara Voiculescu as noted under the image (Figure 4), an interior group scene of elegantly dressed people from high society surrounding Voiculescu in the salon, a bedroom scene with two characters (Figure 5), and another salon scene with Marioara Voiculescu and Constantin Radovici in the foreground, as the caption highlights the names of the

protagonists (Figure 6). The interior scene with the couple embracing provides some clues: the set design was lavishly decorated to resemble a living room of a wealthy family, while the main characters were dressed elegantly in European fashion around this period. Playing the lead role, Marioara Voiculescu is passionately embracing the man, while he turns away, which points to a sentimental drama.

On the other hand, the views from *Amor de pescar* are all of exterior locations, near the sea, with the story unravelling in natural landscapes rather than interiors of city dwellings. This film is illustrated by four evocative images: a couple embracing on the shore against the sky and the sea (Figure 8), the lead actress Marioara Voiculescu in abandonment in a boat on the shore, a dining room or restaurant scene with the protagonists and other characters sitting or standing, and another imaged of Marioara Voiculescu in the foreground standing next to a man and a couple of fishermen in the background (Figure 9). Here the protagonists are working class, fishermen in a small village, perhaps on the riverbanks of the Danube, a typical and highly recognizable Romanian landscape. Based on Mihail's notes (1959), this film is also a sentimental drama, and tells a forbidden love story, between a fisherman's wife and a young sailor.

Scenă din filmul „Viorica" cu D-na Marioara Voiculescu

Figure 4

Scenă din filmul „Viorica" cu D-na Marioara Voiculescu

Figure 5

Scenă din filmul „Viorica" cu d-na Marioara Voiculescu și d-nul C. Radovici in rolurile principale.

Figure 6

Scenă din filmul „Detectivul" cu d-na Marioara Voiculescu

Figure 7

Scenă din filmul „Amor de pescar" cu d-na Marioara Voiculescu.

Figure 8

Scenă din filmul „Amor de pescar" cu d-na Marioara Voiculescu

Figure 9

The singular image taken from the film *Detectivul* is an exterior shot of two policemen framed by an arching gate with what seems the main action unfolding in the background (Figure 7). It constitutes a sort of voyeuristic image, typical of detective or crime film genre, where the spectator observes from the detective's perspective. To heighten its visibility and marketability, this image is placed alongside an article on detective novels and their representations written by Jean Rosen. According to secondary sources, the *Detective*, starring Marioara Voiculescu and Constantin Radovici, includes scenes of climbing and acrobatics, tells the story of

a good-natured maid who forced by her lover, an adventurous burglar, helps him gain access to her rich employer's house to steal; this film was released by the Cipeto company which had merged with Leon Popescu Art Film at the end of 1914 (Mihail 1959: 19–20; "Detectivul (Detectiv și apaș) (1915)").

Based on the genres of the films produced, an adventure and detective film (*Detective*), two dramas adapted from plays (*Fedora*, *Revenge*), a comedy (*Journey on the Danube*), two melodramas (*Spy*, *Viorica*), we can conclude that Voiculescu and her collaborators were familiar with the taste of audiences in Bucharest, and aspired to compete with popular foreign films. Indeed, the production of these films was accompanied by several columns discussing popular film genres in *Rampa*, such as detective and adventure films, art films, and comedies, and the growing popularity of cinema as well as the local audiences' taste for certain types of films (*Rampa*, 18 May 1913, 19 May 1913, 21 May 1913, 24 May 1913). Moreover, during this period, other columns point to the presence of a growing female audience such as the one published in the daily newspaper *Seara* by a film critic writing under the pseudonym Pinkerton (1 September 1913), which accompanied the screening of the film *A Woman's Passion* (directed by Alfred Brillat). Though difficult to ascertain, given that the films have not survived, it is possible to assume that given the subject and the themes of the above-mentioned films feature women protagonists, the story of Viorica, or the fisherman's wife in *Amor de pescar*, it is likely these targeted a female audience in Bucharest.

In the absence of the films themselves, and scarce surviving visual material which documents Voiculescu and Popescu's filmmaking endeavors, the press constitutes a valuable source. The first film in the series to be screened, *The Loves of a Princess*, had an avant-premiere on 11 June 1913 at the cinema "Clasic". The details of the evening and reception of the film were described in "The projection of the first Romanian movie" in *Rampa* (14 June 1913):

> On Tuesday evening, after the screening of the last series of the "Clasic" cinema's program, in front of a limited number of people, formed by journalists, artists and a few guests, in the presence of Mr. Leon M. Popescu, the owner of the eponymous cinema theatre and the initiator of Romanian cinema, was the screening of the first movie ever conceived and played by Romanian artists, the artists of Modern theatre, led by their very manager, Mrs. Marioara Voiculescu.

The audience was very anxious to finally see the screening of this first movie which also meant the accomplishment of an idea dear to all Romanian people. The four acts of *Loves of a Princess*, written by Mrs. Voiculescu were presented in an atmosphere filled with curiosity and restlessness because each member of the audience was afraid it would fail and everything depended on the favorable or unfavorable impression it left.

Everything went well, nonetheless, for the general satisfaction and the satisfaction of the one who had the fortunate idea. The artists of Mrs. Marioara Voiculescu's company, even though they lack the experience required in movies, played their parts very well, particularly Miss Bebe Stănescu who left a good impression with her acting and expressive mime. […] (trans. Paula Mahalean)

The Loves of a Princess was not the first Romanian fiction film to be produced nor shown, this enthusiastic reception reflects the eagerness of the journal's editors and the Bucharest audiences for this initiative to develop a local film industry. *The Loves of a Princess* was written and directed by Marioara Voiculescu, and starred actors from her theatre company: Gh. Storin, Ion Manolescu, Bebe Stanescu, Elena Crissenghi, Maria Vecera, Radu Popea, Alexandru Economu, Florea Simionescu and others. This sentimental drama was co-written with Haralamb Lecca, shot in April 1913, and developed at the film lab in Popescu's theatre "Liric", while the film was not shown to a general audience until March 1916 due to legal disputes (Rîpeanu 2004: 23). Though the film has not survived, it may have been inspired by the Romanian Queen Marie's fairy tale *The Lily of Life* (published in 1913), which in turn is considered to have been influenced by Loïe Fuller's dance performances (Lenart 2019: 347). Loïe Fuller befriended Queen Victoria's granddaughter, the British Princess Marie, who was extremely impressed by her dance performance at the National Theatre in Bucharest in 1902, which had electric power required for the dancer's "electrical dances" (Lenart 2019: 347). Another source suggests that Voiculescu may have adapted the script from Victorien Sardou's play *Fedora* ("Fedora (1913)" 2014), which is not unlikely given that this drama was regularly performed by her theatre company. Whatever the case may be, Marioara Voiculescu was credited as the scriptwriter on this film and it is very likely that she acted in the role of co-director, given that she was the director of the theatre company engaged to furnish the creative means. We can deduce that Voiculescu must have given acting directions, which include movement and choreography within a scene, on this particular film.

Another film resulting from this collaboration, *Pacostea,* was advertised in *Rampa* the following day (15 June 1913), highlighting the stars of the film – Marioara Voiculescu and Ion Petrescu in the main roles – with supporting roles interpreted by actors of theatre "Modern". The film, shot in May 1913, was a rural drama adapted from the noted Romanian author Ion Luca Caragiale's piece *Năpasta* (1890) by Haralamb Lecca, and though it was originally announced under the title *Pacostea* as above, it was shown on 24 June 1913 at cinema "Clasic" under the title *Răzbunarea/Revenge* (Căliman 2000: 34–35; Rîpeanu 2004: 26; "Răzbunarea (1913)" 2014). According to some sources, the film was poorly received by the critics (Căliman 2000: 35), though the actors, such as Ion Iancu Petrescu of the National Theatre, praised the film for "splendid scenes of nature" and actors who were "wonderfully disguised" giving natural performances in an interview (*Rampa*, 19 June 1913, trans. Paula Mahalean).

A bitter end

Despite the enthusiasm expressed by the press after the screening of the first film which resulted from the collaboration, *The Loves of a Princess*, disagreements broke out between Leon Popescu and Marioara Voiculescu a few months later, which ended in prolonged and strenuous trials (*Rampa*, 9 October 1913; Căliman 2000: 34–35). News of this dispute appeared in the journal *Rampa*, stating that the lawsuit was brought by Leon Popescu against Marioara Voiculescu, following a dispute regarding her commitment to play in his "cinematographic films" (*Rampa*, 9 October 1913). Due to these trials, the remaining films were released with great delays at the cinema theatres, although well received by the press and the audiences (Căliman 2000: 35). *Spy* played on 7 September 1914 at cinema "Clasic", *Viorica* on 2 February 1915 at cinema "Eforie", and *Detective* on 2 March 1915 at cinema "Clasic".

This article sought to map the filmic work of the Romanian theatre actress and director Marioara Voiculescu, whose role, like that of many women involved in silent cinema, has been relegated to the footnote of film history and moreover obscured by the patina of time. Similar to Michel de Certeau's definition of knowledge as "that which endlessly modifies itself by its unforgettable incompleteness" (cited in Farge 2013: 54), the archives in this case remain forever incomplete and fragmentary. Although all of the early films Marioara Voiculescu had worked on are

considered lost today, and the available archival sources are incomplete and at times elusive or enigmatic, a slightly different narrative emerges when re-examining the extant non-film materials, such as images printed in trade journals, unpublished manuscripts or handwritten memoirs. These archival fragments shift the perspective to Marioara Voiculescu's role and agency in this early filmmaking endeavor, which goes beyond celebration of a single auteur but rather highlights how early cinema productions were not only transnational undertakings, but above all the result of collective work and authorship.

Endnotes

1   Jane Gaines explains how the focus on *auteurism* in early cinema considers the author as a romantic celebration of founding fathers and the illusion of solitary creativity, which has diminished women's participation and agency in a variety of roles within the industrial process of filmmaking practices (2002, 88–94).

2   On the front-page column dedicated entirely to Marioara Voiculescu, the Romanian writer and dramaturg A. Orna-Galați writes in view of her theatre company opening: "[…] Marioara Voiculescu is the quintessence of our artistic life. She will represent the epoch for Romanian theatre. […]" (*Rampa*, 10 August 1912, trans. by Paula Mahalean)

3   For instance, the short film produced by the EWA Network titled "Women Pioneers" in 2018 does not include Romania on the map of women pioneers and early cinema activities (https://www.ewawomen.com/ewa-network/ewas-team-presents-women-pioneers-in-european-cinema/), nor is there an entry on Marioara Voiculescu on the Women Film Pioneers Project website (Gaines, Vatsal and Dall'Asta, 2013). The only mention of Voiculescu to date is the entry on "Romania" in the *Women Screenwriters: An International Guide* (see Mitarca 2015).

4   The producer Leon Popescu's film lab and all of the film negatives were destroyed when the warehouses in the courtyard of his "Liric" theatre caught on fire in December 1917 (Căliman 2000: 36; Rîpeanu 2013: 457). Though Voiculescu states that one film survived the fire in an interview for the *Cinema* journal in 1926, none of the films have been located to date.

5   Under the pseudonym Fulmen, the noted Romanian feminist activist and writer Ecaterina I. Raicoviceanu frequently wrote about Marioara Voiculescu's theatre company in *Rampa* with the latest news, rehearsals, acting talents and the theatre program.

6   In the foreword to the published book *Filmul romanesc de altadata* by Jean Mihail (1967), the editor notes that: "Following a wish expressed by Jean Mihail, I requested the expert collaboration of Dr. Ion Cantacuzino, an old and passionate supporter of Romanian film. The interventions were made with special care to respect the author's intentions. Our contribution consisted in operations of stylization and systematization of the material, in the verification and enrichment of some data and information by comparing the press of the time and eyewitness account, and the elaboration of the artist's filmography."

7   This reference is in Mihail 1959.

8   Ian Christie explains: "… what began as a movement to study these [pre-1906] films empirically – to look at them as archaeological objects – soon became an exploration of their context – of production, circulation and reception – and thus necessarily a study of what no longer existed – namely

the vast bulk of these film texts and their places and modes of screening" (2006: 66). Furthermore, Richard Maltby notes how "new cinema history" moved from the analysis of film-texts, genres and authorship "to consider the circulation and consumption of films, and to examine cinema as a site of social and cultural exchange" (2011: 3–4).

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN OPERA CANON AND THE SEARCH FOR THE ICONIC SOVIET OPERA IN THE 1930S

Irina Kotkina

Abstract

This paper is a part of a bigger text, to become a book in the future, which is dedicated to the processes which took place at the Soviet opera stage in the 1930s. My desire was to look at the development of the Soviet operatic culture against the background of the social, political and cultural processes, which influenced the USSR in this period. My perspective is broad, but the Bolshoi Theater remains the ´main character´ of this article, not only because this stage had utmost political importance for the regime. It witnessed also all the processes unfolding on the operatic map of the USSR. My desire was to highlight these processes and to show the context and the final purpose that the cultural politics concerning opera had. The model of the romantic 19th century Russian national opera served as an example for all composers who created operas in the national opera houses. Soviet leaders saw the establishment of the classical opera enterprises as the best way to equate previously culturally 'underdeveloped' republics with the most culturally 'advanced' ones by establishing the socialist-realist canon in music and transmitting it to the whole territory of the Soviet Union. Stalin himself had some ideas of how the model contemporary opera should look like, to which he desired to listen in the Bolshoi Theater and all over the country. Once he said that "we need [to create] Soviet classic [operas which would be], like the nineteenth century classics, but better". Stalin listed their desirable basic characters – librettos with Socialist plots, a realistic musical language with the stress on national idioms, and positive protagonists embodying the new Socialist era. These criteria were submitted to a group of opera specialists at the meeting of 17 January 1936. But already on 26 January 1936, Stalin's highly cherished dream of a Soviet classical opera with a positive, contemporary hero was destroyed by "*Lady Macbeth*" by Dmitry Shostakovich, the Soviet Union's first composer. An article entitled 'Muddle Instead of Music' in *Pravda* and the resolution of the Party accused the composer of formalism after Stalin had visited this opera performed in the Bolshoi Theater. The last hope remained that in the republics, on the 'virgin musical soil' of Buriat-Mongolia or Kyrgyzstan, the Soviet canon of 'classic' opera could be developed. Basically, all the 'Dekady'

served the purpose of establishing this classical operatic canon, which Bolshoi Theater failed to do, and to transmit it to the territory of the whole Soviet Union. Not only was the Stalinist government unafraid of the manifestation of 'national character' in music, it supported it as long as it served the higher purpose of creating an opera art 'socialist in content'. Here lays the chief paradox of Stalinist cultural politics.

In the Soviet Union, the period between 1930 and 1934 can be characterized as the period when the concept of "socialist realism" was born, which became crucial for all the arts. Nevertheless, music in the first decades of the Soviet government was somewhat behind literature as a propaganda tool.

The Union of Soviet Composers was founded in 1932 by party decree. The first to organize were city groups in Moscow and Leningrad, followed by republican unions in Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, and Armenia. Compared to the progress made in the field of literature, the organization of composers was somewhat slower; while Soviet writers were able to hold their first national congress in 1934, Soviet composers did not hold a nationwide conference until 1948, 16 years after the Union's founding.

In 1932, Soviet composers were in a state of tension because the model Soviet opera, the main task of Soviet musicians, had not yet been created. Attempts to switch to a "Soviet thematic" were considered unsatisfactory by party critics. In 1934, two major events set the tone for the musical development of the following decades. On 22 January 1934, a new opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* by the young Shostakovich was premiered in Leningrad to great acclaim. The enormous support given to *Lady Macbeth* from 1934 to 1936 shows the strength of the modernists, who made up a very significant proportion of Soviet musicians.

At the beginning of the 1930s, the whole structure of the official apparatus of cultural management changed: it became both branched and dependent on the central authorities. The system of the apparatus extended over the entire territory of the Union. From the 1930s, the republican administration was completely subordinated to the center,[1] and the interference of the state in cultural affairs became considerable.

Previously, local cultural affairs were solved and organized at the republican level. Thus, we see the tendency to centralize organizations dealing with culture, their expansion, their increased specialization and the expansion of their duties. There was created a complicated symbiosis of the Party, the state, and the social institutions managing culture. The functions of these institutions overlapped. This led to the replacement of institutional management by Party management. This system was highly hierarchical. The dominant method of cultural management became the bureaucratic command method,[2] when social institutions were subordinated to the Party. In the 1930s, this was accompanied by a tendency towards the militarization of culture, the dominance of military themes in many genres, which was one of the characteristic features of Soviet society before the Second World War. On the one hand, cultural products were distributed to the widest audience, and on the other hand, the sphere of culture was given over to ideology, which led to a decline in the quality of cultural production.[3] The various branches of culture were now under much tighter, though not necessarily more thorough, control than in the early years of Soviet rule. The system of control over the arts was well-developed and well-considered, as the Party and the Leader not only controlled the creative process, but personally influenced it. In the operatic field the years between 1930 and 1941 were distinguished by the leader's demand for the creation of a Soviet classical opera, which would overshadow all outstanding compositions of the past.[4]

The artists felt completely dependent. The main operatic task was assigned to the theaters from above, and each of them had to fulfill it. The general cultural goal of the period was the application of Socialist Realism to opera: the stylistic, musical, and ideological elaboration of a model opera that would surpass the heritage of the 19th century. What the government demanded at that time was the creation of a "socialist realist" opera, but what exactly this meant was not formulated in words.

After 1932, most of the existing music magazines ceased publication. In 1933, the Union of Composers founded the journal *Sovetskaya Muzyka*. The first issue of *Sovetskaya Muzyka* contained an article by the critic Gorodinsky entitled "On the Problem of Socialist Realism in Music," which was a real problem, since it was by no means clear how to translate this literary term into the musical realm:

The main attention of the Soviet composer must be directed towards the victorious progressive principles of reality, towards all that is heroic,

bright, and beautiful. […] Socialist Realism demands a pitiless struggle against folk-negating, modernistic directions that are typical of the decay of contemporary bourgeois art, and against subservience and servility towards modern bourgeois culture.[5]

Thus, in this article, Socialist Realism and Formalism became the two opposing concepts of the early 1930s.[6]

On 1 December 1934, the leader of the Communist Party in Leningrad, Sergei Kirov, was assassinated in his office.[7] His successor was Andrei Zhdanov.[8] After 1934, Soviet life saw a revival of traditional moral standards, the reintroduction of gym-like school uniforms, and the abandonment of many "progressive" innovations.[9] The whole concept of Russian history was revised. The views of Mikhail Pokrovsky, the leading Soviet historian until his death in 1932, were condemned as a vulgarization of Marxism and a distortion of Russian history.[10] There was a "great retreat" in cultural and social policy. From then on, the opera and the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow, as the first theater in the country, became the focus of attention of the authorities. The Bolshoi's main task was to adapt its productions to the new aesthetic, which was not easy. The Party's guidelines for opera were extremely vague and unclear. The artists had to guess what qualities the new production should have in order to satisfy the Politburo's tastes. The other side of the problem was that the Bolshoi Theater in 1930 received full financial support for its productions. The staff of the Bolshoi Theatre felt supported and privileged, which naturally meant that the artistic policy of the theatre, which was to remain conservative and traditional, was confirmed rather than criticized. Moreover, the idea that the imperial traditions of the Bolshoi Theatre were so highly valued by the leaders of the Soviet government led to the conclusion that the producers should try to maintain and perfect these traditions, to make their performances greater and richer than they had been during the tsarist era.

In the season of 1934–1935 the Bolshoi Theater presented three premieres: *Kitezh* and *Sadko* and, most importantly, Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth*. Along with the "new respectability" and the quest to reevaluate Russia's past, Russian operas of the tsarist era came back into vogue. The reinstatement of *Kitezh* by Rimsky-Korsakov, which had been dropped from the repertoire in 1928, signified the relaxation of an atheist hardline. The *Kitezh* was premiered on 25 December 1934. The date is significant. It was Christmas. The conductor was Nikolai Golovanov, and the director

was Vladimir Nardov. The set was designed by Korovin and was drawn in 1916. The main problem of the producers was how to deal with the clearly religious representation of the last scene of the opera. Director Nardov discussed this and the official compromise position on the treatment of Rimsky-Korsakov's mystical opera in the Bolshoi Theater's newspaper, *Sovetsky Artist*:

> Our task is to free this composition of genius from all religious-mystical connotations. We performed the opera as a fairy tale, a people's legend. […] Thanks to the futile interpretation of the artist Korovin, the last scene of the opera represented Heaven, which became an unhealthy tradition. The main characters of the opera from the very beginning appeared as enlightened saints, immortal righteous men, candidates for Heaven, which they reach in the finale of the opera, surrounded by the inhabitants of Heaven with powdered faces and lighted candles. We will present the last scene in a different way. According to our idea, the tired Fevronia falls asleep in the forest and dreams that her bridegroom is alive, leads everyone to the invisible *Kitezh*, which sinks into the lake *Svetly Iar*.[11]

Sadko was premiered on 25 April 1935 with great pomp. The conductor was A. Melik-Pashaev, the director V. Lossky,[12] and the stage designer F. Fedorovsky.[13] For the last of them the enterprise turned into a most unpleasant and unexpected scandal. The newspaper of the Bolshoi Theatre was full of slogans describing the content of the work: "Create a powerful, grandiose production!"[14] This slogan summed up what Fedorovsky wanted to create: a pure, realistic wonder on the stage. The production reports published in the theatre newspaper give an impression of what the production looked like. The head of the mechanical workshop addressed the stage designer in a short article entitled "Send Us the Fish, Comrade Fedorovsky!":

> In our work on the opera *Sadko* we are delayed mostly by the production of swans. We have been working on the construction of the swans since November [the article was published in March – I.K.]. The task is very complicated. The swans have to flap their wings and move their heads. In short, they should look like they are alive. Of course, we are not discouraged by the complexity of the task; we will certainly accomplish it. But in addition to the swans, we must also produce fish. There are 12 kinds of fish, as comrade Fedorovsky told me. And, of course, they are all different! But so far we have received only one example. It is necessary to receive all the other sketches so that we can think, discuss and invent the machinery to make the fish almost alive.[15]

Not only the fish, but everything else was planned to be "almost alive" for this production. There was a phrase in Sadko's song in the opera about "33 and one ships". Naturally, all 34 of them appeared on stage in front of the amazed spectators. This was how the set designer understood the concept of socialist realism. Although they presented their work within the framework of Socialist Realism, the premieres of *Sadko* and *Kitezh* suggest the continuing strength of traditionalism and the traditionalist trend in Soviet music.

Initially, the production was well received. *Sovetsky Artist*, which reflected the official response of the production, devoted its entire issue to it, opening with the slogan: "The production of *Sadko* on time is the result of highly conscious work of the whole collective".[16] The articles were entitled: "Complicated, great work is successfully completed," "The Work of the Workshops Deserves the Highest Praise", "Our Chorus is the Best in the World", "Beautiful Production", "Bright, Strong Impression", "The Set Leaves One Breathless", "The Performance is Interesting", and "The Opera is Easy to Listen to."[17]

Then suddenly the attitude toward production changed drastically. The next issue of *Sovetsky Artist* published Stalin's famous slogan, "All depends on the cadres!"[18] This opened a new campaign of criticism of the Bolshoi Theatre. Immediately more articles appeared: "The Youth Does Not Work enough in the Bolshoi!", "Theatre is not a Museum", "Towards the Rebirth of Realistic Stage Design", "Against Imperial Kitsch", and so on.[19] These articles accused *Sadko*'s set design of being too old-fashioned, too pompous, while Soviet art should be both realistic and simple. It emphasized that the young generation and the youthful approach to the productions should replace the old, tsarist hangovers. This short campaign culminated in September in the slogan: "Struggle for Repertoire Plan is the Task of the Entire Collective", and in the article signed by the Bolshoi director Mutnyh, who revived the maxim: "Special Attention to Soviet Operas!"[20]

Before the assassination of Kirov in December 1934, the Leningrad City and Province Party Committee had acquired the greatest influence it would ever have in its history. When Zhdanov, a loyal disciple and the Stalin's right-hand man, was appointed to this post in 1934, the Leningrad City and Province Party Committee became completely subservient to Stalin. Another latent reason for supporting the Leningrad theater was Stalin's usual game of "divide et impera": in this way the Mariinsky Theater and the Bolshoi Theater were set against each other.

On 2 July 1935, the Politburo made a historic decision concerning the Leningrad Opera House. The Politburo decided:

> "1) To fulfill the demand of the workers of the Leningrad State Theater of Opera and Ballet (Mariinsky) to name it after Kirov.
> 2) To equalize the salaries of the staff of the Kirov Opera with those of the Bolshoi Theater. Comrade Bubnov must submit the necessary subsidies to the *SNK* USSR in 1935.
> 3) For the coverage of the tour of Leningrad Kirov Opera to Moscow to provide to *Narkompros* RSFSR 176.000 rubles from the reserve fund of *SNK* USSR."[21]

As a result of this measure, the Bolshoi Theater again lost its privileged position, and was put on a par with the Leningrad Kirov Opera.

December 1935 and January 1936 were decisive turning points in the opera policy. It was signaled by the transformation of the art sector into an independent body – the Committee for Artistic Affairs (hereinafter CAA) (*Komitet po delam iskusstv*), attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. Stalin was responsible for the creation of the CAA. On 16 December 1935, he presented his project for the CAA to the Politburo. The head of the CAA was Platon Kerzhentsev, who had very little background in cultural policy. From March 1933 to October 1936, he was the chief of the All-Union Commission of Radio Broadcasting at SNK USSR, and from 17 November 1936 he acted simultaneously as the chief of CAA. Kerzhentsev was bought by Stalin to run the CAA and to impose a new line in cultural policy. This meant ending the conflicts in music between the proletarian, modernist and traditionalist factions. The creation of CAA was the immediate background to Stalin's praise of Dzerzhinsky's *The Quiet Don* and the attack on Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth.* These were not accidental. It was part of a concerted and directed change of policy on the musical front.

On the evening of 17 January 1936, Stalin – accompanied by Molotov and Bubnov – attended a performance of an opera by a young composer, Ivan Dzerzhinsky, *The Quiet Don,* based on Sholokhov's novel. It was performed by the Leningrad State Academic Maly Opera Theatre (MALEGOT) on tour in Moscow. Stalin was very pleased.[22] Here was a work that seemed to fulfill all the requirements of the "new" Soviet opera: it was simple, wholesome, socialist, and patriotic. On 21 January 1936, *Pravda* reported that Stalin was favorably impressed by *The Quiet*

Don. Apparently, it represented a kind of opera that should be officially patronized.

The Quiet Don had an eventful history. In 1932, the young composer – still a student at the Leningrad Conservatory – submitted the work to an opera competition jointly sponsored by the Bolshoi Theatre and the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda.* When the results were announced in 1934, *The Quiet Don* was not even mentioned. Nevertheless, Shostakovich liked the opera and offered Dzerzhinsky the opportunity to work with the conductor Samuil Samosud, who gave *The Quiet Don* its final form for a MALEGOT production. The version performed on 22 October 1935 was a significant improvement over the one rejected by the jury in the 1932–1934 competition.

The libretto, written by the composer's brother, was based on "motifs" taken from Sholokhov's still unfinished novel. The librettist had to invent his own positive ending. The last sentences of the opera were uttered by the old man Sashka, who – looking at the departing of the main heroes of the revolution – said: "Good people, new people, what a wonderful life they will build!" The final choruses led to the apotheosis of positive forces. Of course, this had nothing to do with Sholokhov's novel and its tragic ending.

But the decisive factor in the success of *The Quiet Don* was Stalin's personal approval. His comments were intended to stimulate the development of Soviet opera. The first press report was entitled "Conversation of Comrades Stalin and Molotov with the Authors of the Operatic Production *The Quiet Don*":

> "[…] During the conversation, comrades Stalin and Molotov gave positive appraisals of the work of the theater (the visiting MALEGOT) in the field of the creation of Soviet opera, and remarked on the ideological and political value of the production *The Quiet Don.* At the conclusion of the talk, comrades Stalin and Molotov expressed the need to remedy certain shortcomings of the production and also expressed their best wishes for further success in the work on Soviet opera."[23]

Dzerzhinsky and the conductor Samosud reported in their own words what had been said during the conversation, thus unconsciously formulating the main task of the Soviet opera theater for the next two decades:

"Comrade Stalin said that the time was ripe for the creation of a classical Soviet opera. He pointed out that such an opera should be emotionally inspiring, and that the melodic inflections of folk music should be widely used. The music should make use of all the latest devices of musical technique, but its idioms should be close to the masses, clear and accessible."[24]

Stalin also told Samosud that while operatic classicism was needed, it was time to have "our own Soviet classicism," which should be the concern of all people active in Soviet music, and that the stage design of the opera "must help the performance, not disturb it." That same year, Samosud's career reached its peak: he was appointed to the highest musical post in the country, chief conductor of the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow, where he had to reperform *The Quiet Don* and later *Virgin Soil Upturned* by the same Ivan Dzerzhinsky, who was only 26 years old and had not yet finished his conservatory training, when his great success swept him off his feet. *The Quiet Don* became the prototype of a new Soviet genre, the "song opera."

The Leningrad Theater was praised, and positive comparisons were made with the Bolshoi Theater. It is possible to assume that Mutnyh was instructed by the new party leader Akulov that the Bolshoi Theater, in the light of the Leningrad tour, must strengthen its weak points, i.e. modernize its stage design techniques and include Soviet opera in its repertoire. Such an opera, the pride of the Leningrad Opera House, nationally and internationally highly acclaimed, was *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* by the best young Soviet composer Dmitry Shostakovich. It was performed at the Bolshoi in December 1935, long after its triumphant premiere in Leningrad.

Soviet critics in 1933 considered this opera "the result of the general success of socialist construction, of the correct policy of the Party."[25] Such an opera "could only have been written by a Soviet composer who had grown up in the best traditions of Soviet culture."[26] The conductor of the Leningrad premiere, S. Samosud, summarized the general feeling of in the following words:

"I declare *Lady Macbeth* to be a work of genius, and I am convinced that posterity will confirm this assessment. One cannot help feeling proud that an opera has been created in a Soviet musical theater that dwarfs all that can be achieved in the operatic art of the capitalist world. Here, too, our culture has not only overtaken the most advanced capitalist countries, it has completely surpassed them."[27]

The opera attracted international interest. Stockholm, Prague, London, Ljubljana, Zurich, Copenhagen performed the work in 1935–1936. In Russia by 1936 there had been 83 performances in Leningrad and 97 in Moscow. The piano scores, with Russian and English texts, were published by MUZGIZ (Musical State Publishing House) in 1935. Inspired by the success of this opera, Shostakovich planned a trilogy about Russian women in the tsarist era.[28]

On 27 January 1936 Stalin saw *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* in a Bolshoi production and found it disgusting. On 28 January, *Pravda* published an article *Muddle instead of Music.* It was followed, a week later, on 6 February, by a second article directed against the ballet *The Limpid Stream.* Both articles were unsigned, but they undoubtedly had the status of official policy statements. *Pravda*'s attack on Shostakovich was two-pronged; the libretto was criticized for its coarseness and vulgarity, the ballet for its ideological "falsehood." More important, however, was the criticism of the music, which condemned modernism and all "modernists":

> "From the first moment, the listener is shocked by a deliberately dissonant, confused stream of sound. Fragments of melody, embryonic phrases appear – only to disappear again in the din, the grinding and the screaming. […] This music is built on the basis of the rejection of opera […] which carries the most negative features of 'Meyerkholdovshina' into theater and music, infinitely multiplied. Here we have 'leftist' confusion instead of natural, human music. [The danger of this tendency for Soviet music is obvious. Leftist distortion in opera comes from the same source as leftist distortion in painting, poetry, teaching, and science. Petty-bourgeois innovations lead to a break with real art, real science and real literature. [All this is coarse, primitive and vulgar. The music quacks, grunts, growls, and suffocates itself in order to express the amorous scenes as naturalistically as possible. And 'love' is smeared all over the opera in the most vulgar way. The merchant's double bed occupies the central position on the stage. All 'problems' are solved on it."[29]

The attack on Shostakovich was not made solely on the grounds of modernism. Indeed, nothing could be further from an idyllic concept of contemporary Soviet opera than Shostakovich's erotic drama based on a story of murder, greed, and lust. With *Lady Macbeth*, Shostakovich, the Soviet Union's first composer, destroyed the regime's and Stalin's cherished dream of a Soviet classical opera with a positive, contemporary hero. The ideologists were, of course, disturbed by the fact that Shostakovich's

"immoral" and joyless opera had received unqualified praise from almost everyone in the music world, as well as from some of the political elite, such as the music lover Tukhachevsky, and from opera houses abroad.

Subsequent Politburo meetings show no similar concern for opera policy as in January 1936, when the Bolshoi Theater was under attack. We can assume that Stalin's personal will played a major role in repertoire policy. Stalin certainly had his own ideas about contemporary Soviet opera. In his conversation with Samosud, Stalin listed its desirable basic characteristics: a libretto with a socialist theme, a realistic musical language with an emphasis on the national idiom, and a positive hero who typified the new socialist era.

The *Pravda* articles were interpreted by the entire musical community as a warning. Immediately, meetings were called in all sections of the Composers' Union, discussions were initiated, statements were issued, and the future of Soviet music was mapped out. The minutes of the discussions in Leningrad and Moscow were published in *Sovetskaya Muzyka.*[30]

The discussions took place everywhere, but they only reflected what had already been written in the main music magazine *Sovetskaya Muzyka.* In the Bolshoi Theater the spirit of the discussions was about the same: denunciation, repentance, and promises to show the best of Soviet opera in the future.

In conclusion, we can say that in the mid-1930s the regime tried to formulate its vision of the ideal opera. However, this vision was not coherent, but rather a vague set of requirements and conditions of what was considered good and bad. They assumed that the exemplary opera would have to retain the best features of 19th-century Russian opera and at the same time surpass the "old classics." The latter statement is obviously too nebulous to serve as a core program for instructing contemporary composers, who in any case refrained from composing operas for fear of offending higher officials. Being so loosely formulated, the official expectations left ample room for the authorities to punish and reward artists as they tried to guess what this ideal opera was. It shows not only the fermentation of into the system of total control over artistic production, but also a profound shift in understanding the very role of art into a purely didactic task of forging the perfect and aesthetically subtle Soviet citizen, self-glorification of the Soviet people, its history, and, consequently, of the regime itself.

1936 was a complicated year for the Bolshoi Theater, dominated by the scandal of *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk.* Its repertoire lost many titles.

241

In 1936, the CAA launched two other initiatives concerning the life of the opera: the introduction of a new system of artistic awards and a new practice of presenting national art in Moscow. As soon as the CAA was created, the attention of the cultural officials in the republics was focused on how to create systems of cultural life similar to those in Russia. For this reason, festivals of national art were organized in Moscow. The republics were expected to present both classical Russian operas and their own national compositions, which had to follow the universal model worked out by the center. Thus, the *Dekadas* (10-day presentations) of national art were introduced in Moscow. Opera and ballet productions were performed at the Bolshoi Theatre.

Each *Dekada* was dedicated to the arts of one of the Soviet republics: opera and ballet, art and folk music performances by orchestras, composers, and artists. Sometimes they were synchronized with exhibitions of painting and sculpture, dramatic performances, or readings of national literature. From 1936 to 1953, thirteen *Dekadas* were presented, showing the art of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, Leningrad, Belarus, Buryat Mongolia, Tajikistan – before the war, and Ukraine and Uzbekistan – from 1945 to 1953.[31] Only some of these regions had old musical traditions, such as Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. But there were also regions where there was no written musical notation before the Soviet era, and the creation of a national operatic and musical culture depended on oral traditions. In such underdeveloped regions, the Soviet government implanted opera culture, built opera houses, and trained opera singers. Composers were sent from Moscow and Leningrad to help the national cadres write their national operas to be performed during the 'decades'.

Dekadas served primarily political rather than artistic purposes. They were institutionalized to demonstrate Stalin's thesis of the flourishing of the culture of different nationalities and to control its development. The very idea of the *Decades* fit very well into the Soviet concept of cultural geopolitics, which aimed to create a pan-Soviet culture and "new Soviet classics." Thus, all the newly composed operas in the republics followed the line of the Russian romantic national opera model of the 19th century. It was a part of the Soviet cultural project to create, on the "virgin musical soil" of the sister republics, Soviet classical opera, which the Bolshoi Theater, with its traditions and high culture, had obviously failed to create, as the debacle of *Lady Macbeth* in 1936 demonstrated.

The first *Dekada* was Ukrainian. It took place in the Bolshoi Theater and was attended by Stalin and other members of the government. On 8 February 1936 by the decision of TsIK and *SNK* USSR the Ukrainian Administration of Artistic Affairs of *Sovnarkom* of UkrSSR was created. In March, the Kiev Opera brought its best productions to Moscow. Stalin attended the performance of the national opera by the Ukrainian composer Lysenko, *Natalka-Poltavka.* Elena Bulgakova, wife of Mikhail Bulgakov, noted in her diary:

> At the beginning of the second act, in the government box – just across from ours, Stalin, Molotov, and Ordzhonikidze appeared. After the ended of the performance, all the actors gathered on the avant-scene and gave an ovation in honor of Stalin, which the whole theater then joined. Stalin greeted the actors with a wave of his hand and applauded.[32]

The newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* published an article dedicated to the Ukrainian *Dekada*:

> "[…] For ten days the guests of the beautiful capital of the Union were the singers and dancers from Ukraine. […] The compositions were understandable for everyone, they spoke that clear, lively, truthful language that characterizes the arts with national roots. […] Listening to the performances of Ukrainian opera, everyone was **proud** of a profoundly close native Ukrainian art, as if it was **his art.** […] Unwillingly, one remembers those mean and despicable beliefs, which were used by all kinds of nationalists. Didn't Ukrainian nationalists cry that national culture would die in the Soviet Union? But Ukrainian culture is rising and flourishing in the Soviet Ukraine and its creators are welcomed in **MOSCOW** as brothers. The leader of the people, Comrade Stalin, and the leaders of the Party and the Government of the USSR speak to Ukrainian artists with extraordinary cordiality and take care of the future growth and prosperity of the arts. The Soviet Government awards prizes to Ukrainian artists for their outstanding achievements. Ukrainian art now belongs to **all** the peoples of our country. […] Lenin's internationalism, which found its greatest manifestation in the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, created the most favorable conditions for the flourishing of national cultures – national in form, socialist in content. […] That is why the presence of the Ukrainian guests in the heart of the Union – in beautiful Moscow – turned into a wonderful all-Union festival, the celebration of Ukrainian art […]."[33]

The above article gives a broad overview of the tasks of Stalin's cultural policy. The reference to the "friendship of the peoples of the USSR" is extremely important in the development of ideas about the Soviet state. In the 1920s, the emphasis was on the rights of the Union republics, reversing the Russification policies of the tsarist era and raising these republics to the level of the most advanced. The emphasis on the "friendship of the peoples" in the USSR, asserted that the relationship between the peoples in the USSR was based on friendship – not exploitation or domination – with the Russians as the most developed people who provided aid and assistance to their less developed brothers. The emphasis on this theme points to a real fear of the Soviet leadership: the fear that the country might fragment or be dismembered by foreign powers. This should also be seen against the attack on bourgeois nationalism and the Great Terror of 1937–1938. Central to the Great Terror was the campaign against alleged internal enemies who were working in league with foreign enemies, and this influenced all aspects of politics, including cultural policies.

If we pay attention to the words printed in bold in the above article, we will immediately understand that even on a visual level, the position of "beautiful Moscow" as the artistic capital of the whole country,[34] takes on a symbolic, spiritual significance for all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Presenting their art to the Muscovites, and even more importantly, to Comrade Stalin, became an almost sacred experience. It did not mean that the art shown in Moscow was controlled by government officials. On the contrary, touring Moscow was a high privilege reserved for all the provincials who did not want to be submerged in "national backwardness." The Soviet government was a completely hierarchical, almost fabulous structure. There is a "beautiful Moscow", in the heart of which there is the Bolshoi Theater. In the heart of the Bolshoi Theatre there is the government box, where, surrounded by his colleagues, the Leader, Comrade Stalin, sits and praises the art before him, "national in form, socialist in content." More importantly, the article contains the maxims of what contemporary classical opera demanded of composers. It should follow folk examples, be simple, comprehensible, and truthful, because true art with national roots is always like this.

Significantly, Stalin's name never appeared in the newspapers when a production was criticized. But if the discourse was positive, Stalin's name appeared as the main judge and the main rewarder. In this way, Stalin created a very positive image for himself in relation to the arts.

A whole system of awards was created in 1936. By the decree of the *TsIK* of 6 September 1936, a special honorary title "People's Artist of the USSR" was established. Before that there were only People's Artists of the RSFSR, so the system of control and distribution of became more centralized, vast but also more unified. The Decree of the TsIK declared:

> 1) To confer the honorary title of People's Artist of the USSR on the most important Soviet artists who excel in the development of Soviet theater, music and cinema. 2. The title "People's Artist of the USSR" is awarded by decree of the *TsIK* USSR on the recommendation of the CAA *SNK*.[35]

The first to be named People's Artists of the USSR were Stanislavsky, Nemirovich-Danchenko, and the Ukrainian artists Litvinenko-Volgemut and Saksagansky. From 1936 the system of honorary degrees became more elaborate. Before there was only one honorary degree, now there were four: Meritorious Artist of the Republic, then People's Artist of the Republic, then Meritorious Artist of the USSR, and finally People's Artist of the USSR. The highest degree could be obtained by those who either performed on the tour in Moscow, or whose performance was transferred to one of the Moscow theaters. The system of awards developed in parallel with the system of cultural administration. Through the award system, the Soviet government affirmed the most desirable art forms, artists, and productions.

In addition, a procedure was established to reward the theaters by awarding Orders of Lenin. Subsequently, cash prizes and honorary degrees were awarded to the theater's actors.

The first theater to receive the Order of Lenin was the Kiev Opera. In March 1936, *Izvestia* published an editorial entitled "The Meeting of the Masters of Ukrainian Art with the Moscow Artists", and then, in the subtitle: "At the meeting were present comrades Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kalinin, and other government members." The press release of this meeting presents an account both of an important event and the typical exclusive concert given for Soviet leaders, so popular during Stalin's time. The following passage shows the typical pompous procedure of the awards ceremony:

> On 22 March, in the evening, in the Great Kremlin Palace the meeting of the masters of Ukrainian art, who performed in Moscow, with the Moscow art professionals took place. The meeting was organized by the All-Union CAA. The direction and the soloists of the Kiev opera, the artists of the

chapel *Dumka*, the chapel of the bandores, the ensemble of the Ukrainian folk dances, the female choir, the most outstanding actors of the Moscow theaters, dramatists, composers, professionals of the cinema, artists, and architects took part in this meeting. Comrades **Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Ordzhonikidze, Kaganovich, Kalinin, Mikoian, Chubar, Liubchenko, Khrushchev, Mezhlauk, Antipov, Budenny and Kerzhentsev**, members of the government, party officials and social workers. The atmosphere of the meeting was extremely cordial. The meeting greeted the leaders of the party and the government with ecstatic ovations, shouts of "Hurrah Stalin!", "Hurrah great Stalin!", "Hurrah comrades Molotov and Voroshilov!" The boisterous applause and shouts of greeting rang out for a very long time. The speech of the chairman of the All-Union CAA, comrade Kerzhentsev, opened the meeting. The speeches of the representatives of Ukrainian art – the People's Artist of the Republic M. Litvinenko-Volgemut and the soloist of the Kiev Opera O. Petrusenko expressed joy and deep gratitude for the warm attitude, which the Ukrainian artists found in Moscow. […] The People's Commissar of Defense, Marshal of the USSR Voroshilov appeared with a closing speech of the *TsIK* Party and Sovnarkom. His speech was greeted with wild and long applause. After the speeches the concert took place: the choir of bandores and *dumka*, the women's choir, the ensemble of Ukrainian folk dances, the soloists of the Kiev Opera: Litvinenko-Volgemut, Patorzhinsky, Petrusenko, Chasty, the Moscow soloists: Barsova, Maksakova, Reizen, Lepeshinskaia and Carman, Vasilieva and Gusev, and the Red Banner Song and Dance Ensemble of the Red Army of the USSR, which performed some Ukrainian songs and dances. The meeting lasted for several hours. Comrade Stalin, the leaders of the party and the government talked with the Ukrainian artists, writers and folk-dancers.[36]

The result of this meeting was the decision of the *TsIK*, signed by Kalinin and Ushkuf, which stated that for the extraordinary achievements in the field of Ukrainian theatrical culture, folk songs and dances the UKRAINIAN State Kiev Opera House should be honored with the Order of Lenin.[37] *TsIK* also published the list of awards to Ukrainian artists. The Order of the Red Banner of Labor was awarded to 1) A. Hvylia – Chief of the Art Administration of the SNK UkrSSR 2) M. Litvinenko-Volgemut – People's Artist of the USSR 3) M. Donec – People's Artist of UkrSSR 4) I. Patorzhinsky – Meritorious Artist of UkrSSR. The Order of Merit (*Znak pocheta*) was awarded to 1) O. Petrusenko – soloist of opera. 2) V. Iorish – merit artist of UkrSSR, opera conductor. 3) N. Gorodovenko – Merit artist UkrSSR, chief of the chapel *Dumka.* 4) V. Verhovnitsa – the head of the

women's choir. 6) V. Manzia – meritorious artist of the USSR, director of the Kiev opera […].[38]

The *SNK* also published its decree, signed by Molotov, by which:

> "1) A new block of flats is to be built in 1936 for the artists of the Kiev Opera. The cost was 3 million rubles.
> 2) 700,000 rubles were allocated for the renovation of the building of the Kiev Opera."[39]

The artists of the Kiev Opera could not have been dissatisfied at the end of the *Dekada*. But there was another theater that was reminded of its mistake in staging the wrong opera. This theater, of course, was the Bolshoi. It had lost its top position to the Leningrad Opera. Now things became even worse. The Bolshoi Theater was relegated to the third opera theater in the USSR, after Kiev and Leningrad. The Bolshoi would have to take extraordinary steps to regain its reputation.

The Bolshoi tried to repeat the unexpected success of its last contemporary production, *The Quiet Don.* Dzerzhinsky's next opera, *Virgin Soil Upturned*, again based on a Sholokhov novel, was premiered at the Bolshoi under Samosud on 23 October 1937, the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution. The composer's limited technique proved to be an obstacle:[40] he was unable to write ensembles. Nevertheless, he proclaimed this to be an advantage, saying: "In general, I have a negative attitude toward musical ensembles in opera. When five people start singing at the same time – one smiling, one frowning, each speaking their own words –- you cannot make any sense of it."[41]

The main Soviet newspaper *Pravda* reacted in the most positive way to the Bolshoi Theater's enterprise. The review was signed by the critic Georgy Hubov[42] and stated:

> The high task set by Stalin – to create our own **Soviet** opera classics, great musical-dramatic compositions full of the ideological essence of our great epoch – this task found a lively response among Soviet composers. […] The composer Dzerzhinsky should be congratulated on his new and serious success. Not only the composer, but the whole collective of performers has grown creatively while working on '*Virgin Soil*'. The creative victory that the Bolshoi Theater has once again won shows that all our opera theaters should participate in the creation of Soviet opera classics. This particular work proves that future creative successes lie ahead.

Intuitively, Dzerzhinsky had anticipated the official criteria, which were actually rather simplistic. Nevertheless, Dzerzhinsky's statement expresses the drawbacks of the new operatic trend – the deliberate simplification of the musical idiom, the primitive professional approach, and the neglect of established traditions. In discussing this impoverishment of Soviet opera in the late 1930s, Asafiev criticized "primitivism,[43] but this criticism did not share the expectations of the regime for the elaboration of a new Soviet opera, comprehensible to the common people. What interests us most here is the stereotype of Soviet opera that was decided upon by the officials, understood by the musicians, criticized by Asafiev, but never actually achieved.

The best of the Soviet classical opera should have the following features: it should be comprehensive and clear in musical language; it should have a clear conflict, i.e. it should be patriotic and use folk melodies; it should have a heroic theme and an epic character; it should be traditional, i.e. it should incorporate the techniques of the "Mighty Five"; better still it should have a militaristic flavor; it should be based on a historical event or present contemporary reality in a historical perspective (reflecting the new Soviet attitude to the Russian past); and it should have a final apotheosis. In 1937, the classical contemporary Soviet opera was still lacking.

The years 1937–1938 marked the climax of the Stalinist terror. According to official figures, 680,000 people were executed. This had a profound effect on society as a whole.

In 1937, the Bolshoi Theatre was forgiven for its mistake in performing *Lady Macbeth.* It was honored with the Award of the Order of Lenin. At the same time, the Kiev Opera was punished for performing an "anti-people's opera," *Taras Bulba* by Lysenko, which, like The *Virgin Earth*, was dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution. The critic G. Hubov published an article in *Pravda* in October 1937, entitled *Anti-People's Performance. Affairs of the Kiev Opera.* The article said:

"The management of the Kiev Opera has promised a lot. If you believe their words, everything 'in general' is satisfactory: the complications are overcome, the achievements in creating a new Ukrainian opera with a Soviet plot are close […]. But in reality the management of the Kiev Opera did not organize the work of this very season. The preparation of the performance of the heroic opera of the Ukrainian people dedicated to the XX anniversary of the Socialist Revolution failed due to the complete indifference of the management of the Kiev Opera to the most important activity – the development of national opera classics of Soviet Ukraine,

and also due to its inability to complete the united creative work with the composers. They, probably, decided that a Soviet Ukrainian opera would be created by the 'care' of CAA […] The atmosphere of the Kiev Opera is full of reactionary bourgeois-nationalist tendencies. In this respect, the so-called 'new version' of the opera by Lysenko *Taras Bulba* is very spectacular. […] In the authentic opera by Lysenko after Andriy's death scene the Cossacks attack the fortress Dubno. This is the finale of the opera. The director Lapitsky has invented a new finale of the opera – as if based on Gogol. But the real meaning of this finale is the single-minded, cynical glorification of the Polish invaders. […] This is how Lapitsky 'interprets' Gogol's novel, this tremendous poem of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian peoples against the Polish invaders. **This production contradicts Gogol, Lysenko, historical truth and artistic sense!**"[44]

Of course, the Kiev Opera did not lose the Order of Lenin. But the appearance of this article, published in the same season that the Bolshoi Theatre received the Order of Lenin, clarified the policy of the government, which had the right to punish as well as to praise. Stalin's cultural policy, whose capricious logic was always difficult to comprehend, left no room for opposition, but only a mixture of fear and gratitude. This complicated feeling could be felt while reading the press description of the meeting that took place at the Bolshoi Theater after the awarding of the Order of Lenin:

Yesterday at the Bolshoi Theater there was a meeting devoted to the decree of the Party and the government on the awarding of the theater and its soloists. Comrade Kerzhentsev, the head of the CAA, made the opening speech: These are the greatest awards, which mean that the Bolshoi Theatre remains the leading theatre of opera and ballet in the Soviet Union. The award creates obligations: you need to achieve further creative successes.' […] The last to speak was the artistic director of the theater, double order holder and People's Artist of the USSR, S. Samosud. Samosud: 'We feel great anxiety and joy. Now we have to work. We must create a Soviet classical production that will be superior to all classical operas of genius.[45]

The Bolshoi Theater was awarded the order in November 1937. But in April the director of the Bolshoi Theater, V. Mutnyh, was arrested and executed. This action was completely in line with Stalin's "fatal" cultural policy. He praised the theater, but killed its director. The season of the great purges had begun.

But even before 1937, the most talented man in Soviet musicology and the brightest writer tried to solve the great unsolved problem. They almost met on how to create a "Soviet classical opera, which will be superior to all classical operas of genius." These two men were Boris Asafiev and Mikhail Bulgakov. The opera they started to work on in 1936 was called *Minin and Pozharsky.* Its theme was the popular uprising against the Polish invaders led by the citizen Minin and the prince Pozharsky. The events of Bulgakov's libretto were reminiscent of Glinka's opera *A Life for the Tsar*, dedicated to the heroism of the peasant Susanin, who saved the life of Mikhail Romanov by leading a Polish military detachment into the depths of the forest instead of to the place where the first Romanov tsar was hiding. The opera, one of the most faithful in all of operatic literature, once so deeply loved by the ruling dynasty, was not performed in Russia in 1936, one hundred years after its composition and 12 years after its last performance. An attempt to provide Glinka's score with a completely new libretto (under the title *Hammer and Sickle*) in 1924 had been a complete failure. In 1936, it was impossible to even think of reviving an opera with such a pro-monarchist theme. But it was a brilliant idea to create something very similar, but based on a completely new ideology, which would be loyal to the new regime, so instead of Susanin, Stalin found himself with new heroes: Minin and Pozharsky. The planned opera would have exactly the characteristics that the regime demanded from classical Soviet composition. It would be clear in musical language, use folk melodies; it would have direct conflict, i.e. positive heroes – Minin and Pozharsky –, and enemies: the Poles; it would be patriotic and traditional, it would have a militaristic flavor, and the final apotheosis would be in Moscow's Kremlin.

The Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library (formerly Lenin's) preserves the typewritten copies of the libretto that Bulgakov produced in 1936 and continued to work on in 1937 and 1938. The story of this unfinished opera is told in the correspondence between Bulgakov and Asafiev, and in the *diary* of Elena Bulgakova.

On 17 October 1936, Asafiev sent a telegram to Bulgakov saying that he had finished the opera. On 19 November, Iakov Leontiev told the Bulgakovs about Kerzhentsev's visit to the Bolshoi Theatre and his words of approval about *Minin.* However, the delivery of the promised music was delayed by Asafiev. Bulgakov and Alexander Melik-Pashaev, the proposed conductor of the premiere, received the scores from Leningrad only at the end of 1936. They began to make changes in the text in order

to improve it. Vladimir Dmitriev, the set designer, was already involved in the project and started to make the sketches. The opera was sent to the CAA. On 7 February 1937, E. Bulgakova wrote in her diary: "In accordance with the Committee's request, Bulgakov composed two more scenes for *Minin* and sent them both to Asafiev and to the Bolshoi".[46]

At that time, the Bolshoi was working on the production of *Virgin Soil Upturned* and Glinka's *Ruslan and Liudmila.* Bulgakov's *Minin* was to follow. However, Bulgakov's position in general was very uncertain. On 7 April, E. Bulgakova wrote in her diary:

> Call from *TsIK.* Angarov asks Bulgakov to come. [...] Speaking of *Minin*, he asked Bulgakov: 'Why don't you like the Russian peoples?' and added that the Poles in his libretto were too beautiful. The most important thing in this conversation was not mentioned at all. This is the fact that Bulgakov sees his situation as hopeless, that he is crushed, that they want to make him write in a way he doesn't want. About all this, probably, we will have to write to *TsIK.* Something should be done. This is a *cul de sac.*[47]

On 19 April, the director of the Bolshoi Theater, Mutnyh, was arrested. Naturally, this was a turbulent time for the theater and for the Bulgakovs. The newspapers were full of public denunciations of playwrights and men of letters: Kirshon, Afinogenov, Litovsky and Kriuchkov.

It was at this time that the decision was made to mount *A Life for the Tsar* (new title *Ivan Susanin*) with a new text. It is not known who made this decision, but it is clear that it could not have been made without Stalin's personal approval. It is also possible that the decision was actually organized by Stalin himself, as we know that this was one of his favorite operas. Bulgakov was asked to write the new libretto for the opera. "This was after he had composed *Minin*!!!" – E. Bulgakova wrote in her diary.[48] Having learned that *Ivan Susanin* was to be performed on the Bolshoi stage, that the libretto was to be rewritten by the poet S. Gorodetsky, E. Bulgakova noted on 29 June 1937: "*Minin* is done for. It is obvious."[49]

The opera *Minin* was buried for good. The Bolshoi Theater continued to work on *Ivan Susanin.* Bulgakov continued to write his novel *Master and Margarita.* Asafiev continued to write his brilliant critical articles and his mediocre music.

The revival of Glinka's opera on the Bolshoi stage took the form of a broad public campaign. At first the team of producers consisted of the director L. Baratov, the set designer F. Fedorovsky and the conductor

S. Samosud. In March 1938 F. Fedorovsky gave an interview about his work on the set:

> For many months I collected materials belonging to the 17th century. I carefully studied the material culture of that epoch – homespun clothes, shoes, dishes, costumes, and also the way of life of the Russian people at the beginning of the 17th century. I made about 20 sketches of the stage design for *Ivan Susanin*, and also working models of the scenes of the opera. […] Now the workshops of the Bolshoi Theater are beginning to paint the set designs in life-size. As an artist I am very interested in historical questions, especially now, when the new history of our country is being created. […] I have been working for the Bolshoi Theatre for about 20 years. I made decorations for all solemn sessions and party meetings which took place in the Bolshoi Theatre and in which Lenin and Stalin participated. […].[50]

In his interview Fedorovsky mentioned the creation of the "new" Russian history. Of course, he meant the reinterpretation of history. The Russian operas of the 19th century were to play a decisive role in reshaping Russia's historical past, rehabilitating the tsars and glorifying the Russian people. The stage designers of these operas created a positive image of Russia's historical past: golden cupolas and rich, bright clothes instead of poor, suffering beggars in the gray landscape so popular in the 1920s (as in the 1927 production of *Boris Godunov*: "coffins, everyone on their knees", etc.). Fedorovsky was one of the main figures of this imagery. But his time was yet to come. In 1938, the person who decorated the solemn meetings, but spoiled his reputation with the outwardly pompous *Sadko*, was an unreliable candidate. The designer of the great project must combine in his art simplicity and lyricism with veiled grandeur. Thus Fedorovsky[51] was replaced by P. Viliams, who commented on his work:

> The set designer of the production had a very complicated task – to create an opera set that would truthfully, realistically depict Russia at the end of the XVI – beginning of the 17th century. In my set I tried to express, without any theatrical exaggeration, all the beauty, lyricism, majesty of Russian nature, and also the architecture of that epoch[27]

Obviously, Viliams' reference to theatrical exaggeration was aimed at Fedorovsky, who always preferred amplification to pure lyricism. And, of course, in the case of *Ivan Susanin* he was successful, the set designer of the production would become the chief designer of the Bolshoi Theater.

The chief director of the Bolshoi Theatre, B. Mordvinov, a former student of Nemirovich-Danchenko, also understood the responsibility that was placed upon him. He declared:

> The problems we faced while working on *Ivan Susanin* were so complicated and vital that we had to search for new methods of direction. For example, the stage design sketches were checked in advance on a specially built model of the Bolshoi stage. This huge model, about three meters in height, completely reproduces the real stage of the Bolshoi Theater with all its machinery, wings and electrics. This model helped us before the rehearsals to find the exact *mise-en-scène*. Besides, the novelty in the opera theater was the creation of the 'scenic scores', i.e. the exact photo of each *scene*. This allows us to keep the production 'fresh' for years to come, and helps new performers get started.[52]

The director clearly understood how important the performance of this opera was, and realized that this production would be performed for years, if not forever. The unprecedented creation of "scenic scores" was aimed at preserving and maintaining this production as a pillar of the "classical repertoire" of the Bolshoi Theatre. Classics exist forever, the Soviet classics were created for time without end, the Soviet Union would be endless – this was the message that Stalin's regime sent out and which shone through the opera productions of the Bolshoi Theatre.

However, the main complication was the creation and appropriateness of the new poetic text of the opera in relation to the scenic action. The story of Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar* was ambivalent, and Stasov, the main ideologist of the "Mighty Five," had condemned the political conservatism of the opera. The Soviet producers had to do something about it, as Stasov's negative reference was widely known and published in the Soviet Union at the time. Stasov mentioned:

> Probably no one disgraced our people more than Glinka. Through his musical genius, he made a hero out of the ignoble serf Ivan Susanin, as devoted as a dog, as narrow-minded as an owl or a wood grouse. Susanin sacrifices himself for the salvation of a boy who has no qualities to love, who should not be saved at all, and whom he has probably never even seen. This is the apotheosis of the Russian beast of the Moscow type and the Moscow epoch.[53]

The task of making the apotheosis of Soviet art out of the "apotheosis of the Russian beast" was indeed a complicated one.

Moreover, the volume of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* published in 1930 presented Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar* as a secondary, outdated opera, much inferior in quality to *Ruslan and Liudmila*, and Glinka himself as a "loyal subject" and opportunist. The article implied that *A Life for the Tsar* was viewed by liberal, democratic and radical opinion as representing the most reactionary, pro-monarchist views of any 19th-century opera. It said:

> The music of *A Life for the Tsar* is, of course, of a lower quality than in *Ruslan and Liudmila*. Except for a few dramatic moments, the 'Polish Act' and the finale […] the opera is dated. […] Glinka's musical-nationalist slogans were converted by the court into provincial patriotism; by his first opera Glinka brought down his reputation forever is St. Petersburg. The musical qualities of this opera responded to the nationalistic moods of the Russian court, and it liked Glinka's patriotism. Thus, Glinka became a 'loyal subject' and was praised for this. He got the position of conductor of the court choir.[54]

Now critics had to remind themselves that Glinka's original name for his opera was *Ivan Susanin;* the change to *A Life for the Tsar* was made on the orders of Tsar Nicholas I before the premiere in 1836. In 1937, the libretto was completely revised and reworked to emphasize Susanin's love of his homeland while minimizing his monarchical allegiance. Many articles were published in the newspapers lambasting Baron Rosen, the librettist of *A Life for the Tsar*. One article noted: "Rosen did not know Russian well. Glinka had to struggle with him all the time. [For the composer, Ivan Susanin was not a serf of the Romanovs, but a son of the Russian people. He sacrificed himself not for the tsar, but for the salvation of his Motherland, to free it from invaders".[55]

The strengths of the opera were made clear to the public. They were patriotism, heroism and nationalism. The newspapers portrayed the whole issue of Glinka's opera as not a distortion of the authentic text, but, on the contrary, as a restoration of the composer's original intentions:

> The content of Glinka's opera was the poetry of the people's patriotism. […] A motif – "I am not afraid of fear" expresses the fearlessness and selfless heroism of Susanin as the embodiment of the whole Russian nation. The second motif – which carries the final idea of the opera – is the glorification of the Motherland and its manly-heroic sons, one of whom is Susanin. [*Ivan*

Susanin is the first Russian folk music drama. With this opera, Russian music was filtered and finally realized the wish of, first expressed by Pushkin, by truly realistic depiction of the people's life and history [...]. In Glinka's *Ivan Susanin*, Russian music for the first time spoke in the language of real people, on a par with Russian literature after Pushkin.[56]

Everything was distorted and ideologized in the article quoted above. First of all Glinka learned his compositional skills in Italy, and *Susanin* recalls the Italian opera of the time with its breathtaking *coloratura* passages, wonderful ensembles, ballet scenes, etc. Second, Glinka was not the creator of Russian opera music, as there were many composers before him. But the "new" history of Russia had to start somewhere, and the mythologizing of Glinka provided a very convenient and even well thought out origin myth, very similar to the myth of Monteverdi in Italy. In fact, the resurrection of *Ivan Susanin* was a "Glinka renaissance," one of the musical "renaissances" that took place in all the authoritarian states of the period.

This opera had another advantage. It emphasized historical continuity while implicitly stating the inevitability of Stalin's rule. In a special issue of *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, director Mordvinov explained how he reimagined the scenes of the opera:

The main theme of the opera of the genius Glinka – is the heroic struggle of the Russian peoples with the Polish invaders. The main feature of Glinka's style is realism. *Ivan Susanin* is a national heroic drama about boundless love for the motherland. [...] Susanin in our interpretation is the collective image of the Russian patriot, modest, masculine, truthful, a hero of the people. The prologue of the opera [...] is performed against a symbolic background – the Kremlin walls. Hidden from the spectator the choir sings about the Russian land, about the heroic struggle of the Russian nation with its enemies: [...] Death awaits every unworthy enemy. This solemn chorus glorifies the invincible strength of the Russian people. [The epilogue of the opera becomes a heroic requiem. Together with the prologue, the epilogue frames the entire opera, showing in the scope of a vast symphonic illustration the strength of the united country and saved by the power of the people's land, the triumph of its liberation, its hopes and its faith in the bright future.[57]

In 1939, the USSR faced the prospect of war. The threat of war had been very real since 1936; the Spanish Civil War and the major battles with the

Japanese in the Far East – Khalkin Gol' and Lake Khasan – influenced the thinking of Soviet leaders. In this situation, the militarization of society was inevitable. Even the newspaper of the Bolshoi Theater in those pre-war years was full of announcements about how the ballerinas and opera soloists were being trained in rifle shooting, becoming honorable "Voroshilov's riflemen." *Ivan Susanin*, with his patriotic accent, appeared just in time:

> In our days, when the theme of patriotism and love of the Motherland assumes a very special importance, greater than in the past, the collective of the Bolshoi Theater decided to stage *Ivan Susanin* again, to revive this opera in all the grandeur of the authentic plan of its genius composer.[58]

The paragraph quoted above was written by the soloist M. Reizen, the performer of the title role, and was published in the Kharkov newspaper, for which he was interviewed. This shows that Susanin's campaign had an all-Union character, and the reviews and interviews appeared in all central Soviet newspapers.

Mordvinov created the typical spectacle of the time: the frontal masses of the choir, standing in front of the orchestra pit, glorifying the power of the country. The same apotheosis, but with humorous accents, concludes Alexandrov's famous movie musical "Volga-Volga", shown in 1938. But on the opera stage, such a pathetic monumental force, enriched with orchestral accompaniment, could serve as a clear manifestation of power. From a professional point of view, the frontal disposition of the chorus looks lifeless and banal. The metaphor seemed flat even to the officials, who on the whole praised Mordvinov's production. Only the epilogue was changed in 1940. It was transformed into a more realistic apotheosis of patriotism, cutting the music to fit the new concept: Masses of people, horses on the stage, warriors and priests in splendid armor and robes, the gleaming white walls of the Kremlin surmounted by the golden domes of the churches, not just the dark Kremlin walls and the frontal chorus.

With *Ivan Susanin*'s production, the Bolshoi Theater acquired a positive hero, a heroic subject, revised Russian history, and established the model of what Soviet opera should look like. *Susanin*, with its final apotheosis, became a clear example of the authoritarian operatic style. Probably no other production could achieve the same stylistic purity, clarity and unity of ideological tasks and achievements.

Endnotes

[1] On the problems of the institutional history of Stalin's USSR see: Geoffrey A. Hosking, *The First Socialist Society: a History of the Soviet Union from within*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1985; Robert C. Tucker, *Political Culture and Leadership in Soviet Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev*, Norton, New York, 1987; Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power: The Revolution from above*, 1928–1941, Norton, New York, 1990; Alexander Dallin; G. M. Hamburg, *Articles on Russian and Soviet history 1500–1991*, Garland, New York, London, 1992.

[2] On the bureaucratic-command method of Soviet management, see Alexander J. Groth, Stuart Britton, "Gorbachev and Lenin: Psychological Walls of the Soviet 'Garrison State'," *Political Psychology* 14.4 (1993): pp. 627–650. Although it is rather dated, this article still gives some useful particularities of how the Soviet political system functioned.

[3] See Boris Yanislav Wolfson, *Staging the Soviet Self: Literature, Theater, and Stalinist Culture, 1929–1939.* PhD Thesis in Slavic Languages and Literatures. University of California, Berkeley, Fall 2004; E. A. Dobrenko, Eric Naiman, *The Landscape of Stalinism: The Art and Ideology of Soviet Space*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2003; Hans Günther, *The Culture of the Stalin Period*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1990.

[4] See Lubov Keefer, "Opera in the Soviet," *Notes* 2nd Ser. 2.2 (1945): pp. 110–118; Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Culture and Politics under Stalin: A Reappraisal," *Slavic Review* 35.2 (1976): pp. 211–231; Joseph A. Borome, "The Bolshoi Theater and Opera," *Russian Review* 24.1 (1965): pp. 52–64; Kevin V. Mulcahy, "Official Culture and Cultural Repression: The Case of Dmitri Shostakovich," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 18.3 (1984): pp. 69–83.

[5] From the "Statutes of the Composers' Union", quoted in *Entsiklopedicheskii Muzykalnyi Slovar,* M., 1966, article "Sotsialisticheskii Realism," translation from Boris Schwartz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia 1917–1970*, Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1972, p. 223.

[6] See Gary Saul Morson, "Socialist Realism and Literary Theory," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 38.2 (1979): 121–133; Victor Terras, "Phenomenological Observations on the Aesthetics of Socialist Realism," *The Slavic and East European Journal* 23.4 (1979): pp. 445–457; Barbara Makanowitzky, "Music to Serve the State," *Russian Review* 24.3 (1965): pp. 266–277.

[7] See Robert Conquest, *Stalin and the Kirov Murder*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1989; Amy W. Knight, *Who killed Kirov?: The Kremlin's Greatest Mystery*, Hill and Wang, New York, 1999; Adam Bruno Ulam, *The Kirov Affair*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, San Diego, 1988.

[8] See Kees Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896–1948*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montréal, Ithaca, 2004. Boris Schwarz also

finds those events the most significant for the development of the music in the following decades in the USSR: *Music and Musical Life*, p. 119.

[9] See Nikolai S. Timasheff, *The Great Retreat; The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia*, E.P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1946.

[10] See Harvey Asher, "The Rise, Fall, and Resurrection of M. N. Pokrovsky," *Russian Review* 31.1 (1972): pp. 49–63; Anatole G. Mazour, "Modern Russian Historiography," *The Journal of Modern History* 9.2 (1937): pp. 169–202; D. L. Brandenberger, A. M. Dubrovsky, "'The People Need a Tsar': The Emergence of National Bolshevism as Stalinist Ideology, 1931–1941," *Europe-Asia Studies* 50.5 (1998): pp. 873–892; Robert F. Byrnes, "Creating the Soviet Historical Profession, 1917–1934," *Slavic Review* 50.2 (1991): pp. 297–308.

[11] V. Nardov, "K vozobnovleniu *Kitezha*," *Sovetskii Artist* 1 (20) (6 January 1935): p. 2.

[12] Vladimir Lossky (1874–1946) was a soloist of the Bolshoi Theater in 1906–1918, 1920–1928; the manager of the opera troupe (1917–1918, 1920–1928), and the chief director (1920–1928). He was kicked out of the theater in 1928 as the routine, traditional, grandeur director sympathetic with the "old golovanovshina group", but called back in 1934, when the grandeur style was again in demand.

[13] Fedor Fedorovsky (1883–1955) stage designer, started at Zimin private opera and also worked for Dyaghilev. His career at the Bolshoi Theater was full of sackings, transfers to Leningrad Opera House and returns. He was the stage designer at Bolshoi in 1907–1917, 1921–1925, 1926–1929, 1930–1936, and 1944–1953. He was the chief designer of Bolshoi in 1927–1929, and 1947–1953.

[14] *Sovetskii Artist* 8 (27) (5 March 1935): p. 2.

[15] Kmoev, "Send Us the Fishes, Comrade Fedorovsky!" *Sovetskii Artist* 10 (29) (23 March 1935): p. 4.

[16] *Sovetskii Artist* 14 (33) (15 May 1935): p. 3.

[17] Ibid.

[18] *Sovetskii Artist* 15 (34) (21 May 1935), p. 1.

[19] Ibid.

[20] *Sovetskii Artist* 26 (45) (30 September 1935), p. 1.

[21] RGASPI, f. 74, op.1, delo 967, Politburo meeting, 2 July 1935.

[22] Governmental file from the Museum Archive of the Bolshoi Theater, p. 4.

[23] *Pravda*, 21 January 1936, cited in Shwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, pp 142–143.

[24] *Leningradskaya Pravda,* 24 January 1936.

[25] "Opera Shostakovicha," *Sovetskaya Muzyka* 6 (1933): p. 104.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Interview by Nikolai Slonimsky in *Musical Qarterly* 28 (1935): p. 4.

28   The plan was dropped after the failure of *Lady Macbeth.*

29   *Pravda,* 29 January 1936.

30   *Sovetskaya Muzyka,* 1936. The Moscow discussion is published in the March issue, the Leningrad one in the May issue.

31   March 1936 – Ukraine, May 1936 – Kazakhstan, January 1937 – Georgia, May 1937 – Uzbekistan, April 1938 – Azerbaijan, May-June 1939 – Kyrgyzstan, October 1939 – Armenia, May 1940 – Leningrad, June 1940 – Belarus, October 1940 – Buryat-Mongolia, April 1941 – Tajikistan. After a ten-year interruption owing to war and postwar conditions, the *Dekadas* were resumed in 1951, June 1951 – Ukraine, and November 1951 – Uzbekistan.

32   E.S. Bulgakova, *Dnevniki*, Moscow, 1988, p. 141.

33   "Torzhestvo sovetskoi kultury", *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, 24 March 1936: p. 1.

34   In the text Moscow is called "red", which in old Russian meant "beautiful", but in this text could have the double meaning – beautiful and Communist.

35   RGASPI, f. 74, op. 1, d. 406, 6 September 1936.

36   *Izvestia*, 23 March 1936, p. 1.

37   Published in the *Komsomolskaia Pravda,* 24 March 1936.

38   Ibid.

39   Ibid.

40   Dzerzhinsky composed ten operas overall and lived until 1978, but in the 1960s his jealous colleagues, who could not forgive him his success under Stalin, criticized him for lack of professionalism, willful simplification and carelessness.

41   *History of Russian Soviet Music*, 5 vols., Moscow, 1956–1963, vol. 2, p. 226.

42   Georgy Hubov (1902–1981) was a Soviet functionary and musical critic from 1930. In 1932–1939 he was deputy chief editor of *Sovetskaia Muzyka*, and in 1952–1957 its chief editor. In 1941–1945 he was the chief editor of the musical All-Union radio broadcasting. In 1946–1952 he was the consultant on the problems of artistic broadcasting in the Central Committee of the Party. In his views Hubov was much more orthodox than Asafiev and always expressed the official point of view.

43   B. Asafiev, *Complete Set of Works*, vol. 5, Musyka, Moscow, 1951, p. 71.

44   G. Hubov, "Antinarodnyi spektakl'. Dela Kievskoi opery," *Pravda,* 28 October 1937.

45   "Opravdaem doverie partii i pravitelstva," *Izvestia,* 7 November 1937.

46   Elena Bulgakova, *Dnevnik Eleny Bulgakovoi*, Izdatelstvo Knizhnaia Palata, Moscow, 1990, p. 136.

47   Ibid., p.138.

48   Ibid., p. 144.

49   Ibid., p. 157.

50   F. Fedorovsky, "Nad chem rabotaiut hudozhniki," *Dekada moskovskih zrelish*, 3 March 1938.
51   Fedorovsky did not waste his time. He and the director Baratov were moved to Leningrad to stage *Ivan Susanin* there. They accomplished their task while another team was appointed in Moscow.
52   B. Mordvinov, "*Ivan Susanin* na scene Bolshogo Teatra," *Pravda,* Moscow, 7 February 1939.
53   Published in the article G. Polianovskiy, "M. Glinka i ego opera *Ivan Susanin*," *Literaturnaia gazeta,* 10 February 1938.
54   Article on Glinka in the *Big Soviet Encyclopedia,* vol. 17, Akcionernoe obshestvo "Sovetskaia enciklopedia", Moscow, 1930, pp. 224–225.
55   N. Davydov, "Ivan Susanin," *Izvestia,* 22 September 1937.
56   S. Shlifshtein, "Narodnaia geroicheskaia opera," *Trud,* 27 November 1939.
57   B. Mordvinov, "Kak sozdavalsia spektakl *Ivan Susanin*," *Sovetskaya Muszyka* 2 (1939): pp. 37–42.
58   M. Reisen, "*Ivan Susanin* v Bolshom Teatre," *Krasnoie znamia,* Kharkov, 24 February 1939.

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VIDEOS VERNACULAIRES EN ROUMANIE (1990–2010) CONTRIBUTION A UNE HISTOIRE DU MEDIUM VIDEOGRAPHIQUE COMME MARCHANDISE

Jonathan Larcher

Résumé

Et si le support vidéo n'était, en pratique, qu'une marchandise, un élément de scénographie comme un autre, qui peut être soit oublié soit réutilisé et réenregistré à l'infini ? C'est la question soulevée par ce texte, qui retrace le fil d'une ethnographie multi-site, observant à la fois les situations de tournage des vidéos vernaculaires en Roumanie et les circulations humaines et matérielles des technologies vidéo. À l'intersection de l'anthropologie visuelle et de l'archéologie des média, cette recherche propose à la fois une première chronologie et cartographie du médium vidéographique en Roumanie et une mise en perspective des méthodes et objets de l'histoire du cinéma, très attachée à l'archive filmique et sa préservation

Mots clés : Histoire de la vidéo, Archéologie des média, technique, marchandise, Roumanie

Ce texte présente les résultats d'une enquête qui, à l'intersection de l'anthropologie et de l'archéologie des média, propose de repenser la manière dont les historiens du cinéma ont conçu la pratique de collecte et de préservation des archives filmiques et vidéo. Alors que l'histoire du cinéma s'est construite depuis le milieu des années 1970 autour d'un dialogue resserré entre universitaires et institutions et fonds d'archives (comme les musées du film et les cinémathèques), l'observation attentive des pratiques vidéographiques dites amateurs redéfinit la conception

théorique des objets de la discipline – les images – et ses pratiques – centrées autour de la préservation et la mise en archive des films et des vidéos[1]. Prendre en compte ces pratiques visuelles éphémères et instables recentre en effet l'histoire du média vidéo autour des situations, des techniques et des objets.

Mais bien plus encore, le travail sur les vidéos amateurs met en exergue la spécificité matérielle et historique des bandes vidéo qui, contrairement au film, peuvent être réutilisées, effaçant ainsi les images et les sons antérieurs. Cette possibilité infinie de ré-écriture des images et des histoires (en théorie, puisque le médium a en réalité une durée de vie limitée) est au centre de ce texte.

Alors que j'avais initialement pensé ma recherche comme une enquête historique sur l'évolution des pratiques des caméramans et le devenir des images enregistrées, elle s'est progressivement recentrée autour de la trajectoire singulière des cassettes vidéo collectées – et même souvent achetées au fil de l'avancée de mes recherches. Il m'a donc fallu me détacher d'une conception, courante en histoire du cinéma comme en anthropologie (mes deux champs disciplinaires), qui conçoit les cassettes vidéo *uniquement* comme des simples supports d'enregistrement – des "consommables de la recherche" – pour au contraire les considérer comme des *objets*, et même des marchandises, qui ont, comme les personnes, des vies sociales[2].

Cet article propose un récit de l'enquête et une description de ses conditions, notamment des défis techniques rencontrés, tout en énumérant les différentes conceptions et fonctions remplies par ces bandes analogiques : élément de scénographie, souvenir confus, objet introuvable et finalement marchandise. Comme nous le verrons, chacune d'entre elle fait un pas ? vers un devenir différant d'une mise en archive. Enfin, au fil de la transformation d'une ethnographie dans un quartier tsigane d'un village roumain en une enquête multi-site entre les plateformes de vente en ligne, et les différentes rencontres avec les acteurs professionnels et amateurs qui, en Roumanie et en France, travaillent avec les cassettes vidéo analogiques des années 1990 et 2000[3], ce texte propose aussi d'analyser de plus près les formes d'hybridation marchande (ou technique) dont la figure de l'ethnographe peut faire l'objet.

Le dispositif vidéo amateur comme générateur d'ambiance

Cette recherche sur les vidéos analogiques enregistrées en Roumanie entre 1990 et 2010 est née d'un constat dressé à la fin de mes recherches doctorales. Engagé sous la forme d'une enquête ethnographique de terrain, caméra à la main, dans les rues du village de Dițești, entre 2007 et 2012, où vit la majorité de la population rom de la commune, ce travail s'était constitué autour des questions suivantes : Comment "fonctionnent" et à quoi servent les vidéos vernaculaires ? Que font-elles et que font-elles faire ?

Ce travail a abouti à la création d'un corpus de centaines d'heures de séquences filmées, collectées, montées et remontées à la demande de mes interlocuteurs. Tout au long de mon enquête, on m'a d'ailleurs demandé de filmer des célébrations familiales, comme des mariages et des baptêmes - des spectacles qui nécessitaient encore l'emploi de caméramans professionnels. Encouragé par mes hôtes, je me suis peu à peu formé à cette pratique des « films de commande familiaux[4] » - pour laquelle j›étais payée selon la coutume – avant de produire aussi des images domestiques. Ces dernières, faites lors d›occasions moins solennelles comme les anniversaires, n›impliquaient aucune compensation financière. Rapidement au centre de mon enquête filmique, ces vidéos m›ont fait découvrir la particularité des images vernaculaires : leur temporalité et leur instabilité matérielle (par la propension à être marquée par des défauts, des erreurs, des pertes et des échecs).

En m'engageant caméra en main dans les situations du tournage de vidéos vernaculaires j'ai ainsi ouvert le spectre des pratiques et des temporalités du cinéma amateur, au-delà de son utilisation mémorielle – un aspect qui a retenu l'attention des premières recherches semi-pragmatiques, sociologiques et anthropologiques sur les films de famille et les « films de commande familiaux »[5]. Leur mise entre parenthèse de l'expérience vécue par les *filmants*[6] et les filmés s'explique d'abord par les difficiles conditions d'accès aux situations de prise de vues familiales. L'ensemble de ces premiers travaux s'est d'abord attaché à des films de famille archivés et bien documentés, d'une part, et à des films de famille repris par le cinéma documentaire ou les films de fiction, d'autre part[7]. Jusqu'à très récemment, les recherches sur le film amateur en anthropologie n'ont jamais pris la forme d'une enquête par la pratique filmique. Elles ont plutôt eu recours aux entretiens et témoignages de seconde main[8], aux documents d'archives[9], ou à des enquêtes auto-réflexives[10].

Au fil de ma pratique des « films de commande familiaux » en « tsiganie » – c'est le terme qu'emploient mes interlocuteurs pour désigner les rues des villages où résident des membres de leurs familles –, et au fil de mon observation d'autres caméramans professionnels, j'ai réalisé combien la position du cameraman filmant les convives depuis le milieu de la danse (« la ronde » : *hora*) est paradoxalement *moins celle d'un observateur surveillant, que celle d'un prestataire surveillé*. En aucun cas les caractéristiques et compétences attribuées au caméraman par ses clients ne le dotent pas du « pouvoir qui lui permet de témoigner de la *totalité* [de l']événement[11] » – ce qui est la position privilégiée du cinéaste dans le documentaire d'observation et le film ethnographique. L'ensemble des tournages sur commande est ainsi marqué par une surabondance de commentaires adressés au caméraman. Si je peux filmer les différents moments de la fête, c'est en revanche très compliqué de réaliser des plans d'ensemble pour présenter le contexte de l'action filmée. Quand je me suis risqué à faire des prises de vue de la foule, sur les enfants regardant en silence, debout en marge de la fête, mes clients m'ont immédiatement demandé d'arrêter, à la fois pour préserver l'enregistrement de ces images de certains signes de paupérisation[12], et pour économiser les cassettes (le prix de la prestation est en effet indexée à la durée totale des cassettes utilisées).

Si le caméraman est en quelque sorte surveillé, il incarne aussi, à plusieurs moments, l'œil vigilant de ses clients. C'est particulièrement convaincant dans les moments marqués par un cérémoniel plus strict que les scènes de fête, de danse et de banquet. L'un d'entre eux est *Darul* (« le don »), lors duquel les hôtes recueillent les dons offerts par les invités à la fin du repas. À cet effet, un musicien (*lăutar*) accompagné des époux ou des parents de l'enfant baptisé passent parmi les tables des invités. Le *lăutar* annonce au micro le nom de la personne, c'est-à-dire très souvent son sobriquet (*porecla*), les liens qu'elle a avec les hôtes, ainsi que la somme offerte. Une fois l'argent présenté à main levée, le *lăutar* donne les billets au couple qui les glissent dans une boîte ou un seau. Le plus souvent, un parent plus âgé (parmi les beaux-parents ou les grands-parents) accompagne cette petite équipe et tient lui-même la boîte ou un petit carnet sur lequel il note les dons reçus par le jeune couple. Ces dons deviennent pour certains des dettes dont le couple s'acquittera lorsqu'il se rendra à son tour aux baptêmes ou aux noces de leurs convives. Une autre partie de ces dons représente des dettes antérieures dont les invités s'acquittent auprès de leurs hôtes.

Dans ces situations, les images ont aussi une fonction spécifique ; elles permettent au client de vérifier que la somme annoncée par l'invité et le musicien correspond à celle réellement donnée. Les animateurs n'ont parfois pas le temps de le faire au cours de l'action, ils se contentent de jeter un coup d'œil rapide – recompter l'argent après l'invité et le musicien aurait sans doute été perçu comme un affront. L'anticipation de cette pratique peut amener le caméraman à se rapprocher des personnes qui vérifient le compte, et à se tenir entre le musicien et les animateurs. C'est une constante observée dans mes vidéos comme dans celles que j'ai collectées. Si le cinéaste s'éloigne, les maîtres de cérémonie ou les musiciens lui ordonnent de se rapprocher. A plusieurs reprises, mes amis m'expliquent qu'il peut y avoir un accord préalable entre le musicien et l'invité pour annoncer une somme sans la vérifier (ou la montrer franchement). Cette pratique est encore plus probable dans un village comme Dițești où les musiciens engagés par les hôtes sont souvent issus du village.

Dans cette scène, comme dans d'autres, le dispositif filmique amateur et le caméraman sont sollicités comme des « générateurs d'ambiance[13] » participant à la fois à l'atmosphère de la scène et à l'organisation de l'ordre de l'interaction. Dans sa théorie et son esthétique des atmosphères, Gernot Böhme se démarque de « notre tradition ontologique [par laquelle] nous caractérisons les objets en termes de matière et de forme », pour plutôt concevoir un objet vu comme une « caisse de résonance » ; « ses particularités extérieures » se caractérisent alors sous la forme de sa « tonalité », de « ce qui émane d[e lui] », sa « manière d'irradier l'espace[14] ».

La mémoire des vidéos "disparues"

Ce premier volet de l'enquête reprend plusieurs constats établis par les historiens du film de famille sur l'agentivité du dispositif filmique : « c'est [bien] la présence de la caméra qui incite la famille à afficher son familialisme[15] ». À la différence près que l'étendue des fonctions et des affects dans les pratiques filmiques vernaculaires en « tsiganie » s'étend bien au-delà du cliché de la famille heureuse (comme le montre le cas des séquences filmées de la cérémonie du « dar »). À ce propos, il est particulièrement remarquable de noter que si les premières études sur la pratique du film de famille pouvaient se faire l'écho d'une définition

sociale de la photographie de Pierre Bourdieu, mettant en exergue son caractère prescriptible, son « rôle de garant de l'institution familiale[16] », « fix[ant] des conduites socialement approuvées[17] », les publications plus récentes prêtent en revanche plus d'attention à l'expérience vécue des situations filmées : « ce qui arrive pendant le tournage est souvent plus important que le film lui-même[18] ».

L'importance du dispositif filmique en situation explique aussi que ces images soient le plus souvent examinées par mes interlocuteurs (et clients) avec soin, et plusieurs fois, immédiatement après la réception de la cassette ou du DVD. Après cette utilisation intensive, les images peuvent être ignorées et même oubliées pendant un certain temps. Or les films, les vidéos domestiques et la musique téléchargée sont conservés sur support optique. Vendus dans les épiceries du village à l'unité et sans boîte en plastique, les DVD et CD sont empilés sur le lecteur DVD, sur la télévision ou dans les tiroirs. En raison de leur dégradation rapide, leur durée d'utilisation est le plus souvent d'un an ou deux[19]. Cette défectibilité des supports numériques est telle que mes interlocuteurs m'ont régulièrement confié la tâche de garder et recopier les vidéos des fêtes familiales qu'ils avaient enregistrées par ailleurs. C'est ainsi que progressivement mon enquête ethnographique a inclus au sein de son corpus de données des fragments de vidéos (numériques) réalisées avant mon arrivée, ou entre mes différents séjours, et ce jusqu'en 2010, au moment où l'arrivée conjointe des Smartphones, des connexions à internet à haut débit et l'usage des réseaux sociaux a permis à chacun de réaliser ses propres images domestiques, et de contrôler (quelque peu) leur duplication.

En dépit de ces pratiques de sauvegarde par la publication sur les plateformes numériques, comme YouTube (ou maintenant WhatsApp), ou par la démultiplication des copies, les vidéos initialement réalisées sur bandes analogiques – la plupart du temps des cassettes VHS (Video Home System, le format le moins cher et le plus accessible) – semblaient toujours échapper, au tournant des années 2000 et 2010, à cette pratique vernaculaire de la conservation et la maintenance des images. Deux éléments ont particulièrement attiré mon attention.

Tout d'abord, la pratique de numérisation et de publication des bandes analogiques des années 1990 se fait en dehors de la vie sociale de la « tsiganie » et à des fins qui se soucient peu de la conservation. Elles font l'objet d'un remontage important. En effet, depuis plusieurs années, ces « films de commande familiaux » connaissent une importante diffusion

sur YouTube par l'intermédiaire d'utilisateurs qui numérisent et postent en ligne des fragments de bandes vidéo enregistrées dans les années 1990 et 2000. Au fil d'une navigation sur YouTube avec l'un de mes interlocuteurs, nous avons ainsi découvert une vidéo intitulée « Live à une noce de Dițești, 1997 » (*Live la nuntă în Dițești, 1997*) et publiée par un ancien caméraman, qui a numérisé et posté en ligne plusieurs anciennes vidéos de noces et de baptêmes. Le titre de la publication ne fait pas mention du marié ou de la mariée, comme c'est l'usage, et cite en exergue le nom de deux *lăutari* reconnus : Neluță Neagu et Ștefan de la Bărbulești. Nicușor[20] reconnaît en définitive le mariage de Costel, un ami *lăutar* de Dițești, en raison de la formation de l'orchestre. Les bandes magnétiques enregistrées par deux caméras ont été remontées numériquement, un générique crédite les musiciens et des sous-titres indiquent le nom des mélodies ou des chants (*cântări*). Les images enregistrées depuis l'estrade, où se trouvent les musiciens, ne montrent jamais la salle et hormis les deux danseuses professionnelles invitées pour l'occasion, aucune femme n'apparaît au centre de l'image, alors qu'elles sont bien sûr présentes dans l'assistance. Par ces publications en ligne s'opère ainsi une véritable réécriture numérique de l'histoire visuelle des films et vidéos d'amateur à Dițești – et plus globalement en Roumanie[21] – écartant ainsi des pans entiers d'images et d'expériences vécues. Une histoire très partielle, mettant les hommes et les musiciens au centre, alors que les images de ces fêtes de famille, étaient beaucoup plus diverses.

Un second élément a également attiré mon attention. En effet, de nombreuses cassettes VHS, sur lesquelles ont été enregistrées des fêtes familiales dans les années 1990 ne peuvent plus être consultées. La copie DVD ne fonctionne plus et, obsolescence technique oblige, les magnétoscopes ont disparu depuis des années des foyers en « tsiganie ». Une première partie de l'enquête consiste donc, dès la fin de l'été 2019, à identifier le lieu où ont été rangées ou abandonnés les cassettes, afin de les numériser et d'en réaliser une sauvegarde. Cette démarche, relativement proche d'une « ethnologie d'urgence » (*salvage ethnography*), n'a finalement pas abouti, du fait de certaines contraintes techniques, mais surtout en raison des usages sociaux de ces vidéos, peu compatibles avec une telle entreprise de préservation[22].

Mes questions répétées ont bien souvent donné lieu à des réponses évasives : la cassette du baptême ou de la noce existe bien, semble-t-il, mais elle est « quelque part » (*undeva*), et la rechercher demanderait du temps. Plus fondamentalement encore, plusieurs interlocuteurs m'ont

répondu qu'ils ne sont pas très intéressés par l'idée de revoir ces images, comme c'est le cas pour Cristian et Camelia, qui conservent précieusement les photographies faites lors de leur noce, en 2007, avec un appareil photographique jetable ou amateur, mais se souviennent vaguement que la vidéo les avait déçus. Réalisées par une connaissance de la « tsiganie » (en échange d'une somme remboursant le coût des cassettes), les séquences montraient surtout les amis de ce vidéaste amateur et les coulisses du rituel, exposant parfois de manière trop insistante, les insuffisances (*lipsuri*) de la maisonnée et du couple, les travaux dans la cour, les chambres peu meublées, le peu d'amis qui s'étaient déplacées à la mairie. Dans leur souvenir, ces images vidéo sont d'abord caractérisées par ces carences et ce vide – bien rempli aujourd'hui par toutes sortes de biens, par de meubles. Ce qui corrobore la crainte de mes clients, des années plus tôt, en 2010, dès lors qu'ils me voyaient décadrer et filmer la foule, les jeunes enfants délurés et tous ces marqueurs ethniques de la paupérisation. De tels commentaires dépréciatifs n'ont jamais été formulés en regard des portraits, qu'ils soient de couple ou de groupe, réalisés pourtant à la même occasion. Le soin avec lequel ils maintiennent la pose et les éléments du décor (à l'église ou à la mairie) ne laissent transparaître aucun de ces marqueurs. De manière quasiment systématique, les discussions autour de ces cassettes introuvables – ou bien délibérément ignorées – provoquaient les mêmes réactions que celles que mes interlocuteurs avaient devant mes images : « nous étions laids » (*eram urâți*). Cet imaginaire d'une époque où les biens matériels manquaient, où l'espace domestique était plus rudimentaire, et les corps plus minces fut ainsi très souvent opposé à mes velléités de recherche – et ceci même si ma proposition de numérisation et de sauvegarde des bandes n'impliquait aucune contrepartie financière, contrairement à l'usage.

Cette enquête m'a aussi permis d'identifier les personnes ressources qui, au sein de la communauté, ont réalisé des vidéos avec des caméras VHS ou MiniDV, des outils très souvent en fin de vie. Matei m'a ainsi décrit des centaines de cassettes qui sont quelque part chez lui, utilisées aussi bien pour la duplication de VHS de location pendant les années 1980 et 1990, que pour les différents tournages en « tsiganie ». Nous n'avons jamais pu regarder ensemble ces cassettes et les numériser. Il y avait un véritable défi technique à relever car il était selon lui très probable que les bandes vidéo se soient démagnétisées (*demagnetizate*) ou aient subi d'autres « dommages », comme des altérations biologiques, chimiques ou mécaniques des bandes magnétiques en raison de l'exposition des

matériaux à l'humidité, aux écarts importants de température, aux poussières et fumées de cigarettes, etc[23].

En raison de l'indécision de mes interlocuteurs à retrouver leurs cassettes et me les confier, de la difficulté à déplacer en « tsiganie » l'important matériel acheté au fil de l'enquête pour assurer les bandes magnétiques[24], et du risque d'abîmer/endommager les outils avec une bande en partie décomposée ou abîmée, le travail de numérisation n'a pas été engagé[25]. Cette impasse, en apparence, a toutefois confirmé l'une des conclusions de mes recherches doctorales. Cette ethnographie du devenir-archive des vidéos vernaculaires en « tsiganie » est probablement moins une mise en archive d'images enregistrées et aujourd'hui en voie de disparition qu'une observation détaillée des temporalités, des mouvements, des pratiques et des expériences qui constituent ces vidéos, analogiques ou numériques…. et ceci même si cela revient à faire l'histoire d'une disparition. Dans le prolongement des réflexions de Gilles Deleuze et Félix Guattari sur le « devenir » et le « minoritaire », je n'appréhende pas le *devenir*-archive comme un état, « une ressemblance, une imitation », ou « une identification[26] » – il ne s'agit pas d'images devenues archives. Plutôt qu'une production, ce devenir-archive de l'image est un processus en cours, une composition avec *autre chose*, au seuil de l'oubli et de cet autre qu'est l'Archive.

Déplacement de l'enquête en ligne : la cassette comme marchandise

Cette première enquête en « tsiganie » a abouti à recentrer le sujet de l'enquête en orientant mon approche des cassettes moins par l'intermédiaire des anciens clients, que par celui des anciens (ou actuels) caméramans. Alors que les propos de mes interlocuteurs laissaient entrevoir une progressive disparition des objets (et parfois des souvenirs), les rencontres avec les professionnels et les collectionneurs de la vidéo ont dévoilé un domaine de pratique dynamique.

Comme l'ont bien démontré les publications récentes sur YouTube des remontages des vidéos de la décennie 1990, il était essentiel pour ma recherche d'avoir accès aux cassettes enregistrées. J'ai donc commencé ma recherche en empruntant un léger détour. Plutôt que de rencontrer toute de suite les professionnels encore en activité dans la région de Diţeşti, j'ai recherché les matériaux sur les plateformes de

petites annonces en ligne (notamment Olx et Okazii). Cette pratique de la collecte (et du rachat) de matériaux filmiques et photographiques auprès des particuliers, des amateurs ou des collectionneurs, a maintenant une longue histoire. Au cours des années 1930, dans un contexte lui aussi marqué par l'obsolescence rapide des machines et des outils (induite par le passage du muet au parlant), le fonds de la Cinémathèque Française s'est en grande partie constitué par une collecte compulsive de films, d'outils et d'artefacts – Henri Langlois est l'incarnation même du conservateur à la fois collectionneur et historien en cinéma[27]. Plus récemment, dans les années 1990 et 2000, artistes et cinéastes ont constitué des fonds d'images d'archives sans égal en rachetant des films et des photographies dans les marchés, les brocantes ou sur des plateformes comme eBay[28].

Informé par ces pratiques, mon espoir est de pouvoir tomber sur des cassettes de mariage et baptême remis en vente, sur le modèle des films (Super 8, 8mm, 16mm, et, plus rarement en Roumanie, 35mm) qui sont revendus en précisant le sujet des films. Dans tous les cas, la valeur monétaire de la pellicule est toujours indexée sur la rareté du contenu filmé ou photographié (en plus de la taille de la pellicule). Ainsi, Robert, passionné de cinéma, collectionneur, est à même de me décrire précisément l'ensemble du fonds de films qu'il s'est constitué en fréquentant pendant des années les « brocantes » (*piețe de vechituri*), les marchés de Bucarest (comme Târgul Valea Cascadelor[29]) et les sites internet[30]. C'est notamment par ce biais qu'il a racheté un fond important de copies 16mm des films pédagogiques produits par les Studios Alexandru Sahia sous le régime communiste en Roumanie, des films qui se vendaient au rabais dans le courant des années 1990, au fur et à mesure que les usines où ils étaient projetés et conservés fermaient.

La vente et l'achat des cassettes vidéo analogiques – comme les VHS, la video8 ou l'Hi8 – et numériques – le MiniDV – relèvent d'une toute autre logique. Contrairement aux films, les supports d'enregistrement vidéo sont revendus pour être re-employés. Le prix, fixé par chaque vendeur, est indexé sur la qualité des composants techniques de la cassette. Le premier critère est bien sûr la résolution du format, c'est-à-dire la quantité d'information qui peuvent être enregistrées sur la bande magnétique – les cassettes VHS ne comportant que 240 lignes de résolution horizontale, alors que les cassettes video8 et Hi8 en contiennent respectivement 280 et 440, elles sont donc plus chères[31]. Viennent ensuite la longueur (en minutes) de la bande et enfin la rareté et la fiabilité du modèle de la cassette. Cette échelle de prix est fixée par *tous les vendeurs* dans la

perspective que les bandes soient réutilisées ou, plus rarement, exposées en tant que bibelots dans une vitrine[32], mais jamais regardées. Il n'est dès lors jamais fait mention des images enregistrées dans l'annonce en ligne, et une grande partie des vendeurs ne connaissent pas le contenu des bandes. Par contre, ils connaissent le plus souvent la *trajectoire de l'objet*, le lieu où la cassette a été achetée et les conditions dans lesquelles elle a été conservée. Le plus souvent les seules informations sur le contenu enregistré se limitent aux quelques mots écrits sur les boitiers ou les cassettes elles-mêmes – quand elles ne sont pas effacées par le vendeur, pour donner l'apparence la plus neuve possible aux objets. Aucun de mes contacts n'avait rencontré de clients intéressés par les bandes magnétiques pour ce qu'elles contiennent.

La découverte de cette économie informelle autour des anciens supports magnétiques prend le contrepied de l'obsolescence attachée d'ordinaire à la vidéo analogique, suite à l'arrêt de la production des machines, des outils et des consommables (les magnétoscopes n'étant plus produits depuis le tournant des années 2000 à 2010)[33]. De nombreux revendeurs de cassettes en ligne voient ainsi leur stock racheté par des personnes choisissant de filmer leurs fêtes familiales avec une caméra et des cassettes Hi8 avant de les faire numériser et éditer sur DVD par des prestataires (comme Robert), qui ont conservé les magnétoscopes adéquats. L'ensemble de cette "chaîne opératoire" coûte bien moins cher que le paiement d'un caméraman et montre la vitalité des techniques dites obsolètes (les gestes comme les objets) dans des mondes sociaux qui échappent quelque peu au regard tant des historiens que des institutions muséales ou archivistiques. Penser et pratiquer « une histoire des techniques en cinéma » à partir de ces tactiques, ces débrouillardises, ces bricolages et détournements des développements des industries filmiques et vidéographiques, voici un programme de recherche passionnant[34].

Curieusement, alors que cette seconde partie de l'enquête avait débuté dans le sillon d'une archéologie des média, en prêtant attention aux conditions matérielles et média-techniques de l'archive[35], – l'idée étant que les images fassent ou deviennent archive – la problématique s'est semble-t-il inversée. Aux yeux de mes interlocuteurs ce sont davantage les machines et leur substrat matériel qui constituent l'objet principal de la collection ou de l'archive – et ce, qu'ils soient collectionneurs, anciens caméramans, brocanteurs ou commerçants à la valise. Car en effet, une seconde curiosité tient à la cartographie dessinée par la trajectoire des cassettes. Plusieurs de mes interlocuteurs résidant dans la région de

Timișoara mettent en effet en vente des cassettes achetées d'occasion à l'étranger, en Allemagne, en Belgique, où ils se rendent parfois aussi fréquemment que toutes les deux ou trois semaines pour acheter de la marchandise (*marfa*) et la revendre ensuite en Roumanie, lors de brocantes, ou sur les plateformes en ligne. Ce commerce à la valise fait écho à d'autres circulations, observables en « suivant les choses[36] ». Il s'inscrit dans le temps long d'une circulation des cassettes et des machines nécessaires à la production de vidéos analogiques, et ce dès les années 1980. Le cheminement parfois complexe des technologies vidéo pour entrer en Roumanie communiste était déjà présent, en sous-texte, dans l'ouvrage consacré aux deux épisodes de l'évènement artistique *house pARTy* organisé par Decebal et Nadina Scriba lors des étés de 1987 et 1988. La caméra vidéo apportée par le médecin Ovidiu Bojor venait en effet de Katmandou[37]. À la même période, Matei récupérait un magnétoscope de Corée du Sud – il est le premier homme de la « tsiganie » à en avoir possédé un. Mon interlocuteur privilégié, Sile, auquel j'ai racheté une part importante des vidéos produites par son entreprise de production vidéo entre 1994 et 2012, avait dès 1983 tout un appareillage technique provenant d'Europe de l'Ouest lui permettant de doubler les films, pour la plupart anglophones, au sein d'un "studio pirate" (*studio pirat*) en plein centre de Bucarest.

Ces circulations matérielles et humaines ont pris une forme étonnante dans les années 1990. En effet, pendant près de 10 ans, Sile et ses collaborateurs ont réalisé des enregistrements vidéo sur commande, aussi bien des fêtes familiales (comme les noces ou baptêmes), que des productions plus domestiques, dans plus d'une dizaine de pays. Comme l'attestent les images enregistrées sur ses anciennes cassettes VHS-C, video8 et Hi8, la petite équipe d'opérateurs de son entreprise (« son affaire », *afacerea sa*) a voyagé dans toute la Roumanie, mais aussi en Allemagne, en France, en Belgique, au Danemark, au Canada, aux États-Unis, en Grèce, suivant en cela les mouvements migratoires de la « diaspora roumaine » (comme il l'appelle).

Alors que l'hypothèse de travail de ma recherche relevait plutôt d'une histoire visuelle des pratiques vidéographiques vernaculaires – et donc locales – cette seconde partie de l'enquête a systématiquement abouti à des conclusions opposées, en étudiant la chaine de production des films de famille par l'autre bout (celui formé par les collectionneurs, les cassettes et les anciens ou actuels caméramans). En suivant les objets et les machines, l'essentiel de l'histoire de ces matériaux se trouverait peut-être

davantage dans ces supports média-techniques plutôt que dans les images enregistrées. Plutôt que d'associer le vernaculaire à une production locale, il faudrait peut-être l'inscrire dans un ensemble de circulations humaines et matérielles plus vastes.

Conclusion : points de repère chronologiques pour une histoire de la vidéo en Roumanie

Bien que cette recherche ait commencé en adoptant une relative défiance à l'égard d'une possible mise en archive des productions vidéographiques vernaculaires, les mois d'enquête m'ont conduit à me rapprocher plus près d'une histoire et d'une ethnographie des techniques vidéo, m'éloignant ainsi progressivement des intentions initiales de pouvoir réaliser une histoire visuelle – ou filmique – de la période de transition en Roumanie. Alors que l'histoire du film de famille est très souvent assimilée à une histoire du film sur celluloïd, ce premier travail de collecte montre combien la spécificité du médium vidéographique, sa *réinscriptibilité*, rebat les cartes d'une histoire de la vidéo qui pourrait être trop rapidement conçue comme une succession d'inventions, d'innovations, puis d'obsolescences. L'image de « l'histoire de la vidéo » comme « un cimetière de formats[38] » si elle est juste, pourrait toutefois laisser croire que sa linéarité n'est jamais remise en question par des pratiques en marge des industries culturelles. La remise en circulation des bandes magnétiques analogiques sur les marchés et les sites internet en Roumanie et la trajectoire des personnes travaillant à la production de ces « films de commande familiaux » proposent un portrait contrasté de cette conception du média vidéo.

Les échanges avec mes interlocuteurs à Dițești, le travail de collecte et de numérisation des cassettes[39] puis les entretiens informels réalisés avec les vendeurs de cassettes ont révélé une chronologie du médium vidéographique en Roumanie qui déplace les repères préalablement établis dans ma recherche. Ces repères étaient d'abord de l'ordre de la production, ils distinguaient clairement les productions vidéo vernaculaires des productions industrielles. De plus, les repères temporels initialement conçus comme des séparations entre les années du régime communiste et « les reliques » des films de famille réalisés en argentique[40] et l'explosion des usages connectés de la photographie et de la vidéo, sont en réalité bien plus poreux. Les pratiques vernaculaires sur bandes magnétiques débordent en effet l'arc historique (1990-2010) préalablement déterminé

par mon projet de recherche. L'émergence des pratiques filmiques vernaculaires s'inscrit dans une plus longue histoire qui débute, pour plusieurs personnes, au cours des années 1980. C'est à la fois l'histoire du studio pirate de Sile, par lequel sont passés de nombreux films de fiction (ou plus rarement érotiques) et celle de Matei qui, à l'autre bout de la chaine, empruntait des cassettes VHS à Bucarest pour en produire des copies, pour lui d'abord, avant de les faire circuler en « tsiganie » après la Révolution, une fois les foyers équipés de postes de télévision et de magnétoscopes.

La trajectoire professionnelle de Sile est exemplaire de cette longue histoire et de l'intrication des pratiques vidéographiques. Fort de cette expérience au sein de son studio pirate, Sile est engagé par TV SOTI (Societatea pentru Organizarea unei Televiziuni Independente), une chaine de télévision locale et indépendante émettant depuis Bucarest entre 1991 et 1994. Ces quatre années ont été pour lui une véritable expérience de formation technique, notamment à la prise de vue et à l'organisation d'une régie vidéo. Lors de l'arrêt de la chaîne, il a récupéré une partie du matériel vidéo, comme d'autres membres des équipes techniques, pour fonder son propre studio et se spécialiser dans la réalisation de « films de commande familiaux ». Les années 1990 ont été des années fastes. Une demi-douzaine de cadreurs ou de monteurs passés par ses locaux travaillent aujourd'hui à leur compte ou pour une société de communication. En parallèle à son studio, Sile continue de réaliser le doublage et la duplication de vidéos commerciales, une activité illégale qu'il réduit progressivement avec l'évolution législative en Roumanie. Il y met un premier coup d'arrêt suite au vote de la loi concernant le droit d'auteur en 1996 (Legea nr. 8/1996), avant de la faire cesser complètement au moment de sa véritable application, selon lui, en 2004 – ce qui correspond probablement à la mise en œuvre d'une loi complémentaire à celle du droit d'auteur (Legea nr. 285/23 iunie 2004). En 2012, il ferme son studio alors que le format HD numérique et ses supports d'enregistrements sur cartes et disques durs s'imposent dans le "workflow" des films de commande, avec des dispositifs beaucoup plus conséquents (multiples caméras, ordinateur et interface audio connectés à la table de mixage, grue, etc.). Conjointement à cette évolution technique, qui exige un investissement financier pour acquérir du matériel et rémunérer ses équipes, l'augmentation du contrôle et de la pression fiscale sur les micro-entreprises l'oblige à mettre fin à son activité. Il est aujourd'hui plombier-chauffagiste, propriétaire d'un important fonds vidéo qui, à l'image de sa trajectoire, couvre l'ensemble

des pratiques de bandes vidéo magnétiques en Roumanie, montrant les circulations humaines et matérielles entre des mondes (télévision, film de famille, vidéo pirate), que l'histoire du média vidéo considère le plus souvent de manière isolée, et illustre parfaitement le devenir incertain d'un support réinscriptible, tantôt oublié et laissé à la décomposition, tantôt revendu et réutilisé au détriment des images enregistrée.

Notes :

[1] Dans son analyse des fragments filmiques ethnographiques du début du cinéma (1895-1925), Katherine Groo analyse la vision positiviste et empiriste de l'histoire des auteurs de la New Film History (particulièrement entre 1976 et 1985), une vision soutenue par une réflexion métahistorique, focalisée sur la stabilité des archives et l'objectivité de l'historien du cinéma, et par la prévalence de l'accès aux copies des films. Katherine Groo, « Introduction. Untimely Historiographies, Ethnographic Particularities », *Bad Film Histories. Ethnography and the Early Archives*, Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2019, 1-42.

[2] Sur la vie sociale des « objets d'échanges » (*commodities*), voir en particulier les travaux suivants : Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value", in Appadurai A., *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, 3-63 et Thierry Bonnot, *La Vie des objets, d'ustensiles banals à objets de collection*, Paris, Mission du patrimoine ethnologique, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002.

[3] L'enquête en France a pris la forme de conversations et d'échanges avec les différents professionnels de la vidéo qui revendent aujourd'hui leurs anciennes régies vidéo ou les appareils rachetés à des studios qui ont mis fin à leur activité. C'est notamment auprès d'eux que j'ai pu acquérir – acheter – les pièces essentielles à la numérisation des cassettes vidéo. Mes réflexions sur l'historicité des bandes vidéo et sur les gestes et outils techniques nécessaires à leur préservation ont grandement bénéficié des échanges avec Alain Carou, conservateur et chef du service Vidéo à la Bibliothèque nationale de France (département de l'Audiovisuel), et chercheur en histoire du cinéma et de la vidéo. Sur son important travail conduit à la BnF voir : Alain Carou, « D'une bibliothèque de films à une cinémathèque de la vidéo : les collections d'images animées de la Bibliothèque nationale de France », *Journal of Film Preservation*, no. 102, 2020, 131-136.

[4] L'historienne des cinématographies amateurs Susan Aasman précise ainsi que les « films de commande familiaux » « fonctionnent dans le cercle domestique » mais « ne sont pas des films de famille en ce sens que ce ne sont pas des films d'amateur (au sens de non-professionnels) » ; Susan Aasman, « Le film de famille comme document historique », in Odin R. (dir.), *Le Film de famille : usage privé, usage public*, Paris, Méridiens-Klincksieck, 1995, 105.

[5] Sur le film de famille comme document historiographique ou pratique mémorielle voir : Patricia R. Zimmermann, *Reel Families. A Social History of Amateur Film*, Bloomington/Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1995; Susan Aasman, *op. cit.*, 1995, 97-111.

6   J'emprunte ici le terme à Christian Lallier, dont les travaux en anthropologie visuelle marquent une étape décisive dans l'analyse des désirs, des peurs, des tensions et des projections qui habitent le cinéaste et traversent les situations filmées. En s'appuyant sur les courants sociologiques nés en France dans le tournant des années 1980 aux années 1990, suite à la traduction des travaux d'Erving Goffman, des ethnométhodologues et de la philosophie pragmatiste, Christian Lallier opère une rupture avec les catégories usuelles de « filmeur » et « filmé ». Il s'attache ainsi à formuler une théorie de l'observation filmique qui conçoit « la situation sociale comme un lieu de travail où se construisent des logiques de pouvoir, des relations négociées et des formes de coopération à observer » ; Christian Lallier, *Pour une anthropologie filmée des interactions sociales*, Paris, éd. Archives Contemporaines, 2009,19.

7   Voir à ce propos les contributions de Karl Sierek, Jeffrey K. Ruoff et Roger Odin dans Roger Odin (dir.), *Le Film de famille : usage privé, usage public*, Paris, Méridiens-Klincksieck, 1995.

8   Richard Chalfen « Cinéma Naïveté : The Case of Home Movies », *Snapshot Versions of Life*, Bowling Green, Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987, pp.49-69.

9   Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, « Uncensored British Imperial Politics in Late Colonial Home Movies: Memsahibs, Indian Bearers and Chinese Communist Insurgents », in Laura Rascaroli, Gwenda Young, Barry Monahan, (eds.), *Amateur Filmmaking. The Home Movie, the Archive, the Web*, New York/London, Bloomsbury, 2014, 95-107.

10   Colette Piault, « Films de famille et films sur la famille », Nathalie Tousignant (dir.), *Le Film de famille. Actes de la rencontre autour des inédits tenue à Bruxelles en novembre 2000*, Bruxelles, Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, 2004, pp.55-65.

11   David MacDougall, *Transcultural Cinema*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998, p.129. L'article fut publié une première fois dans Paul Hockings (ed.), *Principles of Visual Anthropology*, The Hague, Mouton, 1975. *Italiques compris*. Les traductions depuis l'anglais et le roumain vers le français sont les miennes.

12   La « tsiganie » se caractérise en partie, tant aux yeux de mes interlocuteurs que de leurs voisins *gagi* ou *români* (non-roms) par un ensemble de marqueurs ethniques et des formes de paupérisation.

13   Gernot Böhme « Un paradigme pour une esthétique des ambiances : l'art de la scénographie », in Augoyard, J-F. (dir.), *Faire une ambiance/Creating an atmosphere*, Grenoble, éd. À La Croisée, 2008, 226.

14   *Idem.*

15   Susan Aasman, *Op. Cit.*, 1995, p.108.

281

16   Roger Odin, « Le film de famille dans l'institution familiale », in Odin, R. (dir.), R. (dir.), *Le Film de famille : usage privé, usage public*, Paris, Méridiens-Klincksieck, 1995, 33.

17   Pierre Bourdieu, « Culte de l'unité et différences cultivées », in Bourdieu, P. (dir.), *Un art moyen. Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie*, Paris, Minuit, 1965, 44.

18   Roger Odin, « Reflections on the Family Home Movie as Document. A Semio-Pragmatic Approach », in Ishizuka, K. L., and P. R., Zimmermann (eds.), *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, Berkeley/London, University of California Press, 2008, 258.

19   Pour une description détaillée de cette défectibilité des technologies analogiques et numériques de l'image à Dițești voir : Jonathan Larcher « Des images en panne ? Défectibilité des vidéos d'un village roumain », *Techniques & Culture*, no. 72, 2019, 148-163.

20   Leurs prénoms, comme l'ensemble de ceux avec lesquels j'ai eu des échanges au fil de cette enquête, ont été modifiés.

21   Sur la dimension genrée des pratiques amateurs dans les cinéclubs sous le régime communiste et les tactiques méthodologiques nécessaires pour se défaire de cette emprise dans une perspective historienne du cinéma, voir : Melinda Blos-Jáni « Excavating amateur films from the socialist Romania: making sense of cine-amateur history through oral histories and educational handbooks », *ILUMINACE. Journal for Film Theory, History, and Aesthetics*, vol.28, no.2, 2016, 40-62.

22   Pour une critique de cette pratique de *salvage ethnography* dans l'histoire de l'anthropologie voir l'importante littérature analysée par David Berliner : *Perdre sa culture*, Bruxelles, Zones Sensibles, 2019.

23 S   ur les différents problèmes qui peuvent toucher les bandes magnétiques, voir l'importante littérature élaborée par les professionnels de la conservation. Celle-ci permet à la fois de distinguer les différentes sources et causes des problèmes – entre « erreurs », « dommages » et « défectibilité » : Alessandro Bordina and Simone Venturini, « Operational Practices for a film and video preservation and restoration protocol », in Noordegraaf, J. et al (eds.), *Preserving and Exhibiting Media Art. Challenges and Perspectives*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2013, 257 – tout en proposant des exemples précis permettant d'identifier les signes relatifs à chacun de ces problèmes : Joe Iraci, *La numérisation des bandes vidéo VHS – Bulletin technique 31*, Ottawa, Institut canadien de conservation, 2017. [En ligne], Url : https://canada-prod.adobecqms.net/fr/institut-conservation/services/publications-conservation-preservation/bulletins-techniques/numerisation-bandes-video-vhs.html (consulté le 10 novembre 2019).

24   L'équipement avec lequel est réalisée cette enquête comprend deux magnétoscopes pour des vidéos analogiques : un JVC hr-s9700 pour les formats VHS, un Sony EV-S9000e pour les video8 et Hi8), un correcteur de

base de temps Kudos TBS24TD et une carte d'acquisition vidéo Blackmagic Design UltraStudio 4K 2. Ce workflow permet de réaliser des copies dans les meilleures conditions.

[25] La pandémie de Covid-19 et les différents états d'urgence et d'alerte décrétés en France et en Roumanie ont finalement mis court aux premiers contacts établis avec l'un des caméramans de la municipalité, qui réalise des « films de commande familiaux » depuis la fin des années 1990.

[26] Gilles Deleuze et Félix Guattari, *Mille plateaux: Capitalisme et schizophrénie*, Paris, Éditions de Minuit, 1980, 291.

[27] Sur l'importance de la collecte et de la collection dans la construction des fonds des cinémathèques et des archives du film, voir : Jan-Christopher Horak, « Constructing History: Archives, Film Programming, and Preservation », *Journal of Film Preservation*, no. 102, 2020, 27-36.

[28] Jusqu'au milieu des années 2000 les cinéastes d'avant-garde Yervant Gianikian et Angela Ricci Lucchi ont, pour la réalisation de leur film de *found footage*, acquis d'importantes quantités d'anciens films amateurs, sur les marchés, par des amis ou des connaissances, etc. Entre 2005 et 2015, le cinéaste, professeur et historien du cinéma John Gianvito a constitué un fonds visuel unique sur les 14 ans de la guerre américano-philippine, un immense travail documentaire qui a nourri la réalisation de son diptyque filmique *For Example the Philippines*, constitués de *Vapor Trail (Clark)* (2010) et *Wake (Subic)* (2015). Sur ce point je renvoie le lecteur à l'essai vidéographique réalisé avec Alo Paistik: *Against Imperial Toxicity – John Gianvito on For Example the Philippines*, produit par Le Bal, dans le cadre des journées d'études « Images au Combat » (EHESS, 2019). Le lien vers le film (vostfr) : https://vimeo.com/381505100 [mot de passe: gianvito].

[29] Un marché dont le photographe Nicu Ilfoveanu a réalisé une très belle documentation visuelle au tournant des années 2000 et 2010 ; Nicu Ilfoveanu and Octav Avramescu, *Găsiți și pierduți / Found and lost*, Bucarest, self-published, (printed by Arta Grafica S.A), 2011. Un marché sur lequel il est encore possible d'observer et d'acheter des cassettes et des lecteurs VHS.

[30] Entretien téléphonique, 09 janvier 2020.

[31] Sur les informations techniques relatives aux formats vidéo analogiques et numériques voir : Pierre Bellaïche, Le*s Secrets de l'image vidéo : colorimétrie, éclairage, objectif caméra, signal vidéo, compression numérique, format d'enregistrement (4ème édition)*, Paris, Eyrolles, 2002.

[32] Lors de notre entretien téléphonique, Sorin, collectionneur et revendeur d'artefacts divers de la sous-culture rock ou différents équipements hi-fi, m'explique que les cassettes audio (et parfois vidéo) de marque TDK, dont les bandes MA, MA-X, MA-XG (MA pour *Metal Alloy*) sont reconnues pour leur robustesse et leur fiabilité par des collectionneurs qui souhaitent avoir

283

un modèle manquant à leur collection. Dès lors, le fait que les cassettes soient vierges ou déjà utilisée importe peu.

[33] Sur l'obsolescence de la vidéo analogique et les défis qu'elle pose aux conservateurs (sommés de détenir à la fois les outils et les savoirs), voir Julia Noordegraaf, « Case study: the conservation of media art at Tate. An interview with Pip Laurenson (Head of time-based media conservation at Tate) », in Noordegraaf, J. et al (eds.), *Preserving and Exhibiting Media Art. Challenges and Perspectives*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2013, 282-290.

[34] Une piste que je n'ai malheureusement pas pu suivre dans le cadre de cette recherche, mais qui demeure ouverte. Sur la vitalité d'une histoire des techniques filmiques (et vidéographiques), voir : Benoit Turquety, « Propositions pour une histoire des techniques en cinéma », *1895. Mille huit cent quatre-vingt-quinze*, no. 82, 2017, 8-13.

[35] Sur les enjeux d'une approche média-technique des machines et des archives voir : Emmanuel Guez, « Préface », in Parikka, J., *Qu'est-ce que l'archéologie des média ?*, Grenoble, UGA éditions, traduction de l'anglais par Christophe Degoutin, 2017 (2012), 7-26 et PARIKKA, J., « Materiality: Grounds of Media and Culture », in Parikka, J., *A Geology of Media*, Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2015, 1-28.

[36] Selon le mot de l'un des théoriciens de l'ethnographie multi-site : George E. Marcus, « Ethnography in/of the World System : The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography », *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol.24, 1995, 95-117.

[37] Voir à ce propos : Roxana Gibescu, Dan Mihăilțianu, Decebal Scriba and Raluca Voinea (coord.), *house pARTy 1987, 1988*, Cluj, Idea Design & Print, 2016.

[38] Alain Carou, « D'une bibliothèque de films à une cinémathèque de la vidéo : les collections d'images animées de la Bibliothèque nationale de France », *Op. Cit.*, 2020, 134.

[39] J'ai volontairement passé sous silence une partie de ce travail technique et minutieux ; je renvoie le lecteur aux analyses et pratiques de la numérisation des bandes vidéo analogiques qui m'ont été d'une grande aide : Lisa Parolo and Gianandrea Sasso, « Il protocollo di videopreservazione del fondo Centro Video Arte di Ferrara e il restauro digitale dei video *Viaggio di la Rose* ed *Essence* di Angela Ricci Lucchi e Yervant Gianikian », in Saba, C. S., L. Parolo and C. Vorrasi (ed.), *Videoarte a Palazzo dei Diamanti 1973-1979. Reenactment*, Ferrara, Fondazione Ferrara Arte, 2015, 73-81; Benjamin Turkus, *Time Base Correction: An Archival Approach*, A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts Moving Image Archiving and Preservation Program Department of Cinema Studies, New York University, June 2016.

[40] Les rares recherches historiographiques sur la photographie et le film d'amateur sous le régime communiste exposent les nombreux « angles

morts » et la difficulté de dater précisément le début de ces pratiques, voir : Simina Bădică « Historicizing the Absence: The Missing Photographic Documents of Romanian Late Communism », *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History*, no. 19, 2012, 40-62 ; Melinda Blos-Jáni « Men with the Movie Camera between 1945 and 1989. Domesticating Moving Image Technology under Communism », *Martor – The Museum of the Romanian Peasant Anthropology Journal*, no. 18, 2013, 77-92 ; Melinda Blos-Jáni, *Op. Cit.*, 2016.

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287

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Cet essai est basé sur son livre intitulé *Hitchhiking: Cultural Inroads* (Palgrave : 2020)

TOUS LES CHEMINS MÈNENT À LA ROU(E)-MANIE. AUGUSTIN L'AUTOSTOPPEUR ET L'ANTHROPOLOGUE AUTODIDACTE

Patrick Laviolette

Résumé

À partir de matériaux ethno-historique, littéraire et visuel, cet essai présente une expérimentation en anthropologie autobiographique. L'idée est d'engager une réécriture herméneutique et phénoménologique des cultures de mobilité à travers l'exemple de l'autostop en Europe. Pour ce faire, je décris la pertinence des interprétations interculturelles, historiques et contemporaines, d'une telle forme impromptue et interrompue de voyages spontanée. Et ceci, tant sur le plan poétique que politique, que ce soit aujourd'hui, à l'ère du covoiturage, ou bien à l'époque des hippies parcourant le monde, quand il n'existait aucun terme pour décrire l'Anthropocène[1].

Mots-clés : Autostop ; auto-ethnographie ; anthropologie comparative ; Europe

Départ

> « Mais ce dernier [l'homme], plus disgracié, possède en outre une imagination qui sait faire surgir des objets de vertige où la réalité ne fournit rien qui doive le confondre ».
>
> (Caillois 1964: 47).

Cet essai couvre beaucoup de terrain, mais en faisant des allers et retours – vis à vis des ronds-points. Cela est en effet le *modus operandi*, ou plutôt la norme pour de la plupart des trajets d'autostop. Cette activité existe quelque part entre le don et le partage de trajets routiers avec des automobilistes et des conducteurs professionnels relativement inconnus. Historiquement, le processus de solliciter une auto était assez simple. Soit

simplement par un geste 'silencieux' au bord de la route avec le pouce ou une enseigne, ou bien via une demande verbale à une station d'essence ou dans un café/resto/parking. Et cette pratique continue d'exister aux 21e siècles ; elle semble persister par le biais d'expositions d'art, de publication populaire, de courses et rassemblements d'autostoppeurs, ainsi qu'à travers des plates-formes technologiques virtuelles[2]. Certains affirment qu'elle est désormais florissante en raison des pressions environnementales et sociopolitiques, ainsi que de l'intérêt récent pour les véhicules automatisés et l'économie du partage[3]. Une meilleure compréhension des processus impliqués dans la rencontre entre étrangers qui doivent partager les routes et l'espace intime en voiture est donc requise.

Alors pour commencer cette aventure saccadée, marchons prudemment dans une flaque d'eau qui, espérons-le, sera plus boueuse pour moi que pour vous[4].

« Mircea Eliade possédait sans doute son propre filtre herméneutique, ainsi qu'une incomparable expérience dans l'étude des religions. Entre autres, il était, doué d'une curiosité tout aussi rare que sa souplesse méthodologique […] car il y a la même distance entre méthode et méthodologie qu'entre science et technologie, et que des présupposés voisins peuvent donner lieu à des résultats fort éloignés ». (Couliano 1989: 14)

Une déclaration aussi obscure, certes sortie de son contexte, est néanmoins un point à méditer. Quand avons-nous du temps pour nous occuper de tels luxes ? Comment se fait-il que nous nous souvenions de certaines choses de manière si vivante, tout en en oubliant d'autres si facilement ? Où pensons-nous, réfléchissons-nous, avons-nous des épiphanies – ces moments de sensation d'illumination 'eurêka' ? Entre sur scène *Le Penseur* de Miguel Calderón (1971), une œuvre satirique faite de rouleaux de papier toilette non ouverts, évidemment basée sur la sculpture iconographique d'Auguste Rodin.

Cette œuvre de Calderón nous permet de rire et de réfléchir à égalité. Elle m'a fait rappeler un de ces moments de révélation, non pas sur 'le trône', mais sous l'impulsion de quelques amis proches qui me conduisaient en voiture durant l'été 2006 au projet Eden (un grand biodôme botanique dans un ancien paysage minier d'argile chinoise au milieu des Cornouailles dans le sud-ouest du Royaume-Uni). Alors que j'étais assis dans une voiture, avec de la musique que nous aimions

tous qui jouait en arrière-plan, le sous-titre d'un livre sur le risque dont l'achèvement prendrait encore cinq années à compléter m'est venu à l'esprit – *Not a Hap-hazardous Sport* (Laviolette 2016). C'est loin d'être original, un clin d'œil à l'anthropologue Nigel Barley. Pourtant, une fois que ce petit jeu de mots s'est installé dans mon esprit, un sentiment de calme complet, peut-être même de béatitude ou d'extase, m'a envahi. J'ai eu l'impression de révélation, et ce n'était pas dû à une apparition magique dans les toilettes. Non pas que c'est sans rapport, eh bien, voyons voir.

L'art et l'auto-adolescents

Un soir après minuit, alors que nous avions 14 ou 15 ans, mes deux meilleurs amis et moi nous sommes aventurés chez l'un de nos professeurs. C'était un de ceux que nous aimions vraiment, chargé d'enseigner l'éducation morale. Nous avons complètement recouvert sa voiture de papier toilette. C'est-à-dire, nous l'avons enveloppée avec des rouleaux d'essuie tout et de papier hygiénique. C'était bien réussit, nous avons même obtenu le carburateur, les essuie-glaces et l'antenne pour la radio. Malheureusement, nous n'avons jamais pris de photos. Pourtant, une fois qu'il a trouvé les coupables quelques jours plus tard il nous en a montrées fièrement.

Une quinzaine d'années plus tard, cette aventure innocente allait revenir me hanter. Je dînais avec un groupe d'anthropologues de l'UCL (Londres, il faut préciser car cela pourrait devenir confus plus tard). Ils avaient lancé un projet d'archéologie sur Bodmin Moor en Cornouailles, financé par la *British Academy* sur une période de cinq ans. Parmi leurs interventions méthodologiques, ils avaient conçu des moyens de faire ressortir certains éléments de ce paysage préhistorique souvent gris et lugubre, pour une meilleure reconnaissance et interprétation. Ils étaient également intéressés à intégrer leurs techniques scientifiques dans un discours sur l'environnement ; en particulier sur le '*land art*' à la manière d'Andy Goldsworthy, Richard Long, Christo et Jeanne-Claude.

Deux de ces personnes étaient des théoriciens socioculturels qui allaient devenir mes directeurs de thèse, Barbara Bender & Chris Tilley. Au cours d'un repas avec du vin, ils ont décrit un processus qui consistait à envelopper de grands menhirs et des pierres néolithiques dans du film plastifié d'emballage, et ensuite de les peindre de/en couleurs vives. Après la prise de photos ils pouvaient retirer la coquille semi-solide, laissant

les monuments intacts. Ils m'ont ensuite demandé si je pouvais penser à d'autres moyens de mettre ces pierres en évidence, ou d'en faire de l'art temporaire. « Eh bien, vous pouvez toujours les momifier avec du p-q », ai-je marmonné ou ricané, avec ce qui a dû sembler être un sourire de plus en plus stupide, réalisant que tout le monde s'était soudainement tu à l'insinuation, non-délibérée bien sûr, que cet art environnemental était un tas de conneries. C'est certain que j'ai dû intuitivement savoir que ce que j'allais dire serait très probablement perçu comme enfantin ou insultant. Pourtant, je n'ai pas pu résister. C'était une réaction 'instinctive', ou mieux encore, un réflexe du souvenir d'une blague d'ado de mon passé.

Il n'y a pas grand-chose d'autre à noter du reste de cette soirée, mais je ne sais toujours pas pourquoi on m'a demandé de participer au projet. Peut-être ont-ils apprécié l'irrévérence. Pour ce qui est de la possibilité d'être une sorte d'annexe 'non officielle' à leur recherche archéologique publique particulière, et des nombreuses publications qui en ont résulté, cet essai détourne certaines des idées conceptuelles, des stratégies et des méthodologies qui étaient impliquées puisqu'il explore la signification d'une série de pratiques artistiques vernaculaires, ainsi qu'environnementales et d'installation. Ma propre approche d'une 'herméneutique de l'autostop' tente d'explorer comment l'immédiateté ou le travail de terrain 'urgent', combiné à des techniques socio-historiques et phénoménologiques de longue durée, peuvent fournir un cadre conceptuel où l'art et l'archéologie du passé contemporain peuvent coexister (Lucas & Buchli 2000; Holtorf 2008). C'est ce que nous pourrions peut-être appeler une sorte d'anthropologie de l'art environnemental. Du moins, c'est ainsi que je comprends actuellement ce que faisait l'équipe fluide du projet dirigé par Bender, Hamilton & Tilley en Cornouailles il y a plus de 20 ans.

J'ai utilisé un tel motif il y a déjà plus d'une dizaine d'années, en 2008, lorsqu'on m'a demandé de contribuer à une initiative d'art dialogique appelée ONE DAY SCULPTURE à Wellington en Nouvelle Zélande. Elle était organisée par l'initiative de recherche *Litmus* et j'ai répondu à l'événement organisé par l'artiste Liz Allens, intitulé *Came a Hot Sundae*. Son titre se basait sur le roman *Came a Hot Friday* (1964), qui coïncidait avec le festival littéraire annuel en l'honneur du 'mauvais garçon' dans la scène littéraire antipodéenne, Ronald Hugh Morrieson[5], qui était un auteur du monde des mal ajustées, passionné par le macabre. On peut voir des représentations auto-narcissiques dans le protagoniste vilain de son premier roman, *L'Épouvantail* (1963 [2006]), un récit qui fixe l'étranger

de façon monstrueuse, aujourd'hui traduit dans de nombreuses langues et adapté au cinéma en 1982.

En participant à c'est deux projets, j'ai pu réfléchir et mieux comprendre des historiens de l'art tels que Hal Foster (1996) et Miwon Kwon (2002), ainsi que les travaux de Michel Foucault et Michael Buroway, que je lisais à l'époque. Le troisième d'entre eux, Foucault, avait écrit dans son livre désormais classique *l'Archaeologie du savoir* :

> « De la mobilité politique en surface aux lents mouvements de la « civilisation matérielle », les niveaux d›analyse sont de plus en plus nombreux : chacun présente des discontinuités et des schémas particuliers ; et à mesure que l›on descend vers les niveaux les plus profonds, les rythmes s›élargissent ». (Foucault 1969 : 3)

Deux décennies plus tard, le sociologue marxiste affirme :

> « Même en cette ère post-moderne de réflexivité académique, qui a engendré tant de nombrilisme méthodologique, peu de chercheurs en sciences sociales ont entrepris des recherches empiriques sur la recherche elle-même ». (Burowoy 1991 : 223) (trad. PL)

Alors comment faire une archéologie de la connaissance sur un sujet qui a peu de couches épistémologiques concrètes ? C'est l'une des énigmes qui se concrétise dans le cadre de mon projet sur l'autostop, surtout à cause des problèmes de risque et de spontanéité, ainsi que de l'approche multisite qu'il présente (Cook *et al.* 2009 ; Kusenbach 2003 ; Le Breton 2010). Une option consiste à commencer par les objets, les choses, les fractions d'art et de culture matérielle, puisque les textes existants sont des tangentes. Et tout comme pour le 'passé' ou la 'connaissance', on ne peut jamais avoir une image complète, alors on dessine des sections, on prend des cadres, on considère des angles obliques. Ce sont des méthodes qui permettent de réfléchir à la fois en arrière et en avant, sans oublier le besoin vraiment réel de prêter attention au présent. Ce n'est pas seulement une doctrine néolibérale que de souligner que la recherche doit être pertinente par rapport à la société et aux problèmes socio-écologiques actuels, surtout lorsque certaines de ces préoccupations concernent l'avenir de l'humanité. En d'autres mots, comme certains politiciens devraient le dire, nous devons philosopher avec intention. Cela pourrait encore prendre la forme de la vision marxienne qui consiste à vouloir changer le monde pour

le mieux. Ou au moins de le rendre plus beau et plus drôle s'il se dirige vers une calamité fataliste – comme certains prophètes de l'apocalypse l'ont prédit au cours du temps moderne. En ces premiers mois d'une deuxième décennie du siècle nous voyons chaque jour dans les médias de nouvelles versions d'un pessimisme qui se manifestent à l'échelle mondiale. L'anthropologue Donna Haraway (2016), par exemple, affirme qu'il est possible de faire preuve d'un certain optimisme, sans s'intéresser particulièrement à une « politique de l'espoir » (Verdery 1995 ; Bubant *et al.* 2016).

Quoi qu'il en soit, si l'on considère les raisons pour lesquelles l'autostop est important au-delà de ses particularités ethnographiques, ou de ses excentricités conceptuelles qui pourraient en faire un sujet excentrique sans grande pertinence, les aspects que j'ai essayé d'analyser sont : les véhicules en relations aux infrastructures routières, les réseaux de motilités alternatives, et – excusez le jeu de mots fatigué – les rencontres auto-biographiques (Okely & Callaway 1992).

Coup de pouce - Augustin l'autostoppeur

Voici un exemple d'application d'une approche anthropologique de l'art environnemental à mon travail de terrain en autostop. Je commence par vous présenter l'un des informateurs clés de ma recherche ethnographique. Il a 20 ans et mesure deux mètres. Il n'est cependant pas un spin-off d'Auguste Rodin. Plutôt, Augustin est une sculpture en bronze d'une disposition très différente. Il est protagoniste d'un ensemble de réflexions sur l'époque contemporaine dans laquelle nous vivons aujourd'hui. Contrairement à la création de Rodin, il n'est pas nu, assis sur ses lauriers, le poing serré sur le front, perdu dans une profonde recherche existentielle ou dans un acte de réflexion qui pourrait lui causer une hernie. Au contraire, c'est un jeune homme en mouvement.

Mais pour autant, ne pensez pas – parce qu'il ne feint pas la pose clichée d'activer ces petites cellules grises – qu'il est néanmoins un anti-intellectuel. Bien au contraire, son cartable à la portée, il est prêt à étudier. De plus, avec le pouce tendu et ses meilleures chaussures, il est peut-être même disposé à poursuivre celui qui lui a volé ses lunettes de lecture.

10.10.2019. courriel envoyé à l'artiste Geneviève Warny

« Chère Gigi,

J'aimerais faire une demande de renseignements sur votre œuvre d'art Augustin l'autostoppeur.

Je suis anthropologue et actuellement je suis à Bucarest en train de terminer un livre sur l'autostop. La monographie sera publiée par Palgrave (le manuscrit est prévu pour 2020/21). Vous trouverez ci-joint quelques articles que j'ai écrits sur le sujet, seulement en anglais à présent.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il y a quelques jours je viens de me rendre à Louvain la Neuve pour une seconde visite. La première fois que j'ai rencontré Augustin, c'était il y a quelques années, en 2015, après avoir trouvé une référence sur l'internet. Je suis allé au café Chez Augustin les deux fois et j'ai parlé avec le propriétaire actuel. Bref, j'aimerais donc inclure quelques aspects de ces deux courtes expériences 'ethnographiques' dans mon livre d'autostop. Mais je n'ai pas beaucoup d'informations. Le propriétaire m'a montré la photo de Paul Simon et la carte d'identité belge pour la sculpture. Et j'ai trouvé quelques reportages de Blogs/Nouvelles de media en-ligne. Lors de ma première visite, j'ai aussi essayé de faire du stop pour quitter Louvain la Neuve, mais j'ai abandonné après quelques heures. J'ai donc pris le train pour Liège et de là, j'suis rentré à Berlin.

Cette fois-ci, après avoir revu Augustin et remarqué des graffitis, puis avoir lu plus d'informations sur ses accidents passés (perdant ses lunettes à plusieurs reprises et le bras cassé), ce serait bien si je pouvais vous poser quelques questions. D'après un article, l'œuvre s'inspire de votre dernier enfant ? Mais je n'ai pas trouvé beaucoup d'info sur la commande du projet par M. Simon. Aussi, si vous souhaitez faire la promotion de votre travail, je serais heureux d'inclure une ou deux de vos photos qui aurait été prise avant que la sculpture soit déplacée au parking devant l'arrêt de bus. Je l'ai habillé moi-même quand j'y étais il y a quelques semaines [voir photo].

J'ne veux pas vous faire perdre votre temps avec de longs emails (à moins que vous ne préfériez communiquer de cette façon). Peut-être serait-il préférable d'avoir une conversation par téléphone ? Cela m'aiderait beaucoup à corriger les détails qui me manquent à l'histoire de ce sujet. En attendant, j'ai hâte d'avoir de vos nouvelles et je comprends si vous préférez ne pas trop en dire sur l'inspiration artistique derrière la création de cette œuvre. Si tel est le cas, j'apprécierais quand même beaucoup si vous pouviez me donner les coordonnées d'une personne liée au projet à l'UCL et/ou d'un responsable municipal qui serait disposé à me fournir un peu plus d'informations. Le propriétaire du café était très agréable, mais il semblait qu'il ne voulait pas trop s'embêter avec mes questions parce que je pense qu'il s'est rendu compte que j'avais besoin de lire plus d'articles de journaux sur Augustin avant de le faire perdre son temps. Mais maintenant que j'ai fait ça, je ne serai plus en Belgique jusqu'à ce que mon livre soit

finalisé – et il serait plus logique de parler avec certaines des personnes impliquées dans l'initiative de cette sculpture publique.

Je vous dis merci d'avance. Cordialement, PL ».

Fig. 1 Augustin à LLN, 2019, Photo par PL

Augustin Philippe Simon est né au tournant du millénaire, le jour de Noël 1999, comme le révèle sa carte d'identité belge. Son nom indique qu'il est le fils de Paul Simon (décédé il y a quelques années maintenant). M. Simon était un ingénieur qui est devenu plus tard un homme d'affaires qui a ouvert la brasserie Chez Augustin. Il a été l'un des premiers habitants de Louvain-la-Neuve, une ville planifiée dans la partie franco-brabant wallon de la Belgique. Elle est aujourd'hui connue sous le nom de municipalité d'Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve (LLN). Ce développement d'après-guerre a été construit dans les années 1960 pour

reloger une nouvelle section de KUL (*Katholishe Universität Leuven*, la plus ancienne université 'belge' étant une université néerlandaise datant du 15e siècle (1425)[6]. Cette institution postmédiévale est propriétaire de la totalité du terrain sur lequel LLN est construite, puisque les actes de propriété sont antérieurs à la formation de l'État-nation moderne. Ceci est particulièrement pertinent dans le cas d'un pays qui s'est formé assez récemment. Comme plusieurs autres, c'est un lieu où se trouvent de nombreuses divisions et tensions ethnolinguistiques complexes, ainsi que divers moyens de régler les différends et d'engendrer des stratégies de tolérance pour garder la paix.

En effet, ce petit carrefour de l'Europe occidentale présente certaines caractéristiques uniques, dues à certains précédents historiques. Ainsi, le 'Nouveau Leuven' était un projet de réaménagement urbain du 20e siècle – utopique, ambitieux, moderniste. En tant que laboratoire de conflit post-mondial, une expérience visant à embrasser à la fois l'unité et la diversité en termes de divisions socio-religieuses et politico-linguistiques de cette région, certains chercheurs considèrent la Belgique comme idéale pour étudier les infrastructures de formation du pouvoir et de l'identité (Goddard *et al.* 1994 ; McDonald 1989 ; Shore 2000). En d'autres termes, comme l'a récemment affirmé Marc Blainey, grâce à ses propres associations coloniales, ses affiliations mondiales et ses secrets coupables, la Belgique est une sorte de microcosme pour comprendre au moins deux choses : le projet européen, et la relation de l'anthropologie à ce projet (2016)[7].

C'est dans ce contexte, ayant vécu la vie d'étudiant voyageant entre deux campus universitaires 'ségrégé'/ ségrégués, que Paul Simon (comme plusieurs étudiants de cette nouvelle ville), avait l'habitude de faire du stop entre les deux Leuvens, pour se procurer des livres et assister à différents cours. Une fois devenu un homme d'affaires avec son propre café/bistro de style français, il a voulu rendre quelque chose en retour à la communauté locale, sa ville adoptée /d'adoption pour ainsi dire. Donc, par l'intermédiaire de son ami Michel Woitrin, Paul Simon a commandé une œuvre d'autostoppeur de l'artiste Gigi Warny en 1998/9. Warny avait déjà créé plusieurs œuvres d'art publiques dans la ville. L'histoire personnelle de M. Woitrin est essentielle au récit du choix de l'artiste pour donner forme à cette idée. Alors ouvrons une courte parenthèse à son sujet. D'abord maître de conférences à l'UCLouvain, il est ensuite devenu Conseiller Économique au Dépt des/ d'Études du Ministère de l'Économie (1947–1948), Administrateur à l'Organisation Européenne de Coopération Économique à Paris (1948–1949) et Chef de Cabinet Adjoint du Ministre

de l'Économie (1949–1950)[8]. C'était donc un des fonctionnaires les plus influents de l'UCL et de la ville.

Gigi Warny a créé cette sculpture bronze en Italie, où elle réalise tous ses travaux lourds[9]. M. Simon a utilisé les dessins d'esquisse de la pièce comme « thème de maison » pour son établissement, une brasserie de taille moyenne qui débouche sur la Grande-Place. En reflétant la sculpture d'un stoppeur dans un logo bleu, Simon apposa une marque unique. Selon ce concept, les étudiants bohémiens 'itinérants' se sentiraient les bienvenus aux côtés des autres clients, soit touristes ou amis réguliers. Il a ensuite donné/fait don de cette œuvre d'art à l'UCL. Warny, cependant, possède toujours les droits de propriété culturelle. Augustin est venu au monde à l'aube d'un nouveau millénaire, à un moment où l'automatisation de la production créative était sans doute à l'ordre du jour[10]. L'université l'a gardé dans un « sarcophage » dans le sous-sol de l'un de ses entrepôts d'art pendant environ deux ans, avant de trouver finalement une place près d'un parking pour l'exposer. Peu de temps après, ses lunettes de lecture ont été volées. L'enseigne du bistrot lui fait porter des verres fumés, de grandes lunettes de soleil d'aviateur – son « côté incognito et aventureux pendant qu'il est sur la route », selon Gigi.

Pour remplacer ses biens perdus, en tant qu'érudit pré-pubertaire, il a été baptisé lors d'une cérémonie pour les médias. Peu de temps après, il a été vandalisé ou renversé accidentellement par un véhicule lourd, comme un camion (du moins selon l'interprétation de sa 'mère', qui a littéralement modelé le jeune homme de deux mètres sur son quatrième enfant. Le raisonnement qui sous-tend l'hypothèse d'un accident est que son bras, après avoir été cassé, a été placé par ?/à ses pieds plutôt qu'entaillé comme souvenir. Au cours de notre conversation par téléphone de 45 minutes, j'ai trouvé fascinantes, captivantes, voire même hypnotisables ses aptitudes à démontrer tant de possibilités différentes pour voir les choses de manière non-conventionnelle. Par exemple, elle a déclaré qu'elle faisait toujours du stop et qu'elle trouvait les méthodes de covoiturages peu fiables, en raison de leur dépendance technologique.

Cela va à l'encontre de l'idée que de tels systèmes permettent de mettre en place davantage des 'filets' de sécurité. Je voulais lui demander ce qu'elle penserait si ses propres enfants lui racontaient leurs exploits d'autostop. Peut-être l'ont-ils déjà fait ? Quoi qu'il en soit, cela semblait inapproprié comme question. En outre, il est apparu clairement à la fin de notre entretien qu'elle avait une existence plus alternative que ce que j'avais prévu. Après avoir parcouru son site web, j'avais fait certaines suppositions. Plusieurs

d'entre elles se sont lentement dissipées au fur et à mesure que nous parlions, si bien qu'au moment où elle m'a expliqué qu'elle vivait dans un cadre où son studio domestique n'a pas d'électricité, je n'étais pas complètement surpris. Mais c'était plus loin de la norme que mes attentes – un rappel qu'il est souvent amusant, et même parfois agréablement déstabilisant d'essayer de comprendre l'art de manière ethnographique.

Rituel de Lou vs. Lion (rendez-vous Chez Augustin)

A l'aube, le 6 août 2015, jour après le festival de musique Lokeren (entre Gand et Anvers en Belgique flamande) je me rends en train à Louvain-la-Neuve pour trouver le café Chez Augustin. J'y suis à 10 heures, mais c'est trop tôt. Je me promène donc en ville pour trouver la sculpture d'Augustin. Après avoir pris quelques photos, je retourne parler avec le propriétaire et je découvre l'histoire de la commande de cette œuvre d'art publique. Le proprio ne semble pas très enthousiaste à l'idée de me parler des origines de la conception de ce totem des routes. Par contre, il me montre une photo de la carte d'identité d'Augustin, placée au-dessus du comptoir près de la caisse. Il ajoute que la sculpture a été commandée par le copropriétaire, aujourd'hui décédé, qui faisait de l'autostop dans les années 1960 et 70. Cette photo est directement à côté de celle d'Augustin. Le proprio original a pensé que cela ferait une bonne mascotte pour le café. Un dessin de la sculpture figure sur les fenêtres, les portes, les menus et les cartes de visite. Il y a aussi d'autres vieilles photos d'autostoppeurs au sous-sol du café, près des toilettes.

Après le brunch, j'essaie de faire du stop de l'endroit où est située la sculpture. L'emplacement n'est pas très bon car il se trouve à côté de la gare d'autobus de la ville, avec une circulation dans toutes les directions. Quelques personnes s'arrêtent pour me parler. Une dame rit à haute voix à la vue de mon panneau. Elle prend une photo. Trois heures passent sous le soleil brûlant de cette chaude journée d'août. J'abandonne finalement et je décide, avec une certaine honte, de prendre le train pour Liège. Après avoir traversé la ville à pied, je trouve à l'ouest du centre-ville un café équipé de Wifi. Je travaille donc une heure. C'est un bar/café artistique avec un petit cinéma indépendant. Ne voulant pas trop gaspiller la lumière du jour, je prends un sandwich au supermarché et je me précipite jusqu'à la voie d'accès de l'autoroute voisine. Avant même de poser mon sac à dos, la première voiture qui tourne le coin s'arrête immédiatement. J'explique

au chauffeur que je me dirige vers l'Allemagne. Il sort rapidement pour déverrouille le coffre qui est plein de valises 'antique'. Le reste de sa Volvo à hayon est assez 'désordonnée'. Au bout de quelques minutes, il me raconte qu'il m'avait vu travailler au café et qu'il s'était dit « voilà un vrai voyageur ». Il ajoute qu'il n'a pas été surpris de me trouver au bord de la route après avoir quitté le café. Ce n'est qu'alors que l'image vague de le voir du coin de l'œil à une table voisine, en train de parler avec une femme, devient moins floue.

C'est un type avec beaucoup d'empathie et il me semble avec une grande intelligence émotionnelle. Il est wallon, de Plombières, près d'Aix-la-Chapelle sur la douane ouest. Ce n'est pas si surprenant de découvrir qu'il est artiste. Il ne tarde pas à me raconter comment sa vie a récemment changé parce que sa mère a emménagé dans un logement spécial et qu'il s'occupe maintenant de transformer la maison familiale pour ses besoins artistiques. Sentant que je suis fatigué, il propose de m'héberger pour la nuit dans sa maison vide, qu'il essaie maintenant de vendre. Nous passons plusieurs heures de l'après-midi ensemble. Il me présente à sa copine et ensuite me montre son studio, ainsi qu'un petit théâtre domestique dans le jardin qu'ils ont créé pour des performances d'improvisation et de musique, inspirées du style 'Vaudeville'. Nous mangeons, puis ils m'emmènent à une petite fête avec certains de leurs amis.

Le lendemain matin, après m'être remis de plusieurs journées épuisantes, je prends des notes et j'explore le village. Nous avons convenu de nous rencontrer dans l'après-midi. Après avoir fait le tour des anciennes carrières minières de la région, il me dépose vers 14h30 dans une station-service. Je prends deux petits attelages pour me rendre à la frontière Belge/Allemande. Une fois là c'est le temps d'une pause d'environ 45 minutes pendant que deux jeune étudiants Polonais s'échappent. ? Ils me disent qu'ils ont fait du stop jusqu'à Paris et qu'ils sont sur le chemin du retour. J'attends encore environ 45 minutes avant qu'une BMW s'arrête. Le chauffeur semble d'abord prudent à mon égard. Il vient des Pays-Bas mais travaille près de Charleroi. Quand il s'arrête, j'lui parle immédiatement en français. Il hoche la tête en répondant qu'il comprend. Mais il semble mal à l'aise, donc nous passons à l'anglais.

Au début, il n'a pas d'indice de sa destination finale. Mais au cours des vingt premières minutes environ, il mentionne qu'il ne s'arrête généralement pas pour les stoppeurs. J'ai donc dû lui demander : « Pourquoi moi alors ? » Il m'a répondu que je semblais assez normal. Il a rapidement ajouté d'être content d'éviter le français, puisqu'il était en

train de faire un cours de deux heures par jour toute la semaine, et qu'il voulait maintenant se reposer le crâne. D'une certaine manière, cela m'a amené à lui demander sa destination finale : « t'a d'la chance mec… j'vais directement à Berlin ». Il s'est avéré qu'il m'aurait peut-être déposé ailleurs si je n'avais pas été anglophone. L'autre côté chanceux de ce voyage en stop est que sa vitesse moyenne devait être de plus de 160km/h. Nous sommes donc arrivés à Berlin à 22h30, ayant quitté la frontière juste après 17h00. Et nous avons fait une pause 'pit-stop' d'au moins 20 minutes pour aller aux toilettes et manger dans la station-service.

En ce qui concerne ma deuxième visite pour voir Augustin, le 24 sept. 2019, il n'y a pas eu la moindre /tentative de faire du stop. J'ai prix un aller-retour en train de Bruxelles-Midi. Je voulais simplement retourner au café et peut-être prendre quelques bonnes photos. D'après les images, on peut voir qu'Augustin / a un foulard ce jour-là, car il faisait assez froid. Son pouce a été frotté de façon répétée. Nous imaginons pour porter chance, comme on trouve avec de nombreuses installations d'art en bronze à travers le monde. Il se peut aussi que certaines personnes testent/mettent à l'épreuve la force du membre, pour voir s'ils peuvent se prendre un petit souvenir de cette œuvre publique. Nous remarquons ici qu'il a été 'tagué' avec de l'aérosol mauve – un voyageur royal dans le contexte d'une monarchie constitutionnelle.

Fig. 2 Chez Augustin et Paul Simon (Photo par PL)

303

Ce qui est intéressant avec le 'baptême' d'Augustin vu à travers l'argument selon lequel la Belgique est au cœur de l'Union Européenne et de l'immigration mondiale, c'est la façon dont il se distingue en tant qu'Autre. Son caractère 'étranger' n'a pas tant à voir avec le fait d'être un objet inanimé. Il s'agit plutôt d'être un alliage composite de cuivre, d'étain et de zinc. Et donc la patine qui se forme lorsque le bronze s'oxyde lui donne un aspect, enfin, noir[11]. Certainement pas d'une couleur cuivre. Même ses cheveux sont serrés et bouclés, sur le modèle du fils de Warny, qui pourrait être de descendance mixte. C'est simplement une de ces questions que je dois suivre avec elle.

Sans les preuves empiriques, dans quelle mesure est-ce une interprétation in/sous-consciente de ma part. Ou s'agit-il d'une réflexion de conscience collective sur une situation et un ensemble de tensions qui font partie de l'histoire de la Belgique depuis son rôle impérial dans la colonisation de certaines parties de l'Afrique. Indépendamment de cet angle ethnique, Augustin ressort toujours comme différent, voire étrange. Cela fait partie d'un processus qui, tout au long de l'histoire de la pratique du stop depuis l'après-guerre, a souvent entouré les autostoppeurs d'un effet aliénant qui transforme implicitement en Autres tous ceux qui semblent déviants/solitaires/vagabonds[12]. Les historiens pourraient peut-être même faire une comparaison ici avec la légende allemande de Kaspar Hauser.

Fig. 3 Kaspar Hauser, Ansbach DE
(M. Zaschka, Public domain, Wiki Mediacommons)

Après son baptême, certains diraient par le feu, puisqu'on a littéralement dû recouler/couler à nouveau son bras cassé (également on a ancré ses pieds à une base plus profonde pour qu'il reste solidement vertical), Augustin a été déplacé près de la sortie d'un complexe commercial par les arrêts de bus du centre-ville. Les iconographes qui liront ces lignes pourraient pousser plus loin le symbolisme catholique/judéo-chrétien de ce qui arrive à cet autostoppeur 'martyr', semblable à un saint peut-être. Pour énumérer quelques spéculations possibles : il survit à une crucifixion par un vandale ou un véhicule ; il est guéri de sa cécité / ou a eu sa seconde vue perforée. Suite à ces blessures, il devient une sorte de 'relique

305

canonisée' post-moderne. Un fétiche pour Aurelius Augustinus – ramené à la surface de la terre pour prophétiser une nouvelle branche de philosophie mobile à ceux qui sont angoissés d'/ par un avenir infesté par des mutants ou d'espèce inconnue à la *Chthulu* de Howard Lovecraft (1928).

En effet, les fondations de l'église catholique de la période médiévale sont basées sur un système eschatologique inspiré d'une vision augustinienne sans les attributs du millénaire. Je dirais donc qu'il y a un symbolisme *carthulucénique* actif à l'œuvre dans le récit entourant Augustin. Les laïcs parmi vous auraient raison de se demander : comment ce symbolisme religieux pourrait-il être compris autrement ? L'anthropologue de l'art (ou de la théorie de l'*agency*) Alfred Gell (1992) pourrait dire qu'Augustin est une technologie de l'enchantement – non seulement pour l'ethnographe de l'autostop, mais pour le monde des nouveaux médias. Je hasarderais une autre supposition, à savoir qu'il est une technologie mnémonique, un *memento mori*, ainsi que bien d'autres choses pour beaucoup d'autres interprètes. En effet, il s'agit d'un monument qui reflète une pratique qui, selon bien de gens, est en voie de disparition du aux voyages bon marché offert par les autocars à prix réduit, les compagnies aériennes, les applications de taxi, et le covoiturage (Widlok 2017). Certains pourraient même dire qu'Augustin est une encapsulation, ou mieux encore – une incarcération de notre humanité même, pour ainsi dire, comme on pourrait s'en souvenir.

Fig. 4 Baptême d'Augustin, 15 octobre 2002[13].

L'autodidacte des routes

Pendent un temps de crise existentielle, Antoine Roquentin, le narrateur de *la Nausée,* commence ses notes personnelles avec les mots suivants :

> « Le mieux serait d›écrire les événements au jour le jour. Tenir un journal pour y voir clair. Ne pas laisser échapper les nuances, les petits faits, même s›ils n›ont l›air de rien, et surtout les classer. Il faut dire comment je vois cette table, la rue, les gens […] ». (Sartre 1938: 13)

Rochentin m'intéresse ici pour deux raisons : parce qu'il écrit une thèse sur un aventurier du 18e siècle ; et puisqu'il me permet d'introduire les aspects fictif, imaginaire et littéraire qui sont tous liés à la flânerie accélérée de l'autostop. Ce protagoniste est bien sur une sorte d'alter-ego pour Jean-Paul Sartre lui-même – un universitaire pleinement tourmenté par l'absurdité de l'existence, dont son modèle de vie (en quelque sorte une forme de meilleur ami) est un bibliothécaire/chercheur sans formations professionnelle. Le meilleur moyen qu'il trouve de se sortir de sa confrontation avec lui-même c'est d'écrire un roman.

Si les voyages d'Augustin vous semblent trop abstraits sur le plan ethnographique, ou les miens trop individualistes/narcissistes, alors considérons ce domaine herméneutique du stop. Pour sa part, Augustin a bien un nom complet (A.P. Simon), même si souvent il se fait appeler par le simple pseudonyme l'autostoppeur. Cela est, comme il se doit, le 'non-nom' que Silvain Prudhomme donne à l'un des principaux personnages de son livre *Sur les routes* (2019). Ce roman français se déroule dans le sud-est de la France, où Jack Kerouac (1960) situe lui-même bon nombre des moments les plus aventureux de son grand tour de l'Europe. Il est à nouveau assez facile d'interpréter ce texte avec des connotations judéo-chrétiennes considérables. Les trois personnes principales sont le narrateur Sasha, une traductrice littéraire appelée Marie, et son copain appelé simplement l'autostoppeur.

Prudhomme admet dans un entretien que le livre est en partie autobiographique, avec l'intention d'essayer de capturer le sentiment et la force de l'expérience pure du moment : « sentir la force d'être là »[14]. Il situe le décor pour le bouquin dans la même région où il a grandi, avec des personnages de son âge. Il parle du narrateur comme un écrivain qui, après une longue absence, rencontre un ami perdu depuis longtemps. Ils étaient des grands amis dans leur jeunesse, mais ils avaient besoin de se séparer

car ils cherchaient des choses opposées dans la vie. L'amitié retrouvée les rapproche, mais il y a ensuite un renversement des rôles qui s'éclate. Sasha est tombé amoureux de la femme de son ami à un moment où celui-ci a décidé de reprendre la route, laissant son enfant et sa compagne 'disponibles'. Les retrouvailles ont ravivé l'esprit libre de L'autostoppeur après sa captivité domestique. Sacha, l'écrivain diligent et responsable, s'installe peu à peu chez Marie, devenant un père de substitution. En tant que contrepartie qui n'a jamais vraiment créé son propre chez lui, il est maintenant confronté à un changement de vie. Au milieu, nous avons Marie qui est attirée par les deux hommes. Les métaphores de la trahison et du péché, ainsi que les valeurs libérales/libertines de l'amour libre sont toutes présentes. Est-ce là une aspiration nostalgique aux valeurs des années 1970, dont Prudhomme touche seulement à peine avec son expérience personnelle[15].

Si vous trouvez cette l'approche herméneutique d'auto-ethnographie un peu bizarre ou idiosyncrasique, essayez d'aller sur l'internet et de faire une recherche sur le thème de/du 'bonhomme de neige en stop'. C'est un phénomène unique en soi, assez vaste, surtout peuplé par des voyageurs avec une courte durée de vie. Plusieurs se déplacent pour/vers des zones climatiques plus chaudes, ou vers le printemps et l'été. Quelques-uns vont cependant au pôle Nord. Ne devraient-ils pas tous attendre d'aller quelque part où ils obtiendraient une meilleure indemnité d'accident ou une couverture médicale plus complète ? En d'autres termes, vers une destination qui leur assure une certaine forme de longévité ? Ou est-ce un affront marxiste que je n'ai pas encore compris – une armée de blocs de glace cherchant à s'autodétruire ? Tout ce qui est solide peut se fondre en plus de temps d'antenne pour l'avenir incertain de la planète.

Cela pourrait plutôt être une indication de notre très grave déni collectif du caractère destructeur du comportement anthropocentrique ? Ce que Freud appelait « l'instinct » de Thanatos. C'est-à-dire, une obsession avec l'auto-anéantissement, de sorte que, en particulier dans ce cas, en niant l'impact des industries automobile et pétrochimique sur le changement climatique, nous supplions que la « rébellion de l'extinction » soit prise au sérieux. En tout cas, il ressort clairement des protestations pacifiques et des manifestations mondiales récentes qu'il est temps que certains dirigeants et gouvernements internationaux cessent de tromper le public lorsqu'il s'agit du fantôme invisible de la main directrice d'Adam Smith. Les politiques économiques néolibérales qui ont été interprétées plus récemment à partir de cette pensée éclairée semblent vraiment agir

de manière autonome, de sorte qu'un brouillard est descendu sur tous nos yeux. Cela nous maintient dans l'ignorance sur la manière de nous comporter, sur les moments où il faut réagir et sur ce qu'il faut faire pour freiner notre enthousiasme pour la croissance sans cesse.

En effet, on peut peut-être parler de ces bonhommes de neige et des visions de certains politiciens comme adoptant une forme de rhétorique néolibérale inspirée par la pensée qui informe le trompe l'œil. Je pense ici aux travaux anthropologiques du chercheur Alberto Corsín Jiménez (2013), qui nous rappelle les débats sur les économies d'échelle et les critiques sur les formes de savoir qui ne peuvent pas être facilement captées ou communiquées au public. J'ouvre une parenthèse ici pour mentionner un cour séjours de terrain en Espagne au début de 2018, lorsque j'ai trouvé par hasard un musée de l'automobile presque abandonné près de Loreto, sur le chemin de Grenade. Ce fut un voyage épuisant et exaltant de trois semaines, parcourant la longueur et la largeur de la plus grande partie de l'Espagne en zigzag de voyages en train, en autobus et de locations de voitures – de Madrid à Bilbao, de Santander à Vitoria, en passant par des nombreux arrêts dans des endroits comme Guernica et San Sébastien. Dans le sud, je suis tombé sur le lieu surréaliste du village Schtroumpf de Júzcar en Andalousie.

En passant, c'est un endroit trompe l'œil 'fictif' qui existe réellement. L'année précédente, le guide *Lonely Planet* avait annoncé l'expulsion des Schtroumpfs et donc la fermeture du tourisme à Júzcar (Smith 2017). Le petit village de moins de 300 habitants ressemblait certainement à une ville fantôme lorsque j'y étais. Pourtant, il y avait encore quelques silhouettes bleues qui se cachaient au coin des rues. On raconte que des disputes ont eu lieu avec les héritiers du créateur des Schtroumpfs (le 'graphiste' belge Pierre Culliford). Pourtant, cela semble avoir été résolu lorsque les villageois ont convenu de payer une redevance sur tous les revenus liés au Schtroumpf. Peut-être la fermeture est-elle liée à la manière dont ces revenus ont pu être déterminés ? Ou à des préoccupations liées au 'sur-tourisme', car il s'agit d'une région proche de zones protégées d'une valeur exceptionnelle patrimoniale, naturelle et culturelle. Si vous poursuivez/êtes à la recherche des nouvelles sur ce village, maintenant un peu vagabond lui-même, il y a de fortes chances que vous finissiez comme Don Quichotte, à battre des moulins à vent.

D'ailleurs, cela me rappelle le magazine de bord que j'ai trouvé peut-être par sérendipité, à la fin de ce voyage. C'était le 18 mars 2018 et mon vol de Madrid m'amenait à Tallinn. Assis, fatigué, mais

confortablement installé dans mon siège, après l'escale à Paris, j'ai mis la main dans la poche du siège devant moi pour prendre le magazine d'Air France. En feuilletant nerveusement les pages dans l'espoir de m'endormir rapidement contre la fenêtre, j'atterris sur une page au hasard. Une image en noir et blanc d'une silhouette au regard glacial me fixait. C'était Terry Gilliam. J'étais donc moi aussi perdu dans La Mancha. Dans l'entretien, ce cinéaste iconoclaste décrit comment il a enfin terminé son 'travail de vie condamné', ce qu'il a maintenant appelé « L'homme qui a tué Don Quichotte ». L'article est en français et en anglais. En tant que fan de Monty Python et de beaucoup de ses travaux absurdes, situationnistes et complètement bizarres, j'étais accro. D'ailleurs j'ai failli / faire tomber mon portable entre les sièges quand je suis arrivé aux dernières lignes du texte. Ils déclarent :

> **« Votre maison est remplie d›objets […] avant tout, de livres. Quel genre de lecteur êtes-vous ?**
> Je lis toujours deux livres en même temps […]
> **Et les bandes dessinées ?**
> Je ne les lis plus. Même si j'en ai fait/j'en avais l'habitude. Je faisais un long tour d'Europe quand j'étais jeune et j'ai fini à Paris. Je n'avais pas d'argent pour rentrer en Amérique. J'ai pris contact avec le rédacteur en chef du magazine *Pilote*, René Goscinny. Il m'a donné deux pages à faire, quelque chose sur les bonhommes de neige […] »[16]. (dans Aucouturier *et al.* 2018 : 62)

Fin

Le récit plus haut est certainement euro-centrique. Après tout, mon projet concerne l'autostop européen. Mais en rester là est une réponse paresseuse, car même au sein de l'Europe, nous devons reconnaître le manque d'harmonie et les différences culturelles (Brubaker 2002 ; Heintz 2001; Tuhuwai Smith 2000). Revenons donc à quelques idées sur le pouvoir herméneutique et linguistique pour complexifier la pensée et la politique.

Umberto Eco suggère que Hegel ou Heidegger auraient eu des théories herméneutiques et phénoménologiques différentes s'ils seraient nés ailleurs, ou s'ils avaient parlé des langues différentes. D'une certaine façon, cette conclusion est assez évidente. Le danger est de la pousser trop loin, car les idées déterministes que certains pourraient en tirer devienne

encore plus problématiques dans les environnements populistes que nous ressentons/voyons surgir présentement à travers l'Europe. Pour en revenir à Eliade, qui écrivait surtout en français vers la fin de sa carrière (même pendant son exil américain), Ioan Couliano mentionne avec conviction qu'il s'est opposé à Hegel. Et pourtant, ne sont-ils pas similaires dans leurs idéologies de l'esprit cognitif ? Peut-être qu'Eliade se penchait vers les théoriciens français non-structuralistes (comme Paul Ricoeur) pour défendre ses pensées politique absurdes ?

Comme le remarque l'historien politique Andrei Pleșu :

> « Dans un texte de 1953, Mircea Eliade se plaint du retrait des Romains de Dacia sous l'Empereur Aurélien, au 3ieme siècle. C›était la première fois que le territoire au nord du Danube était abandonné par une grande puissance et était ainsi condamné à une marginalité vulnérable […] nous sommes en droit de nous demander, avec Eliade, si la malchance ne devient pas une tradition ». (1997 : 55 [trad. par PL])

En s'appuyant sur Eliade, Pleșu parle ici des souffrances que la Roumanie a endurées à long terme du fait de son exclusion – rendue périphérique par rapport au centre, depuis le rétrécissement de l'Empire romain. Il souligne avec pertinence certains parallèles contemporains avec l'Europe du 20e siècle. Autrement dit, les dangers de supposer que le projet européen est homologue. Selon lui, cela contribuerait à l'ostracisme de nombreuses nations post-soviétiques dont le développement récent dans les temps 'modernes' a été étouffé dans seulement deux générations de victimisation par l'URSS.

Ce n'est pas mon but d'explorer cette avenue ici. Donc pensons en anglais pour l'instant, car les idées de George Orwell (1950), ou encore de Richard Rorty (1989) sont plus utiles pour ma conclusion. Ce dernier a fait la remarque que les problèmes philosophiques s'apparentent à des problèmes de langue. Mais n'est-ce pas le cas que l'autostop est un problème pratique qui comprend des facteurs pragmatiques ? Nous pouvons théoriser ou appliquer des exemples interculturels. Pourtant cela n'a pas été fait jusqu'à présent, peut-être parce que c'est un rite de passage considéré comme acquis, pour une époque en voie de disparition. Je n'en suis pas si sûr. En tant que rite de passage pour les personnes instruites, libres et en quête d'aventure, il existe néanmoins de nombreux exemples qui prouvent le contraire, du moins sur le plan interculturel. A-t-il été difficile d'étudier parce qu'il est codé dans le secret, l'ambiguïté

311

et le sensationnalisme des médias ? C'est peut-être plus proche de la réalité, surtout dans un monde qui se rétrécit et qui connaît de nombreux processus de normalisation pour des raisons d'uniformité et de sécurité civile. On n'en parle pas beaucoup dans les milieux universitaires, peut-être parce que c'est un acte trop 'contre-culturel', dangereux pour la pensée 'non-sauvage'. Suivre cette ligne d'argumentation c'est comme faire demi-tour sur un rond-point.

En commençant par le centre de l'Europe avec l'étude d'une figure 'marginale' comme Augustin l'autostoppeur, j'ai essayé de montrer dans cet essai comment les diversités linguistiques et culturelles de la Belgique sont également importantes à reconnaître à ce moment critique de l'histoire de l'Europe. Jusqu'au récent résultat du référendum Swexit, une comparaison avec la 'périphéricité' de la Scandinavie aurait pu être faite. Ainsi, peut-être plus utile serait de considérer les développements plus évidents envers le/du Brexit et les dangers que cela peut amener au/représenter pour le projet européen. Par exemple, avec l'Irlande du Nord envers/dans les débats et répercussions sur la frontière 'dur vs mou'. Serait-ce des endroits ou l'autostop, comme tactique marginale et perturbateur/perturbante, pourrait surtout révéler des questions qui devraient être approfondies avec une certaine urgence ?

Certains pourraient souligner que l'autostop est loin d'être un problème philosophique en tant que tel. Mais si Rorty a raison, en mettant sur le même plan les problèmes de langage et de philosophie, alors l'autostop [le *hitchhiking* (anglais), *trampen* (allemand), *ia-mă nene* (roumain)] devient un problème linguistique, dans la mesure où la communication et la facilité avec/pour les langues permet plus de succès avec ce type de déplacement (avec les exceptions de malchance ou de malvoyance bien sûr)[17]. De plus, il y a la 'porosité' du langage corporel à considérer, qui est facilement partagé à travers différentes expériences d'aventure. Plus encore, il y a les problèmes philosophiques et moraux du partage, de l'assistance altruiste. La socialité contre l'individualisme ; le socialisme/communisme contre le capitaliste, ou la complexité du *Chthulucène* comme Donna Haraway aime l'appeler ces temps-ci (Bubandt *et al.* 2016) et le *Carthulucène* dans ma vision actuelle du monde.

Notes :

[1]   Tel que popularisé par Crutzen et Stoermer en 2000).

[2]   Le mot 'autostop' a beaucoup de dérives linguistiques : *trampen* (allemand), *ia-mă nene* (Roumain) et bien sur *hitchhiking* (anglais), ce qui introduit la référence littéraire anglophone : Douglas Adams (1985).

[3]   Voir Cohen & Hopkin (2019) sur la mécanisation de la conduite ; Tesar (2015) qui distingue des catégories pour la mendicité professionnelle et Widlok (2017) sur l'économie du partage.

[4]   Concernant la pertinence socio-artistique des flaques d'eau, voir : (Busch & Farías 2019; Martinez 2019).

[5]   Voir Pillsbury, Sam (dir) 1982 ; Laviolette 2009.

[6]   Connue sous l'abréviation KUL (A/B) de 1834 à 1968. Entre '68 et 2018 KUL/UCL, et depuis UCLOUVAIN.

[7]   Selon Blainey: "Over the past half-century, Belgium has experienced numerous internal standoffs, tied to its inbuilt ethnic-linguistic hostilities, what Belgians allude to as the 'Linguistic Problem'. Influenced by demonstrations of civil unrest that occurred across Europe in 1968–1969, student and faculty protests resulted in the official breakup of two of Belgium's most prestigious universities (Fox 1995: 14–15; see also Jobs 2009). The Catholic University of Louvain[12] became two universities (the Katholieche Universiteit Leuven on the original campus in Flemish Brabant and the Université Catholique de Louvain, established in a newly planned city in Walloon Brabant). The Free University of Brussels also split along linguistic lines […]" (2016: 488).

[8]   M. Woitrin [5.05.1919 – 27.10.08] est né le même jour que Karl Marx, mais 101 ans plus tard. Il a été nommé professeur en 1950 et professeur ordinaire en 1954. Ses cours portaient sur l'analyse macroéconomique, la théorie du commerce international, les questions économiques contemporaines, ainsi que sur la démographie économique et sociale. Il a fondé le Centre de Perfectionnement dans la Direction des Entreprises en 1955 ; en 1958 il prend la responsabilité du Groupe de Recherche Marché Commun ; en 1963 il dirige le Dépt. de Démographie et il devient secrétaire administrateur général de l'UCL/KUL, poste qu'il occupe jusqu'à sa retraite émérite en 1984, avant de mourir à l'âge de 89 ans. Peut-être même plus qu'en tant qu'enseignant, c'est comme fonctionnaire dans le développement de la ville de LLN que son nom survit pour la postérité. Il a mené la tâche monumentale de construire une nouvelle ville du 20e siècle, en dirigeant une équipe d'architectes et d'urbanistes pour y parvenir. Paul Simon était parmi eux. C'est grâce à ce duo et au bourgmestre (maire) du parti vert de l'époque (Jean-Luc Roland) qu'Augustin a été commandé à G. Warny (qui a créé de nombreuses autres sculptures publiques pour LLN). La ville possède également des parcs scientifiques, le musée Hergé (en l'honneur du

313

créateur de Tintin), un golf de niveau championnat. Tous ces éléments se sont matérialisés dans une nouvelle version d'un ancien siège d'apprentissage – un pendule à la Foucault pour faire écho à Umberto Eco (1989).

9   Au téléphone, elle m'a dit (15.10.2019) que LLN est un peu comme un 'petit Vatican', étant donnée son histoire complexe avec l'église et les systèmes juridiques en Belgique concernant la propriété foncière.

10   Un jour où, dans l'actualité mondiale, un avion de passagers indien a été détourné par des terroristes armés et emmené en Afghanistan. Un jour aussi où la Russie a lancé une attaque au sol sur Grozny, la capitale de la République fédérale de Tchétchénie. L'infanterie a alors dû prendre la ville « rue par rue » (*BBC News*, 26.03.2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tk1WgEOZ8to).

11   Voir également Bonazzi (1997) concernant les miroirs, les images et les idées de l'Autre/du Noir ; aussi Khaira & Carlin (2003). De plus, le folklore des mythes urbains entourant l'observation d'autostoppeurs 'fantômes' pourrait rappeler un lien avec les trois fantômes autostoppeurs dans les 'Manoirs Hantés' de Disney World. Ou encore l'interprétation de Heonik Kwon (2008) des observations psychiques de masse dans son livre sur le Vietnam.

12   Pour diverses études de cas sur la 'disparition' d'autostoppeurs, voir Voichici (2012) pour la Roumanie et Brunvand (1981) pour une vue d'ensemble des voyageurs en fuite sur le bord de la route. Galuska & Johnson (2007) fournissent une liste de référence bibliographique exhaustive des ouvrages sur ce thème de stoppeur fantômes.

13   Photo prise du Magazine de l'alumni de l'UCL, *LOUVAIN*#133 : page 7 (par Daniel Rochat, avec permission).
Elle représente une mise en scène pour les médias, après le vol des lunettes de lecture d'Augustin. De droite à gauche:
- Philippe Reynaert ('parrain') animateur chez RTBF tv et Directeur de Wallimage.
- Gabriel Ringlet (pro-recteur de l'UCL à l'époque, prêtre catholique depuis les années 1970. Prof. de journalisme et d'ethnographie de la presse/des médias)
- Paul Simon (autostoppeur retraité, ingénieur, et parmi les premiers habitants de LLN. Il devient homme d'affaires, proprio de café et père d'Augustin).
Présents, mais absents dans cette monture de la photo sont :
- Gigi Warny (artiste, mère)
 -Jean Luc Roland (bourgmestre d'Ottignies-LLN de 2000 à 2018 ; premier maire du parti vert de Belgique).

14   Entretien : http://www.gallimard.fr/Catalogue/GALLIMARD/L-arbalete-Gallimard/Par-les-routes.

15   Ce roman comporte des éléments similaires au filme *Stalker* d'Andrei Tarkovsky (1979), où chaque personnage fait partie d'une/a une double

personnalité (poète, philosophe, scientifique). Prudhomme ajoute à ce triptyque un personnage féminin.

16   La traduction française ne mentionne pas l'autostop en soit, mais simplement 'un long tour d'Europe'. Par contre le terme en anglais (la langue originale de l'entretien) mentionne clairement le terme 'hitchhiking'.

17   Comme l'exemple malheureuse de 'Brides on Tour' de l'artiste Italienne Pippa Bacca nous a démontré en 2008. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7344381.stm.

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MUSIC AND THE CITY: THE PARISIAN SOUNDSCAPE IN THE EARLY 20ᵀᴴ CENTURY

Lola San Martín Arbide

Abstract

This paper has two main aims. The first part offers a panoramic overview of the different theoretical underpinnings that have sustained my research during my time as a NEC fellow. The result is a tapestry of recent work in Parisian cultural studies, musical geography, and affect and atmosphere studies that provide the background for the case study presented at the end. The second part revolves around the specific case study of Léon-Paul Fargue (1876–1947), a key literary figure of the interwar period. It shows how, in Fargue's urban chronicles, the reader can discover not only musical criticism of Parisian music, but also a myriad of poetic references to the city's soundscape.

Keywords: music; popular song; Paris; street culture; modernity; nostalgia; literature; musicscape

Spaces of transit, transition, and nostalgia

The aim of this paper is to outline a new theoretical framework for the study of musical spaces, ambiances, and atmospheres that brings together recent scholarship from musicology, sound studies, cultural geography, and urban and mapping studies. Another important goal of this work is to use this approach to bring together the musically driven creativity not only of composers and performers, but also of other artistic fields that are equally sensitive to sound, such as literature and filmmaking. The specific city – the experimental ground – to which this framework is applied is Paris during the period of the Third Republic (1870–1940), one of the most thoroughly studied capitals in the humanities and social sciences. The case study presented at the end focuses on the years between the turn of the century and the interwar period. I believe that a sonic study can offer new avenues for scholarly reflection on the French capital, precisely because

the rich scholarly literature available on Parisian studies provides fertile ground for expanding our knowledge of inter-artistic exchanges. It also allows for a more wholesome approach to the reflections of artists from different backgrounds on their most immediate urban context.

The French Third Republic is the historical period that followed the Second Empire, an era in which many countries and cities around the world underwent a process of modernization, primarily aimed at improving hygiene. Efficient water disposal, proper ventilation, and better use of natural light, among other things, were the distinctive goals of reformed neighborhoods and districts, where the old narrow streets gave way to newer, broader avenues. In Paris, this process of urban transformation was called *Haussmanization*, after Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–1891), who oversaw the reforms under the auspices of Napoleon III between 1853 and 1870. Haussmann's modern Paris created more space for the growing bourgeoisie by opening up the city's main arteries (such as the Boulevard de Strasbourg and the extension of the Rue de Rivoli) and modern transportation systems, thus fostering a healthier and more robust economy. This is not to say, of course, that Haussmann modernized all the insalubrious areas of the city. Many years later, in 1906, a team of technicians surveyed the 70,000 properties in Paris to assess their sanitary conditions. The buildings without light or ventilation were grouped into six "îlots insalubres", which grew to seventeen after the First World War.[1] Some of these areas of poor hygiene lasted well into the 20th century without much improvement. A telling example is the "îlot insalubre no. 1" on the *Beaubourg Plateau*, right in the center of the city, a wasteland that was demolished between 1923 and 1936, and which only grew into its own with the construction of the Pompidou Museum in 1969.

The condition in which many of these unmodernized buildings were left proved how unequal the process of *haussmanization* had been. While the modern city served the purposes of the bourgeoisie well, the popular classes and the poor saw little or no improvement in their living conditions, and in some cases were pushed further to the urban periphery. For this reason, Haussmann is remembered today as both a creator and a destroyer of the city, for his plans also disrupted the social ecosystem of the city. Critics of Haussmann also emphasize the political consequences of his modern alleys, designed among other goals to prevent another revolution like that of 1848. Because the wider streets made it more difficult to set up barricades than in 1848, the Commune of 1871 was brutally suppressed. However, the process of *Haussmanization* has been understood by social

scientists as both enabling the Commune and facilitating its repression. Viewing the revolution as an urban phenomenon emphasizes an interpretation of the Commune as an effort by the dispossessed of Paris to reclaim their space. On the other hand, the fact that the revolt was ultimately defeated proves that Haussmann succeeded in making the city "governable" and manageable.[2]

Faced with the impending destruction of buildings, the reconstruction of several streets, and the transcendental changes that would soon be permanent in the city, the government commissioned Charles Marville (1813–1879) to take a series of photographs depicting the sites to be demolished. Marville became the city's official photographer in 1862. His photographs are now regarded as a repository of memories of old Paris, and as such are an object of both nostalgia and political contestation against the proponents of an ultra-modern city. Particularly striking are Marville's photographs of the Bièvre, a river that used to flow through the 13th and 5th arrondissements to join the Seine, which Haussmann had buried by covering it with concrete. The photographer Eugène Atget (1857–1927) later followed in Marville's footsteps, capturing not only the disappearing views of Paris, but also the disappearing people and their crafts, the inhabitants of the soon-to-be vanished urban landscapes. Atget's photographs were made in several series. For example, the sub-series "Petits métiers de Paris" (meaning "small trades" of Paris, within the larger series "Paris pittoresque") includes "Joueur d'orgue," a now-famous image of a street organ player and a child singer. Many of these "métiers de Paris" were ambulant, such as knife sharpeners, shoe polishers, and, of course, street musicians. As Samuel Llano intelligently analyzed for the case of Madrid, when the Spanish capital underwent a similar process of *haussmanization*in the 19th century, giving way to the newer, brighter area known as the *ensanche*, hygienic concerns were not limited to water, light, and ventilation. A form of social hygiene was also installed in the new city, regulating a governable soundscape as well as people's access to the public space of music making.[3]

In the case of Paris, the laws affecting those who earned their living by either making or selling music in the streets had undergone a series of changes over the centuries. In fact, the laws affecting access to music making in public spaces do not belong to Haussmann's time. They date back at least to the 15th century: in 1407, foreign musicians were not allowed to play unless they could prove that they had received formal training. In addition to their exclusivity, another salient feature of the

Parisian soundscape were the street cries – *cris de Paris* – employed by merchants to attract customers and create the cacophony of the commercial streets to which composers and nostalgic Parisians became so attached. The cries provided the city with a sonic landmark that became a literary as well as musical subject. Clément Janequin's celebrated 1529 piece *Les cris de Paris* takes the street cries in order to create a tapestry of real urban sound into the composition. In his 1781 *Tableau de Paris*, Louis Sébastien Mercier emphasized the need for every new Parisian to accustom their ears to this particular sound. Folklorists invested the cries with a sense of authenticity, believing them to be the seeds of an original creativity. From this perspective, the rhythms of modernization and modern commerce had endangered such manifestations of the city's sonic identity. We find these ideas in the work of Alfred Certeux, a founding member of the Société des arts et traditions populaires, who also transcribed the cries and accompanied them with a description of the person who sang them.[4]

A paradigmatic example of the petits métiers is the profession of the ragpicker (known in French as the *chiffonier*). In an oft-repeated photograph taken by Eugène Atget in 1899, we see a man carrying a cart with a series of sacks full of rags. These were the kinds of jobs threatened by the ambitious urbanization project of Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann. In any case, as explained above, this process of urban modernization was not exclusive to Paris. Many cities developed their grid-like "modern" neighborhoods during this period. In fact, the geometric form of the grid was not imposed on Paris, where the most striking form of its new makeup became the star-shaped disposition of the avenues radiating from the Arc de Triomphe. The process of gentrification that accompanied this urban renewal went hand in hand with harsher laws about who could play music and/or sell musical scores in the streets. In the case of the *chiffoniers*, the laws of 1883, promoted by the *préfet de la Seine* Eugène Poubelle, whose name eventually came to mean garbage cans *(poubelle* in French), made them increasingly obsolete. Like the street musicians, the ragpickers became a highly emotive artistic subject, almost as if they were an embodiment of the city's threatened soul. Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) has been called a "poète-chiffonier" because of the prominent role of this *petit métier* in his *Flowers of Evil* (1857), and also because he put himself in the shoes of someone walking through the city picking up its rubbish, an idea we find in a more sophisticated construct when he described himself as an alchemist who transformed the Parisian mud into gold through his words: "You gave me mud and I turned it into gold".[5] The recurring figure of the

ragpicker is also found in Baudelaire's "Le vin des chiffoniers". Another ambulant street trade – that of glass repairers – appears in "Le mauvais vitrier," included in his *Petits poèmes en prose* (1869).

In the wake of emerging Parisian identities, Montmartre (located in the northern part of the city, in the 18th *arrondissement*) is a paradigmatic case study. The reason for its strategic role lies in its dual nature as both center and periphery. As we will see below, even though this area is on the periphery, having been annexed to Paris in 1860, it remained highly symbolic of Parisian urban identity, with many of the artists who created the images and songs that best represented the city settling in Montmartre. In contrast to the modern landscape of central Paris, much of Montmartre's charm lay in its village-like qualities. Depictions of the district's streets reveal the nostalgic gaze of the painters as they recall the recent changes in the area after the modern urbanists began their work. This nostalgic gaze is clearly palpable in a myriad of works, such as Louis Gentil's watercolors in the Archives du Vieux Montmartre.[6]

Nostalgia also played a crucial role in the creation of the Commune Libre du Vieux Montmartre in 1921, a charitable movement created primarily for the children of Montmartre, but also deeply committed to the welfare of all its residents, including artists. It is worth noting that the commune movement is still alive and well, organizing popular parties and an annual grape harvest, among many other activities. The rural appeal of Montmartre, created during the period studied in this paper, continues to fuel many people's daydreams about Paris.

This paper reflects on the role of music in contributing to an urban identity at the turn of the century. To do so, I propose to use four main concepts that have structured my work. In the first case, I would like to explore the notion of a "village of music," that is, the multiple temporalities that cohabitate in the city and that, contrary to the cliché of rapid change in urban environments, link popular song to retrospective memory and attachment to the past. Thinking of Paris as a village of music shifts attention away from rapid change to slow change, as illustrated, for example, by the aforementioned Commune du Vieux Montmartre. The second concept is that of the "urban memoir," which serves to describe a hybrid literary genre between auto-ethnography and city history or chronicle developed by many of the authors discussed below, of which Léon-Paul Fargue is a prime example. The third concept is that of a sentimental or "affective cartography," which allows us to delve deeper into the nostalgic urban palimpsests created by authors, composers, performers, etc., who retraced

their steps to compose a body of site-specific works that often included a site-specific autobiography. Finally, the "musicscape," or musical landscape. The term "soundscape" has gained much currency in recent decades, both in anthropology and in interdisciplinary sound studies, since it was popularized by the Canadian sound thinker R. Murray Schafer and the World Soundscape Project. Soundscape offers a way of thinking about landscape that focuses on the sensory perception of landscape, i.e. human experience.[7] The emphasis on the musical aspects of the soundscape serves to complement the sonic approach to the study of the environment by analyzing music as part of a sonic landscape rather than as an independent work of art.

Studying music in space

The first body of scholarship that has informed this project is that concerned with music and space. The project investigates the implications of the spatial turn in the humanities for the study of music. In contrast to the classic and often used-and apparently valid-definition of music as the art of organizing sound in time, the project considers music as the art of distributing sound in space, as well as an art involved in various processes of place-making. The French politician and prolific author Jacques Attali wrote at the beginning of his seminal book on the political economy of noise: "For twenty-five centuries, Western knowledge has tried to look upon the world. It has failed to understand that the world is not for the beholding. It is for hearing. It is not legible, but audible".[8] An example of this in the 21st century is the binaural dummy, a recording device that captures the split-second difference in how our left and right ears receive a sound signal. That minute difference is key to our sense of orientation and is the reason we can locate a sound in space and therefore use sound to navigate the physical world. With contemporary technology such as this device, composers and sound designers can recreate the effect of multidimensional space in the studio through the so-called call techniques of spatialization.

The search for spatial resonance is not a recent technological invention, but as old as music itself. Archaeologists have shown that resonance is the reason why certain built environments or natural caves were preferred for plainchant singing in the Middle Ages. In the search for echoes and reverberation, Renaissance choirs (called divided choirs or *cori spezzati*

in Italian) were separated in the church to create the binaural effect of hearing sounds alternately in the right and left of the listener. Later, in the historical avant-garde period of the 20th century, it became more common to physically place musicians in different ways. It was seeking for this spatial surrounding effect that ambient. Ambient music was born in Paris in 1920, when Erik Satie scattered the performers of his *Furniture Music* throughout the Barbazanges art gallery, encouraging concertgoers to listen without paying attention and to move about the space. Throughout history, there are also examples of the opposite, where music has been used as a basis, inspiration or model for the actual construction of space in architecture. A good example, to name just one, is the work of Swiss architect Le Corbusier in the façade of the Unité d'habitation in Nantes (1950–1955), where the disposition of the windows is directly inspired by the notation of Gregorian chant.

The concept of atmospheres was central to the works of the authors analyzed in this project, such as Francis Carco, Pierre Mac Orlan, and the most important filmmakers of early sound film, such as Marcel Carné or Pierre Chenal.[9] Dudley Andrew's seminal book on classic French cinema is called *Mists of Regret*, a title that perfectly captures the mood of the French genre of poetic realism, which was popular in the 1930s and often based on the urban memoirs of these authors. For example, Pierre Mac Orlan's 1928 novel *Le quai des brumes*, adapted by Carné in 1938, is considered the work that defined the heyday of poetic realism. I have drawn on the relevant work of Friendlind Riedel and Juha Torvinen on the very slippery concept of "atmosphere," understood as a-subjective. Another important point worth noting is that while emotions are personal, atmospheres are shared, environmental.[10]

Most of the atmospheres discussed in my project are nostalgic. Svetlana Boym's book *The Future of Nostalgia* has been a fundamental pillar of this work. Nostalgia emerged as an artistic subtext in the mid-19th century; before that, it was a medical term. In other words, before artists made it an emotion, nostalgia was described as a mental disorder.[11] As this project argues, place plays a significant role in giving way to a sense of nostalgia. And this shared nostalgia can then have a tangible impact on how space is created, reflected upon, and protected.

The École de Barbizon is a telling example of the place of landscape painting in the broader context of Parisian Salon culture in relation to nostalgia. In the early and mid-19th century, nostalgia in art was mostly concerned with saving "unspoiled" natural environments from the changes

brought about by the Industrial Revolution. This group of painters, known as the École de Barbizon, became the proto-proponents of the creation of what we know today as natural parks. The open space where they painted, the forest of Fontainebleau, was in danger and they proposed that it be protected. This initiative was, of course, driven by a certain nostalgia, by the fear that these natural vistas would be lost to urbanization. Unlike in previous centuries, when *nature morte*, religious and mythical subjects, or portraiture were the higher genres, by the end of the 19th century landscape painting had risen to the rank of *grande peinture*, as the success of Impressionism attests. This project also aims to explore whether a similar turn to the spatial and atmospheric can be traced in music. The creation of natural parks in France was validated after a first congress on the subject in 1913, the same year that the Futurist Luigi Russolo published *The Art of Noises* and composed "The Awakening of a Great City" with his noise-making machines, known as *intonarumori*, celebrating the art of urban cacophony.

Over time, the cities themselves changed, and instead of protecting natural spaces, the old city became the site of nostalgic artistic endeavors. In this sense, the photographs of Marville and Atget, mentioned in the introduction to the case study below, became the images of this disappearing world that needed to be protected and preserved. Following art historians who have studied the role of painting and photography in creating waves of politically engaged movements aimed at protecting and preserving the memory of spaces, this project examines how musicians and performers joined this collective movement in Paris. As a result, I propose an understanding of popular song and the memory of music and soundscape as repositories of both individual and urban history.

In recent years, urban studies and sound studies have merged in studies of noise as a marker of modernity. At stake are questions of health: at the turn of the 20th century, noise levels in the United States were seen as a sign of a healthy economy, and it was not until much later (in the 1970s) that UNESCO declared the right to silence.[12] In the jargon of sound studies, scholars speak of *acoustemology*, that is, how we understand the world by listening to it (rather than looking at it, as described in Attali's words above). This term configures an acoustic twist to the concept of epistemology.[13] The term is useful in the context of this research, especially in light of the urban studies work that informs it. The subjects surveyed learn to navigate the city through the music that emanates from dance halls, that of singers performing hits once popularized by street performers, and that

use the sonic markers of the city to illuminate their discussions of issues of modernization, globalization, and, in my interpretation, xenophobia and sexism (albeit in an implicit way that this study brings to the surface).

At this point, it should be obvious that music in this context is understood in the broadest possible sense, taking into account the musically driven minds of literary authors and filmmakers in what André Warnod called *musicalisme*, defined by the author as "the musical behavior that dominates the spirit of an artists of our time working in a field other than music".[14] This displacement of music beyond its traditional field of musicology has also been proposed by other scholars. The anthropologist Deborah Wong, for example, spoke of music as a problem rather than a useful tool for her work, stating that she would no longer use it in her scholarship because what Western academics understood as music did not correlate with the sonic cultures she was interested in studying.[15] This resonates with heated debates that have become global during the 2020 pandemic, most notably the question of whether or not music theory is inherently racist in what musicologist Philip Ewell has called the "white racial frame of musicology".[16]

How to understand Paris – perhaps the most written about city – from the perspective of listening? Can a study of the Parisian musicscape unveil something new about this over-studied and over-scrutinized city?[17] I think there is still a wealth of primary sources to be uncovered or re-examined in various archives across France, and to nuance Paris's place within European and even global modernism. Battles over the soundscape, for instance when foreign music from North and South America began to gain popularity in Paris (jazz, tango, etc.) reveal a xenophobic attitude among cultural actors that is not out of line with the most conservative tendencies of nostalgia. The analysis of the literary texts examined below thus points to a conflict-ridden Paris as the scene of sonic wars for the dominance of the shared musical space.

This study benefits from the extremely rich corpus of scholarly literature on Paris in the arts, be it cinema, literature, or painting, in order to make a significant contribution that complements existing analyses.[18] Many of these books reinforce the idea of a masculine exterior and a feminine interior. In the project, I nuance this by giving agency to female composers like Augusta Holmès or Germaine Tailleferre, and to female singers like Mistinguett, Fréhel, and others.

Another thing that this study is invested in is the musical distinction between high and low. Another division that has spawned either

subdisciplines or sister disciplines is that of high and low art. In the book, I follow French historians of popular culture, such as Pascal Ory, and also the historian of the popular classes, or *bas-fonds*, Dominique Kalifa.[19] The imaginary and mental world of the lower classes is, of course, linked to a sense of place.[20] In this case, then, Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* is a relevant concept because it allows us to explore how memory is tied to the spatial materiality that produces it.[21] The notion of the *lieux de mémoire* is reminiscent of Robert Louis Stevenson, who wrote in an 1882 essay that some places are particularly suited to certain narratives. I follow this idea of spatial suitability to formulate the following question: what music did Paris offer during the Third Republic?

This question requires a brief review of the main body of works that make up the so-called "urban musicology".[22] As criticized by some scholars, the problem of this turn in the discipline is that the majority of these works study music *in the* city, as if the mere fact that it happened in an urban environment gave it an undeniable urban character, rather than as a vehicle to express issues about the city or as a strategy that cultural agents used to transmit an urban heritage. A good example of this is Claude Debussy, who worked in Paris and whose works were often premiered in Parisian concert halls, but whose music speaks to many other environments (or atmospheres) beyond his most immediate urban landscape. The promise of urban musicology is that by bringing together all of these methods I have just sketched, we can study shared ecologies, and thus shift attention to atmospheres and contexts.[23]

Literary soundscapes of walking

The following verses by the French writer and renowned chronicler of Parisian urban life, Léon-Paul Fargue (1876–1947), serve well to introduce this paper's case study: "That landscape in which we were evoked others, candid or vague, brimming with moving lights where men suffer and which we ignore whether they are close or distant"[24]. As I will develop in the following pages, Fargue allows us, in little more than three lines, to quickly arrive at the core of his universe, which, in my interpretation, consists of three main elements. The first is nostalgia, which is closely related to the second, his sense of suffering, and the third is his passion for the city of Paris and its pleasures. The landscape described above evokes

distant places, together with quickly changing and therefore difficult to grasp images that offer a locus for struggle and play with our memory.

Born in Paris in 1876, Fargue spent most of his life in his hometown. Fargue made travel and walking a *leitmotif* of his work. Not only by traversing, but also by creating imaginary boundaries within the 20 *arrondissements* of Paris, Fargue was able to discover a variety of cultural nuances of the city. More importantly, he gained first-hand knowledge of the musical activities of Belle Époque Paris (1871–1914) and witnessed the cultural scene transform into something very different during the interwar period and the Nazi occupation. Suffering from hemiplegia during the last years of his life, he died in Paris in 1947. In his tireless travels through the Ville Lumière, Fargue amassed an encyclopedic knowledge of the city, which proved fertile ground for the development of his personal literary path. He once wrote: "First and foremost, there are those who write, who constitute an itinerant academy".[25] These lines coincide with a concept coined by fellow writer Pierre Mac Orlan, who liked to describe himself as a "passive adventurer", the kind of traveler who, rather than being embarrassed by his fixed spatiality, takes pride in getting to know places from the comfort of his armchair, thanks to the power of his spatial imagination.[26] Fargue was one of those adventurous men who never left his hometown, and in his work one senses not so much a disinterest in the distant as a heightened curiosity about the immediate and recent past. It was during the last period of his life that he published the chronicles now known as *Le piéton de Paris*, which show Fargue's most journalistic style. This work was serialized between 1935 and 1938 in magazines such as *Le Figaro*, *Paris-Soir*, *Marianne* and, above all, *Voilà*. Gallimard published it as a book in 1939: a book about the author's emotional geographies and cartographies. Fargue explained that this book was a kind of guide for passionate lovers of Paris who had a lot of free time: "For years I have dreamt of writing a Parisian map for all kinds of people, for wanderers who have time to spare and love Paris".[27] In the opening pages, the author also revealed that his approach to creative writing is not based on a specific method, but rather on the idea of *intention*. Although he did not fully trust the muse of inspiration, in the introduction to this essay, entitled "Par ailleurs", he admitted to have given into unique materialities and secret geographies.[28] The chronicle that follows this brief introduction is entitled "Mon quartier" and, in my opinion, clearly anticipates the everydayness of Georges Perec's *L'infra-ordinaire*, a novel published posthumously in 2008.

331

Fargue was very interested in the functional, ambient music of Erik Satie, and referred to Satie's *Musique d'ameublement* as "musique maisonière".[29] Again, like Satie, Fargue was never fully ascribed to a particular school or avant-garde movement; both were, to put it bluntly and colloquially, all over the place, i.e., all over Paris. In the musicological literature on Satie, one finds numerous discussions of the stasis of his works, a stasis that led Satie specialist Ornella Volta to describe some of his compositions as (almost site-specific) sculptures that can be physically surrounded, allowing the listener to get a general idea of the piece at first glance. Satie, himself a sound materialist, was eager to collaborate with this poet, and late in his life he set Fargue's Ludions to music as commissioned pieces for the ball "L'Antiquité sous Louis XIV" given by the compte Étienne de Beaumont in 1923. Both Satie and Fargue, whom Rollo Myers has described as "Satie's nearest counterpart in literature",[30] had great interest in the plasticism of music and despite the author's melomania, the kind of musical aesthetic we find in *Le piéton de Paris* is closer to an interest in the sounds of the metropolis than to musical criticism. Pierre Loubier baptized Fargue the vertical *flâneur*, because the city is not interesting to this author on its horizontal cartographic level, but as a deep repository of memories.[31] When Fargue speaks of music or sound in the sources I have used to write this essay, it is usually in the context of nostalgia and melancholia. It is my hope that this work, through examples found in his writings, will offer a study of how Fargue relied on music and sound in his travels back and forth across Paris, as well as in his journeys back in time, for the collection of life-writing and fictional pieces.

One of Fargue's tropes was to present the city as a stage on which the city's inhabitants were both actors and spectators. He published this idea in *Le piéton de Paris*, but his acquaintances must have been aware of his obsession with the streets of his hometown as a playground long before that. In fact, a portrait of the writer by the Douanier Henri Rousseau from 1896 shows Fargue on the stage of the city. We can observe the red curtains against the backdrop of an unrealistically picturesque, peaceful, and arguably silent Paris, which we can only identify by the Eiffel Tower in the background. Fargue's obsession with trains is a fascinating subject in itself, and one that I would like to explore further in the future. But for the purposes of this piece, let's just highlight the surreal plume of steam in the painting and imagine the noise the engines must have made to create such a condensed cloud, which Fargue said came out in the shape of the feathers from a knight's hat:

"I would not be able to end this walk in Montparnasse without recalling that the first lamp to illuminate this world-famous district was an old shaving lamp, that of Douanier Rousseau, who lived in the Avenue du Maine, near the bridge over the railroad, around 1895. Alfred Jarry and I met him one day, by chance, during a stroll through the area and its cafés. In the end, and not without hesitation, he took us to his studio. And it did not take him long to paint a portrait of both of us, one after the other. He painted me with the pointed beard I wore at the time, in front of a window from which you could see a train engulfed in heavy smoke, like a knight in shining armour... I don't know where that painting is, because he never gave it to me. At that time he used to say: 'We have four great writers: M. Octave Mirbeau, M. Jarry, M. Fargue and M. Prudent-Dervillers'. (The latter was the councillor of the district at the time)."[32]

When he wrote these lines in the late 1930s, Fargue did not know what had happened to the painting. Rousseau's personal history is the subject of another project, but he may well have been one of the street musicians Fargue refers to in *Le Piéton*. Unable to sell his paintings, Rousseau could be found playing the violin in the streets to pay his bills. On the other hand, it is worth noting Rousseau's approach to the representation of nature and the urban landscape. Unlike Fargue, the fact that Rousseau never left France did not prevent him from depicting distant or exotic landscapes. Much of the inspiration for these works came from the Jardin des Plantes, "a garden of reverie and love, an incomparable rarity in Paris, a meeting place for philosophers."[33] In Fargue's words, Rousseau's paintings were often set in a middle ground between realism and fantasy. Had it not been for the Jardin des Plantes or some of the events that took place in Paris during his lifetime, such as the Universal Exhibitions, one wonders where he could have seen all those non-native plants and animals. Famous for his *portrait paintings*, Fargue's portrait was actually geographically realistic, at least in its perspective. Taken from the Avenue du Maine, the Eiffel Tower was indeed part of Rousseau's daily backdrop in 1896. In his account of the Jardin des Plantes, Fargue once again illustrated his interpretation of the city as a dramatic stage.

In another chapter of *Le piéton de Paris*, Fargue recalled witnessing the beginning and end of a love story between an anonymous couple of teenagers, in which the man recited verses from the songs of Aristide Bruant, making his lover think she was talking to Mylord l'Arsouille, the young celebrity of the Parisian carnival of the 1830s. In Fargue's account, the echo of cabaret songs was one of the only sounds that could be heard

in the quiet botanical garden and its surroundings, bounded by the quays of Saint Bernard and d'Austerlitz, where the "provincial silence" was broken only by the noise of the bus that covered the route from Place Pigalle to the Halle aux Vins.[34] To explain how the austere and mystical character of this area was transformed into a leisure-oriented space, Fargue attributed transformative powers to the music that resounded in the *5ème arrondissement*: "In the past, hymns were sung here by the Seine, most of them composed by Canon Santeuil. Perhaps it was this verse that allowed the transition from a religious period to a Bacchic one".[35] This is an example of the vertical character of the city, of Fargue's interest in its temporal qualities as well as its spatial nature. On the other hand, it also testifies to the great shadow cast by Bruant and his popular geographic songs on the Parisian *imaginaire*, whose figures have acquired the status of real mythical figures of the city. Fargue then continues in his description of the soundscape: "The Halle aux Vins [Wine Market] is, contrary to what one might expect, one of the quietest places in Paris. In fact, the whole district has preserved its vineyard and its press, which have taken the place of monasteries, a religious peacefulness".[36]

The *Dixième*: A neighborhood of poets and trains

Jean Paul Goujon, author of one of the few biographies of Fargue, chose to begin his story on a rather sour note: "His entire life has been the intertwining of a secret sorrow and a seeming love of life". *Le piéton* is an immensely nostalgic account of Parisian public life. It is no coincidence that the Jardin des Plantes lovers based part of their affair on Bruant's lyrics. Quoting from Bruant's song "À la Chapelle", Fargue regretted that the language of the cabaret had been lost and that the use of the radio and the phonograph had made all the *arrondissements* sound alike.[37] Fargue chose precisely a verse that deals with change, "the district began to become too fashionable," to further reinforce this sense of an unseizable past, that of Paris around 1900, the Paris of his youth, the time when the young Fargue moved through the 9th arrondissement, from the Boulevard Magenta to the Rue Dunkerque to the Rue Château-Landon, "that swarming and noisy circus where iron meets people, trains meet taxis, cattle meet the soldier",[38] and where at night "the streets are empty and gloomy, even if the cry of the luxury trains sends storks flying".[39] It is also in this chapter, entitled "Mon Quartier" ("My Neighborhood"), that Fargue wrote one of

his most famous and repeated metaphors, that of train stations as music halls, in a passage that reads as follows

> "I consider the arrondissement that I call my own, that it, the 10th, to be the most poetic, the most familiar and the most mysterious in Paris. With its two train stations, tremendous music halls where you are both actor and audience, with its canal grazed like a poplar-leaf and so tender in the tiny recesses of the soul, it has always given my heart and my steps strength and sadness."[40]

To use Murray Schafer's terminology, Fargue found in the trains the keynote of his part of the city, the main aural landmark that gave the area its peculiar sound identity. For him, the subway imitated Wagner and Zeus,[41] while the trains of Gare du Nord and Gare de l'Est projected bagpipe melodies into the sky.[42] In another text, the author suggested that this was the only sound that linked this geography to his deepest childhood memories, while other sounds and music remained superfluous to him. In a text published posthumously in 1951, he wrote: "I leave it to you, Riéra [who worked at Radiofifusion française], to write the anecdotes and the musical history of this corner of Paris [...]. Leave its heart and its belly to me".[43]

The *Dix-Huitième*: The musical quarter *par excellence*

Relevant to this essay, of course, is Fargue's writing on "l'*arrondissement musical par excellence*",[44] Montmartre (the 18th arrondissement), the "homeland of the nocturnal homelands" and, according to Léon Daudet, a little Paris within Paris.[45] For Fargue, it was not the attraction of the cabarets (both for Parisians and international tourists) but the melting pot of this area that put "Paris in touch with the rest of the world".[46]

Le piéton de Paris is a work that runs relatively parallel to a second text that Fargue devoted to the French capital, *Les XX arrondissements de Paris*. Interestingly, in this book Fargue quotes himself in relation to what he wrote in *Le piéton* about one of the most Parisian of all operas, Charpentier's *Louise*: "Literature and prints, from Toulouse-Lautrec to Pierre Mac Orlan, from Forain to Carco, from Rodolphe Salis to Utrillo, have spread the charms set to music by Gustave Charpentier for centuries. The 18th arrondissement is indeed the homeland of Louise. I remember

writing that Louise is, in a sense, the topographical masterpiece of the place and its harmonious map, from which one can read all the character of Montmartre – charming and old-fashioned, legendary and superficial, romantic and frivolous."[47] These attributes are different from those Fargue favored in *Le piéton*, which had more dramatic and tragic overtones: "sentimental, charming, boring, light, ridiculous, feminine and grotesque".[48] And then he added:

> "I saw *Louise* in a small town, sung by a bus platform tenor and a lovely girl who had never seen Montmartre. Charpentier, great musician, masterfully understood his duty. The entire *montmartrois* landscape is there, with its peculiarities, its worlds, its shadows and its ghosts. No other work evokes Paris better than this successful opera, which could have been set in geometric places, rue des Martyrs, rue Tardieu, where the lower middle class met and still meets the fashionable middle class."[49]

First performed at the Opéra-Comique in 1900, *Louise* was restaged in 1950 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the work and Charpentier's ninetieth birthday. A film based on the opera was made in 1939, the same year *Le piéton de Paris* was published.

Fargue's reading of Louise in terms of the class mobility of the audience resonates with my interpretation of Fargue as an elevated poet. In his account of Montmartre, he raised questions of authenticity, cultural transfer, and hybridity. He juxtaposed Maurice Utrillo, who is presented in his text as the authentic painter of Montmartre, with the Moulin Rouge, which had been colonized by "negroes without exotism, Russians without Russia and painters without talent, without a palette and without and easel".[50]

Delightful melancholia[51]

Fargue was a passionate lover of the city of Paris, which he adapted in his memories to his idea of an idyllic and utopian city. He even ascribed to the city a transformative power, the ability to turn everyone's life into an aesthetic experience, simply because of where that life was rooted: "to have been a butcher in rue Lepic [in Montmartre] is just as respectable and historically appropriate as to have been an art dealer in the Faubourg Saint-Honoré".[52] In writing passages like this, Fargue helped to perpetuate

the myth of the site-specificity of Parisian pleasures, of the art-infusing capacities of the Ville Lumière. His metaphor of the railway station as a music hall is telling of this imaginary theater of the city, which not only captivates but also aestheticizes its inhabitants and visitors. Fargue thus transferred Baudelaire's aestheticizing gaze to the realm of sound in a way that was relevant to his idiosyncratic experience of Paris.

By extending the horizons of earlier *flâneurs*, such as Baudelaire, to less explored areas of the city, Fargue could take pride in having offered an exhaustive cartography of Parisian public life. Reading between Fargue's lines, however, one can sense his doubt - almost his regret - at not knowing whether his contemporaries had been able to follow his footsteps or whether they had already been lost in this new "detective novel and cinematographic era",[53] which I think he meant in the most negative sense. Lamenting the fact that women were now welcome in cafés with men, he wrote: "a true Montmartre café in 1938 lived under the double sign of bustling and frivolity".[54] Fargue is a good example of the mimesis between the artist and his work: from the publication of *Le piéton de Paris*, this alias – the Parisian pedestrian – often replaced his first name. Reading Fargue, it is sometimes difficult to sense where the author draws the line between his work and his life (if he ever did). Indeed, when paralysis struck him in his later years, he described himself as "a city where a typhoon has destroyed an entire side", and even as "a violin sleeping in its case".[55] For Fargue, cabaret songs, locomotive whistles, and a collection of imaginary sounds condensed the essence of a lost youth and the purest distillation of the authentic Paris he had listened to throughout his life.

Endnotes

1.   J. R. Alonso Pereira, "El Centro Pompidou de París y el sentido corbuseriano del lugar", in *Cuadernos de proyectos arquitectónicos*, vol. 2, 2011, 2009, pp. 27–32.

2.   R. Tombs, *The Paris Commune 1871*, Longman, London and New York, 1999, pp. 27–30.

3.   See S. Llano, *Discordant Notes: Marginality and Social Control in Madrid, 1850–1930*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018.

4.   See A. Certeux, *Les Cris de Londres au XVIIIe siècle, illustrés de 62 gravures avec épigrammes en vers…, Préface, notes et bibliographie des principaux ouvrages sur les Cris de Paris…*, Chamuel, Paris, 1893; V. Milliot, "Les Cris de Paris, figures d"un peuple apprivoisé", in *Revue de la BNF*, vol. 52, no. 1, 2016, pp. 12–25.

5.   « Tu m'as donné ta boue et j'en ai fait de l'or ». The verse is included in the appendix to *Les Fleurs du mal*, Paris, 1857.

6.   Louis Gentil watercolor, Archives du Vieux Montmartre, GF boîte 64-Louis Gentil 1856-1944 « Coins de Montmartre ».

7.   P. Rodaway, *Sensuous Geographies: Body, Sense and Place*, Routledge, London and New York, 1994, p. 86.

8.   J. Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1985 [1st ed. 1977], trans. Brian Massumi, p. 3.

9.   These outcomes are in process of publication in the form of a journal article and a monograph. I am grateful to the NEC for their generous support.

10.   R. Chambers, *An Atmospherics of the City: Baudelaire and the poetics noise*, Fordham University Press, New York, 2015; A. Boutin, *City of Noise: Sound and Nineteenth-Century Paris*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana 2015; F. Riedel and J. Torvinen (eds.), *Music as Atmosphere: Collective Feelings and Affective Sounds*, Routledge, New York, 2020; B. Anderson, Affective Atmospheres", in *Emotion Space and Society*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2009, pp. 77–81; P. Rodaway, *Sensuous Geographies*; D. Toop, *Ocean of Sound: Ambient Sound and Radical Listening in the Age of Communication*, Serpent's Tail, London, 1995.

11.   S. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, Basic Books, New York, 2002. Other relevant titles include C. Birdsall, "Sound Memory: A Critical Concept for Researching Memories of Conflict and War", in D. Drozdzewski, S. De Nardi and E. Waterton (eds.), *Memory, Place and Identity: Commemoration and Remembrance of War and Conflict*, Routledge, London and New York, 2016; M. Fisher, *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures*, Zero Books, Hants, 2014; D. Garrocho, *Sobre la nostalgia. Damnatio memoriae*, Alianza, Madrid, 2019; A. Bonnet, *The Geography of Nostalgia: Global and Local Perspectives on Modernity and Loss*, Routledge,

London and New York, 2016; A. Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2009.

[12] E. Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900–1933*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 2004. See also K. Bijsterveld (ed.), *Soundscapes of the Urban Past: Staged Sound as Mediated Cultural Heritage*, Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld, 2014; C. Birdsall, *Nazi Soundscapes: Sound, Technology and Urban Space during Nazi Germany*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2012; G. Born (ed.), *Music, Sound and Space Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, Cambridge University Press, 2015; A. Corbin, *Les cloches de la terre : Paysage sonore et culture sensible dans les campagnes au XIXe siècle*, Albin Michel, Paris, 1994; A. Pécqueux, *Les bruits de la ville*, Seuil, Paris, 2012.

[13] D. Novak and M. Sakakeeny (eds.) *Keywords in Sound*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2015.

[14] « Le comportement musical qui prend l'état d'âme d'un artiste œuvrant à notre époque dans l'un des arts qui nest pas la musique »: A. Warnod, "Le Musicalisme", in *Troisième Salon des « Artistes Musicalistes »*, Galerie de la Renaissance, A. Sedrowski, Paris, 1935.

[15] D. Wong, "Sound, Silence, Music: Power", in *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2014, pp. 347–353.

[16] O. Ewell, "Music Theory's White Racial Frame", in *Music Theory Spectrum*, 2021, pp. 1–6.

[17] Some of the key works on Paris include: J. Cannon, *The Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840–1944*, Routledge, London, 2016; L. Chevalier, *Montmartre du plaisir et du crime*, La Fabrique éditions, Paris, 2016; A. D'Souza, *The Invisible Flâneuse? Gender, Public Space, and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008; N. Hewitt, *Montmartre: A Cultural History*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2017; P. Higonnet, *Paris: Capitale du monde des lumières au surréalisme*, Tallandier, Paris, 2005; E. Hazan, *The Invention of Paris: A History in Footsteps*, Verso, New York, 2011; H. Clayson and A. Dombrowski (eds.), *Is Paris Still the Capital of the Nineteenth Century? Essays on Art and Modernity, 1850–1900*, Routledge, London, 2019; D. Kalifa, *La véritable histoire de la Belle Epoque*, Fayard, Paris, 2017.

[18] P. Philippe, S. Ooms and I. Ducatez (eds.), *Montmartre, décor de cinema*, Musée de Montmartre-Jardins Renoir, Paris, 2017; A. Milne, *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of Paris*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013; M. Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century*, Blackwells, Oxford, 1996; P. Met and D. Schilling, *Screening the Paris Suburbs from the Silent Era to the 1990s*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2018.

[19]   P. Ory, *La belle illusion. Culture et politique sous le signe du Front Populaire*, CNRS Éditions, Paris, 2016; D. Kalifa, *Les bas-fonds: Histoire d'un imaginaire*, Seuil, Paris, 2013.

[20]   On music and place see A. Leyshon, D. Matless and G. Revill (eds.), *The Place of Music*, Guilford Press, New York, 1998; D. Grimley, *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012; E. Reibel, *Musique et nature*, Fayard, Paris, 2016; S. Aspden, *Operatic Geographies. The Place of Opera and the Opera House*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2018; C. Morris, *Modernism and the Cult of Mountains: Music, Opera, Cinema*, Taylor and Francis, London, 2016; M. Augé, *Non-lieux : introduction a une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, Éd. Du Seuil, Paris, 1992.

[21]   P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols., Gallimard, Paris, 1997.

[22]   R. Campos, « Ville et musique, essai d'historiographie critique », in *Histoire urbaine*, no. 48, 2017, pp. 177–196; O. Balaÿ, *L'Espace sonore de la ville au XIXe siècle*, À la croisée, Bernin, 2003; N. Canova, "Music in French Geography as Space Marker and Place Maker", in *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 14, no. 8, 2013, pp. 861-–867; A. Krims, *Music and Urban Geography,* Taylor and Francis, London, 2012; R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990; C. Marcadet, P. Meyer and B. Delanoë, *Paris en chansons*, Paris Bibliothèques, Paris, 2012; F. Gétreau (ed.), *Musiciens des rues de Paris*, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris, 1997.

[23]   T. Carter, "The sound of silence: models for an urban musicology", in *Urban History*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2002, pp. 8–18.

[24]   « Et ce paysage où nous étions en suggérait d'autres, francs ou limbes, riches en lumières mouvantes où souffrent les hommes, et dont on ne sait si elles sont proches ou lointaines ». L.-P. Fargue, "Lorsque tu vieillais…", *Poëmes*, in *Poésies*, Gallimard, Paris, 1963, p. 110.

[25]   « Il y a d'abord ceux qui écrivent, et qui constituent une académie errante ». L.-P. Fargue, *Le piéton de Paris*, Gallimard, Paris, 2005 [1st ed. 1939], p. 28. Fargue was a close friend of Gaston Gallimard and published numerous works with him. This work has just been translated into Spanish and to the best of my knowledge still remains unprinted in English.

[26]   B. Baritaud, *Mac Orlan. Sa vie, son temps*, Droz, Geneva, 1992, p. 208.

[27]   « Il y a des années que je rêve d'écrire un plan de Paris pour personnes de tout repos, c'est-à-dire pour des promeneurs qui ont du temps à perdre et qui aiment Paris ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 17. This dreamt map was probably fulfilled, if not with *Le piéton de Paris,* with *Les XX arrondissements de Paris*, Vineta, Lausanne, 1951; reedited by Fata Morgana, Paris, in 2011.

[28]   Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 17. "Secret geographies" is also one of the texts in Fargue's *Haute Solitude*, published in 1941.

29 « La compagnie des Six venait de se créer sous le patronage d'Erik Satie, vrai maître, inventeur d'une musique maisonière ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 48.

30 R. H. Myers, *Erik Satie*, Dover Publications, New York, 1968 [1ˢᵗ ed London, 1948], p. 58.

31 P. Loubier, « Dans l'ivresse de la marche…Léon-Paul Fargue et la Ville dans les Poëmes », in M. Quaghebeur (ed.), *Les Villes du Symbolisme*, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2007.

32 « Je ne saurais terminer cette promenade dans Montparnasse sans rappeler que la première lampe qui s'alluma pour éclairer ce quartier désormais célèbre dans le monde entier fut une vieille lampe à barbe, celle du Douanier Rousseau, qui habitait vers 1895 à l'avenue du Maine, tout contre le pont du chemin de fer. Au hasard des flâneries et des cafés, nous le découvrîmes un jour, Alfred Jarry et moi-même. Il finit, non sans réfléchir, par nous emmener dans son atelier. Il ne devait pas tarder d'ailleurs à faire notre portrait chacun à notre tour. Il m'avait représenté, moi, avec la barbe en pointe que je portais alors, devant une fenêtre où défilait un chemin de fer empêtré d'une fumée lourde comme le panache d'un chevalier… Je ne sais ce qu'est devenu ce portrait, qu'il ne m'avait d'ailleurs pas donné. Il avait coutume de dire, à cette époque : « Nous avons quatre grands écrivains : M. Octave Mirbeau, M. Jarry, M. Fargue et M. Prudent-Dervillers ». Fargue, *Le Piéton*, p. 146.

33 « Un jardin de rêverie et d'amour, une curiosité incomparable de Paris, un lieu de rendez-vous pour philosophes ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 112.

34 Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 114.

35 « Autrefois, on chantait à cet endroit de la Seine des hymnes dont la plupart furent composés par le chanoine Santeuil. C'est peut-être le couplet qui a rendu possible la transition de la période religieuse à la période bachique ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 115.

36 « La Halle aux Vins, contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait croire, est un des endroits les plus silencieux de Paris. Tout le quartier a d'ailleurs conservé […] le vignoble et le pressoir ont pris la place des couvents, une tranquillité religieuse ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, pp. 115–6.

37 « Cette sorte de langue a disparu. […] Par la radio et le disque, le dix-neuvième arrondissement ressemble, en 1938, aux autres arrondissements. […] Les marchands de vins du Quai de l'Oise et les garagistes de la place de Joinville […] ne dédaignent pas d'écouter *Faust* ou la *Neuvième* quand leur haut-parleur huileux vomit de la bonne musique ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 18.

38 « Ce cirque grouillant et sonore où le fer se mêle à l'homme, le train au taxi, le bétail au soldat ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 20.

39 « Le quartier d'venait trop rupin » ; « les rues sont vides et mornes, encore que le cri des trains de luxe lui envoie des vols de cigognes… ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 24.

40 « Je tiens ce que j'appelle mon quartier, c'est-à-dire ce dixième arrondissement, pour le plus poétique, le plus familial et le plus mystérieux de Paris. Avec ses deux gares, vastes music-halls où l'on est à la fois acteur et spectateur, avec son canal glacé comme une feuille de tremble et si tendre aux infiniment petits de l'âme, il a toujours nourri de force et de tristesse mon cœur et mes pas ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 25.
Translation adapted from that of W. Fowlie, *Modern French Poets. Selections with Translations. A Dual-Language Book*, Dover Publications, New York, 1992, p. 53.

41 Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 26.

42 Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 29.

43 « À vous, Riéra d'écrire l'histoire anecdotique et musicale de ce coin de Paris […]. Laissez-moi son cœur et ses entrailles ». L.-P. Fargue, *Les XX arrondissements de Paris*, Fata Morgana, Paris, 2011 [1st ed. 1951], p. 49. Albert Riéra (1895–1968) was an artist, pioneer of radio and film producer, when Fargue wrote these lines he worked in Radiodiffusion française.

44 Fargue, *Les XX arrondissements*, p. 79.

45 « […] patrie des patries nocturnes ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 31. L. Daudet, *Paris vécu*, Éditions du Capitole, Paris, 1930, p. 197.

46 « Paris en communication avec le reste du monde ». Fargue, *Les XX arrondissements*, p. 79.

47 « La littérature et l'estampe de Toulouse-Lautrec à Pierre Mac Orlan, de Forain à Carco, de Rodolphe Salis à Utrillo, ont fait connaître des charmes que Gustave Charpentier a mis en musique pour les siècles des siècles. Le dix-huitième arrondissement est en effet la patrie de *Louise*. Je me souviens d'avoir écrit que *Louise* était en quelque sorte le chef-d'œuvre topographique de l'endroit et comme sa carte d'état-major harmonique, dans laquelle on peut lire tout ce que Montmartre a de charmant et de vieillot, de légendaire et de superficiel, de romantique et de banal ». Fargue, *Les XX arrondissements*, p. 79.

48 Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 33.

49 « J'ai vu *Louise* dans une sous-préfecture, chantée par un ténor de plate-forme d'autobus et une charmante demoiselle qui n'avait jamais vu Montmartre. Charpentier, grand musicien, a merveilleusement compris son affaire. Tout le paysage montmartrois est là avec ses manières particulières, ses mots, ses ombres et ses fantômes. Rien n'évoque plus heureusement Paris que cet opéra réussi qui aurait pu si facilement sombrer, la rue des Martyrs, la rue Tardieu, lieux géométriques où la petite bourgeoisie rencontrait et rencontre encore la haute bohème ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, pp. 33–34.

50 « Nègres sans exotisme, Russes sans Russie et peintres sans talent ni palette ni chevalet ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 34.

51   Fargue described his part of the city, as having a 'delightful melancholia': « [Dans le Xème] il y a une ambiance, comme on dit, qui me jette exactement dans une mélancolie ravissante ». Fargue, *Les XX arrondissements* p. 48.

52   « Avoir été charcutier rue Lepic [in Montmartre] est aussi honorable, sinon aussi historique que d'avoir été marchand de tableaux rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 34.

53   « Époque romanpolicière et cinématographique ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, 43.

54   « Un vrai café Montmartrois vit en 1938 sous le double signe du grouillement et du banal ». Fargue, *Le piéton*, p. 44.

55   « Je suis comme une ville dont le côté ouest aurait été ravage par un typhon »; « je suis comme un violon couché dans sa boîte ». J.-P. Goujon, *Léon-Paul Fargue : poète et piéton de Paris*, Gallimard, Paris, 1997, pp. 261–262.

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THE SHIFTING BORDERS OF DOMESTIC TOURISM IN HUNGARY, 1918–1945

Andrea Talabér

Abstract

In this article, I explore how the state promoted Hungarian domestic tourism to Hungarians during the interwar era and the period of the Second World War. I seek to understand how the domestic market was defined in this period and how the state adjusted its tourism strategies to accommodate the changes in its definition. At the same time, I also explore how the Hungarians who were now separated from the homeland and living in what were now neighbouring independent states were understood and approached (and at times even targeted) in the marketing rhetoric of domestic tourism.

Keywords: domestic tourism, Hungary, interwar era

"One must travel, but one can holiday at home!"[1] Thus argued Oszkár Bársony, the director of the Tourism and Travel Company (IBUSZ), one of the largest Hungarian travel agencies, in a lecture he gave in 1933 on the importance of domestic tourism. One of the chief concerns of the interwar Hungarian tourism industry regarding domestic tourism was the outflux of money from the country, as Hungarians preferred to go abroad for their holidays, rather than explore their homeland.[2]

Prior to the First World War – when Hungary covered a much larger territory – some of the most popular destinations for Hungarian tourists were the high mountains of the Tatras in the Carpathian Mountains and the spas dotted around Transylvania with their healing waters. However, the war ended with Hungary on the losing side and, as a result of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, Hungary lost two-thirds of its historic territory alongside three-fifths of its pre-First World War population, meaning that Trianon Hungary's population was 7.6 million people, compared 20.9 million, the population of pre-war Hungary. Altogether, 3.3 million

Hungarians found themselves outside of the borders of Hungary as a minority population. As for territory, Romania received 103,093 square kilometres; Czechoslovakia 61,633 square kilometres; Yugoslavia 20,551 square kilometres; Austria 4,020 square kilometres; Poland 589 square kilometres and Italy 21 square kilometres.[3]

The "lost" territories included some of the popular tourism destinations in the Tatras and in Transylvania, which were now located in Czechoslovakia and Romania respectively. With the changes in the borders, the Hungarian domestic tourism promotional materials needed to be revised with an emphasis on the previously unexplored "hidden treasures" of the country. However, less than two decades later, starting from 1938 – as Hungary allied itself with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy from the mid-1930s – Hungary re-annexed parts of these territories, first southern Slovakia (the *Felvidék*), then Subcarpathian Ruthenia and, in September 1940, northern Transylvania. Thus, the domestic market, which had shrunk after the Treaty of Trianon, now expanded, restoring many of the previously popular destinations.

In this article, I explore how the state promoted Hungarian domestic tourism to Hungarians during the interwar era and the period of the Second World War. I seek to understand how the domestic market was defined in this period and how the state adjusted its tourism strategies to accommodate the changes in its definition. At the same time, I also explore how the Hungarians who were now separated from the homeland and living in what were now neighbouring independent states were understood and approached (and at times even targeted) in the marketing rhetoric of domestic tourism.

A brief history of the Hungarian tourism industry before 1918

The fledgling Hungarian tourism industry started in the second half of the 19th century, especially in its last two decades. In this period, tourism mainly focused on Budapest, on the Lake Balaton and the Tatra mountains.[4] Some of the most popular spa destinations in then Hungary included Pöstény (today Piešťany in Slovakia), Herkulesfürdő (today Băile Herculane in Transylvania, Romania), Tusnád (today Băile Tușnad in eastern Transylvania, Romania), Borszék (today Borsec, in Transylvania Romania) and Harkány (in Hungary).[5] During this time, Lake Balaton was not popular for the waters themselves, but tourists sought out especially the

southern coast of the Lake because of the beauty of the natural landscape, sports and to enjoy the sunshine and the fresh air. Later, however, there were claims that the waters of the Lake had healing properties and water holidays also started to play a role in the Balaton's tourism industry.[6] The popularity of the lake's south coast can partially be explained by the inauguration of the Budapest-Trieste railway line in the last decade of the 19th century that made the area easily accessible for people traveling from the capital, Budapest.[7]

The second half of the 19th century saw a wide range of infrastructural improvements and the establishment of various associations in the Kingdom of Hungary. Several hotels were built and opened in Budapest in this period, such as the *Pannonia* (1868), the *Hungária* (1871) and the Grand Hotel on Margaret Island (1873).[8] With the expansion of the railway system, the need also arose for the First Hungarian Rail Information Centre (*Első Magyar Menetiroda*), which opened its doors to tourists and visitors in two rooms of the ground floor of the *Hungária* on 16 August 1884.[9]

In the second half of the 19th century the tourism industry was largely dominated by private enterprises and it was only towards the end of the century that the state and government realised the potential, both economic and patriotic, that lay in the industry.[10] Private associations that targeted the domestic traveler included the Carpathian Association of Hungary (*Magyarországi Kárpátegyesület*, established in 1873) which promoted tourism into the Carpathian Mountains, and the Spa Joint-Stock Company of Almád (*Almádi Fürdő Részvénytársaság*, established in 1883), which promoted tourism to the town on the north eastern shore of Lake Balaton.

The birth of the Hungarian tourism industry came – according to Oszkár Bársony – with the 1885 Hungarian National Exhibition (*Országos Kiállítás*), which Bársony described in 1933 as "an unprecedented cultural and economic event", which, he claimed, "can be considered to be an important step in the advancement of the capital and it becoming a world city."[11] The Exhibition certainly attracted some of the largest crowds that Budapest had seen thus far. For that year the number of visitors to the capital were as follows: 102,252 people visited Budapest, of which 66,775 were domestic visitors and 35,477 travelled from abroad.[12]

However, it was the Millennium Exhibition of 1896, held on the anniversary of the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin that truly showed that the Hungarian tourism industry was not quite ready for larger volumes of tourists, domestic and international.[13] The events made it

clear, as Hungarian tourism historian Márta Jusztin points out, that further infrastructural and logistical improvements were needed, such as a body that oversaw tourism to the capital (and to the country as a whole) and more hotels. However, these did not occur until after the First World War.

The connection between nationalism and tourism was already visible in this period. On 22 December 1896, a new tourism association was established, named the Magyar School Teachers Tourist Association (*Magyar Tanítók Turista Egyesülete*). The Association was born out from the Magyar Tourist Association's section for elementary, middle and high-school teachers, which included 101 teachers, mainly from Budapest.[14] Historian Alexander Vari points out that as soon as the Association came into existence, they "adopted an active agenda in the name of Magyar nation building."[15] The members of the association emphasised that they believed that school excursions would instil a sense of patriotism in the pupils.

At the beginning of the 20th century various travel agencies, both private and state-owned, mushroomed. In 1902 the Tourism and Travel Company (IBUSZ) was established, followed by the Central Ticket Bureau (*Központi Menetjegyiroda*) in the same year. The Permanent Medicinal and Thermal Bath Association of Budapest (*Budapest Állandó Gyógyfürdő Bizottsága*) was founded in 1908 and the Budapest Metropolitan Tourist Office (*Budapest Székesfővárosi Idegenforgalmi Hivatal*) in 1916, which later, in 1935, became the Hungarian National Tourism Bureau.[16] These agencies and associations provided a solid basis for the interwar Hungarian tourism industry from which it could further develop.

However, as mentioned above, as the First World War ended with Hungary on the losing side, the tourism industry was faced with the problem that the most popular destinations – such as the spas of Pöstény, Herkulesfürdő, Tusnád and Borszék and the high mountains of the Tatras – were no longer within the borders of Trianon Hungary. By way of illustration, the historian Zsolt Nagy highlights that in the territory of pre-Trianon Hungary there were 203 (medicinal) spas and 30 mountain retreats of which 63 spas and two mountain retreats remained after 1920.[17] Thus, in the interwar period one of the main tasks of the Hungarian state and the tourism industry was to try and redirect domestic tourists from these "lost" destinations to new ones within Trianon Hungary and to strengthen tourism to places that remained within Hungary's territory, such as those around Lake Balaton and to redefine just what domestic tourism encompassed.

The new domestic market, 1918–1938

During the interwar period the Hungarian state and tourism industry sought to encourage Hungarians to spend their money at home, rather than abroad, with both seeing an economic opportunity in tourism. Thus, oftentimes the main thrust of the debates surrounding domestic tourism were not simply about patriotism and how Hungarians needed to know their homeland, but also about the income this would generate for the state. It was not only Bársony who encouraged the Hungarians to holiday at home, but the state in general: the letter heads of public institutions included the exclamation: "Let's holiday at home!" (*Nyaraljunk itthon!*), while the slogan "Let's travel our homeland" (*Utazgassunk hazánk földjén*) was not only employed on official promotional posters advertising domestic tourism by the Hungarian State Railways (MÁV), but it also became the title of a popular column in the magazine *Az Utazás* (The travel), in which authors of the column reported on the events and programmes that were deemed to be of interest to the travelling public.[18]

One of the recurring issues of the interwar period was that holidaying Hungarians spent more money abroad than they did in their home country. In numerical terms, the deficit was rather significant. Bársony in his lecture mentioned a deficit of 31.2 million *pengő* for the year 1931, with Hungarians spending 57.5 million *pengő* abroad, compared to 26.3 million *pengő* domestically.[19] Whilst the amount fluctuated throughout the interwar period, Hungarians continued to spend more money abroad.[20] According to Bársony's statistics for 1931, Hungarians mainly travelled to Austria, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Germany (where they spent a combined amount of 45.2 million *pengő* that year).[21] It is most likely that many of the visits to Czechoslovakia were to relatives in the annexed territories, however these statistics also show that Hungarian were not necessarily visiting destinations that were popular in the pre-war period.

The tourism industry was clear that after the loss of what had been popular destinations to neighbouring countries, they had to start marketing destinations in Trianon Hungary with new strategies. Tourism brochures, articles and other promotional material encouraged Hungarians to discover the "hidden treasures" of their country, in an attempt to focus tourism not only on Budapest and Lake Balaton, but also on other towns and villages: the town of Lillafüred in the Bükk mountains located in northern Hungary, for example, was intended to substitute for the loss of the Tatras.[22] To this end István Hallósy, the director of the Budapest International Fair (*Budapest*

Nemzetközi Vásár), proposed the creation of regions within the country that could highlight the uniqueness of the areas they covered. Hallósy argued that the best way to encourage domestic tourism was through "analysis", by which he meant that "[w]hilst to foreigners we must only show the main characteristics [of Hungary], to the domestic population propaganda is only effective if we explore [Hungary] in its details."[23] Thus, he suggested that the tourism industry needed to divide up the country into various "geographical, folk and cultural" regions to highlight the attractiveness of each of these regions and to be able to target the domestic tourists with more accurate propaganda.[24] Hallósy gave the example of the Great Plain, which in the Hungarian imagination, as he noted, is one large entity although in reality it could be divided up into three distinct areas based on various unique geographical, folk and cultural elements. Altogether, Hallósy proposed ten distinct areas for tourism covering the whole of Hungary (including the by then re-annexed territories): the Danube bend; Bakony and Vértes mountains; the Lake Balaton; "the Csallóköz, with Győr and Komárom"; the west Hungarian borderland; the Mecsek mountain range; the Great Hungarian Plain, divided into three separate areas of Kecskemét and Szolnok, Szeged and Debrecen; the Cserhát-Márta-Bükk mountains; "the land of Rákóczi", including Kassa, Borsi and the castles of Rákóczi in Abaúj and Zemplén counties; and the mountains of Subcarpathian Ruthenia.[25] Whilst Hallósy's proposal was not realised, it nonetheless highlights that domestic tourism was a concern and, moreover, that the way in which the leaders of the tourism industry believed it could be improved was through emphasising the previously "hidden" treasures within the country.

It was not enough, however, to highlight the destinations that Hungarian tourists ought to visit; the necessary infrastructure for this also had to be developed and improved from renovating or opening hotels to a general improvement in the road and rail infrastructure that was needed irrespective of tourism. To achieve such an advance, a number of state decrees and laws were passed, such as the spa regulation of 1929, the so-called "spa law" (*fürdőtörvény*), which regulated healing spas, climatic cure institutions holidays resorts. The Minister of Trade also issued a decree on the National Hungarian Tourism Training Course and Travel Guide Examination, in order to improve the standards of the services provided. Alongside this, various public tourism agencies and bodies were established, such as the National Tourism Office, the Federation of Hungarian Tourism Agencies and the Baross Federation.[26]

It is evident from these steps that the Hungarian state, alongside the tourism industry, put much effort into driving up the domestic tourism numbers. However, to be successful they also needed to expand not just on what was spent, but also who could enjoy a holiday in interwar Hungary. Whilst holidays were increasingly more available and affordable for a wider spectrum of social classes, it was still predominantly the middle class who could afford them.[27] Towards the end of the 1930s the tourism industry, however, started to emphasise in its publicity material that all social classes needed free time and relaxation and so came up with a new strategy to make this possible: village tourism.[28] Furthermore, in 1940 so-called "workers" holidays' were established in two locations around Lake Balaton, at Balatonaliga on the southeastern side and at Hévízszentandrás (today Hévíz) on the northwest side of the lake, with the help of the National Labour Centre.[29] These so-called workers' holidays aimed to provide affordable holidays. The workers who vacationed at these locations shared rooms containing two or three beds and received three meals a day for a sum ranging from 28 to 46.7 *pengő*.

The state railways company, MÁV also attempted to encourage the less well-to-do to holiday domestically by introducing so-called *filléres* fast trains (*fillér* being the small denomination coins, 100 *fillér* equalling one *pengő*). These were not, however, available in the peak holiday season of August since as they railway company expected that people would still use its services then anyway, regardless of cost.[30] Aladár Bogsch, chief inspector of MÁV, observed in a talk he gave that the company did not lose money on these discounted tickets and that, on the contrary, they had been able to attract more people to travel domestically than they had hoped for through this scheme. Furthermore, he noted that through this initiative MÁV had been able to promote locations that were (are) significant places in terms of folk art, such as Mezőkövesd (in northern Hungary) and Sárköz (in southern Hungary). According to Bogsch, the local authorities estimated that the influx of visitors – thanks to the *filléres* trains – resulted in an extra income of 10,000–13,000 *pengő* for Mezőkövesd.[31]

Yet, even with discounted tickets and accommodation, the cost of a holiday was still prohibitive for many. An average middle-class family of four had to manage on a monthly income of around 240–360 *pengő*.[32] Krisztina Sedlmayer points out that this amount was, on the whole, hardly enough to run a household and families who lived on this amount could not afford to take holidays. Sedlmayer also offers us a glimpse into how much a holiday could cost. She gives the example of the vacation that

Alajos Jirka and his wife – they had no children – took in 1930 when they spent ten days at Lake Balaton for the sum of 263 *pengő*.[33] Jirka was a philologist and teacher and his income ranged from 440 to 460 *pengő*, which could go up to 600 *pengő* depending on whether he did work for at the Academy of Sciences, as well alongside from his job as a teacher in a *gymnasium*.[34] The Jirkas had a perhaps above average income and could spend more on a holiday, and it is clear that many other families would not have been able to do so.[35]

The annexed territories and their inhabitants in Hungarian tourism promotional material, 1920–1938

The official narrative of domestic tourism emphasised that now that the old popular holiday destinations lay outside of the country's borders, the question arose whether it was one's patriotic duty to still visit those territories or whether the economic factor was more important and thus people should holiday at home. In 1933, József Fészl, a trustee of the Hungarian National Tourism Council pondered: "Now the question is that when our home country's fragmentation and the economic regression connected to it created such a serious financial situation, is it right, needed and patriotic to travel abroad, and have a holiday and a good time there?"[36] Fészl was referring to the government regulation that banned the transfer of currency abroad and limited the amount of *pengő* that was allowed to be taken out of the country. Even so, Fészl further argued that Hungarians always find a "back door" [*kiskapu*], in this case to take currency out, and (in unspecified) foreign countries were loud with Hungarian voices despite these limitations. As he emphasised, however, all these trips abroad by Hungarians – even to the annexed territories – caused a financial loss for the country and so instead of going abroad, domestic tourism, especially to the countryside, should be boosted.

Whilst officially tourism to the annexed territories – or in general to abroad – was not encouraged, tourism to the Tatra mountains and especially to Transylvania was promoted by various private sporting and outdoors associations. In 1931, for example, the Hungarian Royal Automobile Club published a guide for an automobile tour of the Tatra mountains.[37] There were also associational efforts to encourage people to visit Transylvania and to improve the tourism infrastructure there. The president of the Brassó Tourist Association, Gyula Halász urged Hungarian visitors to help establish a "united and strong Transylvanian

Hungarian tourist association" and representatives of the Hungarian tourism association visited Transylvania to give advice.[38]

The primary focus of official Hungarian tourism efforts regarding the annexed territories and their inhabitants, however, was for them to come and visit the "home" country. Tourism from the annexed territories was a constant concern of journalists, politicians, the tourism industry and commentators. A representative of the hotel and spa directorate, when answering questions from a journalist in July 1924, argued that it not only was it too expensive for the "intelligentsia, merchants and traders of the Hungarian countryside" to holiday in Hungary, but ethnic Hungarians from the annexed territories could not afford to visit Hungary now because of the expenses involved in travelling to and within Hungary.[39] Immediately after the territories had been annexed and for a number of years afterwards, prices in Budapest were lower than in neighbouring countries. This allowed Hungarians who now found themselves on the other side of the border to visit Budapest and do some shopping at the same time. However, by 1924 the situation had been reversed: Austria, Czechoslovakia and Romania were all cheaper than Hungary, and thus visits from Hungarians now living in these countries trailed off.[40]

Another recurring trope was the bureaucracy and official obstacles that stood in front of the potential tourists, namely various entry requirements, including paying for and obtaining a visa, having a valid passport and customs. These official barriers, many feared, prevented the Hungarians who lived outside the country's borders from visiting. In an August 1924 article in *Magyarország*, the author mused that even if these Hungarians wanted to return home for only a few days, they are subjected to torture by all kinds of passport inspectors, visa examinations, authorities watching and checking, which make it seem as though there is something highly suspicious about them: what do they want here, why are they coming and when are they planning on going back?[41]

As officials on both sides of the borders were making it increasingly difficult for people from the annexed territories to visit, some commentators feared that Hungarians in the annexed territories would lose their connection to the "homeland". In 1929 during a meeting of the Budapest City Council when discussing the work of the Tourism Office, Ede Bresztovszky voiced his concerns that "Hungarians from the torn away territories are getting farther and farther away from Budapest."[42] Bresztovszky quoted several statistical data points, which underlined that the number of visitors from the annexed territories had declined "on

a large scale" from 1928 to 1929. He cited the figures for 1928, when 92,551 visitors had come to Trianon Hungary from the annexed territories, a number which fell to 81,345 visitors by 1929 when Bresztovszky was speaking at the end of October.[43]

This decline occurred, as Károly Peyer, another member of the city council, pointed out, despite the efforts made to attract visitors in 1929 for the St Stephen Week celebrations. St Stephen Week celebrations took place in the second half of August each year as part of the 20 August celebrations, commemorating St Stephen, the founder of the Hungarian state in (or around) the year 1,000. From the mid-1920s the leaders of Budapest extended the day's celebration into a week-long event, which included pageants, sports days, concerts, fireworks and various other outdoor spectacles.[44] However, there is little evidence that Hungarians from the annexed territories actually visited for the holiday until Hungary started to reoccupy some of these territories. For example, in 1939 the newspaper reports on the 20 August Holy Right procession – the mummified right hand of St Stephen – singled out all the various groups from the annexed and re-annexed territories who took part in the procession.[45]

The percentage of Hungarians visiting from the annexed territories remained at around 15% of the overall tourist numbers to Budapest between 1927 and 1937.[46] However, with the rise of overall tourist numbers in this period, this constant percentage likely means that tourist numbers from the annexed territories increased only slightly. Apart from patriotism, one of the main concerns of the Hungarian state was the economic aspect of tourism. However, as Jusztin points out, we should not expect that visitors from the annexed territories would have brought in much income as most likely many of them were visiting relatives and were thus less likely to stay in hotels or spend money in restaurants and other entertainment venues.[47]

As I mentioned above, one possible reason for the decline in visitor numbers was the bureaucracy surrounding travel and the financial costs associated with it. Members of the tourism industry as well as politicians suggested throughout the interwar period that visas should be abolished for countries with large Hungarian populations.[48] However, as a bilateral agreement was necessary and because this was still a source of income for the state, this did not happen. Whilst complete visa free travel was not implemented between Hungary and its neighbouring countries, Hungary reached an agreement with Czechoslovakia that from 1935 allowed children under 15 to travel without a visa, but with a valid passport.[49]

Visa charges varied from country to country (Table 1), however the prices could be rather prohibitive for travel. In 1932 a single-entry visa from Czechoslovakia to Hungary cost six *pengő*, plus a two *pengő* administrative fee per traveller, whereas a visa for multiple entries cost 12 *pengő* with an additional three *pengő* administrative fee.[50] Whilst a visa from Czechoslovakia already added a significant amount to a family's travel plans, visa fees from Romania to Hungary were even more prohibitive, at 14 *pengő* and 50 *fillér* in 1932 while no visas for multiple entry were available. By 1936, the cost of a visa from Romania to Hungary had increased by four *pengő* and 30 *fillér* to 18 *pengő* and 80 *fillér*.[51] For Czechoslovakia the visa charge remained the same as in 1932.

	Transit	Single entry	Multiple entries
Czechoslovakia	2P 20F + 1P administrative fee	6P + 2 P administrative fee	12P + 3P administrative fee
Romania (1932)	14P 50F	14P 50F	Not available.
Romania (1936)	18P 80F	18P 80F	Not available.

Table 1. Cost of an entry visa to Hungary based on figures from 1932 and 1936

When the general costs of travel are added, such as having to obtain a valid passport and the visa charges, it is clear that travelling from the annexed territories to the "homeland" was an expensive endeavour that was largely an option only for the middle-class traveller. Despite the efforts of the Hungarian state to attract visitors to Hungary from these territories, for example through the St Stephen Week celebrations, their numbers did not grow significantly during the interwar period.

The expansion of the domestic market: "returning" territories and new tourism strategies, 1938–1945

In the late 1930s the international political situation in Europe escalated; the threat of Nazi Germany loomed large and, in an attempt to appease Hitler, the Munich Agreement was signed between the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Italy on 30 September 1938. The Agreement

meant that Nazi Germany occupied the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia (Germany fully occupied Czechoslovakia in March 1939). Hungary, as an ally of Germany and Italy, greatly benefited from the Munich Agreement and the subsequent occupation of Czechoslovakia: Nazi Germany and fascist Italy arbitrated the First Vienna Awards in November 1938, whereby Hungary reoccupied parts southern Slovakia (known in Hungarian as the *Felvidék*) and in March 1939 it reoccupied Subcarpathian Ruthenia and in September 1940 northern Transylvania as a result of the Second Vienna Award (see Figure 1). With the reoccupation of these territories Hungary's interwar area increased by 67,100 square miles and the population increased to 11.4 million.[52]

The Hungarian state and the tourism industry was thus faced with the expansion of the domestic market. However, some of the previously popular destinations such as the high mountains in the Tatra had not been "returned", but remained in Slovak territory. Even so, as the Hungarian state sought to economically (and logistically) reintegrate the re-annexed territories, it, together with the tourism industry, started to promote holidays to these "returned" territories.

Figure 1: Map of territories annexed by Hungary in 1938–1941.
Source: Wikimedia Commons at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/
File:Territorial_gains_of_Hungary_1938-41_en.svg

Hungary's tourism strategy needed to change during the period just preceding and during the Second World War, to include the re-annexed territories. This was in effect a kind of reversal of the interwar tourism strategy, which had to reorient itself to a smaller Hungary and tried to entice Hungarians to holiday at home and not visit the "lost" territories. The new Hungarian tourism strategy had a dual aim: it now wanted people from the re-annexed territories to visit the area of interwar Hungary, but it also wanted Hungarians from Trianon Hungary to visit the re-annexed territories. This strategy of trying to funnel Trianon Hungarian tourists to the re-annexed territories had two aims: to help these regions economically, hoping that the revenue from tourism would stimulate the regional economy, while the state also wished to reintegrate them into the homeland via new cultural contacts. Especially in the case of northern Transylvania, some of the tourism material suggested, that visiting the territory was a patriotic duty of everyone.[53] A similar rhetoric was also employed for the *Felvidék*. A 1939 Hungarian guidebook to the *Felvidék* emphasised that tourists would be able to receive "real Hungarian hospitality" there, thus reassuring Trianon Hungarians that the inhabitants of the "returned" territories had not lost their Hungarian identity during the 20 years that they were "away".[54]

Before Trianon Hungarian tourists could arrive in the re-annexed territories, these areas needed to be redeveloped. One of the claims made by the Hungarian state was that during the "foreign" occupation of these territories the amenities, including spas and hotels, had become run down and the towns themselves were dirty and the shadows of their old splendour.[55] The Hungarian government appointed Béla Padányi-Gulyás, a former student of Prime Minister Pál Teleki, as commissioner for tourism in Subcarpathian Ruthenia to oversee development.[56] After northern Transylvania was re-annexed during the so-called Transylvania conference (*Erdélyi értekezlet*), Prime Minister Teleki laid out the infrastructural improvements that were needed in the region, including new railway lines, new bus services and new air routes, as well as the development of regional tourism, which meant modernising amenities and spas.[57] The Hungarian government, the tourism industry and commentators hoped that "the mountains and the romantic wilderness of the reannexed Felvidék" would provide new tourism hotspots.[58] In northern Transylvania a Hungarian National Tourist Bureau office was established in Kolozsvár/ Cluj.[59] Newspapers also reported on the investments that were made in Transylvania: the *Nemzeti Újság*, for example, informed its readers on

25 March 1942 that the "return of parts of Transylvania" offers Hungarians who were planning their summer vacations a number of "more colourful and varied options".[60] This was especially so after the modernisation and repair of the roads to many of the spas located in the Szekler region, which were now ready for visitors.

Newspapers in Hungary gave extensive coverage to the first scheduled flight to Transylvania. On 27 September 1940 two planes took off from Budapest towards Nagyvárad, Kolozsvár and Marosvásárhely (Figure 2). The larger of the planes, a Junkers Ju 52, carried 16 passengers, whilst the smaller plane, a Focke-Wulf 58 carried various supplies such as newspapers, packages and even a loaf of bread. The journalist from the newspaper *Függetlenség* pondered as to who sent the loaf to whom and why,[61] and also saw a symbolic significance in the packages: "It was a beautiful symbol: nourishment for the body as well as the soul" after 20 years of "foreign" rule.[62] An article in the newspaper *Esti Újság* covering the event noted that this was the first time that people from Trianon Hungary did not need a passport or a visa to visit these territories.[63]

Figure 2: The first scheduled passenger flight from Budapest to Transylvania. 27 September 1940. Source: Fortepan / Fadgyas Bence

The occasion was accompanied by a small celebratory ceremony before the planes took off. At the flight apart from the passengers, the lord mayor and mayor of Budapest and many high-ranking civil servants from various ministries turned up as well as the Minister of Trade, József Varga. The director of the airport and the director of Malert, the state aviation company, were also present. The Minister of Trade assured those who gathered on the tarmac that they will be this fast with restoring the rail network as well. Varga reflecting on the re-annexation of the territory also said that this new line is special, as even though Budapest is a hub of international aviation, these planes did not connect far off lands, but "bring closer our own blood to the capital".[64] Furthermore, the Minister promised that this was only the beginning of the logistical and infrastructural improvements would soon also be visible on the roads and on the train connections between the "homeland" and the reannexed territories. Even though by the end of the war the Hungarian government could not fulfil all its promises, many of them were implemented: the Déda – Szeretfalva railroad was built for 75 million *pengő*, and they spent a further 129 million *pengő* for other rail improvements, built roads for 13 million *pengő* (until 1942), developed airports for three million and spent money on improving telephone lines and bridges.[65]

With the money being invested into the re-annexed territories, the tourism industry and those associated with it started to publish new guidebooks that were either marketing the re-annexed territories or gave an overview of what to see in the whole country (Trianon Hungary and the re-annexed territories). All the mayors of the towns in Hungary received a letter from the Hungarian Royal Trade and Transport Ministry informing them that "[a]s a result of the re-annexation of Transylvania, the *Felvidék* and Subcarpathian Rus", the Minister found it "timely and needed that the tourism department under my leadership compiles in a summary work the worthy touristic destinations of Hungary and with this advance the cause of domestic tourism."[66] The leaders of towns were asked to provide information on their towns, covering the historical and art historical buildings including hotels, (private) palaces, spas (in and near the town), houses representing folk art, monuments, special foods and wines (or other drinks) famous in the region.

During the period between 1940 and 1943, a total of 18 books, pamphlets and other travel material was published on Transylvania, the same amount, Ablonczy highlights, as between 1788 and 1940.[67] The guidebooks on both Transylvania and southern Slovakia tended to follow

a similar format: they started with an introductory essay (usually by the author), followed by a description of the towns, villages and regions worth visiting. The guidebooks tended to give a historical background of the towns and regions, followed by places to see, hotels to stay in, transport guides and establishments to visit.[68]

Figure 3: Scout group from the Ciszterci Szent Imre Gymnasium visiting the Castle of Krasznahorka in 1939 following the re-annexation of the territory. Source: Fortepan / Ebner

One of the most prolific writers of guidebooks mainly to the re-annexed territories was Sándor Aba, who published on southern Slovakia, on southern Slovakia and Trianon Hungary and on Transylvania and Trianon Hungary.[69] In all three of the guidebooks the foreword was almost identical: Aba welcomed the return of the territories and argued that he aimed his guidebooks at those who would spend money on going to small villages in Italy, Switzerland and Scandinavia and know all the monuments there, but have never seen the Cathedral in *Kassa* (*Košice*, today in Slovakia) or the castle at *Krasznahorka* (*Krásna Hôrka* Castle, today in Slovakia).[70] Aba furthermore aimed his books at those who were born in the 20 years during which those areas were annexed. He emphasised the many tourism opportunities that the regions offered and highlighted that

anyone visiting would "experience real Hungarian hospitality", showing that the 20 years during which these territories were under "foreign" rule did not affect the areas at all.[71]

The "Hungarianness" of the re-annexed regions was often mentioned in the guidebooks. In a 1940 guidebook entitled *Az utas könyve: magyar utazási kézikönyv és útmutató* (The Traveler's Book: Hungarian Travel Manual and Guide) highlighted that Beregszász (today Berehove in western Ukraine) suffered the most after it was "captured by the Czechs […] because it was the most Hungarian town."[72] Even so, "[a]fter the Czechs realised that [the town's] Czechification was not possible, they gave up on it, but took away the town's character and its [municipal] offices."[73] Despite all these efforts, the town remained Hungarian and even increased in size, the guide argues. The town of Munkács (today Mukachevo, in western Ukraine) received a similar description in the guide, which highlighted that whilst the town was often threatened with destruction, it always overcame.[74]

Another volume, prepared by lecturers of Kolozsvár (Cluj) University, was aimed at the visitors of the University and at those who newly moved to the town.[75] The lecturers wished to create a guide "that will familiarise visitors with the sights and spirit of this small country and will draw their attention to how to approach it."[76] Prinz and the lecturers argued that the Romanian rule made the area stronger and more united and, similarly to the other guides, they pointed out that once the Hungarians reoccupied the territory, any traces of foreign rule disappeared.[77] Thus, the area, in their argument, kept its Hungarian character. The authors further argued that now with the reintegration of northern Transylvania into the Hungarian homeland, the area would become a new historical location as from southern Transylvania, which they pointed out was still under Romanian "occupation", Hungarians started to move to the re-annexed territory.

Thus, whilst the guides did fulfil their basic requirements of guiding the visitors to/ in these territories, at the same time also emphasised that reintegrating these areas into the "homeland" would not be an issue, since – despite the "foreign" occupation – they remained Hungarians.

The start of the Second World War greatly affected tourism, both incoming and outgoing. In August 1940 – the peak of the tourism season in Budapest, especially St Stephen's Week in the middle of the month – only 20,247 people visited Budapest. However, the majority of these visitors were domestic: 16,763 of them came from various parts of "truncated Hungary", 1,093 people from the annexed territories and only

2,391 people visited the capital from abroad.[78] In 1939, the previous year these numbers were 14,046 from "truncated" Hungary, 2,691 from the annexed territories and 13,060 foreigners.[79] These numbers show that whilst domestic tourism even had a slight uptick, foreign tourism suffered greatly from the war. Those foreigners who visited Budapest came mainly from Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Switzerland and the United States of America.

The interwar slogan of "Let's travel our homeland!" took on a new significance during the war years. As international travel became increasingly impossible as the war went on, domestic travel became more attractive. The Hungarian government and the tourism industry, as I discussed above, tried to attract visitors to the re-annexed territories, however this left the previously dubbed "hidden treasures" of Trianon Hungary in a bind: they wished to keep their lucrative tourist numbers (or even wanted to increase them, now that international travel was close to impossible), when the official government propaganda's main thrust was concerned with the re-annexed territories.

How did these previous "hidden treasures" deal with this situation? The mayor of the west Hungarian town of Sopron received a letter from the Corvin Travel and Spa Bureau (*Corvin Utazási- és Fürdőiroda*), which represented the town in international and domestic tourism propaganda, elaborated that with the war and the re-annexation of the territories previously popular destinations had experienced a decline in the number of visitors.[80] The letter emphasised that with the re-annexation of Transylvania many attractions "returned" to Hungary that would be appealing to the domestic tourists, especially since "for more than two decades they could not go there."[81] Corvin highlighted that: "Sopron has built its tourism through decades of hard work, and now, when they have to count with a significant decrease, we cannot resign to this fact without a word, because it could be avoided with more work." The interwar tourism numbers of Sopron were indeed increasing almost year-by-year for both domestic and international tourism, at least this is what we learn from the 1932–1937 statistics (see Table 2).[82]

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Domestic	67,631	62,745	62,276	60,188	64,279	68,496
Foreign	14,877	26,659	40,270	55,201	42,249	40,425
Total	82,508	89,404	102,546	115,389	106,528	108,921

Table 2: Tourism numbers of Sopron between 1932–1937.
Source: "Sopron sz. kir. város idegenforgalma, 1932–1937",
Soproni Szemle, 1938, 101.

Of course, the leaders of the town wanted to retain at least the domestic tourist numbers, since they contributed significantly to the local economy. Corvin suggested that the town should organize a "momentous touristic event" with which they could re-attract the tourists who navigated towards the re-annexed territories. Another tourism agency, Intercontinental, suggested that the town should rely on its reputation as "Civitas Fidelissima", or the town of loyalty, a title the town received in 1922 following the December 1921 plebiscite in which the town and its surrounding villages voted on whether they wanted to belong to Austria or to Hungary.[83] Intercontinental suggested the organisation of a "Sopron loyalty day", a day-long celebration of the outcome of the plebiscite with music, exhibitions and parades. It seems that Intercontinental was not taken up on its offer, but it is clear from both letters that tourism agencies felt that the re-annexation of the territories would impact the tourism numbers of the towns they represented. They show a concern for Sopron's tourism numbers during the first years of the war and trying to advice the mayor on how to increase the influx of tourists. Corvin represented a high number of other towns as well and it is likely that a similarly worded letter was sent out to these town as well.

It is unclear how successful towns in Trianon Hungary were in trying to stop the flow of tourists going to the re-annexed territories. However, tourism grew at an exponential rate to northern Transylvania, as Ablonczy points out during the war Hungarians had a higher income, but they were limited in their travel opportunities abroad.[84] Whilst there were no overall statistics for the region: from 1942 to 1943 tourism to Kolozsvár increased by 27.5 percent, whilst in resort town of Szováta (today Sovata, in Transylvania, Romania), the IBUSZ office reported that occupancy in hotels was at capacity and it was not possible to find a room for a night.[85]

Tourism to the region only declined in the second half of 1944 when Romania switched sides in the war and the front moved to Transylvania.[86]

Conclusion

The shifting borders of Hungary between 1918 and 1945 compelled the Hungarian governments and the tourism industry to readjust what the domestic market meant. Following the end of the First World War the market shrunk with the loss of its previously popular tourism destinations, whilst in the build up to the Second World War it expanded again as Hungary's allyship with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy allowed the government to reoccupy some of the previously "lost" territories.

This shifting area for domestic tourism clearly highlights that tourism in interwar and Second World War Hungary was a tool of nation building and re-building. In the interwar period the aim of the tourism industry was to redirect domestic tourist to previously less visited destinations within the borders of Trianon Hungary, not only to instil patriotism in its citizens, but also for crucial income. Then, as Hungary re-annexed parts of the "lost" territories, economic considerations again played a role: now domestic tourism promotions wished to redirect Trianon Hungarians from the "hidden treasures" to the re-annexed territories and use domestic tourism as a tool to reintegrate the territories culturally, but most crucially, economically. The example of tourism in Hungary between 1918 and 1945 clearly shows that the Hungarian governments took domestic tourism seriously and hoped that it would be an important part of the national economy.

Endnotes

1   Oszkár Bársony, *Idegenforgalom és itthoni nyaralás* (Budapest, 1933), p. 15.

2   International tourism had similar economic aims, although the main arguments there concerned cultural diplomacy. Leaders of Hungary and the tourism industry argued that Hungary was either unknown or did not have a good reputation abroad and this resulted in the country's "unfair" treatment during the peace talks. To counter this, the industry targeted foreign tourists to come to Hungary, get to know the country and then spread their newfound appreciation for Hungary when they went home. See: Zsolt Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities: Hungarian Cultural Diplomacy, 1918–1941* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2017), especially Chapter 4, pp. 175–230.

3   Miklós Zeidler, "Trianon, Treaty of", in *1914–1918. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, n.d., https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/trianon_treaty_of (Accessed 8 February 2022).

4   Alexander Vari, "From Friends of Nature to Tourist-Soldiers: Nation Building and Tourism in Hungary, 1873–1914", in *Turizm: The Russian and Eastern European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. Anne Gorsuch and Diane Koenker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 65–66.

5   Márta Jusztin, "'Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!': A belföldi turizmus problémái a két világháború között Magyarországon", *Korall - Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat*, no. 26 (2006): p. 187.

6   Ibid., p. 188.

7   Ibid.

8   Lajos Kudar, *Turizmusunk története dióhéjban: Értékeink, kincseink, magyar örökségünk 1* (Budapest: Tinta Kiadó, 2003), p. 10.

9   Ibid., p. 11.

10   Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities*, pp. 175–176.

11   Bársony, *Idegenforgalom és itthoni nyaralás.*, pp. 1–2.

12   Kudar, *Turizmusunk története dióhéjban*, p. 11.

13   Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", p. 191.

14   Vari, "From Friends of Nature to Tourist-Soldiers: Nation Building and Tourism in Hungary, 1873–1914", p. 72.

15   Ibid. For other examples on the link between nationalism and tourism in the Habsburg Empire see: Pieter M. Judson, "The Bohemian Oberammergau: Nationalist Tourism In The Austrian Empire", in *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, ed. Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit (London; New York: Berghahn, 2004), 89–106. For the association between tourism and the importance of knowing one's homeland (*honismeret* in Hungarian) in the interwar period see also: Andrew Behrendt, "Educating Apostles of the Homeland: Tourism and "Honismeret" in Interwar Hungary", *Hungarian Cultural Studies* 7 (2015): pp. 159–176.geographers, educators,

and politicians made the nearly identical claim that Hungarians were lacking in honismeret, or "knowledge of one's homeland," and needed to banish their ignorance if they were to truly and adequately love their country. This article explores one confluence of these two streams. Between 1934 and 1942, metropolitan authorities sponsored an ambitious educational program, the School Excursion Trains of the Capital City of Budapest [Budapest Székesfőváros Iskolai Kirándulóvonatai], which aimed to improve the honismeret of high school students by giving them first-hand experience of dozens of Hungarian cities and regions. Through a close analysis of the 31-volume series of guidebooks produced for the benefit of the Excursion Train passengers, this article argues that the fundamental goal of the program was to transform Hungary from an abstract territorial space into a set of concrete places to which students could feel personally attached, and therefore better "know."","container-title":"Hungarian Cultural Studies","ISSN":"2471-965X","journalAbbreviation":"ahea","language":"en","page":"159-176","source":"DOI.org (Crossref

[16] Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities*, pp. 181 and 188.

[17] Ibid., p. 182.

[18] Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", pp. 185 and 205.

[19] Bársony, *Idegenforgalom és itthoni nyaralás*, 8. The *pengő* replaced the *korona* on 1 January 1927. At the time one kilogramme of gold was worth 3,800 *pengő*; one American dollar was 5.7 *pengő*, one German Mark was 1.3 *pengő* and one Austrian *schilling* was worth 0.8 *pengő*. See: "1946 nyarára olyan értéktelenné vált a pengő, hogy az utcán hajították el a bankjegyeket", 2020, https://mult-kor.hu/1946-nyarara-olyan-ertektelenne-valt-a-pengo-hogy-az-utcan-hajitottak-el-a-bankjegyeket-20200101 (Last accessed: 12 February 2022).

[20] Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", 195. Jusztin shows that the highest deficit was 34 million *pengő* in 1929 and the lowest was 6.6 million *pengő* in 1935. Her data covers years between 1929 and 1937, with the exception of 1930 and 1931.

[21] Bársony, *Idegenforgalom és itthoni nyaralás.*, p. 8.

[22] János Csapó, András Törzsök, and István Galambos, "The Major Characteristics of the General Development of the Tourism Industry in Hungary between the Two World Wars – The Challenges of Reorganising and Repositioning Tourism", *Hungarian Studies*, The major characteristics of the general development of the tourism industry, 33, no. 2 (2019): p. 391; Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", p. 197 and Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities*, p. 218.

[23] István Hallóssy, *Az idegenforgalmi propaganda új irányai* (Budapest: Stádium RT., 1940), p. 9.

[24] Ibid., pp. 9, 12, 15.

[25] Ibid., pp. 9–11.

26   Alexander Vari, "From 'Paris of the East' to 'Queen of the Danube': International Models in the Promotion of Budapest Tourism, 1885–1940", in *Touring beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism*, ed. Eric G. E. Zuelow (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), p. 111. For the 'spa law' see: "1929. évi XVI. törvénycikk a gyógyfürdőkről, az éghajlati gyógyintézetekről, a gyógyhelyekről, az üdülőhelyekről és az ásvány- és gyógyvízforrásokról" (1929) at https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=92900016.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fpagenum%3D40 (Accessed 26 January 2022).

27   Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", p. 192.

28   Ibid., 197–198; Csapó, Törzsök, and Galambos, "The Major Characteristics of the General Development of the Tourism Industry in Hungary", p. 401; Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities*, p. 217.

29   Csapó, Törzsök, and Galambos, "The Major Characteristics of the General Development of the Tourism Industry in Hungary", p. 401.

30   "A MÁV az idegenforgalom szolgálatában", *Reggeli Hírlap*, 6 July 1932, p. 5.

31   Ibid.

32   Krisztina Sedlmayr, "A modern háztartás születése Az 1930-as években Magyarországon" (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2007), p. 81. This amount is based on the textbook for girls in the IV. grade of civic girls' schools where one of the subjects was home economics.

33   Ibid., p. 94. Fn. 197.

34   Ibid., p. 84. Fn. 195.

35   The Jirka's income does put them at the top of the urban middle class. The average income of the middle class was about 1,000 *pengő* per year, although teachers for example earned more: a university lecturer took home 574 *pengő*; a middle school teacher 226 *pengő* and a primary school teacher 163 *pengő* per month. See: "Amikor havi 200 fixszel az ember könnyen viccelt: Jövedelmek a két világháború között", *Múlt-Kor*, 6 July 2021, https://mult-kor.hu/a-cote-dazurtol-a-havi-egyszeri-tejfogyasztasig-magyar-jovedelmek-a-20-szazad-elso-feleben-20210707?fbrkMR=desktop&&pIdx=2&openImage=33487 (Accessed 27 January 2022).

36   János Fészl, "Az idegenforgalomról — általában", *Városok Lapja*, 1 March 1933, p. 115.

37   Walter Delmár and Andor Gy. Hefty, *Autóuton a Tátrában: Útikalauz a Dunától a Kárpátokig*, ed. Gusztáv Thirring and János Vigyázó (Késmárk-Budapest: Turistaság és Alpinizmus Lap-, Könyv- és Térképkiadó RT., 1931).

38   Gyula Halász, "Az erdélyi turistaság és az idegenforgalom", *Turisták Lapja*, November 1931, p. 301.

39   "A felére csökkent Budapest idegenforgalma", *Magyaroszág*, 26 July 1924, p. 6.

40   Ibid.

41   "Idegenforgalom", *Magyaroszág*, 26 August 1924, p. 1.

42   *Fővárosi Közlöny*: *Budapest Székesfőváros Hivatlos Lapja*, No. 40. Issue 79, 25 October 1929, p. 33.

43   In 1935 the number of visitors from the annexed territories stood at 87,176. An uptick from 1929, although still less than in 1928. See: Károly Szendy, "Az idegenforgalom jelentősége a székesfővűros életében", *Városok Lapja*, 15 April 1936, p. 227.

44   Vari, "From 'Paris of the East' to 'Queen of the Danube': International Models in the Promotion of Budapest Tourism, 1885–1940", pp. 113–114.

45   See for example: "Gyönyörű ünnepséggel áldozott tegnap az ország Szent István emlékének", *Magyarország*, 22 August 1939, p. 5.

46   Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", p. 193.

47   Ibid., p. 194.

48   See for example the speech by Miklós Magyar in *Fővárosi Közlöny*: *Budapest Székesfőváros Hivatlos Lapja*, No. 20, 6 May 1927, 1221 and "Idegenforgalom", *Magyaroszág*, 26 August 1924, p. 1.

49   "177. A m. kir. minisztériumnak 5.170/ 1935. M. E. számú rendelete. A 15 éven aluli gyermekeknek az útlevélkényszer alól felmentéséről Csehszlovákiával kötött megállapodás végrehajtása", *Belügyi Közlöny*, XL, no. 30, 28 July 1935, p. 442.

50   "293. A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 140.872/1932. B. M. számú körrendelete. A külföldi államok Budapesten székelő külképviseleti hatóságainak lakáscíme, valamint az ezen hatóságok által szedett útlevélláttamozási díjak (vízumdíjak) nagysága", *Belügyi Közlöny*, No. 45, 23 October 1932, pp. 657–658.

51   "111. A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 168.108/1936. B. M. számú körrendelete. Külföldi államok Budapesten székelő külképviseleti hatóságainak lakáscíme, valamint az e hatóságok által szedett útlevélláttamozási díjak (vízumdíjak) nagysága", *Belügyi Közlöny*, No. 19, 3 May 1936, pp. 295296.

52   Miklós Zeidler, *Ideas on Territorial Revision in Hungary, 1920–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 279.

53   Balázs Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism: Hungarian Nation-Building Policies in Northern Transylvania, 1940–1944", *Hungarian Studies Review* XXVI, no. 1–2 (2009): p. 48. Although Ablonczy also observes that not everyone agreed with this sentiment. The head of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) office of the Hungarian National Tourist Bureau (*Országos Magyar Idegenforgalmi Hivatal*) was highly critical of this narrative.

54   Sándor Aba, ed., *Felvidéki útikalauz* (Košice/ Kassa: 'Wiko' Kő- és Könyvnyomdai Műintézet, 1940), p. 3.

55   See for example: "A csőd szélén állanak a kolozsvári szállódák", *Keleti Újság*, 17 February 1933, p. 4 and "Várad egykor és most", *Ujság*, 13 September 1940, p. 6.

[56]   Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 50.

[57]   Ibid., pp. 50–51.

[58]   "Új turistalehetőségek a visszakapott Felvidéken", *Nemzeti Újság*, 20 November 1938, n. p.

[59]   Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 45.

[60]   "Megjavították az erdélyi fürdők közlekedési viszonyait", *Nemzeti Újság*, 25 March 1942, p. 8.

[61]   "Kenyeret és újságot vitt Erdélybe az első menetrendszerű utasszállító repülőgép", *Függetlenség*, 28 September 1940, p. 4.

[62]   Ibid.

[63]   "Ünnepi külsőségek között indult Erdélybe ma reggel az első menetrendszerű repülőgép", *Esti Újság*, 27 September 1940, p. 10.

[64]   Ibid.

[65]   Balázs Ablonczy, "Védkunyhó. Idegenforgalmi fejlesztés és nemzetépítés Észak-Erdélyben 1940 és 1944 között", *Történelmi Szemle*, no. 4 (2008): p. 522.

[66]   Sopron Város Levéltára [Municipal Archive of Sopron, hereafter SVL], Sopron város polgármesteri hivatalának iratai, IV 1404b, IX 2/940, "Idegenforgalom emelése - Sopron ismertetése". Letter from the Hungarian Royal Trade and Transport Ministry. Dated: 9 September 1940.

[67]   Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 45.

[68]   There were some exceptions to this format. See for example: Gyula Prinz, *Erdély: Útmutató Erdély vendégei számára* (Pécs: Danubia, 1941). The guide, the result of the work of lecturers at Kolozsvár (Cluj) University also included sections on the administration, climate, fauna and animals of the region and further sections on hunting and fishing. The book also gave possible routes that would be tourists to the region could explore.

[69]   Aba, *Felvidéki útikalauz*; Sándor Aba, *Erdélyi útikalauz és a magyar városok ismertetése* (Nagyvárad: Nemzeti Könyv és Papírkereskedés, 1941); Sándor Aba, *Útikalauz a magyar városokról és a visszatért Felvidékről* (Miskolc: Ludvig István Könyvnyomdája, 1940).

[70]   Aba, *Erdélyi útikalauz és a magyar városok ismertetése*, 3; Aba, *Útikalauz a magyar városokról és a visszatért Felvidékről*, 3; Aba, *Felvidéki útikalauz*, p. 3.

[71]   Ibid. Representatives of the Hungarian National Tourist Bureau did not approve of Aba's Transylvania guide, they described it as disorganised and badly edited. Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 46.

[72]   Károly Kaffka, *Az utas könyve: Magyar utazási kézikönyv és útmutató. Kiegészítő r. Keletmagyarország, Északerdély*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Orsz. M. Vendégforgalmi Szöv, 1940), p. 659.

[73]   Ibid., 1: pp. 659–660.

[74]   Ibid., 1: p. 662.

75 Prinz, *Erdély: Útmutató erdély vendégei számára*, p. 3.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., p. 6.
78 "Budapest augusztusi idegenforgalma", *Nemzeti Újság*, 16 October 1940, p. 6.
79 Ibid.
80 SVL, Sopron város polgármesteri hivatalának iratai, IV 1404b, IX 2/940, "Idegenforgalom emelése - Sopron ismertetése". Letter from the Corvin Travel and Spa Bureau. Dated: 28 October 1940.
81 Ibid.
82 "Sopron sz. kir. város idegenforgalma, 1932–1937", *Soproni Szemle*, 1938, p. 101
83 SVL, Sopron város polgármesteri hivatalának iratai, IV 1404b, IX 2/940, "Idegenforgalom emelése - Sopron ismertetése". Letter from Intercontinental to the mayor of Sopron. Dated: 2 October 1940. For the plebiscite see for example: John C. Swanson, "The Sopron Plebiscite of 1921: A Success Story", *East European Quarterly* XXXIV, no. 1 (2000): pp. 81–94.
84 Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 53.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.

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